Money Matters in Migration: A Synthetic Approach

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Money Matters in Migration: A Synthetic Approach

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Migration, participation, and citizenship are central political and social concerns in democratic societies and beyond. From the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) to the 2018 Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration, international agreements portray individuals and communities in terms of worth and value, seeing human diversity as an asset rather than a threat.[1] The UDHR extols the dignity and worth of the human person and declares that everyone has rights to social security, just and favourable conditions of work and remuneration, rest and leisure, free education, and an adequate standard of living; individuals have the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state, the right to leave any country, including their own, and to return to their country, and the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. The Global Compact reminds us that 'migration has been part of the human experience throughout history' and declares that signatories 'recognize that it is a source of prosperity, innovation, and sustainable development in our globalized world'; a key objective of the Compact is to 'mitigate the adverse drivers and structural factors that hinder people from building and maintaining sustainable livelihoods in their countries of origin', while the Compact 'promotes the well-being of migrants and the members of communities in countries of origin, transit, and

[1] UN Secretary-General António Guterres stresses how human diversity is 'an Asset, Not a Threat' and the Global Compact on Migration can play a crucial role in the world's recovery from COVID-19. UN Secretary General Press Release SG/SM/20459, 1 December 2020.

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destination'.[2] Tying migration to the language of human worth, rights, and prosperity reflects the varied contributions of this book.

The role of money in migration – tangible, intangible, conceptual, and as a tool of policy design – is understudied, overlooked, and analytically underdeveloped. Money matters in curbing the arrival of migrants at borders or facilitating access for certain migrants over others. It is key in non-humanitarian entry policies (e.g. through income requirements, salary thresholds, or fees), for participation in wider society for the migrant and loved ones left behind (e.g. through the payment of remittances, access to the labour market, and fines for those not participating 'properly'). And money matters when obtaining and exercising citizenship (fees, costs of language training) but also when including the rich in citizenship programmes or excluding poor and unwanted citizens. Why not take money as our point of departure in our critical study of migration, inclusion, and citizenship law and governance?[3]

This book starts a reappraisal of migration laws and policies' 'worth' for sending and receiving societies, migrants, their families, and their employers. The in-depth analysis of financial barriers to migrate, to participate, and to remain refreshes our thoughts on migrants' (lack of) money. The selected chapters all use money as the lens of inquiry into regulatory structures. Money is defined very literally and very practically: money in the bank, a salary, a fee, a subsidy; in short, money in the narrow sense of financial resources and as such a 'migration management' tool often overlooked in academic research. In line with the common lay understanding of migrant and by lack of a definition under international law, this book defines a 'migrant' as 'any person who moves away from her country or state of origin either temporarily or permanently and for a variety of reasons'. Migration refers to the process of such movement.

This book does not force an overarching theoretical framework, as the individual chapters each engage with migration theory in their own fields. Our aim is to facilitate overarching engagement and to 'launch

[2] Objective 6 of the Global Compact is to facilitate fair and ethical recruitment and safeguard conditions that ensure decent work; objective 20 is to promote faster, safer, and cheaper transfer of remittances and foster financial inclusion of migrants; objective 22 is to establish mechanisms for the portability of social security entitlements and earned benefits. The rest of the Compact also echoes the language of investments and sustainability.

[3] This observation by Tesseltje de Lange inspired this project on money matters in migration, resulting in a panel session at the 2018 Council of European Studies annual conference and a follow-up workshop at the University of Amsterdam featuring early drafts of many chapters.

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new ships' in terms of new research on the subject of money in migration, rather than predetermining their path through a single grand theory. Theoretical notions engaged with by the contributors include Sassen's 'logics of expulsions',[4] addressed by De Jong & De Hart (Chapter 17), Schrauwen (Chapter 7) as well as De Lange & Guild (Chapter 12), and build on it by providing new insights into the meaning of participation, citizenship, and the role of financial instruments in these 'expulsions'. Feminist theory on economic and cultural norms about what constitutes (productive) work informs the chapter by Mantu (Chapter 11); Böcker et al. depart from the Baumol effect, which explains why many countries have a demand for migrant care workers. Their contribution addresses 'irregularity' or 'semi-legality' as a (non)compliance with labour and social security law. Theorizing labour market–related immigration enforcement and (non)compliance with immigration law is the topic of Morgan's contribution. Speaking of markets, Surak (Chapter 14) on investor citizenship theorizes how inequality rather than equality defines the worth of citizenship, while Maas (Chapter 18) explores the ways in which financial disparities and conditions exist in tension with ideas of equal citizenship even for internal migrants.

All contributions to this volume convincingly discuss money as an instrument of border drawing. Shachar sums it up eloquently in Chapter 16: 'States have proven more enterprising than most theories would have predicted in finding new ways to control migration and mobility, developing a sophisticated kaleidoscope of territorial, cultural, and economic line-drawing techniques that can be deployed selectively against different target groups, and according to different baselines, including means, privilege, and power.' She continues:

> In recent years, important strides have been made in revealing the impact of considerations of race, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and, increasingly, religion too in de facto shaping the prospects of migration and integration – despite being formally prohibited and discredited. [. . .] While enriching and nuancing previous accounts, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the persistence of wealth in creating, or replicating, unequal admission to territory and membership.

The contributions to this volume engage in closing this gap. This book aims to encourage more multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research into the role of money and resources on migration. Given the different disciplinary perspectives included in this volume, each chapter uses

[4] Sassen 2014.

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different research methods, each appropriate in its own field. The sum of the chapters is stronger than the parts, as readers from different disciplines can compare the ways in which money is conceptualized and utilized in research on migration from various disciplinary perspectives. The balance between empirical and theoretical work advances the debate on how (not) to manage migration. The book will hopefully inspire new research on the topic of money in migration.

The selection of the chapters is based on three elements: first, the inspiration they offer for future research into money as a tool to manage migration; second, the multiple methods used by the chapter authors; and third, the basis offered for theoretical as well as policy debates based on the findings presented in the chapters. Such a wide range of cases adds value to this volume.

Aims, Actors, and Instruments Engaging Money

Throughout the chapters, three important elements of analysis return implicitly or explicitly: policy *aims*, sometimes unexpected *actors* and subjects of money-driven migration 'management', and the variety of *instruments* used, such as financial incentives or sanctions ('carrots or sticks').

Money as a Tool to Achieve Policy Aims

The first analytical element is the *aim* that financial instruments seek to achieve. Money matters as an instrument to select migrants in order to protect the welfare state, a policy discourse addressed by Eggebø and Staver (Chapter 8). It matters in the design of labour law enforcement instruments aimed at combating illegal participation of migrants in the labour market. Analysing the role of money in migration management requires exposing the explicit or hidden objectives. The *aim* of policies on remittances can be framed as a development tool or as a way to prevent terrorism, meaning the aims collide.[5] This is precisely the dilemma that entangles migrant workers, as D'Orsi (Chapter 13) discusses in his chapter regarding Africa and De Lange & Guild (Chapter 12) discuss for the UK and the Netherlands. The governance of remittances serves a socio-economic interest of countries of origin. For this reason, countries of origin may not aim to curb migration, as remittances might decrease.[6]

[5] Lindley 2011.
[6] De Haas & Plug 2006.

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Likewise, as Molinari discusses in Chapter 3, the increased EU expenditure on migration management outside the EU can be understood as an alternative source of income for countries of origin. Gazzotti (Chapter 4) discusses yet another alternative source of socio-economic funding, notably donor-funded projects of NGOs and IOs. The chapters indicate how these alternative financial sources each have their drawbacks that may not immediately become clear if one ignores the 'aim' or structuring role of money. Furthermore, as Lebon-McGregor & Micinski (Chapter 2) show in their analysis of the funding of IOM, a variety of financial sources results in a fragmented global migration policy where aims are mostly prioritized in a way that reflects existing power structures.

Diverging policy aims when taking money as an analytical tool allow for a critique of the dichotomy between forced and unforced migration, between 'refugee' and 'migrant'.[7] We also see this distinction in the UN Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration.[8] Traditionally, asylum and refugee law, understood as human rights law, tended to develop along other lines than the law on voluntary migration.[9] The right of asylum is primarily understood as a human right.[10] As yet, forms of voluntary migration such as labour migration and family reunification are generally subject to the right of states to deny entry to foreigners on the basis of financial requirements.[11] Legal categorization of foreigners according to nationality, skills, income levels[12] (e.g. Eggebø & Staver, Chapter 8 in this volume), or according to the investments they can make (see Shachar, Chapter 16; Prats, Chapter 15; and Surak, Chapter 14 in this volume) aims for more, or less, migration, participation, or citizenship. Such legal categorizations are often contested. Larratt-Smith's Chapter 5 on money and migration in the Venezuelan-Colombian borderlands forms a painfully clear example that the

[7] For a critique of the construction of the dichotomy between 'refugee' and 'migrant', see Crawley & Skleparis (2017). On categorization in general: Schrover & Moloney 2013. For an example of financial consequences, e.g. employer sanctions for mis-categorizing student migrants as workers, see De Lange 2015.

[8] Guild & Grant 2017.

[9] Boeles et al. 2014, p. 3.

[10] Boeles et al. 2014, p. 244.

[11] De Lange & De Sena 2019.

[12] On border drawing through salary requirements, see Paul 2015, p. 111. An example of extremely high income requirements set for family migration in the United Kingdom is discussed by Wray et al. 2015. See also Court of Justice EU *Chakroun* [C-578/08] and *Kachab* [C-558/14] on how income requirements should not become barriers hindering family life indefinitely.

distinction between forced and unforced migration is not clear-cut. EU citizens in contrast form a privileged category because they have a right to enter member states of the EU of which they do not have the nationality.[13] Even for them, the right is subject to financial conditions: EU citizenship allows member states to refuse admission to those who may become 'burdens' just as national constitutions usually guarantee rights to free movement but often also limit these rights.[14]

Actors and Subjects

It is useful to distinguish between *actors* who decide on the use of money as an instrument of migration governance and those who are *subjects* of the rules. In general, governments qualify as actors setting finance-related instruments in migration policy. However, they can also be subjected to financial obligations such as having to bear the costs for the reception of asylum seekers. Migrants and sponsors qualify as actors when they make money-related decisions on where to migrate or whom to hire. They are subject to rules that impose financial conditions on access to territory or family reunification. Employers or passenger carriers are generally seen as actors in the enforcement of migration rules. In fact, they are subjects of penalties included in rules on combating illegal immigration.

The exploration of the role of money in migration in this book uncovers a diverse range of actors, regulatory structures, and impacts which allow investigating the value of money across a myriad of migration laws, policies, and practices. The book includes chapters that address actors and the role of money at the macro level (does the EU budget on migration management reflect an exclusive or inclusive migration policy, Molinari, in Chapter 3) as well as chapters that include research on micro level (e.g. Böcker et al., Chapter 9, describe how money structures decisions of individual households and private employment agencies to hire migrants for in-house care; De Jong & De Hart, in Chapter 17, picture the 'expulsion' of individual citizens with a migrant partner in social policies). The book also includes analyses of intermediary actors such as recruitment agencies (De Sena, Chapter 6), employers of illegal immigrants (Morgan, Chapter 10), or households recruiting migrant workers (Böcker et al., Chapter 9), non-governmental organizations (Gazzotti, Chapter 4),

[13] Maas 2007; Schrauwen 2021.
[14] Maas 2013.

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intergovernmental organizations (Lebon-McGregor & Micinski, Chapter 2), or banks as service providers (D'Orsi, Chapter 13; De Lange & Guild, Chapter 12), all involved in shaping migration, participation, and citizenship. An emphasis on migrants and governments shows how wealth and income affect movement even within states, facilitating migration or making it more difficult (see Maas, Chapter 18). The focus of the book is on the role money plays in these actors' policies and practices, rather than on these actors as an industry.

Instruments

The *instruments* used can serve as incentives or barriers to migration, participation, or the enjoyment of citizenship rights; they are 'carrots or sticks' to manage migration. Income thresholds are an obvious barrier (Eggebø & Staver, Chapter 8). Less conspicuous barriers to participation are employer sanctions (Morgan, Chapter 10) or the 'unbanking' of sometimes long-time residents (De Lange & Guild, Chapter 12). Multiple chapters demonstrate money-related barriers to full citizenship (De Jong & De Hart, Chapter 17; Maas, Chapter 18; Mantu, Chapter 11; Schrauwen, Chapter 7). Investment citizenship, on the other hand, can incentivize migration, as can subsidies (Molinari, Chapter 3; Gazzotti, Chapter 4). In this volume, Lebon-McGregor & Micinski (Chapter 2) examine the role UN funding played in the origin and evolution of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), an organization with great impact in the field of migration management, supporting diaspora communities but also prominent actors in many return programmes. Böcker et al, Chapter 9, show how cash-for-care schemes (providing allowances instead of services to people dependent on long-term care) incentivize the recruitment of care workers from lower-wage countries.

Migration, Participation, and Citizenship

This introduction mirrors the book's tripartite focus on migration, participation, and citizenship. Following David Abraham's theoretical framework as presented in the seminal work of Brettell and Hollifield *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, the chapters are grouped under the three subthemes of migration, inclusion (which we rename 'participation'), and citizenship.[15] This structure allows us to offer an

[15] Abraham 2015, pp. 289–317.

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overarching engagement with migration theory and research. Migration, participation, and citizenship broadly reflect different stages in a migration trajectory, from movement to initial settlement and entering into another context to incorporation in that other context as citizens. Whereas migrants may not perceive their movement as taking place in stages, legal systems do take these stages as point of departure by setting rights and obligations per stage, requiring different sets of rules: rules on border controls and admission, rules on equal treatment and constitutional protection on non-migration matters for those allowed in, and rules of naturalization and access to citizenship for full incorporation.[16] Each policy stage can be perceived as more, or less, 'welcoming'.[17] As already discussed earlier, the authors in this book theorize these stages, again, each from their own disciplinary background.

Part I – Migration

Many actors are relevant in the study of a migration trajectory, be it sending/source states, local sponsors, or intermediaries and recruiters facilitating or restricting migration. And there are actors whose position is in between departure and arrival: not only migrants but also human traffickers, NGOs, states of transition, and transport companies. A focus on the role of money leads to sometimes overlapping analytical fields of study on a single migration trajectory: financial considerations that influence a person's decision to migrate or determine the availability of migration options; employers', agents', financial institutions', or sponsors' costs and benefits in relation to facilitating or restricting migration; decision-makers' financial considerations when governing or managing migration, where decision-makers can be states, international organizations, the EU, or their delegates.

Chapters 2 to 8 address one or more of these actors and their roles, their impact on migration trajectories, and their (ab)use of financial power (e.g. of receiving states over sending states or other institutions). These chapters also cover financial instruments in making, influencing or using migration law, policy, or practice such as financial obligations as conditions or practical obstacles for migration, costs and benefits of the type of migration they are involved in, or the categorization of the people or actors they impact.

[16] Abraham 2015.
[17] De Lange 2018.

Chapters 2 to 4 address funding of migration. Elaine Lebon-McGregor and Nicholas Micinski show how voluntary earmarked funding has an impact on the position of IOM, the governance of migration, and contributes to a growing fragmentation of migration regulation through informality and non-binding agreements. Caterina Molinari analyses changes in the EU budget and links them to various areas and objectives of the EU migration policy. She concludes that the EU uses money as a privileged tool to manage migration and that funding decisions post 2015 are mainly directed towards exclusion and return of migrants. Lorena Gazzotti zooms in on the funding of welfare care for migrants in Morocco. Her chapter on donor-funded projects lays bare how this may lead to states outsourcing care and the decision on who does (not) receive care. With that, responsibility has shifted, but without any accountability mechanisms in place other than the conditions of the donor-funded project.

Chapters 5 and 6 turn to the migration trajectory and migrant strategies. Charles Larratt-Smith provides the reader with a more internal perspective of the Venezuelan exodus. His chapter gives an inside and detailed illustration of how economic collapse may lead to people being forcibly displaced without having the protection the international community provides to refugees from war zones. The chapter shows how lack of money results in not being able to access temporary visas because of the fees a home state charges for official documents. With that, illegal border-crossing, dependence on the informal economy, exposure to crime, and exploitation follow in the Venezuelan-Colombian borderlands. Pedro de Sena's chapter brings us to labour migration in Asia. He shows how (lack of) protection of migrants starts at home, hence the importance of sending countries. Where recruitment fees are determined by a supply-and-demand system in both sending countries and destination countries, improvement of working conditions and access to work visas are hindered. The recruitment industry opposes regulation from sending states aimed at protection of migrants. Resulting recruitment-induced indebtedness thus can lead to dependence on the informal economy and exposure to crime and exploitation – also of migrants whose border-crossing was legal.

Chapters 7 and 8 focus on receiving states and their regulation of admission and residence via financial conditions. Income requirements are commonly used across the globe to manage migration, often with a high level of discretion for the receiving state to design the level of income it deems sufficient.[18] In Chapter 7, Annette Schrauwen looks at

[18] De Lange & De Sena 2020.

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policy and practice on income, or the lack thereof, in three receiving states in the context of internal EU labour migration. Her chapter shows how these states manipulate the internal EU regime on the free movement of workers via financial thresholds and turn to a policy of exclusion of EU citizens with a low or unstable income. Financial conditions are used to blur the formal distinction between the legal categories of EU citizens and migrants from outside the EU. In Chapter 8, Helga Eggebø and Anne Staver identify an economic drift, meaning the use of economic criteria seeps into the non-economic immigration policies, and stratification of migrants' rights in their chapter on restrictive amendments in Norwegian immigration policy on family reunification and access to permanent residence. These chapters signal a more general political development across the high-income states in Europe where money is key in regulating migration.

Part II – Participation

In *The Ethics of Immigration* Carens describes how, as a 'landed immigrant' in Canada, his rights and duties did not seem to differ from those of Canadian citizens for almost all practical purposes. He admits he was a privileged immigrant in many ways but still considers his position to be equal to other permanent residents in Canada and typical for permanently residing immigrants throughout Europe and North America.[19] The focus on money as facilitating participation[20] in the economy and society of the receiving state results in a different perspective. Money is an analytically overlooked tool of creating categories or of 'border drawing' between categories of migrants, citizens, between people eligible for rights and benefits, fit to belong, or not to belong that has a far wider impact than initial admission to the territory. Money has similar effects to the much more extensively mapped border drawing through time and space.[21] The chapter by Morgan provides a clear example of how attempts to control economic transactions replace formal border controls in the EU and how penalties turn employers into guardians of the formal economy who must block accession for certain migrants living in the host society. Financial rules or regulatory structures with financial

[19] Carens 2013, p. 88.

[20] We prefer to speak of participation as the term links more to transnationalism instead of inclusion (one-dimensional).

[21] On border drawing and concepts of time and space, see, for instance, Della Torre & de Lange 2018; Mezzadra & Neilson 2013.

implications determine participation in the society and economy of the receiving state, at macro-, meso- and micro-levels. Money-related instruments may impact migrants in ways that are not foreseen, as the example of the contradicting EU rules on access to payment accounts and combating terrorism financing shows, discussed by De Lange & Guild in Chapter 12. Money may influence the choice of migrants for a possible country of destination. It may also influence the choice of sponsors or employers for certain migrants, as a result of balancing affordability and legality. From a transnational perspective, financial regulations aimed at combating money laundering may have unforeseen consequences for remittances – even though the value of remittances for poverty alleviation and development is widely recognized, and facilitation of remittances is included in objective 10 of the global sustainable development goals and objective 20 of the UN Global Compact on Migration.

Chapter 9 describes how policies aimed at containing the costs of long-term care incentivize families with dependent elders to hire migrant care workers; it also shows that differences in national policies translate into different levels of law compliance in the families' arrangements with the migrant carers. Next, Morgan analyses in Chapter 10 how a similar template of financial instruments targeted to prevent unauthorized migrant work in European countries developed. The aim of these instruments seems to be deterrence and making it difficult for unauthorized migrants to sustain themselves by barring their access to the labour market. Access to the labour market is not barred for EU citizens, but financial criteria determining free movement rights do impact that access in particular for women. Mantu shows in Chapter 11 how seemingly neutral financial criteria and definitions present in EU free movement legislation and upheld by the European Court of Justice are not gender-neutral and deny or ignore the impact on EU free movement and citizenship rights of women.

The last two chapters under Part II turn to financial rules to combat money laundering and terrorism. Both chapters show how financial rules aimed at securitization have negative consequences for financial regulation of aims that are recognized as valuable and directed at inclusion and participation. D'Orsi takes the reader to the African continent in a very insightful chapter on the value of remittances. He explains the regulatory framework and the main actors related to remittances and provides case studies on three African countries. He argues that the impact of rules against money laundering should better take into account the position of migrants and the value of remittances. De Lange and Guild demonstrate in Chapter 12 how the EU rules aimed at migrant inclusion in payment system infrastructure are frustrated because of rules against terrorist financing and money laundering. Banks become border guards of formal financial participation of migrants. With the increasing abandoning of cash payments, not having a bank account may result in wider social exclusion.

Part III – Citizenship

Money should not just be understood as a means to pay for migration enforcement, border control, labour market access, or, on the individual level, a means to pay for food, travel, or education. Money is analytically disentangled as the normative value it stands for, the wealthy are not seen as a burden, having an income proves economic ties, having a profitable business is proof of taking 'responsibility', being trustworthy, and deserving a fast-track citizenship. Part III addresses the effect money may have on our understanding of citizenship as an equality-centred notion. In general, the theoretical focus in citizenship literature is not so much on migrants, but on transformation of the host society.[22] The ability of states to determine who their citizens are is a core element of sovereignty, yet EU citizenship creates new rights and a common status transcending the member states and requiring shared governance.[23] At the time of writing, this is motivating EU authorities to scrutinize member state policies on investor citizenship (discussed below), as well as subjecting member state policies on naturalization and denaturalizing to EU law. The chapters in part III address the link between money and citizenship and show how both citizenship and financial instruments can be used as a stick or carrot. Governments' use of citizenship to attract the wealthy has seen a revival at the beginning of the century, to such an extent that a whole industry of investment migration emerged, allowing private actors to make money out of the relationship between state and prospective citizen. On the other hand, governments' use of financial incentives or conditions to protect the welfare state may block access to citizenship even for those 'migrants' who are born on their territory. Furthermore, the use of a financial 'stick' to protect the welfare state may result in taking away or denying the protection of their citizenship to the 'undeserving'. The

[22] Brettell & Hollifield 2015, p. 14.
[23] Maas 2016; Schrauwen 2018.

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link between money and citizenship results in inequality, both internationally and within states.

The first three chapters under Part III focus on investment citizenship programs. Kristin Surak investigates the increasing concentration of wealth owned by a small group of elites, showing how high net worth individuals generally seek improved mobility rather than immigration, motivated by risk management, business opportunities, and visa-free travel. She argues that fortunes are made within states (caused by mass privatization, marketization, and increasing economic inequality) even as wealthy investor migrants seek to escape the same borders that enabled their wealth. Elena Prats' aim is to bring conceptual clarity to the debate on investor citizenship programmes. In her chapter, Prats provides a solid definition and investigates the legitimacy of the programmes by doing the theoretical exercise of deploying a method of assessment – contract law – grounded on the mainstream characterization of the programmes as commodifying and selling citizenship. Initiating her text with a conceptual distinction of the meanings of legitimacy, the author illustrates the use of the mentioned method with the case of the Maltese programme. Finally, Ayelet Shachar reminds us that the conditions of access to membership reveal much about a society's vision of citizenship and the power dynamics inherent in admission. She finds that money matters in shaping entry, settlement, and naturalization prospects, generating tremendous opportunities for the wealthy while closing doors for everyone else; wealth as a criterion for citizenship, long discredited in light of the ideal of political equality, is being revived.

The final two chapters focus on the relationship between money, migration, and citizenship within societies. Judith de Jong and Betty de Hart investigate the social and financial consequences of being a mixed-status family, focusing on the case of the Netherlands. The exclusion of illegalized individuals from certain benefits for housing, health, or child care extends to legal partners and family members, especially those who depend on social benefits to make ends meet, who also lose their rights to benefits. Because of their relationship with an illegalized migrant, they find themselves relegated to the margins of society as 'failed citizens'; financial instruments of the welfare state thus draw borders within mixed-status families, dividing families and devaluing citizens. Finally, Willem Maas investigates the role of money as facilitator and barrier to internal migration, and its resulting effects on democratic equality. As the previous chapters elucidated for international migrants, rich migrants are generally valued while poor migrants are generally shunned; Maas

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demonstrates that money matters even when the prospective migrants are internal migrants with shared rights and citizenship.

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