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The emergence of 'citizenship' in popular discourse

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The emergence of 'citizenship' in popular discourse: the case of Scotland

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Abstract
The 2014 Scottish Referendum gauged public opinion on the possibility of Scotland leaving the United Kingdom, raising significant questions about the legitimacy of claims to citizenship in the event of independence. Through a mixed methods survey, this study explored the ways in which citizenship emerged in popular discourse in the lead up to the Scottish referendum. Findings point to an emphasis in public discourse on a commitment to and participation in society, instead of the more traditional citizenship markers of ancestry, birthplace or residency. Data indicates a view of citizenship encompassing status and practice, while identity was framed in terms of more static notions of birthplace and ancestry. The salience of social participation was noticeably greater in respondents' assessment of others' potential Scottish citizenship than their own. Specifically, the study highlights the salience of relational aspects of citizenship in popular discourse, with an emphasis on social citizenship in preference to legal citizenship. The study constitutes a significant contribution to ongoing discussions about 'participatory citizenship' in the field of Citizenship studies, by providing much needed empirical data on social conceptualizations of citizenship.

Introduction
This paper focuses on a nation seeking independence and offers insights on the emergent notion of 'citizenship' in popular discourse. It focuses on the case of Scotland, a nation that has a degree of autonomy within the United Kingdom. On the eighteenth of September, 2014, a referendum was held on Scottish independence in Scotland. The 2010 Draft Bill stipulated the entitlement to vote *yes* or *no,* to the question *"should Scotland be an independent country?"* The Referendum, characterized by an unprecedented turnout of 84.6 per cent, resulted in a 'no' vote, with a margin of just over 10 per cent, staving off a dismantling of the United Kingdom. The event has fueled debate about the possibility of a second referendum; a debate that is ongoing at the time of writing this paper. This socio-political context, raises questions about who, in the event of Scottish independence, would be considered a Scottish citizenship and how that would be determined. These questions are pertinent to any context where independence is contested, whether Catalonia's independence from Spain, Corsican independence from France, and so on. The fact that Scotland is not currently an independent state and, therefore does not have a specific citizenship attached to it, makes it a particularly interesting example for exploring emergent notions of 'citizenship' in popular discourse. The present study explores popular understandings of *the Scottish citizen*, through data gathered from 137 respondents, all residing in Scotland at the time of the survey. In so doing the study provides one lens through which to understand emerging notions of citizenship.

Background
Within the United Kingdom, Scotland has a degree of autonomy in civil society through the process of devolution, with regards to church, education, law and media. In 2012, the "Yes Scotland" campaign was launched by the governing party of the Scottish Parliament at the time, the Scottish National Party (SNP), and in 2014, for the first time in the history of the UK, the SNP

offered a Scottish referendum that proposed complete political secession from the UK. In the lead up to the referendum, when this study was conducted, vivid debates took place, not only in the political spheres but also in civil society and online networks. As Mann and Fenton (2017: 158) note, the high degree of public engagement surrounding the campaign was unexpected and many groups, organisations and individuals who were not affiliated to the SNP actively supported a Yes vote for an independent Scotland. Since then, in the 2015 general election, the SNP achieved unprecedented success by gaining 56 of the 59 seats at Westminster, and then only gained 35 seats in the 2017 general election. Whilst one might assume that the support given towards the Yes campaign, and later on to the SNP (especially in the 2015 general election), indicate a rise in Scottish nationalism, Curtice (2013) finds no evidence in the British Social Attitudes data of a rise of Scottish national identity prior to 2014. Nevertheless, the referendum certainly generated political, academic and popular reflections on who would be and who should be considered a Scottish citizen should Scotland become a nation-state and what Scotland is as a nation. Contemplating independence meant defining a clear citizenry in relation to an existing national identity.

Given that Scotland is not a nation-state, Scots have only been able to claim a Scottish national identity and not Scottish citizenship. In the Scottish context therefore, national identity and citizenship have never been synonymous with each other. However, the Yes campaign gave rise to the possibility of Scottish citizenship and people were then confronted with the difficulty of having to differentiate the notion of 'Scottish citizenship' from that of 'Scottish national identity'. In the 2013 paper 'Scotland's Future', the Scottish Government declared that it would be willing to award putative Scottish citizenship to anyone born in Scotland, anyone resident in Scotland and those from other backgrounds. McCrone's (2017) useful summary of what this would look like in practice points to a very inclusive approach based essentially on birthplace and residency. Indeed, the paper explicitly referred to 'an inclusive model of citizenship' (p.271), whether or not individuals defined themselves as primarily or exclusively Scottish or wished to hold a Scottish passport. It went further to rationalize this position by noting that Scottish people are used to holding multiple identities and that this inclusive model would be a cornerstone of a multicultural Scotland. Social inclusion, however, takes place not only top-down through Government, but also bottom-up through the legitimization of civic identity by the self and the other raises important questions about perceptions of the notion of citizenship in popular discourse. In this paper, we focus on the emergence of the notion of 'Scottish citizenship' in popular discourse in the lead up to the referendum. To do so, we have investigated both Scottish citizenship and Scottish national identity, as we believe that, in the Scottish context at least, it is impossible to investigate citizenship without understanding how it sits with national identity. In what follows, we will consider the notions of citizenship and national identity and the extent to which they intertwine.

Citizenship and active citizenship

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 enshrined the individual's right to a nationality, ensuring provision of nationality within the remit of nation state's internal law, as seen for instance in the European Convention on Nationality (1997). It is the means through which the individual receives full recognition under international law. In this sense, the notion of 'nationality' focuses primarily on the state's responsibility to the individual. Citizenship on the other hand, while also entailed aspects of a state-individual relationship, has also encompassed notions of civic responsibility, as far back as its beginnings in the Polis of Ancient Greece.

Broadly speaking, modern citizenship can be understood in terms of two primary

conceptualisations: the *liberal* and the *civic republican/communitarian* (Dwyer, 2010). A liberal notion of citizenship considers civil liberties as a legal framework that protects the individual against the state, and stresses the importance of individually held rights, with civic responsibilities being limited to adherence to the law and the payment of taxes due. This tradition has been associated with rather narrow views of citizenship (Leuchter, 2014). On the other hand, a republican view considers that citizens can play a part in shaping and influencing society, and emphasizes the individual's commitment and obligations to the wider community (Heater, 1999; Dwyer, 2000). Faulks' (2000) suggests that the two notions are inter-related: a framework of rights offers citizens the space to pursue their interests free from interferences, while also generating opportunities to participate in shaping common governmental institutions. Thus, citizenship is also inherently relational and entails cooperation between individuals in the running of their lives. As such, citizens not only have rights but also duties and responsibilities to the community in which they are included.

Building on this recognition of the responsibilities of citizens and their relatedness to a community, notions of citizenship in academic and policy discourse have become increasingly participatory (See AUTHOR 1 & Gayton, 2019). Ramanathan (2013) defines citizenship as "being able to participate fully" (162) viewing it as "*processual* and about becoming" (164, her emphasis). In this vein, the notion of 'active citizenship' is helpful insofar as it differs from the traditional focus on the relationship between individual and state, instead capturing the relationship between individual and society, conceiving the citizen as participant and contributor.

The concept of 'active citizenship' has yet to be clearly defined (Nelson & Kerr, 2006). Nevertheless, a working understanding of the concept is possible, drawing primarily on literature discussing active citizenship in the context of the United Kingdom, a context that shares history and social norms with Scotland. Active citizens can be understood as those who construct civil society, sustaining social solidarity through exerting influence in public life (Crick and Lockyer, 2010; Blunkett and Taylor, 2010). Active citizenship is contingent on civic participation. Ke and Starkey (2014) propose that civic participation involves citizens engaging in discussions relating to politics or public policies, while also implying community involvement, and they juxtapose the *active* citizen with the *good* citizen. While the former entails active participation in society and community, the latter suggests a level of conformity seeking to *"obey the law, be polite and well-behaved, respect individual rights, address moral virtues of care and concern for others, be good neighbours etc."* (Ke & Starkey, 2014: 52). This highlights the various degrees to which citizenship can be exercised and the distinction that can be drawn between citizenship as simply conferred and passively received, citizenship exercised as a means of supporting existing social structures and citizenship as actively constructing and shaping society. Based on results of a survey of active citizenship practices across fifteen countries, Nelson and Kerr proposed that understandings of active citizenship converge on the following points:

> "active citizenship…
> …is fundamentally about engagement and participation
> …focuses on participation in both civil and civic society
> …is increasingly framed in the context of lifelong and life wide learning
> …involves the active development of citizenship dimensions not just knowledge and understanding, but skills development and behaviours picked up through experience of participation in a range of contexts
> …includes both 'active' and 'passive' elements

> …encompasses theoretical approaches to citizenship – liberal, communitarian and civic republican- and ranges from more conformist, collective actions and behaviours to those that are more individualistic and challenge driven." (2006: iv)

It is important to acknowledge here the body of work on critical citizenship, a notion that has emerged since the 1990s in response to postmodernization and globalization. Ataç et al. (2016) detail the emergence of new conceptualisations of citizenship within this paradigm that have challenged traditional understandings of a mere holding of a legal status, offering alternatives that better account for cases where citizenship is claimed even where the legal status may not be conferred. Such reconfigurations have placed increasing focus on *acts* of citizenship as the basis for activist citizenship. Isin (2008) proposes that these acts transform traditional political ways of being by giving birth to 'activist citizens', namely the claimants of rights and responsibilities. He writes 'time and again we see that subjects that are not citizens act *as* citizens: they constitute themselves as those with 'the right to claim rights' (p.371). Critical citizenship has been a particularly powerful notion for understanding the experience of migrant refugee populations in increasingly mobile societies. While the present study does not focus on these populations, examining the extent to which perceptions of Scottish citizenship in popular discourse tend towards conferred or active citizenship provides scope for understanding the role of civic action, if not acts, in the way modern society is conceived generating insight also into the rigidity or flexibility of citizenship as commonly understood.

National identity: label versus performance

Interestingly, in the same way as 'citizenship' can be defined as a label or as active participation, two similar understandings of 'national identity' can be seen in the literature; one positing that national identity is also indeed a label, and the other one positing that national identity is a performance, something that one does. Wodak (e.g. 1999, 2009), for instance, argues that national identities, like any other identities, are shaped by the socio-political and economical contexts as well as, and sometimes primarily, by everyday social practices and more particularly discursive practices. National identities are said therefore to be performed in interaction. McCrone and Bechhofer, who have written extensively on the issue of Scottish national identity (e.g. McCrone and Bechhofer 2015, Bechhofer and McCrone 2014), have adopted a similar understanding of the notion of 'national identity', which they define as being "personal, generated and sustained in everyday social interaction" (McCrone and Bechhofer 2015: 11). Relatedly, Fox and Miller-Idriss have proposed conceptualising national identity in the light of 'everyday nationhood', which they define as being "not simply the product of macro-structural forces [but also] the practical accomplishment of ordinary people engaging in routine activities" (2008: 537). A growing body of scholars is adopting this notion of 'everyday nationhood', such as Mann and Fenton (e.g. 2017, 2009) in their research on English national identity. They note that:

> "influenced by trends in postmodernism, anthropology and the turn towards culture and discourse, there has emerged a new subfield within nationalism scholarship concerned with the discursive production and reproduction of identities and with researching nations in relation to everyday life and popular discourse" (2017: 5).

In a similar vein, we view Scottish national identity as a performance and are interested in "popular discourse". This paper focuses on investigating the notion of 'citizenship' as it is understood in popular discourse, noting also its interaction with notions of 'national identity'.

Citizenship and national identity

We have thus far presented the notions of 'citizenship' and that of 'national identity' as two distinct concepts. However, in the literature, as well as in popular discourse, these two concepts are often interwoven (see for instance the seminal work of Brubaker 1992 on Germany and France). For instance, Brettell (2011) shows how his participants draw a distinction between a rights/responsibilities aspect of citizenship and an identity aspect of citizenship. Stewart (2000) proposes that national inclusion has traditionally been determined through the granting of citizenship largely to those residing within national borders and as such nation-states and citizenship thereof, have operated as mechanisms of external territorial exclusion, while also working to internally exclude, for instance, in relation to various minority groups. In this sense citizenship signals group membership, which in itself can be considered a marker of identity. In the Scottish context, it can be argued that perceptions of whether individuals are Scottish citizens are contingent on whether they attribute Scottish identity to that person.

This interrelationship is all the more salient when we consider the cultural markers that people use to claim a particular citizenship or national identity. Interestingly, the same markers (such as place of birth, residence and language) are often used to claim either citizenship or national identity as well as to judge the claims of others. Kiely, Bechhofer and McCrone (2005: 152) argue that:

> "to contrast ethnic with civic conceptions [of the nation] is to oppose ideal types. When markers such as birth, ancestry and residence are used in practice they may not be seen as representations of either civic or ethnic identity but subtler combinations of the two."

This view might reasonably be extended to a distinction between 'national identity' and 'citizenship', where markers such as place of birth, ancestry and residence may not be seen to represent identity or citizenship, but again a subtle combination of the two. To return to the case of Scottish national identity, on the basis of evidence from the 2003 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, Bond (2006) highlights residency, birthplace and ancestry as key markers of Scottish national identity. Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee (2016) also found, however, that Polish migrants who were allowed to vote in the Scottish referendum justified this right according to residency. The exercise of this right became a means of constituting their citizenship. Residency also signaled their stake in Scottish society and its development, implying a sense of group membership. Such findings highlight the intertwining of citizenship as a legal status and citizenship as a form of identity and group membership.

Existing research suggests that the degree to which self-identification is reciprocated by others largely depends on the weight given by those others to diverse membership criteria (Jenkins, 1996). Hussain and Miller (2006) reported that Scottish-born survey respondents were more likely to affirm ethnic factors over civic factors in determining group membership and social identity. This was also true in McCrone and Bechhofer's (2010) study where data from the British and Scottish Social Attitudes Survey indicated that national identity, distinct from citizenship, was seen to involve cultural markers of birth ancestry and residency, as well as accent. Furthermore, Hopkins et al. (2015) reported that their undergraduate Psychology students were more likely to accept claims of Scottish identity if these were presented in terms of birth and ancestry than subjective self-identification. Importantly, this differential acceptance also affected the claimant's capacity to be heard as a member of the community.

Notions of identity and citizenship in popular discourse are essential in understanding the mechanisms that contribute towards or hinder social cohesion. Thus, the aim of the present study

was to examine the emerging notion of 'Scottish citizenship', as a new concept in popular discourse, and its interplay with ideas of 'Scottish identity'. In doing this we explored also the factors that respondents believed should determine whether they should be considered Scottish citizens and those they believed should determine whether others should be thus considered.

Methods
Cases
We identified 8 collaborators for this study, responsible for providing a short personal account of their life trajectory, incorporating factors recognized by previous studies to be instrumental in legitimizing one's own and others' claims to national citizenship and identity (e.g. Bond, 2006; McCrone & Bechhofer, 2010). These factors included, but were not restricted to, residency, ancestry, schooling and degree of accent. For the sake of authenticity, the eight collaborators wrote their own personal accounts, which we henceforth refer to as cases, referring to the four factors and adding details they considered relevant. This approach enabled the cases to be presented as a complex gestalt of factors that come together to constitute citizenship and identity. We believe that this reflects the way in which we process information about individuals and evaluate claims to citizenship and identity. Furthermore, this approach, rather than the linear and stepwise incremental model adopted in previous studies (e.g. McCrone & Bechhofer, 2010), was deemed more reflective of the complexity of identity and citizenship.

When choosing our 8 collaborators, we sought to include first- and second-generation migrants as well as a variety of ethnic backgrounds to represent the diverse ethno-linguistic landscape of Scotland. The first case was born and brought up in Scotland by Scottish parents and currently lives in Scotland. Our second collaborator reports to have been born and brought up in England by English and Welsh parents and to have lived in Scotland for the past twenty years. Our third collaborator was born in France of French parents and was brought up in France and Saudi Arabia. They have been living in Scotland for the past eight years and report that they have picked up "some Scottish tonalities and expressions". Our fourth collaborator was born and brought up in India by Indian parents. They moved to Scotland eleven years ago and have now a family. They write that they do not think they sound Scottish. Our fifth collaborator writes that they were born and raised in Scotland by English parents and that they have a "posh Aberdeen" accent. Our sixth collaborator was born in Scotland from a Scottish father and a German mother. They were attending a primary school in Scotland at the time of the study and thought they did not sound Scottish. Our seventh collaborator was born in Edinburgh of Chinese parents from Singapore and Hong Kong. They spent their early years in Singapore and were then schooled in Scotland. They travelled a lot since then and reported a "light" Scottish accent. Our last collaborator was born in Denmark from a Danish mother and a Scottish father. They went to school and university in Scotland but now live in Germany. They report having a "very mild Scottish accent". These eight collaborators did not participate in the survey.

Survey
These eight cases served as stimulus for an online survey we designed for the purpose of this study. The first part of the survey required respondents to read through each of the eight cases, indicating whether they considered the person (1) was Scottish and (2) should be considered a Scottish citizenship in the event of Scottish independence. At the end of each case, respondents were invited to write a comment to justify their answer. The second part of the survey asked for information on respondents' nationality, length of residency in Scotland and intention to remain, as well as how

they would describe their accent. Survey respondents were also asked whether they considered themselves to be Scottish and why and which factors they thought should be taken into account in determining Scottish citizenship in the event of Scottish independence.

This survey provided an opportunity to understand the extent to which Scottish citizenship might be viewed similarly or differently from Scottish identity. Significantly, it was conducted before the UK-EU referendum, at a time when the status of EU citizens in Scotland was more defined and arguably more secure. It would undoubtedly be interesting to see what results the survey might yield if conducted again in a post-Brexit context.

Respondents

Survey data was gathered from 137 respondents recruited through purposive snowball sampling. Given that the study sought to recruit a diverse sample of respondents who would yield a range of insights into the phenomenon, and in light of the limited resources available, respondents were recruited through the social media platform Facebook, aligning with an increasing shift in social science research towards recruiting respondents in this way (Rife et al., 2016; Weiner et al., 2017). Beyond enabling recruitment of respondents beyond the immediate circle of the researchers, a further advantage of using this platform is the anonymity that respondents can have in completing the survey that would not be possible through face-to-face data collection (Kosinski et al., 2015). A link was created for the survey, using the Bristol Online Survey platform, and this link was posted on the researchers' Facebook pages. The link was also sent individually to all those within the researchers' network who were resident in Scotland. The recipients were encouraged to share the link on their own Facebook page and through their own networks. Considering the profiles of the respondents, it was clear that the survey had reached beyond the researchers' immediate network. Respondents who clicked on the Facebook link were redirected to the survey.

The survey recruited 163 respondents. Since the focus was on how the concept of citizenship emerges within a society actively contemplating on questions of citizenship in a referendum context, 26 respondents who were not resident in Scotland were excluded, leaving a total of 137 respondents.

Notwithstanding the potential of social media platforms for recruiting respondents who might otherwise be difficult to access, there are also limitations. Perhaps the most obvious of these is that the first respondents are likely to affect the composition of the sample disproportionately, given that people tend to interact with those who are similar to themselves.

Of the 137 respondents, 42.3 per cent were male and 57.7 per cent female. 17.5 per cent of respondents were aged 21-30; 46 per cent were 31-40; 23.4 per cent were 41-50; 7.3 per cent were aged 51-60 and 5.8 per cent were aged 61-70. Notably, almost half of the respondents belonged to the 31-40 age bracket. Evidence suggests that the largest age group on Facebook in the United Kingdom is the 25-34 bracket at 26%, with the 35-44 bracket the next most represented at 19%. Thus, the representation within the sample could be reflective of this distribution, as well as of the fact that this was the bracket the researchers fell into. Thus, the findings should be interpreted with caution, noting that the study does not claim to report a representative sample, but rather to yield unique insights into the phenomenon that open the way to future further investigation.

Analysis

Closed survey questions were analysed using descriptive procedures to generate frequencies and summary statistics that provided an overview of respondents' demographic characteristics and their perceptions of their own and others' citizenship and identity.

Open-ended questions provided opportunities for respondents to elaborate on their responses. Data generated by these questions was analysed using Miles, Huberman and Saldaña's (2014) stages for generating meaning from qualitative data. These stages entail counting frequencies of occurrences, noting patterns, using informed intuition to examine plausibility, and clustering data into categories, types and classifications. This first stage was a two-step process, the first step being guided by the survey questions and the second by the research questions. Iterative analysis and re-analysis led to identification of codes and categories. In line with Saldaña's (2013) approach, analytic reflection on the codes and categories in the context of the existing literature enabled thematization, reflecting previous literature, for instance the role of traditional markers previously identified in the literature, but also allowed for emergence of new themes, such as the emergence of active civic participation in popular discourse. Excerpts presented in this paper were seen to have a representative capacity to illustrate themes that emerged through analysis.

Findings

The respondents

At the time of the survey, all respondents were living in Scotland. The survey asked respondents to state whether they considered themselves Scottish. Responses are shown in table 1.

Table 1: Responses to the question 'Do you consider yourself Scottish?'

	% (N)
Yes	74.5 (102)
Most of the time	7.3 (10)
A lot of the time	2.9 (4)
Some of the time	11.7 (16)
Not very often	3.6 (5)
Rarely	0
No	0
Don't know	0

It is interesting to note that, although some of the respondents were not born in Scotland (see table two), all respondents indicated feeling Scottish at least some of the time. Specifically, almost 75 per cent of respondents considered themselves Scottish, while the remaining 25 per cent felt Scottish at least some of the time. As is supported by further discussion of the findings, this in itself is an initial indicator that an individual's propensity to identify as Scottish is not necessarily tied to birthplace.

Respondents were also asked to state their nationality and their country of birth, allowing for exploration of possible distinctions between identity and citizenship. The spread of nationalities and the distribution of country of birth can be seen in table 2. The comparison between responses to these two items suggests generally an overlap between nationality and country of birth. 67.9% of respondents were born in Scotland and 18.9 per cent claimed Scottish nationality. This is interesting given that Scotland is not a nation-state and Scottish nationality does not exist in any official legal capacity. Indeed, two respondents born in England and one in the USA also claimed Scottish nationality. Such findings suggest a complex interplay between identity and nationality, pointing to citizenship conceptualisations in popular discourse beyond legal categories and indicating a possible sense in which popular discourse seeks to generate and create identification.

Table 2: Nationality and country of birth as identified by survey respondents

	Nationality		Country of Birth	
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Australia	0	0	3	2.2
England	1	0.7	24	17.5
France	2	1.5	2	1.5
Greece	1	0.7	1	0.7
Hong Kong	0	0	1	0.7
India	1	0.7	1	0.7
Ireland	1	0.7	0	0
Italy (also Vatican City)	1	0.7	1	0.7
Netherlands (Holland)	0	0	1	0.7
New Zealand	0	0	1	0.7
Northern Ireland	0	0	3	2.2
Scotland	27	18.9	93	67.9
Singapore	1	0.7	0	0
Syria	1	0.7	1	0.7
United Kingdom	99	72.2	0	0
United States	2	1.5	4	2.9
Zimbabwe	0	0	1	0.7
Total	137	100.0	137	100.0

English/Scottish Antinomy

Data pointed to interplay between Scottish, English and British identity, particularly highlighting antinomy between Scottish and English identity, which seemed at times to strengthen their sense of Scottish identity:

[I consider myself Scottish] only when debating with English people. (P5503) [1]

And at other times to challenge it:

I consider myself British. In some ways, living in Scotland has made me feel less Scottish as I cannot identify with a sense of 'not English' which seems to be key to Scottishness. (P5570)

Scottish is my strongest nationality, because it is the one I have the most connections to. But I don't identify with a lot of the icons of Scottish culture that are prevalent in the media... I also find antagonism towards England very unnecessary and unpleasant. (P5642)

There was apparent dissonance between what respondents believed it meant for them to be Scottish and how they felt Scottish identity emerged in public discourse. This is particularly evident in the quote from respondent P5642 as she explains her sense of Scottishness in terms of her connections, while juxtaposing this with feeling removed from the media's portrayal of

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[1] Respondent identifiers are preserved as allocated by Bristol Online Survey in order to enable any necessary follow-up.

Scottish culture, as well as the anti-English sentiments she sees as associated with a Scottish group identity. Also implied in the responses was a tension between Scottish and English identity and pressure to align with one or the other. This was well illustrated by the following comment in relation to the identity of case five (born and brought up in Scotland, but to English parents):

Ethnically the person isn't Scottish, but the individual was born, raised and lived all his life here… I guess it depends on whether you see him as being raised as a Scot and amongst a Scottish community with its culture. However, he could also be raised by his English parents to be averse to Scottish culture and identity and hold onto his English one and may potentially be even negative and unaccepting of Scottish customs or culture that is deemed alien to his family or ethnic origins… (P5563)

The comment underlines the perceived tension between English and Scottish identity, as well as pointing to a nuanced understanding of residency as a marker. As seen in the data above, some respondents chose to view themselves as British indicating that this identity allowed them to express personal affiliations to both Scotland and England. Presenting themselves as 'British' seemed to offer these respondents a less contentious third space in which to more fully express their identity, and avoiding the tension they perceived between English and Scottish identities. This was particularly evident in the five respondents who indicated they did not often feel Scottish. These respondents had all spent most of their school years in England and while they indicated that they would consider themselves 'Scottish' rather than 'English' if required to choose, they also indicated that identifying as 'British' allowed them to more fully express their identity as they saw it.

Notwithstanding the uneasiness expressed in having to choose between Scottish and English identity, this tension seemed to be swiftly clarified in relation to sporting loyalties:

[I consider myself Scottish] when watching the rugby. (P5687)

I can't imagine supporting any team but Scotland in the 6 Nations! I would say I'm now Scottish but come from a British family- Scottish mother, Yorkshire father, Welsh cousins, grew up in London. (P5616)

[I consider myself Scottish]: I would always support a Scottish sports team ahead of any other followed by any other Celtic team… (P5586)

The role of sports in promoting a sense of identity is highlighted by Weedon (2011) as a form of cultural provision for widening ethnocentric horizons. However, while Weedon cites sports initiatives intended to promote more inclusive society, the role of sports in our findings seems to be one of delineating group boundaries.

Ancestry, Birthplace and Residency

In reading through the eight cases, respondents were asked to state whether they perceived the cases (i) were Scottish and (ii) should be considered Scottish citizens, in the event of Scottish independence. Table 3 shows the responses to the cases. It is notable that a perception of someone as Scottish was not necessarily coupled with a belief that the same individual should be considered

for Scottish citizenship. There was a more evident distinction in the way respondents viewed Scottish identity and Scottish citizenship of others, though this distinction was less clear-cut when they reflected on themselves.

Table 3: Perceptions of Scottishness and entitlement to Scottish citizenship

		% of positive responses
Case 1: Third generation Scottish	Scottish	98.5
	Entitled to Scottish citizenship	100
Case 2: First generation English migrant	Scottish	21.2
	Entitled to Scottish citizenship	90.5
Case 3: First generation European migrant	Scottish	8.8
	Entitled to Scottish citizenship	64.2
Case 4: First generation non-European migrant	Scottish	10.2
	Entitled to Scottish citizenship	83.9
Case 5: Second generation English migrant	Scottish	94.2
	Entitled to Scottish citizenship	99.3
Case 6: Second generation European migrant	Scottish	99.3
	Entitled to Scottish citizenship	99.3
Case 7: Second generation non-European migrant	Scottish	89.1
	Entitled to Scottish citizenship	92
Case 8: Expatriate	Scottish	56.9
	Entitled to Scottish citizenship	54

Unlike McCrone and Bechhofer (2010), the present study did not find accent to be a salient factor in respondents' notions of Scottish identity, despite the fact that the survey made explicit mention of this marker. However, echoing previous findings (e.g. Hopkins et al., 2015; Hussain and Miller, 2006; McCrone and Bechhofer, 2010), respondents did consider ancestry and occasionally birthplace as key markers of Scottish identity, while Scottish citizenship seemed more dependent on a period of residency in Scotland. While case one was unanimously agreed to be of Scottish identity and considered eligible for Scottish citizenship, case two more clearly highlighted the distinction respondents drew between identity and citizenship. In this case, neither the individual nor their parents were born in Scotland, but the collaborator had spent over half their life, twenty years, in Scotland. The lack of Scottish ancestry and birthplace markers seemed to be a barrier to Scottish identity, with only 21.2 per cent of respondents considering the individual as Scottish. However, 90.5 per cent felt the case should be considered a Scottish citizen with qualitative responses suggesting residency as the determining factor.

The significance of ancestry and residency emerged further in the responses to case three, who had been living in Scotland for eight years at the time of the survey and had been integrating

in Scottish society and engaging with Scottish culture during their time in Scotland. Born in France, to French parents, this individual was educated in France and had worked in France prior to moving to Scotland. Only 8.8% of respondents perceived the individual as Scottish, suggesting again that the lack of a Scottish ancestry and birthplace were to be a barrier for being perceived as Scottish. The individual's claims to active participation in Scottish society seemed to add little in this regard. On the other hand, 64.2 per cent believed the individual should be considered a Scottish citizen and again, the qualitative responses suggested that this was on the basis of their residency.

The data indicated that respondents used ancestry and birthplace as markers of Scottish identity, and residency as a marker of Scottish citizenship. This was particularly clear in cases four, five and six. Case four was born in India, to Indian parents and educated in India, having been resident in Scotland for eleven years, now with his wife and children. While only 10.2 per cent of respondents perceived the individual as Scottish, 83.9 per cent felt he should be considered a Scottish citizenship, again pointing to the importance of length of stay, with qualitative comments such as, *'on grounds of long* residency'; *'resident for over seven* years'; *'anyone living more than 3 years should get some citizenship'.* The qualitative comments also pointed to the assumption that his family status indicated an intention to establish himself in Scotland, though no such indication was given by the individual.

The comparison between cases five and six helps also to highlight this differentiation between identity and citizenship on the basis of ancestry, and residency. Case five was born in Scotland to English parents, and had lived the majority of their life in Scotland, while case six had a shorter period of residency and one Scottish parent. While almost all respondents (99.3 per cent) believed both cases should be considered Scottish citizens, Scottish identity was attributed by a slightly larger majority to case six than to case five, suggesting the significance of ancestry in perceptions of identity.

In line with previous findings (e.g. Bond, 2006), these findings suggest that ancestry and birthplace continue to be considered as key markers of Scottish identity. Yet, Scottish identity as perceived by respondents seemed a more defined and static concept than previously suggested, for instance by McCrone and Bechhofer (2015). As in previous studies (e.g. Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee, 2016), residency emerged as a key marker of citizenship entitlement. Instead, there seemed to be more flexibility in the notion of Scottish citizenship, with the implication that individuals could access citizenship through a commitment to Scotland demonstrated by a period of residency. Indeed in responding to several of the cases, there was evidence that respondents were not only concerned with past residency, but also with an intention to remain further. Specifically respondents suggested individuals should be considered Scottish citizens *'If they intend to stay'* (P5539) and *'If they choose to live here'.* The notion of a commitment to Scotland emerged further through the data and is discussed in greater detail below.

Respondents were aware that residency as a determinant of citizenship presents certain challenges. The juxtaposition of case two, resident for twenty years and case three, resident for eight, prompted some respondents to comment on the challenges of determining what constitutes a sufficient residency period:

I think we need some cut off point in terms of the length of time a foreign national has lived here and to some degree this is arbitrary... (P5512)

I wonder what an appropriate cut off date is for the length of time living in the country. If it was 10 years this person would just miss out... (P5506)

Furthermore, qualitative comments throughout the survey indicated that residency was in fact being used as an indicator of a commitment to society and an emphasis not only on civic rights but also on responsibilities:

...they should not be voting on issues to do with Scotland if they are living in Germany at the time. (P5660)

... not being born here and not living here possibly outweigh Scottish dad and education for me in the citizenship question. If you want citizenship of a new nation, show commitment and live there. (P5669)

Such qualitative comments suggested that residency was viewed as more than a marker, acting instead as a proxy for the individual's commitment to the country and their intention to contribute to the society. Indeed, while qualitative comments acknowledged the seeming arbitrariness of residency requirements insofar as the length is concerned, the emphasis on this criterion seemed to stem from a belief that mere residency is not the focus, rather residency represents something else. For instance one respondent who coupled residency with investment in Scotland:

'Living 20 years in a country definitely entitles you to citizenship. They have invested A LOT into Scotland' (P5697) (Respondent's emphasis)

Or another who drew a similar relationship in considering their own Scottish citizenship:

'I have lived here for half my life, have a Scottish mother and have contributed hugely to Scotland as a teacher.' (P5570)

Such understandings more closely align with conceptualisations of active citizenship, whereby being a citizen is not a status conferred but an enactment of active participation in and contribution to political and social structures echoing Ramanathan's (2013) processual and fully participatory view of citizenship. The reference to *'a new nation'* from respondent P5669 seems to highlight the particular significance of such commitment and contribution to the project of an emerging nation in the process of creation.

Scottish citizenship – Salient factors

Respondents' perceptions of Scottish citizenship were explored through four means: the first was through the responses to the cases presented above. Respondents were then asked whether they believed they should be considered Scottish citizens and on what grounds; they were asked what they believed Scottish citizenship was about; and finally, whether there should be specific requirements for determining Scottish citizenship in the event of Scottish independence and what those requirements might be. The responses to the questions are shown in table 4.

Table 4: Participants perceptions of Scottish citizenship criteria

Survey Question		**%**
Should Scotland become	*Yes*	97.1

independent, do you think you should be entitled to Scottish citizenship?	No	1.5
	Don't know	1.5
Factors identified	*Residency*	*23.1*
	Ancestry	*9.8*
	Birthplace	*6.7*
	Contribution to society	*4*
	By virtue of UK citizenship	*4*
	A personal connection to Scotland	*3.6*
	No factors provided	*48.8*
Is Scottish citizenship about…	Ancestry	63.5
	Social participation	61.3
	Responsibilities	55.5
	The way you feel	61.3
	Rights	50.4
	Political participation	27.7
	Other: Residency	8.9
	Other: Birth	3.6
Should Scotland become independent, do you think there should be certain requirements for becoming a Scottish citizen?	*Yes*	97.1
	No	1.5
	Don't know	1.5
Factors identified	*Residency*	*47.9*
	Contribution to society	*22*
	Birthplace	*18.4*
	Ancestry	*17*
	Desire to be Scottish	*4.3*
	Language	*4.4*
	Cultural affiliation	*3.6*
	By virtue of UK citizenship	*3.1*
	Shared values	*2.7*
	Place of education	*1.8*
	No factors provided	*23.36*

Note: Percentages are given as a proportion of the whole sample of 137.

When asked what they believed Scottish citizenship to be about, respondents were given examples to choose from and were also guided to provide any other criteria they believed relevant. In this sense they were able to choose more than one factor and this is reflected in the numbers shown in table four. Just over 60 per cent of respondents felt that ancestry constituted a key component of Scottish citizenship, conforming with established markers of citizenship (Bond, 2006). It was interesting to note, however, that this was closely followed by social participation (61.3 per cent) a 'feeling' of being Scottish (61.3 per cent) and responsibilities (55.5 per cent).

This was broadly supported by the qualitative responses, where social participation was referred to through comments such as:

I believe it's about your choice of place to live, work, raise children etc. If you live here and participate in community life, local economy etc you should have the rights associated with citizenship. (P5665)

I believe that it is a love of this country, a home/business/established life here, friends and family, participation, and so forth. (P5683)

Feeling that you have settled and belong in Scotland; having a love and concern for Scotland the country and its people. Caring about it; being within its law and participating in life here. (P5717)

And the role of responsibilities was manifest in responses such as:

Desire to contribute to the furtherance of the social and economic growth of the country. (P5612)

Being a Citizen consists of the rights and responsibilities of where you are a resident. (P5628)

It is living and working here and contributing to the common good of our country and community. (P5674)

The prominent place of social participation and responsibilities within these criteria aligns with the concept of 'active citizenship'; citizenship as a social practice rather than in relation to the political or geographical state. It is true that the specific word 'responsibility' was used by the researchers in the survey and was not only used rarely by the respondents (e.g. P5628 cited above). However, ideas relating to a contribution to the country for the common good and for social and economic development, ideas raised by a number of respondents, could be considered as stemming from a notion of responsibility. Indeed, the responses above and others like them did not seem to offer scope for an element of choice, but rather that a sine qua non of Scottish citizenship. Residency was ranked low on this scale, with only 8.9 per cent feeling that this was a significant component of Scottish citizenship, suggesting that the more important component of citizenship is a commitment to the society.

In considering specific requirements that should be made of those wishing to access Scottish citizenship, responses conformed to patterns observed in previous studies, noting residency as a key marker, though once again a contribution to society, cited by 22 per cent of respondents, emerged as more important than ancestry and birthplace. In considering their own citizenship, 97.1% of respondents believed they should be considered Scottish citizens, in the event of Scottish independence, while only two said no and another two said they did not know. Forty-eight per cent of respondents provided no further explanation, but twenty-three per cent indicated residency as a key determinant of their own citizenship, while almost ten per cent identified ancestry and just under seven per cent identified birthplace as markers of their citizenship. Only 4 per cent of respondents suggested that contributing to society should be a factor determining their own Scottish citizenship. Through the qualitative comments, respondents once again pointed to an

association between residency and a commitment to society, suggesting that determining citizenship should be on the basis of, for instance: *'length of time in the country showing commitment in whatever way you can'* (P5570), *'permanent residency and contributing tax payer'* (5581), *'be living and participating in the country and have been for a certain period of* time' (P5660), or *'how long you have lived in and contributed to Scottish society'* (P5657) and *'living in the country, voting, paying taxes'* (5661).

Discussion

A key aim of our study was to explore 'citizenship' as an emergent concept in popular discourse. To do so, we focused on the case of Scotland, and considered also associated notions of 'Scottish identity'. The context of the Scottish referendum was viewed as a time of particular socio-historical import within which to examine this phenomenon.

Our findings highlighted both convergence and divergence in popular notions of Scottish citizenship and Scottish identity. Previous literature has identified residency, ancestry and birthplace as key markers of national identity (e.g. Bond, 2006; McCrone and Bechhofer, 2010). It was interesting to note that participants' claims to national identity seemed to provide them a means through which to define their own inclusion and exclusion in certain groupings. Thus, while some identified as Scottish in order to distinguish themselves from 'English', others used chose to identify themselves as 'British' in order to distance themselves from the Scottish/English antinomy. These antinomies are not unexpected in the case of Scotland, given the long and often acrimonious history between England and Scotland, as well as more recent political differences, manifesting for instance in relation to the decision to leave the European Union. This multi-faceted nature of relational citizenship merits further investigation to understand the contexts and factors that mediate self-imposed inclusion and exclusion and the way this may interact with criteria applied to the inclusion and exclusion of others.

Qualitative data in the present study reflected previous findings, supporting ancestry and birthplace as particularly significant in legitimizing Scottish identity and pointing to a tendency towards ethnic rather than civic factors in accepting others' self-identification as Scottish (Hussain and Miller, 2006; Hopkins et al., 2015). While these ethnic factors were also seen as markers of Scottish citizenship, both in the quantitative and the qualitative data residency emerged as a more salient factor in determining the legitimacy of citizenship claims, aligning with previous similar discussions (Piętka-Nykaza & McGhee, 2016). Further detailed exploration of the qualitative data suggested that residency might signal a commitment to the society; a decision to stay in Scotland for a given time was considered to indicate a willingness to participate in and contribute to Scottish society. Indeed, many respondents clarified that residency that qualifies individuals for Scottish citizenship should entail some form of social contribution, for instance taking up employment, paying taxes and participating in social and political aspects of society. These requirements aligned closely with respondents' views on what it means to be a Scottish citizen, where the most salient aspects to emerge were social participation and a set of responsibilities. Participation seemed primarily to be associated with traditional 'sites of contestation', to use Isin's (2008) term, such as paying taxes and voting in elections, than with new sites of social and political struggle. Though this would seem to suggest that a popular view of citizenship in more traditional terms, it is also important to note that the eight cases presented to respondents all had associations with contexts of some proximity to Scotland, either through membership of the European Union or, in the cases of India and Hong Kong, through historical relations with the United Kingdom. Further research might usefully explore whether cases associated, for instance, with refugee sending countries for whom new sites of contestation may be crucial to claiming citizenship, would provoke respondents

towards critical notions of citizenship, particularly where participation and the uptake of responsibilities through traditional structures may not be possible.

The findings of the present study seem to point to a conceptualisation of citizenship in popular discourse that encompasses both status and practice and emphasizes the latter more strongly. This view echoes notions of the active citizen who participates in and contributes to society and social cohesion (Nelson & Kerr, 2006). In 1998, Hall et al. argued that the sense of citizenship among the general population carried only so far as understanding their relationship with the state, positing instead that young people were most active in negotiating emergent social identities. They went further to suggest that citizenship largely involved no aspect of negotiation. Debate around the notion of citizenship has witnessed the re-emergence of notions of the 'good' (Heater, 1990) and the 'active' citizen (Crick, 2000), in response to global shifts that necessitate greater social participation in order to afford democratic legitimacy (Ke & Starkey, 2014). Yet, within these academic discussions the voice of ordinary people has been notable by its absence. Our study provides a lens through which to hear those voices. Surveying notions of citizenship in popular discourse, our study suggests that public discourse is challenging understandings of citizenship that centre on a relationship between the individual and the state. Instead, the evidence points to negotiated understandings based on active participation and a relationship between the individual and society. It appears that for our respondents, being considered a Scottish citizen would require more than a basic respect for the law, paying ones taxes and 'keeping one's nose clean' (Crick, 2000, p.89). Instead the Scottish citizen that emerges from the study is one who actively contributes to Scottish society, aligning with communitarian or civic republic notions of citizenship above liberal ones (Crick, 2000). Rather than viewing citizenship as a legal framework for the purposes of protecting the individual against the state, the emerging notion of Scottish citizenship seems to be one through which citizens play a part in shaping and influencing society. Thus, the emphasis is on individuals' commitment and responsibility to the community, rather than on individually held rights (Heater, 1999; Dwyer, 2000). Whether this is particularly true of contexts, such as Scotland, where debates around the notion of independence create a greater sense of the need for all individuals to play their part in order for such a project to succeed, or whether this notion of citizenship is a sign of the times would merit further investigation, having important implications for how we understand the relationships between government, institutions, the society and the individual.

As might be expected, the notion of Scottish citizenship emergent in our study shared some common ground with notions of Scottish identity, illustrating the widely acknowledged difficulty in teasing apart these two concepts. Nevertheless, there was an important distinction in terms of the fluidity of the notions. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) express concern that 'strong' versions of identity, which they see as representing a durable sense of selfhood are being replaced by what they refer to as 'weak' versions that are fluid, impermanent, complex and contextual. Indeed, Jamieson (2002) refers to an increasing tendency in the literature to refer to identity as a resource that people *use* or something that they *do,* rather than attributes people *have* or *are.* Yet our findings suggested that while citizenship was viewed largely as a result of what one does and the choices one makes, the prominence of birthplace and ancestry in respondent's responses when asked to determine the identity of the cases is suggestive of a conceptualization of identity as label rather performance (Wodak, 2009). Notions of everyday nationhood have gained increasing support in the literature where national identity is considered not only a result of macro-structural forces, but also of the *practices* of ordinary people (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Mann & Fenton, 2017). Yet, such an understanding of Scottish identity was not reflected among our respondents, who seemed instead to perceive it primarily as a result of birthplace and ancestry, factors over which the

individual has no control. This notion of national identity seems to be non-agentic and pre-determined rather than fluid and co-constructed.

The significance of social contribution was less salient when respondents were asked to comment on their own Scottish citizenship. This particular finding should be interpreted with caution, since only a small proportion of respondents provided justifications for their own entitlement. Indeed, it is interesting that respondents had more to say about what should be required of others than of themselves. Nevertheless, the alignment between criteria for others and themselves point to a converging view of Scottish citizenship rooted in notions of co-constructed society. Understanding the relationship between the ways in which group membership for oneself and for others is perceived could generate interesting insights into the factors that play into social cohesion in a rapidly changing global context.

The findings of this study provide unique and important insights into the emerging notions of citizenship in a modern nation considering its future as a nation-state. The importance of public support for legitimizing democratic endeavours has been well-documented and is clearly evident in the case of the European Union where the lack of such public support has contributed to the weakening of the relationship between the EU and the United Kingdom. The unique context of the Scottish referendum has allowed the present study to generate sociologically useful insights into the ways citizenship is envisaged within popular discourse at a time when everything is open to discussion. Importantly, however, the findings point also to the practical need for clear structures and resources that encourage and promote social participation and responsibility. At a time when geographical mobility is higher than it has been for decades and where access to citizenship is keenly contested in the face of mass migration, clear opportunities for social and political participation may offer a clear means through which individuals can legitimate their claims to citizenship both to themselves and to others. While citizenship in terms of the relationship between the individual and the state may continue to be defined in terms of birthplace, ancestry and residency, our study clearly suggests that perceptions of citizenship in popular discourse go beyond that and are concerned first and foremost with the relationship between individuals and the society. It is at this level that social cohesion depends on social forms of legitimization.

While the scope of the present study did not allow for further exploration of the discrepancy between the criteria respondents set for their own Scottish citizenship compared to those they set for the eight case studies, future research might fruitfully qualitatively explore the underlying factors that contribute to these different standards, perhaps exploring further notions of identity both in relation to the self and the 'other' and the ways these notions interact with civic expectations. Furthermore, the nature of the relationship between residency, responsibility and active participation or investment in the society or economy that seemed to emerge through respondents' notions of citizenship also merits further investigation, yielding insight into salience and overlap between these factors.

Qualitative approaches would allow not only for a more organic exploration of perceptions of self and other in relation to citizenship, but also for exploring the dynamic and complex interplay of factors, beliefs and perhaps experiences that contribute to these discrepancies. In this regard, narrative approaches that explore not only the individual's own experiences and perceptions but also their family histories has the potential to contribute richly to understanding the roots, causes, and manifestations of relational notions of citizenship.

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