The value of citizenship in a British Overseas Territory

Formal and substantive British citizenship in Montserrat

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Abstract
This thesis takes part in the discussion of the of citizenship and what it means to be a citizen within the social aspects. In 2002, The British Overseas Act conferred British citizenship to Montserratians and other British Overseas Territories Citizens. The scope of the study is to study formal and substantive citizenship for Montserratians as British citizens. The overarching research question is to what extent citizens of Montserrat enjoy formal and substantive citizenship as part of a British Overseas Territory. This is divided into following research questions:

1) How do the Montserratians perceive the value of their British substantive citizenship and status as British Overseas Territory?
2) What views are there on the partnership between the United Kingdom and Montserrat in relation to the British citizenship?

By using Reiter’s (2013) arguments of citizenship as a relational asset and citizenship as a social role, a case study with field studies and qualitative interviews were conducted in Montserrat to explore the issues of citizenship. Results show distinctions between formal access and perception of access to services such as passport, healthcare and education. The results also point to Montserratian not enjoying substantive British citizenship, with tensions in the political system and lack of representation.

Key words
British Overseas Territory, Citizenship, Formal citizenship, Identity, International relations, Montserrat, Partnership, Substantive citizenship, United Kingdom
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Abbreviations

BOT – British Overseas Territories
BOTC – British Overseas Territories Citizen
Brexit – British withdrawal from the European Union
BVI – British Virgin Islands
Caricom – Caribbean Community
DH – Department for Health
DfID – Department for International Development
EEA – European Economic Area
EU – European Union
FAC – Foreign Affairs Committee
FCO – Foreign and Commonwealth Office
JMC – Overseas Territories Joint Ministerial Council
NHS – UK National Health Service
ODA – Official Development Assistance
OECD – Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECS – Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States
TCI – Turks and Caicos Islands
UK – United Kingdom
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1 Introduction

Until the 1990s, little was discussed about the notion of citizenship outside political science courses at universities as it was considered “normal” to be a citizen in a democracy (Castles & Davidson 2000: 1). A citizen within a nation-state would have the rights to vote, run for political office and to different government services as well as the obligation to “obey the laws, to pay taxes and – in extreme situations – to defend one’s country” (Castles & Davidson 2000:1). The discussion and interest, however, in citizenship and its importance is not new, as Aristotle also wrote about the rights and duties that come with citizenship in Ancient Greece (Barbalet 1989: 2).

Citizenship can be defined in several ways. S. Castles and A. Davidson define citizenship as “the integration of all inhabitants of a territory into the political community, and their political equality as citizens” and argue that few nations actually reach up to these criteria (2000:2-3). Another famous definition is T.H. Marshall’s in which citizenship is described as “a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed (Reiter 2013:24).

It can be discussed what “political equality and “full member” in these definitions entail as there are distinctions between formal and substantive citizenship. Formal citizenship focuses on the legal aspects whereas substantive citizenship focuses on social aspects. B. Reiter proposes two different dimensions on substantive citizenship; as a social role and as a relational asset (2013:24-26). This means that citizens within a nation-state may not enjoy their citizenship to the same extent. Another difficulty is to lock citizenship entirely on a single nation-state. A clear example is the European
citizenship for citizens within the European Union or Commonwealth citizens within the Commonwealth of Nations\textsuperscript{1}.

Looking at the Commonwealth as an example, many being former colonies of the British Empire, their citizens still have a connection to the United Kingdom (UK). Today there are still remnants from the British colonial times, such as the British Overseas Territories (BOT) whose citizens also enjoy British citizenship (British Overseas Act 2002). In this, “membership” in the United Kingdom may have a different meaning for its citizens scattered around the world. This raises possibilities to study issues of both formal and substantive citizenship and what it means in these circumstances.

This thesis explores one such BOT and the substantive citizenship of its citizens as British subjects in order to further discuss the institution of citizenship and its meaning for the holder. Another perspective explored is the relationship between the specific BOT and the UK. The study also discusses what effects the view on citizenship could have on the political system and international relations.

Montserrat is a small island of now roughly 5,000 inhabitants and is situated in the Caribbean Sea. The development of the island became deeply affected by volcanic eruptions from 1995 and onwards that had devastating consequences. This resulted in two-thirds of the population fleeing the island and seek refuge. The island became a melting pot of different perspectives on citizenship with immigration from other Caribbean countries. Montserrat also became dependent on financial aid from the UK (Henriksson 2018: 12-13). This could put tensions on the views on citizenship and the partnership

\textsuperscript{1} Simply known as the Commonwealth, an intergovernmental organisation with member states, most of which are former territories of the British Empire.
between the UK and Montserrat. The crisis in turn was listed as one of the reasons to give full British membership to all of the British Overseas Territories in the *Partnership for Progress and Prosperity* White Paper (FCO 1999:8).

1.1 The issue of citizenship on Montserrat

However, concerning the citizenship issue for Montserrat there are several interesting aspects in terms of what citizenship means. First, while Montserrat is an autonomous territory, it is not independent. The country issues its own passport while (most of) its citizens have British citizenship and access to a British passport. In the Passport Index (2018), which measures “passport power” by visa requirements, Montserrat’s passport is not mentioned, nor is any other BOT, while the United Kingdom’s global rank is 5. Second, Montserrat as an autonomous territory induces a “nation-state within the nation-state”, which further strengthens the interest in exploring the British citizenship at Montserrat. A third aspect is the BOT’s unique situation and remote distance from the mainland UK, making it interesting to explore what the British citizenship means for the Montserratians and how they see themselves as British citizens.

Furthermore, the UK Parliament’s Foreign Affairs Committee (FAC) announced in July 2018 to oversee the Foreign and Commonwealth’s Office’s (FCO) responsibility and the future relationship with the Overseas Territories with an inquiry (UK Parliament 2018). This induces a need for a deeper look at the partnership and how views on citizenship can affect the view on the said partnership.

The different aspects previously mentioned can also be extended to the global arena, as the issue about BOTs and citizenship is not only central to BOTs themselves but have been a political centre in the UK. There was a political
discussion concerning descendants of Caribbean immigrants from 1948 to the early 1970s, also called the “Windrush generation”. Some of them were children and travelled with their parents’ passports (BBC 2018), and it was revealed that deportations of people from the UK had been made despite them living there for decades, and many other faced the risk of deportation as they could not provide evidence for their legal status due to lack of documents. This poses several issues on citizenship on both the formal and substantive part, which makes it necessary to explore the topic.

1.2 Scope of the thesis
The purpose of the thesis is to study the formal and substantive citizenship of Montserratians as British citizens, and how the Montserratians value their British citizenship. The two dimensions of substantive citizenship being a social role and a relational asset proposed by Reiter is the overlaying focus throughout the study.

1.3 Research questions
The overarching research question is to what extent citizens of Montserrat enjoy formal and substantive citizenship as part of a British Overseas Territory. Further sub questions are posed:

- How do the Montserratians perceive the value of their British substantive citizenship and status as British Overseas Territory?
- What views are there on the partnership between the United Kingdom and Montserrat in relation to the British citizenship?

1.4 Disposition
In the following chapters we will first take a look on the theoretical framework within the field of citizenship and substantive citizenship, followed by a methodology chapter in which the method and material is presented. Then, the results from the study are presented and analysed in relation to the theories.
Finally, the research questions are answered and discussed to the issues of citizenship in a concluding chapter.

2 Theoretical Framework

The theories used for this thesis are built on theories of citizenship, with the focus on the work of Reiter’s research on substantive citizenship (2013), where the two dimensions of substantive citizenship are presented. First research on citizenship is introduced. Then the connection between citizenship and identity is presented followed by Reiter’s argumentation on substantive citizenship.

2.1 Citizenship

Citizenship is a concept “as old as settled community” (Barbalet 1988: 1). Already during the times of Aristotle in Ancient Greece, citizenship and its principles were discussed in relation to the situation of the Greek city-states (Barbalet 1988: 2). There is a range of different ways throughout time that citizenship has been shaped:

“For Aristotle citizenship was the privileged status of the ruling group of the city-state. In the modern democratic state, the basis of citizenship is the capacity to participate in the exercise of political power through the electoral process.”

(Barbalet 1988, p. 2)

This gives two examples of different forms for the citizenship. In the Aristotelian example, citizenship is restricted to a group within the society and is connected with the exercise of power, while national citizenship today can be extended across the society (Barbalet 1988: 2). This is where the formal part of the citizenship is generalised to citizens being persons being that “are equal before the law and therefore that no person or group is legally privileged” (Barbalet 1988: 2).
Since the 1950s, the research of citizenship has been broadened outside the formal, legal structure to include the study of the social aspects of citizenship (Marshall 1950, Barbalet 1988, Castle & Davidson 2000, Reiter 2013 to name a few). According to T.H Marshall, the constitution of citizenship contains three different rights; civil, political and social (Barbalet 1988: 6). In this, Marshall points to a contradiction between the formal political equality and the economic and social inequality in capitalist societies (Castles & Davidson 2000: 104). Castles and Davidson further argue for gender and cultural rights being essential aspects of citizenship in multicultural societies (2000: 105). One could of course discuss what society in this context could mean as a society could in one case be local/national (for example, Montserrat) or in another case global. However, these differentiated rights show a clear approach to an institution of citizenship where the citizens, despite sharing the same legal rights, may not necessarily share the same rights in other aspects. Instead, many citizens may in fact be excluded within that society (Reiter 2013: 24). This puts a perspective on how citizenship can be seen and valued differently depending on its meaning for the individual.

Looking back at the Aristotelian example, the rights proposed by Marshall and others are also strongly connected to the formal part of the citizenship. In Ancient Greece, the citizens in the city-state were the free men who were the only ones allowed to vote and run for office. Women, slaves, and foreigners (for example free men from other city-states) were not citizens. In this case we have both a legal and a social exclusion in the society. As such, looking at the formal and substantive citizenship, distinctions first proposed by R. Brubaker (Reiter 2013: 24), we get a wider understanding of the complexity of citizenship. Reiter proposes to accept Brubaker’s distinctions as well as arguments for formal citizenship being “neither a sufficient, nor a necessary condition for substantive citizenship” (Reiter 2013: 24-26). Citizenship needs
to be looked at from both the legal framework and the social realm in order to be fully understood.

2.1.1 Citizenship and identity
Before we continue to substantive citizenship, the notion of citizenship and identity needs to be addressed. The rights proposed by Marshall and others can also be looked at from an identity aspect, which is why looking at citizenship and identity is essential. In the modern states, challenges to citizenship according to Reiter are triggered by increased migration, which causes greater heterogeneity in several European states (Reiter 2013: 24).

Isin and Wood (1999: 3) also address the distinctions of citizenship and identity from a perspective that not only looks on legal and political rights, but also connected to recognition of group rights within cultural practices. While other argues that racial, gender, ethnic and linguistic aspects can be in conflict with citizenship, due to its legal structure signifying a ‘universal’ attachment (Isin & Wood 1999: 3), Isin and Wood instead argue that citizenship is not neither a legal nor a sociological concept, but rather as a relationship between the two with a set of practices (which could be cultural, symbolic or economic) and rights and duties (civil, political and social) (1999: 4). Kymlicka (1995) also argues on citizenship that multicultural states should both have universal rights and rights that are specific to certain minorities within the state. In this sense Kymlicka argues for a differentiated citizenship by looking at cultural and social aspects.

2.1.2 What is substantive citizenship?
Reiter argues that substantive citizenship has two dimensions – “substantive as a social role, and substantive citizenship as a relational asset” (Reiter 2013: 26). The use of the dimensions is argued for:

“Indicating the relative presence or absence, as well as the quality, of possession on both dimensions allows us to gain a deeper, more
specific, more precise, and hence more accurate and valid capturing of the empirical reality represented by the concept of citizenship.”

(Reiter 2018: 26)

The main argument for citizenship as a social role is that it is not just a legal status, in order to have an impact on people’s lives it also needs to be a practical and practiced reality. This is something several researchers point out. Marshall (1950) argues that social rights are an essential part of citizenship, and Castles and Davidson (2000:105-110) further discusses on Marshall’s three rights to give more concrete insight of what citizenship entails; such as equality before law (civil), the right to vote and stand office (political) and equality of opportunity (social).

Marshall argued that once civil and political rights are fulfilled, the social rights will follow. Reiter instead argues that has not been the case in many countries and state that even though citizens share equal rights within the state, there might be restrictions in order to fully exercise those rights (Reiter 2013: 32). This puts questions on the regards of respect of citizens – not only by their state but also by other citizens within the state. By this citizenship as a social role is connected to the ideas of identity and of the multicultural states previously discussed, and gives an idea how the social realm can impact the quality of citizenship. Instead of looking only at the legal framework of citizenship, we also need to look at “whether citizens are respected and treated as citizens” (Reiter 2013: 32), which is also why Brubaker argues for formal citizenship not being sufficient nor necessary for substantive citizenship. This makes it interesting to look at the partnership between Montserrat and the UK, as in the 1970s it was believed that Montserrat, together with Bermuda, were the next Overseas Territories expected to become independent (Killingray 2012: 10) and the volcanic crisis prompting a new kind of partnership to promote “good governance, democracy and the rule of law” (Clegg & Gold 2012: 21-21).
The reasoning of Reiter for proposing the treatment of substantive citizenship as an asset is due to the focus on the social aspects of citizenship (Reiter 2013: 27). Reiter argues that this asset is relational, meaning that the “value of substantive citizenship is derived from how much substantive citizenship one person or group has, compared to another person or group” (2013: 26), meaning the more the person or group use their citizenship in their everyday practice the higher the value of substantive citizenship. Basically, citizens can put a value on their citizenship based on their everyday practice.

With the dimension of citizenship being an asset, problems of scarcity and competition (Reiter 2013: 27) means substantive citizenship can be seen as a positional good and can therefor be valued after relative position to others. Basically, this is an argument by Fred Hirsch that the sought-for benefit in certain goods are only delivered if not everybody possesses them (Reiter 2013: 27).

2.2 The theory in the analyse
The aspects on substantive citizenship as a social role and a relational asset serve as a guideline for the analyse. In this way the aspects were used to in order to categorise the views and opinions on British citizenship and the partnership with the UK. Through these aspects the study could explore how British citizenship takes part in Montserratians’ lives and how its meaning differentiates between people and groups. In many ways, it was the same approach that Reiter (2013) had on his research on substantive citizenship. With the aspect of the social role, identity is also included in order how Montserratians see themselves as British citizens and how they are treated as such citizens. The relational asset aspects relate to the everyday practice and citizens’ perception of what services citizenship gives access to, such as passport, healthcare and education.
3 Methodology

This chapter mainly introduces the method and research design used through the course of the study. The tools for analysis as well as how the theories are used are presented. The chapter also explains why Montserrat was selected, as a case study and what type of case study it is.

3.1 Exploratory study

This thesis is done through an exploratory, qualitative case study in order to best answer the research questions regarding the Montserratian perception of the British citizenship and the relationship between the UK and Montserrat. It is exploratory as the conferring of British citizenship to the Overseas Territories relates to the ongoing discussions of what it means to be a citizen within a globalised world and to have a citizenship that goes outside traditional national borders.

Vice versa the overarching discussion makes it relevant to have case studies to look at a particular situation. Each country has different laws when it comes to citizenship and how to acquire citizenship, what services that could be provided after obtaining citizenship within a specific country. Furthermore, within the countries themselves the perception can be highly individual what it means to be a citizen in relation to their everyday practice. A country’s current situation, be it political, cultural or social can also affect the citizens’ view of their membership in that country. As such a case study was chosen in relevance to the research questions.

If conducted in a transparent, honest and self-reflexive way, exploratory research provides for “new and innovative ways to analyse reality” (Reiter 2013: 1). Since the restoration of British citizenship to the British Overseas Territories (British Overseas Territories Act 2002), this provides a whole new range of unexplored area in terms of substantive citizenship. With a rather unexplored area of citizenship, an exploratory approach becomes more favourable than a confirmative approach (Esaissaon et al. 2017: 189).
Exploratory research also helps us to not only measure, but also think and use imagination, experience and skill for new ways to understand and interpret the reality we find citizenship in (Reiter 2013: 13). In this, we can explore the reality a word can refer to rather than discuss what the word “really means” (Reiter 2013: 10-11). This connects well to the research question as theMontserratians refer citizenship to their reality, and what it means to them in their everyday situation.

Looking at exploratory research critically, one could then see it being partial and not completely objective. This is something Reiter also addresses, and compares deductive and inductive science, by stating that by admitting up front that the knowledge inductive exploratory research is able to achieve is partial and tentative (Reiter 2013: 6).

3.2 Case study
A case could be defined as a “class of events” (George & Bennet 2005: 17), which in turn is a phenomenon such as economic systems or governmental regimes which are of scientific interest. For exploratory studies, the choice of cases is not random but predicated by the “logic of analysing the richest, most telling cases” (Reiter 2013: 12). With the theories of citizenship and the discussions currently on citizenship, it is safe to say there are many differentiated discussions which need to be looked at through their unique situations. Through this, we can better understand the situation and explain the casual mechanisms. George and Bennet (2005: 21) argues that exploring such casual mechanism in detail is a strength for case study, where the researcher can use theories to give explanations – in this case the theories on substantive citizenship are used to explore the views on British Citizenship in a particular BOT, which makes a case study relevant.

3.2.1 Montserrat as a case study
With the volcano crisis that came with the eruptions, followed by the restoration of the British citizenship, Montserrat became a very interesting
case to look at regarding substantive citizenship and what it means to belong to the UK as a BOT. Despite its small population, there is a melting pot of different perspectives on such citizenship, as a number of citizens stayed on the island during the crisis while others left for other countries. Immigration to Montserrat from neighbouring Caribbean islands have also provided for the melting pot of different perspectives. Of those who left, most have not returned, but a number of people have returned with experiences that may affect their perspective on substantive citizenship. With the small population comes also the improved opportunity for direct contact with political leaders in the society. The political leaders are in their turn more directly involved with the British institutions such as the Governor’s Office and Department for International Development (DfID). Through this there are many different ways that may affect the Montserratian perception of British citizenship, making it an interesting choice for a case study.

3.3 Method and Material
The case study itself was conducted through field studies on Montserrat to explore the citizens’ perception of the British citizenship. The method chosen for the field studies were qualitative interviews with citizens where they had the opportunity to present their views on citizenship and the relationship between the UK and Montserrat. Another method chosen would have been conducting a quantitative survey, but as the research questions looks deeper into different meanings perceptions of citizenship, qualitative interviews provide more strength with the opportunity for the interviewees to explain their reasonings. A survey could be relevant for future discussions on British citizenship, such as exploring whether Montserratians want it or not, but in this study, we are looking views on said citizenship and what it means the interviewees.

The main material analysed is gathered through semi-structured interviews from the field studies. The target group for interviews were Montserratians.
For this study a person is regarded as Montserratian if they are a British Overseas Territories citizen born in Montserrat or born outside Montserrat who also fulfil criteria such as registration and naturalisation in accordance with the Montserrat Constitution Order (2010: 66). This can also mean that not all Montserratians have a British citizenship, as it takes a further step through registration to receive such. That perspective is still interesting in the prospect of getting different views on said citizenship. Other documents such as laws or legal papers serve as complementary sources to the study in order to also understand the formal part of citizenship.

3.4 Interviews
The qualitative interviews were semi-structured in order to best get empirical data. The choice of method comes to the area which the scope and research questions this thesis as we are able to explore the perception of British citizenship in depth.

Given that citizenship is a complex area, and could be seen as controversial, personal interviews have a beneficial effect on open questions that might need to be explained more (Esaiasson et al. 2017: 243-244). There is also a strong opportunity to ask more and relatively complex questions compared to for example surveys (Esaiasson et al. 2017: 244).

By making interviews semi-structured, the research for this study was helped in the way that the respondent could themselves guide to the empirical data through open questions, while still being somewhat controlled (Esaiasson et al. 2017: 242-243). This is why two themes were presented to the interviewees to help remain within the area of the research questions (see appendix 2). There were of course risks that could have affected how the interviewee responded, such as leading questions or social effects such as views on gender, age and ethnicity (Esaiasson et al. 2017:243). That is why it is important to be aware and honest of those risks.
Research ethics are also important in order to provide legitimacy to the study. As a guideline The Swedish Research Council’s principles on research ethics were used for the study (1990). This meant having an approach of giving potential participants information of the study and their role in it, making them aware what they participate and giving them a right of confidentiality.

3.4.1 Sampling and tools for analysis
The selection of interviewees was made with the goal of covering as many different opinions on citizenship as possible. To access broader perspectives from different backgrounds – organisations, groups and businesses have been reached out to. In this sense, the study has been aiming towards the public sector (political and civil servants), private sector as well as parts of the civic society. The main approach was through an invitation letter by email (see appendix 1) and, when not possible, coming to the offices. There was also a snowballing effect, where one interviewee led to the introduction of another.

In total 19 interviews were made, with more women than men accepting to be interviewed. The interviews were recorded and transcribed\(^2\). Each interview was then given a random number in order to anonymise the interviewees’ answers. Three interviews were done simultaneously as a complementary focus group. It had little to no effect on the data collection more than the interviewees heard each other’s answers to the questions.

It is important with the study being qualitative, that there should be awareness that the results do not reflect the general views of the Montserratians. The transcribed data was analysed and categorised into different views or opinions on the substantive citizenship and the relationship between the UK and Montserrat. As within other inductive studies, the findings should not be seen as the only possible ones but as plausible views Montserratians have on their

\(^2\)Two interviews were conducted with notes only. One interview was recorded, but due to an accident of deleted transcription, the results based on that interview are also based on notes from the interview.
substantive citizenship. There can be further views that have not come up during the interviews.

4 Montserrat

Montserrat was discovered in 1493 and named by Christopher Columbus. The first European settlers came by 1632 when Irishmen, fleeing prosecution from the English in Virginia and St. Kitts, settled. Since then, the island has more or less always been under British rule except for a few French occupations, and has been traditionally linked with an Irish heritage (Henriksson 2018: 7).

In 1995, the dormant volcano of Soufrière Hills, started to erupt and had its biggest eruption on 25 June 1997, when pyroclastic flows buried the capital of Plymouth and 19 people were killed (Henriksson 2018: 8-9). This devastated the infrastructure and the economy of Montserrat then became dependent on financial aid from the UK. The activity from the volcano continued for years (Henriksson 2018: 9) and two-thirds of the population left the island for the UK, United States of America or neighbouring islands.

Back then, the BOTs were called British Dependent Territories. By 1999, the Government announced its intention to rename them to British Overseas Territories, and restore British citizenship to the 14 territories with in total 150,000 people (Henriksson 2018: 11) which was then also done in 2002 with the British Overseas Act (2002). The monarch of the United Kingdom, who is also the head of state, appoints a Governor of Montserrat who serves as the monarch’s representative on the island. The Governor is responsible for appointing the head of government, the Premier.

5 British citizenship

To understand how Montserratians perceive their British substantive citizenship, we also need to understand the formal part. It is an issue as
complex as its substantive counterpart. Being born in the UK does not necessarily make one eligible to become a British citizen. If a person was born before 1983 and had at least one of their parents being a British citizen, they would automatically become a British citizen. If they were born on 1 January 1983 or later, they could be eligible if a parent became a citizen or received permission to stay in the UK permanently after their birth, or if they lived in the UK until they were ten or older (UK Government 2018a). It is not however automatically granting citizenship. In other cases, the person would have to apply or register for citizenship. The UK also makes a difference of British nationality and British citizenship (UK Government 2018b). British nationals (BN) include:

- British citizens
- British overseas citizens
- British protected persons
- British subjects
- British national (overseas)
- British Overseas Territories citizens

There are a number of ways in which a person can obtain a British citizenship, regardless place of birth. People who moved to the UK on a visa or is from a European Economic Area (EEA) country can after living in the UK a certain amount of time apply for citizenship by naturalization. There are also criteria for people in the ‘Windrush generation’ to be eligible to apply for a citizenship (UK Government 2018b). British Overseas Territories citizens do not need to apply for British citizenship. Instead they start a register process for British

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3 People who before 1 January 1983 were citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies (CUKC) and did not become either a British citizen or a British Overseas Territories citizen.
4 For example, stateless persons born in the UK or nationals of Brunei.
5 Until 1983 citizens of Commonwealth countries were considered British subjects. Today very few individuals are considered to qualify as British subjects.
6 British Overseas Territories citizens with connection to Hong Kong were able to register as British nationals (overseas) before 30 July 1997.
citizenship in accordance with the British Overseas Act 2002. The British Home Office published a guideline for its officials handling the registration process in 2017 on the evidence and other requirements for the registration (Home Office 2017).

A British citizen, who is 18 years old and resides in the UK, can register to vote in the General Elections held every 5 years. The voting right is not entirely bound to British citizenship, as Irish and qualifying Commonwealth citizens residing in the UK are also entitled to vote in the General Elections (UK Government 2018c). This shows how citizenship as a concept goes outside national borders. It can be discussed whether the UK’s legal framework is fulfilled according to Marshall, but Castles and Davidson argues for voting rights as part within the citizenship as an institution. Through this there is a conflict in how there are British citizens not eligible to vote for the general elections, whereas there are also non-British citizens that are eligible.

5.1 British Overseas Territories Act 2002
Through the British Nationality Act 1981, the British Crown Colonies were renamed British Dependent Territories (1981). The citizens did not have British citizenship, but with the Right of Abode they could apply for citizenship by naturalisation after living in the UK for five years. The only exception was the Falkland Islands whose citizens acquired British citizenship by the British Nationality (Falkland Islands) Act (1983).

With the British Overseas Territories Act 2002, the British citizenship was conferred to the British Overseas Territories citizens (2002). The third section of the act states:

“Any person who, immediately before the commencement of this section, is a British Overseas Territories citizen shall, on the commencement of this section, become a British citizen.”

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7 The Right of Abode means having the right to live and work without immigration restrictions (U.K Government 2018d).
This did not apply to any persons who is a British Overseas Territories citizen “by virtue only of a connection with the Sovereign Base Areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia (British Overseas Territories Act 2002), which are located on Cyprus. The acts do not state limitations that would differ the British citizenship between those who had British Overseas Territories citizenship and other who also had British citizenship. In this sense full British citizenship was conferred to the people of Montserrat and other BOTs, making it interesting to explore whether the people enjoy the citizenship to the same extent as other British citizens.

6 Views on the British Citizenship

In relation to the first research question on the Montserratian view on the British citizenship, this chapter takes a look at the empirical data that has come up during the interviews. The results also connect to Reiter’s arguments (2013) of citizens being able to put a value on their citizenship as a relational asset, and on how they can look at their social roles within the institution of citizenship.

6.1 The access to British citizenship

Most Montserratians and other British Overseas Territories Citizens (BOTC) are British citizens. However, would an individual become a Montserratian citizen by naturalisation, which is a process by its own, they would not automatically become a British citizen. After eight years of residence on Montserrat, a person could apply for citizenship by naturalisation. After another year, in total nine years of residency, the person would be able to register for a British citizenship.

Due to the volcanic eruptions two-thirds of the island’s population left. Montserrat now has a population of about 5000 of which many are immigrants
from other Caribbean countries. This makes Montserrat a more multicultural country than perhaps first perceived. It can also create a tension between the different national groups as Montserrat could be perceived as a bridge to the British citizenship for the nationals from other Caribbean countries as one interviewee stated (Interview 15). Another interviewee (Interview 13) compared Montserrat to a stepping stone to continue to the UK, the goal being get there rather than to contribute to Montserrat.

A further opinion was to raise the time required to spend on the island become eligible for the Montserratian citizenship. This was argued to make sure that people who come are willing to work and contribute to the island’s development (Interview 7 and 16). As persons would have to spend at least nine years, however, it was also opined as a long enough time and that the people coming to Montserrat are building their homes and making their living on the island. Immigrants should be allowed to reap the benefits that come for making their time (Interview 18). There are also people who have stayed longer than the time required without registering for neither a Montserratian nor British citizenship due to reasons such as giving up “where they come from” (Interview 7).

These were interesting opinions, as they were different on how citizenship should be formally accessed. Even here, we see a base on Reiter’s arguments (2013) that citizenship can be valued after how many have access to it. It also poses questions on the access to rights, as interviewees talked about duties and responsibility. It is not clear what those duties would entail in order to access citizenship, and puts a complexity to citizenship as a concept in a global world.

6.2 Access to services

Citizenship itself, both in access and what comes with it, is as mentioned different between countries and even between individuals. Just as Reiter (2013) argues that we can spend months or even years debating what a word
really means, we need to look at what it means for a person in their everyday practice. With the aid of the discussion by Castles and Davidson (2000) on Marshall’s categories on citizenship rights, we get a more concrete idea what those rights could entail. However, with Reiter’s argument citizenship and what it entails is different for each individual in the society makes it relevant what the citizens of Montserrat *themselves* connect to citizenship.

Through the interviews, certain access to certain services such as passport, health care and education were addressed as positive in terms of access through citizenship (Interviews 15, 16 and 19). This will be discussed further as the formal access may in fact not be dependent on having a certain citizenship. One other benefit for Montserrat while being considered British is the opportunity to be a full member in organisations such as the Caribbean Community (Caricom) and the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) (Interview 11). Furthermore, there were views of difficulties to actually access to these services when actually needed (Interviews 16 and 17), which will be further discussed in each respective part.

### 6.2.1 British passports

With the British citizenship comes the access to the British passport. A positive view on having a British passport compared to the Montserratian passport was that the British passports makes it easier for Montserratians to travel without a visa (Interviews 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 19). In this sense a Montserratian could hold dual citizenship: British and Montserratian (British Overseas Territories Citizen). One interviewee looked at the British citizenship in a such positive way as it brings opportunities:

“If I wanted to travel, even just for a holiday, to Europe or to America, the process for applying for visa is much easier than if I wasn’t a British citizen, so I would apply for a visa-waiver to go to America. And for Europe I would just use my passport.”

(Interview 12)
Without the process of applying for a visa, the time and effort needed for travelling is reduced for the individual holder of British passport instead of a Montserratian one (in the countries they would require a visa). The Montserratian passport has less passport power than the British one, which is interesting when Montserrat is a BOT to the UK.

6.2.2 Healthcare

Before addressing Montserratian views on healthcare, it is important to be aware that the healthcare system in its whole is not explored. Instead we look at the views on how citizenship *should* give a right to access to healthcare. In the UK, Primary Care is provided for free through the National Health Service (NHS) for “ordinarily residents”, meaning “living in the UK on a lawful and properly settled basis for the time being” (NHS UK 2018). As such, having a British citizenship is in itself not a requirement in order to access NHS. The only other way, except for taking residency in the UK, for Montserratians to access NHS is through a quota system overseen by the Department for Health (DH). The report *Health and Healthcare in the British Overseas Territories: Regional and UK Government Support* (DH 2010) stated that the BOTs Anguilla, British Virgin Islands (BVI), Montserrat, St. Helena and Turks and Caicos Islands (TCI) can send four patients per year through NHS.

Even for a small population of 5,000, four patients per year does not seem much, which would explain the need of having adequate healthcare – something which is listed as a primary concern (Interviews 9, 10, 12, 18). Whereas there were views the healthcare was of a good standard before the volcanic crisis, it was also stated that skilled people that are brought to Montserrat should be able to access a certain level of healthcare (Interview 12).

The report (DH 2010: 6) also states that the territorial governments are responsible for providing “suitable and effective care for their populations”, whereas the UK government aims to help the BOTs “manage their health
sectors sustainably” and “be better prepared for emergencies and to be able to manage them effectively”.

So even if it points to no formal access to the UK healthcare services (unless one becomes Montserratian through naturalisation and gains access through the quota system), there was a view that it becomes easier to access such services with the British citizenship (Interview 15). The issue however, is that there are still difficulties to gain such access as it is restricted to residence in the UK which was argued as unequal access to healthcare (Interviews 8 and 16) and that it takes a long time in order to get that access (Interview 3).

6.2.3 Education
Just as with healthcare, there were certain views of easier access to education through the British citizenship – in particular to higher education (Interview 13, 16 and 19).

However, one interviewee asked to what point education is beneficial, as learning by doing can be seen as just as valuable and with Montserrat having a need for skilled people it is difficult when the young leave for education (Interview 17). With the young leaving and making lives in the UK, it is also easier for them to stay making it difficult for Montserrat to sustain and being attractive for young people to come back after their education (Interview 11). As with the healthcare facilities there were expressed interests of greater need in the facilities for education on Montserrat in order to give the population further education, even though the education system on the island is seen as good up until Secondary School (Interview 10). This issue was also raised in regards if the diaspora would want to return to Montserrat, as the educational system cannot facilitate for a population of 12,000 any longer (Interview 4).

6.3 Montserratians as British citizens
There were views that although the British citizenship is a plus to have, it is not necessarily needed if one does not travel or require assistance with
healthcare or access to education (Interviews 13 and 18), or that there are not that many benefits unless the citizen moves to the UK (Interview 18). There were also views that despite having received British citizenship, nothing has changed for Montserrat to be integrated into the UK (Interview 9). This puts a perspective on how tensions lie within different parts of the institution of citizenship. It gives a complexity to the case of Montserrat being part of the UK in international terms. In this way we take a look at citizenship and identity and how it can be related to Reiter’s argument of citizenship as a social role.

Citizenship can be looked at in regards of cultural aspects and how a Montserratian identity could either clash or merge with a British identity. One view is that Montserratians are not British and do not see themselves as British:

“We have the British passport only in the matter of convenience. We are not British. I don’t see myself as British. And I do not think we here [on Montserrat] see ourselves as British. We are Montserratians. Period.”

(Interview 4)

The interviewee saw bigger ties between identity and cultural, historical and social background as well as to the geographic area, stating the fact that Montserratian still live on the island instead of moving to the UK and enjoy the privileges there tells that they do not want to live there. In doing so one would lose the identity they have and the connection to their people (Interview 4).

Another view was that, although agreeing that Montserratians are not British in the same sense as the British in mainland UK, there are still British elements in the Montserratian identity, such as the national anthem being ‘God Save the Queen’ or speaking English (Interview 8), although there are also arguments for having more than one identity. It was also argued for layers of British citizenship and that Montserratians are still trying to understand their scope of having the British citizenship although it is not always clear (Interview 5). Interviewee 6 opined it in this way:
“In the question of identity, I cannot… I want to narrow it down to something like flipping a channel – it works in the way that you go to work, and you are a professional. After work, you want to be the family person. You are still the same person, it is just different personas.”

(Interview 6)

The metaphor that identity could be ‘flipped like a channel’ is interesting, considering that even within what would be called mainland UK there are several identities that would either join or clash together with a British one, such as Scottish or Welsh. It puts the sense that identity is something that is fluid, even between identities that do not necessarily the same cultural or social ties. It puts a relation between identity and citizenship as Isin and Wood (1999) argue, as the interviewee can see having several identities within the same institution.

Being able to maintain a Montserratian identity, while gaining access to other parts of the world was even in this case mentioned as a positive aspect of having a British citizenship (Interview 19), putting further the option to be able get access to certain services while maintaining an identity and further aspects where one could have more than one identity depending on situation.

This complexity of beingMontserratian within a British political system in form of an Overseas Territory also sheds light on how Montserratian see themselves as British citizens, but it also tells of the perception of treatment of Montserratians by either the UK or by other British citizens as proposed by the argument of citizenship as a social role. Montserratians may face problems when migrating to the UK, with immigration officers not knowing about Montserrat and their right of abode, which also happened during the volcanic crisis (Interview 10).

One interviewee stated that since Montserrat is not a country in international terms, a sovereign nation-state, it enlarges the concept of citizenship that is merely brought in the form of status to Montserratians and this in turn means
Montserratians are treated differently from other British citizens (Interview 8). In this sense there is no parity in the British citizenship for the British citizens scattered across the UK and its territories. As discussed earlier, Montserrat is not part of NHS and the access to healthcare can be listed as an example of when, even though Montserratians are citizens of the UK, there was a perception of not having access to the same kind of healthcare on Montserrat (Interview 18). The Montserratian dependency on the UK for economic aid can also be seen as the UK has further responsibility in providing for the needs that Montserrat has (Interview 4). Comparison was made to other countries with Overseas Territories, such as France and Guadeloupe which neighbours Montserrat. Guadeloupe is a department\(^8\), and in such an integrated part of France. But since Montserrat is not an integrated part of the UK it is not counted as part of it in the same way as Guadeloupe is a part of France (Interview 15).

“Here it is not like that. You are British, you are a British citizen, being here with a Montserrat passport, but you are second class in way. […] It is completely different in many areas”

(Interview 18)

Despite the full conferring of British citizenship to Montserratians, this points to that they do not enjoy citizenship in the same way as other British citizens. There were views however, that it is not entirely wrong to have it in that way (Interview 19). It can be explained with the example of the right to vote for the UK parliament, which mentioned earlier requires residency in the UK or having lived there that last fifteen years. One interviewee stated that if a person would be interested in what is happening in the UK, it would be easy to move to the UK and be able participate. A perspective was also put on fairness and

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\(^8\) Département d’Outre-Mer de la Guadeloupe in French.
what say Montserratians should have in the UK as it could be discussed how much the decisions taken in UK would affect Montserrat:

“I do not live there. Yes; it affects me in a way, but it affects somebody who actually lives there more than it would affect me. You can watch something from afar, but unless you are there physically, being on the ground… and feel it, it is very different.”

(Interview 19)

In a way, this relates to the discussion of where responsibility of certain services should lie with and what citizens should be provided for. It is clear however, there were views that Montserratians are treated differently than other British citizens, regardless if it should be in that way or not.

7 Views on the relationship between the United Kingdom and Montserrat

This chapter aims to answer the second research question on what views Montserratians have on the partnership between the United Kingdom and Montserrat. This will be presented in three parts concerning Montserratian representation in the UK Parliament, effects of the British withdrawal from the European Union (Brexit) and Montserrat’s future as an Overseas Territory.

7.1 Overseas Territories Representation in Parliament

Today, Montserrat has representation in the UK with a government office in London, and a representative from Montserrat. An annual Overseas Territories Joint Ministerial Council (JMC) is held where the Overseas Territories and Ministers of the UK meet and discuss topics related to the BOTs and their partnership with the UK.

However, as the Overseas Territories do not form part of the UK, they also do not have representation in neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords within the British Parliament. In several cases it would be possible to
argue that, since the territories enjoy self-governance with their own election and the UK “only” responsible for foreign affairs and defence, such representation is not needed. The Montserratian perspective argues otherwise, which can be related to the economic aid Montserrat receives from the UK. Montserrat is one of three BOTs receiving Official Development Assistance (ODA) from DfID, the other two being St. Helena and Pitcairn due to their “remote locations, weak economies, small and ageing populations and lack of skilled people to fill critical roles” (DfID 2018).

With the UK being responsible for the Overseas Territories in international regards, such as treaties signed for human rights, this also led to views of the UK imposing laws on the BOTs. For example, the White Paper 1999 took up the role of legislation of homosexuality stating:

“We believe that all of the Overseas Territories should enact similar to the UK Sexual Offences Act 1967, which legalised homosexual acts between consenting adults in private. None of the Caribbean Overseas Territories has brought its legalisation into line with the Act, though prosecutions in recent years have been rare.”

(FCO 1999: 21)

One interviewee brought up the legalisation of homosexuality acts as a degree of imposing laws:

“There was a major uproar about that. [...] Because of culture clashes, religious backgrounds… it is a large Christian society. But the part of it, and the part that it was imposed as well, caused the issue.”

(Interview 15)

In social aspects of perception of imposing, another interview opined that disciplining children is difficult as simply raising one’s voice would bring attention of community service or that teachers do not have power in the classroom due to centralisation (Interview 2).
In this sense, there was a perception that the UK has a part in the legislation on Montserrat and that Montserrat has to ask for permission from the UK in order to certain things, to get approval (Interview 1). And with the UK having responsibility to uphold international treaties and human rights, this example gives perspective on how it can be thought of as invasive.

This also led to arguments that the BOTs should have representation in the House of Commons as decisions made there also affects the BOTs:

“Some people might say that Britain can legislate for us, in the constitution. They may seldom do it, but in theory they can. And some people feel, with justification, that they should not be able to legislate for us since we do not have any representation in the House of Commons.”

(Interview 8)

Even here there were comparisons made with Guadeloupe as an overseas department of France, where there is a regional council election and there is representation in both the French Senate and the French National Assembly. There were views that Montserrat should in the same way be an integrated part of the UK, with representation in the Parliament (Interviews 15 and 9). At the same time, one interview also stated that by making Montserrat an integrated part of the UK, the UK would have more say and control over what happens on Montserrat (Interview 13), making it less desirable. Although the situation of Guadeloupe was also interesting due to a direct way of communications with the politicians in Parliament:

“I think it is interesting. Because then when decisions are made or talked about you have to immediately factor in these territories. You must factor them in must have provisions for direct communication and representation. And I think that is what we are missing the most.”

(Interview 15)

By having a representation through an elected representative in the UK Parliament, the belief was that the problems of the BOTs would be heard [more
than today] and that discussions that would affect the BOTs would be able to get the perspective needed for that topic (Interview 15). It was opined that it would help the partnership with the UK more, but even more so the development for Montserrat and its future (Interview 12). With such representation can also be connected to how the state respects and treats its citizens within the social role by giving special rights as Kymlicka (1995) argues, but also to make sure that the people are listened to in decision-making. Representation would not necessarily guarantee a perception of being listened to in the British Parliament, but could be seen as a stepping stone in this case.

7.2 Montserrat and British withdrawal from the European Union

Following the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum in 2016, the United Kingdom invoked article 50 of the Treaty of the European Union (EU) in order to withdraw its membership from the EU. The withdrawal, commonly called Brexit, is interesting in several aspects. As the BOTs do not form part of the UK, they are also not part of the European Union. Interestingly however, with the British passport they would be able to access the European countries in the same way any other British citizens would be able to. Montserratians, as well as other British Overseas Territories Citizens (BOTC) with British citizenship, were not eligible to vote in the referendum unless they resided within the UK. Even here we can see a complexity in which a person can be part of an institution while at the same not.

As Brexit is still under negotiation and a lot can change before the British withdrawal. It can be difficult to fully comprehend what the withdrawal will entail and how it affects the BOTs. Even so, it can be discussed whether Montserratians should have had a say in the referendum and how it will affect Montserrat and its future development.

Since the British passport can be considered positive in the aspect of opening doors for Montserratians to the rest of the world without the process of getting
visas, one view is that unity always work out better than separation and that being part of the EU would be good for Montserrat (Interviews 14 and 19). Another view was that it will be harder for Montserrat in order to get funding from the EU after the withdrawal making it more difficult for further development (Interview 4). Furthermore, despite everyone knowing about British exit from the EU, it was stated as much more difficult to say how it will actually affect them. One interviewee opined Brexit needs to be sorted out first before it can be fully understood (Interview 6).

7.3 A road to independence or more self-governance?
As mentioned earlier, Montserrat, together with Bermuda, was considered in the 1970s most likely to become independent of the remaining territories. After Hurricane Hugo in 1989 and the volcanic crisis had led to Montserrat being put on economic dependency, that seems ever less likely. 23 years after the first eruptions, it is interesting to look at what Montserratians see in the future for their political system and whether Montserrat should ultimately be independent, an integrated part of the UK or simply remain a British Overseas Territory.

In certain views, the ultimate goal for Montserrat is to become independent (Interviews 6 and 12), in order to fully decide which directions, the country wants to go and do. Others asked what it would be an independence from, considering the situation of the country has left the island without a proper infrastructure (Interviews 16 and 18). As such, comparison was also made with other Caribbean countries that are sovereign but are still economically dependent on financial aid (Interviews 16 and 17). Another reason for not going independent was vulnerability to corruption, and that Montserrat should strive for a situation like Bermuda where economy is in good standards and can handle their own affairs:

“I do not trust us enough to be completely independent from Britain. I think humans are greedy creatures and if you look at other countries that gained
independence, they are not exactly flourishing. [...] I do not see a problem with the Bermuda situation. They are still a colony, but they have much more control over their affairs, and they are making money.”

(Interview 18)

This reasoning is interesting in that it connects to the White Paper (FCO 1999) in which the UK takes responsibility for good governance in the BOTs. That Montserrat should strive to become like another BOT is also interesting and points to a perception of BOTs being treated different.

With the economic dependency, others interviewees opined however that the UK should provide support for Montserrat in order for it to eventually become independent (Interviews 6 and 8). It was argued in turn in the White Paper (FCO 1999) for not taking a stand on the issue of independence for Overseas Territories, but instead honour the wishes of the people of a BOT that would ask for independence within their constitution.

The dependency that has evolved from the natural disasters could be seen as hampering development and putting a barrier on what the political leaders are able to do when it comes to self-governance:

“We are an Overseas Territory; the UK has the responsibility to ensure that we do the right things and so on. But it is not that they should be doing those things. They should perform more of a monetary support control. I find a that a lot of times the interventions are too operational.”

(Interview 12)

In this sense, more self-governance was asked for than currently enjoyed. There is an argument that the political leaders in a way become administrators that need to implement what the UK needs implemented (Interview 10). With a perception of imposing laws, it is in a way believed that the political leaders do not have much say in the UK implementations:
“In Montserrat, there is not that flexibility, we simply have to go along with it. Our ministers can make a fuss, but their voices are not strong enough to make a fuss, the structures in place cannot make a fuss.”

(Interview 18)

Another view was that whether Montserrat is seeking independence or staying with the UK, it is important to recognise that each BOT is not in the same situation, and such the formula for the relationship between the UK and BOTs should be developed in order to improve it both for the BOT citizens and the British taxpayers (Interview 12). But as long as Montserrat is on annual aid from the UK, it was opined there will be a strong British presence with a kind of economic and administrative control (Interview 8) as could be compared with the relationship between a parent and a child; the parent could be giving the child a weekly allowance, but would want to know or influence in so the child does not use the money for bad things (Interview 13). Regardless what Montserrat would want to strive for, the economic situation and its recovering from the volcanic crisis will be a continuous focus for the small BOT in the Caribbean.

8 Conclusion

The overarching research question for this study concerns to what extent citizens of Montserrat enjoy formal and substantive citizenship as being part of a British Overseas Territory. To study this, an exploratory approach with qualitative interviews was conducted through a field study on Montserrat. Two specific research questions were raised concerning how Montserratians perceive substantive citizenship regarding the British citizenship and what views they have on the partnership between the United Kingdom and Montserrat in relation to British citizenship.
In relation to the research question on perception of the British citizenship, the complexity of citizenship in a global world as discussed Castles and Davidson (2000) is well illustrated in the case of Montserrat. There are positive views of having a British citizenship in order to get further access to rest of the world. It makes a relevant addition to the discussion on the passport ‘power’ and what makes a passport more powerful than others. There are views of access to other services such as healthcare and education which can give a stronger value to having a British citizenship. This further form part of the first argument on substantive citizenship as a relational asset, giving the citizens possibility to put a value on citizenship depending on everyday their practice and people’s access to it. Different views on the formal access to citizenship also form tensions on what is required in order to become a citizen.

The right to services is also relevant to the second argument on citizenship as a social role. Even with formal access to the services mentioned, the practical access seems to appear more difficult in Montserratian views, which also creates unequal opportunity among citizens with British citizenship. This view of inequality also contrasts to previous research by researchers such as Marshall (1950) and Barbalet (1988), where citizenship would provide equality among the “full members of the community”. It can be difficult to exactly define what is meant by being a full member of community as social rights were argued to follow political and civil rights. This becomes even more difficult as there are different views and perceptions of citizenship, as the study has shown.

In the terms of legal aspects one can argue that Montserratians enjoy full British citizenship. But if full citizenship would require the fulfilment of social rights and thus having substantive citizenship, then the results from the study point to Montserratians not enjoying full British citizenship. However, in relation to Kymlicka’s discussion on differentiated rights (1995), there were
opinions that inequality was not entirely wrong. This puts another complicated layer on citizenship and being full citizens in a community.

The second research question on the partnership between the UK and Montserrat in relation to the citizenship also connects to what Montserratians would see come with citizenship. It also creates views of UK having responsibility of Montserrat and its citizens, which it in international terms ultimately also has. Even if Montserrat would be able to recover from its economic dependence in the future, it can be discussed if independence would actually be wanted as it can be argued that being a British Overseas Territory gives Montserrat a kind of backbone to rely on. At the same time, there is unhappiness with the partnership. This relationship and the status of the BOTs was under review in an inquiry by the FAC at the time of this study. With the example of healthcare and economic dependency, there is no clear local perception of where responsibility and accountability lie since Montserrat in many ways has the characterisation of a small town; it has a small geographical area, a small population, making it easier to know the political leaders. These aspects make the issue multi-sided with both positive and negative views on the partnership.

In this respect, the results have been able to point to Reiter’s arguments of two dimensions of substantive citizenship and to explore its issues. However, just as Reiter (2013) argues that citizenship has to be considered within the relevant situation, we can only use the dimensions to give plausible explanations within that particular situation – in this case, the Montserratian view of British citizenship. This makes it harder for a comparative study on citizenship with other BOTs as they have different situations. A similar study of substantive citizenship in the UK or another BOT might lead to different results. This is due to different cultural, historical and social situations leading to different ways to look at citizenship and its rights and duties. This relates also to how identity and citizenship needs to be looked at together with the legal
framework as Isin and Wood argues (1999), as the legal framework for the BOTs in the case of British citizenship is the same. It should be noted however, that the study on Montserrat show the issues of citizenship in a concrete situation.

Finally, the results point to future research prospects. As an exploratory research, this study aimed to discover and find the different Montserratian views on British citizenship, which was possible. It should, however, also be possible to address these issues on in order to find solutions. This is where substantive citizenship becomes difficult as it does not traditionally conform to one general concept, but has several different angles and aspects. The idea of a “nation-state within the nation-state” is one such aspect important to look at in order to further understand substantive citizenship in BOTs.

On possible future study is on the services that were perceived to follow British citizenship. The aspect of providing healthcare equal to the one in the UK for a considerably smaller population proposes an interesting challenge from a policy making perspective. The discussions on the future relationship makes it interesting to further study the Overseas Territories’ political systems as well as their representation in the British political system.

Each BOT needs to be looked at according to their current situation, just as citizens need to relate their citizenship to the reality that they are in. This brings us back to the general issues of citizenship as a universal concept despite several aspects that can differ between countries and individuals. It also relates back to the Aristotelian discussions in Ancient Greece and what rights and duties citizens have. It can be concluded that citizenship is a complex concept that needs to be studied further in order to be fully understood in a global world.
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Interviewees

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Delmaude Ryan, Deputy Premier and Minister for Education, Health and Social Services, interviewed by the author on 4 December 2018 in Brades.

Deonne Semple, President of Montserrat Rotary Club, interviewed by the author on 6 November 2018 in Olveston.

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Gregory Willock, Member of the Legislative Assembly, interviewed by the author on 21 November 2018 in Salem.

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Appendix 1: Invitation to Interview

Dear sir/madame,

As part of a thesis project within political science studies at Linnaeus University in Sweden, I am doing research on the social aspects of citizenship and the value of British citizenship for Montserratians as a British Overseas Territory. To conduct the study, I am performing individual interviews with Montserratians to get the Montserratian perspective on the subject.

The focus of the study lays on research of ‘substantive citizenship’ and its different dimensions of how a person can put a value on their citizenship and compare it to other citizens.

I would like to interview you. The interview is estimated to take between 30 to 45 minutes, but the overall time depends on you.

I can interview you at any time until 4 December. The interview takes on two themes that I would like to discuss:

- The value of citizenship
- Citizenship as a social role

The interviews and the empirical data collection will follow guidelines on research ethics, meaning your answers will be handled with confidentiality. Your participation will be mentioned in the study, but your answers will be anonymous. If you change your mind about your participation in the study, even after your interview, your material will be removed. The interviews will be recorded, transcribed and archived in accordance with the guidelines. The results from the study will be available once finished.

Please let me know if you are interested and when you would be available for an interview. I can also easily come to you for the interview, or any place you find more suitable.

If you have any questions, or to respond on the invitation, use the following contact information:

Ph222hk@student.lnu.se
XXXX-XXXXXX

Looking forward to hear from you!

Best regards,
Patrik Henriksson

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9 Was presented orally in cases where e-mailing was not possible.
Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Part 1: Introduction
What do you work with? What does that involve?
Were you here during the volcanic crisis? When did you leave? When did you come back?
(If political) What made you decide to begin with politics?

Part 2: The value of citizenship
How do you look at the British citizenship?
What benefits does it bring to Montserratians to have British citizenship? Any disadvantages?
Do you think it is different for other British citizens? In what way?

Part 3: Citizenship as a social role
What does it mean for you that Montserrat is a British Overseas Territory?
How do you look at the partnership between the United Kingdom and Montserrat?
Do you believe Montserratians are treated differently from other British citizens? Why do you think it is in that way? Could you explain more?
Do you think the United Kingdom should provide certain services for Montserrat? If so, what do you think is needed?