



BREXIT BRITS ABROAD

Brexit Brits Abroad Podcast Episode 26: Citizenship, identity and belonging beyond Brexit

First broadcast 29th June 2018

About the episode

In the final installment of our three-part series recorded at the event *From Mobile Citizens to Migrants*, the panel locate questions of citizenship, identity and belonging brought to the fore by Brexit within longer genealogies of who is a citizen. They talk through processes of inclusion and exclusion and the workings of migration governance and citizenship rights within this. And they consider the prospect and challenges of global free movement for challenging contemporary migration regimes through which some populations are racialized and excluded, while others cross borders with relative ease.

The panel is chaired by Professor Karen O'Reilly (Goldsmiths, University of London) and includes, [Aliyyah Ahad](#) (Migration Policy Institute) [AA], [Michaela Benson](#) (Goldsmiths, University of London) [MB], [Nadine El-Enany](#) (Birkbeck) [NE-E], [Omar Khan](#) (Runnymede Trust) [OK] and [Nando Sigona](#) (University of Birmingham) [NS].

You can download this episode of the podcast at <http://brexitbritsabroad.libsyn.com/ep026-citizenship-identity-and-belonging-beyond-brexit>

Transcript

MB Welcome back to the Brexit Brits Abroad podcast. I'm Dr Michaela Benson, a reader in sociology at Goldsmith's University of London and the research lead for a UK in a Changing Europe project that's all about what Brexit means for UK citizens who've made their homes and lives in the EU 27. Today's episode is the 26th episode in the Brexit Brits Abroad series and it's also the final instalment of the three-part series that we recorded live at our event from *Mobile Citizens to Migrants* back in May. The panellists, I'll just remind you, are Alira Hudd from Migration Policy Institute Europe, Nadine Elanani from the Centre for Research into Race and Law at Birkbeck, University of London, Omar Khan of the Runnymede Trust, and Nando Sigona, the research lead for another UK in a Changing Europe funded project, that's the EU Families and Euro Children project based at the University of Birmingham. In today's instalment we are going to be talking about questions of citizenship, identity and

belonging. These are questions that have been of central importance to ongoing discussions around Brexit and what it means for EU citizens living in the UK as much as for UK citizens living in the EU 27. What the discussion today does is to relocate those questions back into broader conversations around how migration regimes, migration governance, citizenship regimes and governance intersect with questions of identity and belonging, so we'll cover the future of freedom of movement and think about exclusions and inclusions into processes of citizenship. Karen started by asking Aliyyah to reflect on these considerations around citizenship, identity and belonging.

AA Coming from Brussels I just wanted to start off maybe by saying that Brexit isn't the only challenge facing the EU at this juncture and it's not even the only threat to freedom of movement facing the EU, there's still the reintroduction of temporary border controls in the Schengen area in France, Austria, Germany etc, but it's clear, as has been said already, that free movement is at the centre of the European project, it's one of the most celebrated aspects of EU citizenship and there were, a recent euro barometer came out that said 81% are in favour of free movement of EU citizens and 69% of respondents said they felt like an EU citizen and those are important things to keep in mind, but within this question of articulating citizenship and Britishness and Europeanness, I think there are a few points worth mentioning. The first that I'll make is just that freedom of movement does not necessarily equate with mobility, so freedom of movement from the draft withdrawal agreement at least we can see that there's this divorce between freedom of movement as the right to reside, and freedom of movement as the right to be mobile or to secondary movement, the latter is completely ignored within the latest draft withdrawal agreement, in fact the article that said we're not talking about this was even deleted from the draft withdrawal agreement. But there's a risk that by doing this divorce between residents and secondary movement within free movement rights, it'll cause disruptions to UK nationals living in the EU that we cannot even anticipate because as I said before we're not collecting the right data to know who this population is. And I think this uncertainty in particular means that the UK especially should be prepared for returning British nationals, who may also need immediate access to health care and benefits, particularly if they're elderly or infirm, and may need help navigating the habitual residence test and other ways to access services especially if they've been long-term residents elsewhere. I'll go quickly because I know we want to have time for questions. A second point I wanted to make is just about this looming question over whether EU citizenship could be divorced from member state citizenship and there's actually a case that's been referred to the European Court of Justice now brought by some UK citizens living in the Netherlands, and maybe we'll get into the discussion later about what the implications and trade-offs of that could be. I don't think that, I mean there aren't any bodies within the EU that are currently capable of granting EU citizenship that's removed from national citizenship and it's probably unlikely in the foreseeable future but that may be something that we want to touch on later in terms of actually

what makes someone a citizen because the rules governing citizenship obviously vary dramatically from country to country and aren't based on a real philosophical exploration of what makes a good citizen, it's usually just based on different historical circumstances or political posturing in different countries. And then the last point that I'll make, and I had a few discussions on this in the break, was that about Brexit has the potential to narrow conceptions of Europeaness. As I said before I'm British national technically though I wouldn't classify myself as European even though I have an EU citizenship, and I think it's interesting because among British citizens Brexit is creating a new class of free movement exercisers and their families who are able to keep most of their EU rights after Brexit, and then everyone else, so those who have not exercised free movement are those who formerly exercise free movement, and they will be subject to host member states that are national emigration rules as opposed to EU rules, and so it remains to be seen but potentially this will reintroduce or reinforce inequalities in mobility between Britons with a European heritage who may be able to access an alternative European citizenship, and those without that European heritage who are only British, and this also may have implications on what Europeaness means within the British context, because right now, theoretically at least though we've heard in practical terms it doesn't work out but Europe is theoretically available to everyone whereas it will become more remote after Brexit. And then the last point I'll make, which I also think is worth mentioning is just that the loss of the UK in the European Union is a step back in some ways for promoting diversity within the concept of Europeaness and also within European institutions and policymaking and I was describing earlier there was a politico series back in December, Brussels so white I think it was called, and it basically looked at how Brexit will change the face of the European Union and make it much whiter. Around half of the non-white members of the European Parliament are British and that's actually something that we should think in for a little while.

KoR Wow, fascinating note to end on, thank you. Omar, would you like to ...

OK Yes, I was invited by one of them [name] to speak on this issue and we were involved in the late 90s in the drafting of the race directive and I do think it's one of the things that will be missed, the British argument for collecting data, the British approach to tackling racial inequalities will be missed at the Commission level, who is going to advocate for those issues within the Parliament, within the Commission with the UK gone, I'm also worried as well about, from a European perspective, already with Orban saying that, you know not simply that Hungary shouldn't have any Muslim or black people living in it but that if you looked at France and the UK as failed examples, and explicitly saying that those people, i.e. black and Asian, French and British people were not really European, so there will be I think with Britain leaving as well increasing potentially a bloc within the EU, and I think this speaks though to the failure of the Commission really to implement the race directive and to some of the values and rights that were supposed to define

Europe rather than, I mean I think there is this tension now in Europe as well as in the UK, I don't think it's limited to Europe by any stretch between are we going to define ourselves in terms of values or are we going to define ourselves in terms of ethno-nationalism and there's a real test here, and I think freedom of movement has always been seen as part of that, the values bit, but I'm just as worried about the values of, there's no point in people being free to move if they can't exercise equally the rights once they move to those countries. And then I want to say two quick things about a UK perspective on this so I think the one I suppose hopeful note is, I mean Britain doesn't just have two tiers of citizenship, there's five forms of citizenship you know we have all these kinds of hangovers from Hong Kong and all these things, so hopefully this will be, if there's a rational person in the Home Office that they will try to get rid of these multi-layered forms of citizenship, most British people are unaware actually that we don't have birth-right citizenship and if you ask the public they are in favour of it, and it's one of the things that, from the grandchildren of Windrush so I think there might be an opportunity with the decline of some of the debate on immigration, to look more rationally at our citizenship law to reduce the fees for, oh it's £1,200 to become a British citizen so hopefully there'll be some thought, I'm trying to be optimistic about some of those things as you can hear. The other kind of hopeful but also I suppose somewhat scary thought actually post-Windrush because we still haven't had that conversation about empire is that in a way we deferred the conversation about who we were post-empire because we wore the cloak of Europeaness, but we never were very comfortably, we were always a little bit not really European and that's fundamentally where a lot of these issues have come from, we didn't participate equally in Erasmus, we always sent the fewest people to apply for *stagaires* all of this we were sort of half in. Now that we take off the cloak of Europeaness maybe we have to face who we are a bit, so that's my kind of thought about our identity post Brexit.

KoR Thank you very much, and thank you for trying to be positive. Nando.

NS I take a slightly different angle. It's interesting about the question about the Europeaness because I mean from the interviews we did very few people ever consider it, I mean one of the things we ask is to what extent you feel European or European or whatever it is and it's something that became relevant as part of the Brexit debate in many, for many people in different ways. I mean you just need to observe the number of EU flags that you never seen in this country until after the referendum, I mean young people when they talked etc but that's quite interesting change in that when an identity become relevant to understand is constructive response to specific contingency or circumstances etc. The interesting thing about the freedom of movement the 81% of people that really sort of love it is what I think is that then the actual people that move is much lower than that, seen with Erasmus, I mean Erasmus, despite the 40 years is more or less the 5% of the youth actually enjoyed has never changed that much, with some countries as you said Britain never ... I'm also Erasmus officer in my

department so I know that how difficult send students to another European country unless they got some heritage from the country. But the same time it's always been one of the preferred destination etc so it's quite interesting how, even in the context of theoretically a freedom of movement is the fact that this, there is a potential that is really part of constructing this European identity is that. And one thing which I think was interesting in the research we are doing on the generation, one way of representing this Euro children, our project, is to look at them as a second generation Europeans. And try to see to understand within the space of the family the extension that produce the changing politics of belonging is negotiated and mediated and transformed what is interesting and we were talking over lunch about this, with current was that while for example the parents, the first generation the EU national they move to Britain feel very anxious about the ridge, the gap that Brexit is putting between them and their children so people for example told us you know I'm really worried because my children are born here, this seems to become more and more British and now I'm not even allowed anymore to make jokes about the Brits because they are offended. On the other hand some of the interviewees said with Euro children, with people that were born in Britain from parents from another EU 27 nationality, pointed out that their anxiety, they're not very worried about themselves in many ways, we were expecting more tension about oh you grew up in an environment where you are meant to be British and European same times and then how do you reconcile that, we were expecting this kind of debate. Instead what the people were expressing were anxiety for their parents, so that the Euro children are worried about their parents and the parents are worried about the children in the sense for different reasons so this idea of some of the parents we have come across where in situation in which they migrate 40, 35 years ago from Italy for example they never applied for any form of documentation and there is no track record of that they have been here now they are over 70s and basically they are kept invisible because they're worried about as soon as they present their documents to Home Office they will basically become is the letter of expulsion so it's quite interesting.

KoR Thank you very much. Michaela?

MB So I think there are a few things that other people have said that I want to pick up on, and what I wanted to go back to, the conversation that we were having previously about freedom of movement and remind people that freedom of movement within the European Union was always primarily about labour market integration, so it is framed very much around the needs of labour market integration across the European Union, and that's why it has this particular character as I said it discriminates against disabled populations for example. And there are some sectors within the European Union which are a really big success story in relation to European integration, of which higher education is actually one. So higher education particularly research that's conducted within the higher education sectors across Europe is a really good example of European integration, to the point where, I don't know if this is the case in your study, we have quite a lot of people who take part in

the citizens panel of the Brexit Brits Abroad project who have exercised their freedom of movement to go and work in specialist research clubs across the European Union who might be there on short-term contracts and who now are worried that they're going to find themselves in a position where there will be no continuation of their contracts and where they will also not have any continued freedom of movement around the European Union. So again, going back to the oxymoron, freedom of movement was never really about movement, it was about settlement because the assumption is that an integrated labour market is a settled labour market. In respect to what we're finding out in respect to questions of citizenship and identity, I think there's some similarities and some differences and what, to what Nando's described. Karen and I in our previous work had noted that British populations in Europe very rarely use the E-word, they would very rarely refer to themselves as European and yet in starting this project and going back to France I've come across a greater number, probably the majority of the people who we talked to, will use that as a way of distinguishing themselves from what they see as a Britain that no longer wants them, a Britishness that no longer represents them. Now I think there are various ways that we can explain this, I suspect that in earlier research we were conducting people who would take part in our research and were more likely to be the people for whom being British meant something, and the people who felt that Britishness might contain some element of Europeanness may not therefore have come forward to take part in ethnographic research about British populations who've settled in Europe but I do also think that probably we're talking about a situation where we're, in my case 15 years later in terms of European integration and the people who are moving, who've moved in the interim, in the 15 years between when I started doing my PhD research and the research that I've more recently been doing about Brexit and British populations abroad, are, you know, the product of a different era of European integration, so we've really been questioning the meaning that's there, that's behind all of that, and I think that, certainly I don't think that we can understand what those UK citizens who've settled or are moving around Europe are saying about being European from what they say about being British at this point in time, so really looking into the kind of cultural significance of those identities for those populations, while also, you know, taking those, you know, within a framework of understanding that to even be able to claim those identities is produced through a whole set of historical circumstances that mean that these people were able to exercise their freedom of movement at particular point in time when others weren't.

KoR Thank you. Nadine.

NE-EYeah, just to go back I think really to a point that I was making earlier is that when we were thinking about transformations in citizens' rights and sort of supposedly secure statement, this status is becoming insecure, it's important to highlight that statuses like British citizenship which of course EU citizenship derives from, are not stable and secure categories, so people who are racialised as non-white, so whilst white British people may think that

they're losing something for people who are British maybe would never even have felt that they had something that they could actually rely on or if they did they'd learnt the hard way that that wasn't the case. So for instance those historically disenfranchised by changes to British nationality law like the 1981 British Nationality Act, 1971 --- (17.41) had sought and failed to rely on EU free movement which they actually saw as something that might empower them to regain some of those rights when those changes came in, so they've actually asked the European Court of Justice for recognition as EU citizens so have rights of entry and stay and work in Britain and in the EU for example the core case of 2001 where you had a resident of a British overseas territory had lost her right, had been stripped of her right to enter Britain after the 1981 British Nationality Act even though she was still classed, she had a sort of sub-citizenship of Britain, she asked the European Court of Justice to recognise as an EU citizen so that she could join her family but also live work in Britain and the court said no, it's for member states to decide their nationality. I mean of course we know that the political context for the changes in those laws was precisely Britain turning away from its commonwealth markets and looking instead to Europe as a way to kind of to grow its economy but of course there are also people within Britain who are undocumented and may have lived here for a short period of time or a very long period of time but don't have British citizenship and therefore don't have European citizenship, again because it derives one from the other and we've seen post the Windrush cases children who've for example their parents never sorted out their documentation who can't study, can't get a student loan and are basically living extremely precarious existence and at risk of being deported and indeed some have and there have been cases of people who, one case at least I know of a woman who died after being deported and didn't have adequate medical health care. So alongside immigration law it's important to look at nationality law as being influenced by Britain's imperial project and also being instrumentalised to regulate belonging and who should be allowed to belong and who shouldn't, and Britain doesn't tend to be talked about as having had a white Australia policy because it wasn't explicit but really we can see those changes to legislation in the 70s and 80s as really constructing for the first time an identity of Britishness as being white and tied to a very specific geographical location which prior to that period, prior to 1981 was never articulated in those terms of course because of Britain's imperial identity. So those changes of course have very catastrophic implications for peoples as we have discussed previously who come up against the border both internally and externally in these violent ways. And on that I want to draw attention again to the deprivation of citizenship laws which precede Brexit but are a very good example of the way in which citizens can become non-citizens, so there have been deprivation of citizenship and if anybody's interested in this Nisha Kapoor's book *Deport Deprive Extradite* published by Versus out recently so you can read more about these cases, but also the denial of naturalisation so the refusals of naturalisation applications on grounds of not being of good character which affect people for example who are, who are recognised refugees but because they may have committed a crime or be suspected of having been committed a crime

in the country from which they fled and therefore were given refugee status, --- (20.51) not to return is then used as a reason to deny them refugee status, but it happens to people who are not so easily celebrated as well and so this really creates a two-tier citizenship, a British citizenship whereby racialised subjects are vulnerable to being stripped of that citizenship let alone of course their European citizenship which would go with it, whilst white British citizens are not at risk so in this way we can see Britain as a space that's actually been constantly racially reshaped and reimagined through law, and of course we see the hostile environment as being an example of this in the way of shaping and producing racialised and policed subjects. I think we can predict the future to some extent by looking back, something which I'm always trying to do and I think that we don't do enough in Britain and in a way Brexit is kind of allowed a space for this sort of discussions to be had although of course the circumstances are extremely unfortunate. So I think if we again just to draw on Sara Ahmed again the idea that colonialism means that the world is bequeathed before an individual's arrival and that's not an individual's arrival in terms of his being a migrant but just in terms of the person, then we need to be asking really questions about how we, how we can insist on a differently ordered world. Now I know of course I'm really making a call for kind practical suggestions on this, but you know people who are involved in kind of anti-racist organising and really have been for many years have really a lot to teach us on strategies for organising for solidarity, for mobilising and I don't just mean people within Britain but people who come from communities which have very long histories of dispossession and oppression whether we talk about black communities living in the UK today or we talk about people who've struggled against colonialism, neo-colonialism elsewhere, so it's about actually amplifying those voices, ensuring there are spaces on curricula and education programmes for people to learn about their history and really understand the history of this country so that we don't have these kind of totally ahistorical sort of assertions and claims made and we have a really educated sort of discussion on these issues.

KoR Thank you very much, and thank you especially for giving us some real life stories that bring that all to life for us, that's really great.

(applause)

KoR So I'm going to take one final round of questions or comments. OK, so fairly quick questions and fairly quick responses.

Q Hi my name's Dinesh, I study law, development and globalisation at SOAS. I was just thinking about the categorisation of citizenship and how it actually draws us away from thinking about a global freedom of movement struggle and I think it's easy for people with certain levels of privilege to sit on the ground floor and campaign for freedom of movement against the glass ceiling when there are people in the basement struggling to get to the ground floor in the beginning and the idea of citizenship is intrinsically tied to ideas of carcerality so prisoners being denied basic rights that would be given to other

citizens and the way in which discrimination racialised and gendered and classed, so I wondered what the panel thought about how to articulate a global struggle for freedom of movement worldwide.

KoR And the appropriate question I think what was said earlier. Any more final questions or comments? Then I think that's quite a nice note to end on actually so I'll just turn it over to you guys for final thoughts on that. Obviously ...

OK Well I'm the one who, I mean I promoted it. I mean that's one of the reasons I suggested that potentially, I mean you're right, the link between citizenship as well in that certain citizens cannot, already can't exercise rights so I think we do need to focus on improving the quality and nature of our democracies as they exist now, can't just be either or. And yeah there might be a reason to have constraints on some forms of migration until that happens but I think we still need to think what kind of, what a socially just world would look like if it has to tie our account of domestic social justice to our account of global social justice. And I don't think those things are connected very well and I think in particular immigration policies are pulled out of that as a sort of separate thing, whereas in fact that's the bit that would connect our account of what a domestic social justice programme looks like and an international global social justice programme, and it's one of the reasons I suggested somewhat tongue in cheek but I think seriously, which is I think residents of a place for more than a year should have the full panoply of rights that attach to citizenship regardless of whether or not they have that passport because democracy involves the freedom to vote. All of those who's interested or are affected by the polity they're under I think should have the ability to decide where this country, where that place is going, so I think that would be one thing. I think the other thing is if we're talking seriously as a short-term view, either we need to expand the notion of who a refugee is beyond the narrow political ones, or we need an additional category because I view migration as a means of international social justice and that more people should move or should have the right to move if they want to move, and therefore I think we need to open up another route of state. I won't put a number on it but tens of thousands to every single wealthy country from every single poor country and that population transfer should be incentivised and encouraged, so that's the other thing. I mean these are quite utopian ideas but you can start small I think with them, you start pushing these things in a little way and I think we get there, but if we don't tackle racial discrimination and other things it doesn't fully make sense to expose people to that of course.

KoR Thank you. Nando?

NS I am going to go for a kind of provocative ending. In a sense if the global freedom of movement is actually an option to think about, positive action, and I say this because we should go back to something behind the ideology of freedom of movement, both in European Union and in the context of the empire. I mean it's not, I mean it sounds like a normative concept which is

all beautiful and we should aspire to but it's actually got a very strong economical structural dimension to it, you know. The global freedom of movement, the fact that for some international corporation will love it in an extent it's something that make me think about how do we position it, was it one end, and this is a controversy and a debate within the open border debate around who really wants it and who doesn't want it and, you know, now if you look at the labour party today it's really the core of some of the debate, so I think we need really to unpack it a bit more first and really start to think about that implication in many ways and then sort of build on and I think the point of a solidarity is a very crucial point, I mean starting from the European nationals that are losing the freedom of movement and how we can build alliance with the other migrants in a sense within the concept of freedom but also we can bring it outside.

KoR Aliyyah, did you want to add anything?

AA Global freedom of movement is, it's really I think a radical reimagining of the world that we live in today, even what you said about residents being tied to political enfranchisement, you know decisions made in capitals all over the world that affect the global population that people aren't allowed to vote in, so that's ...

OK You can argue that the US president has more influence over people in Antigua, prime minister of Antigua.

AA Exactly, well maybe that's just a critique of democracy, maybe not a free movement, but I think one thing I just wanted to say on that point, what Nando said, Michael Clemens has a piece, maybe a seminal piece on I think it's 5 billion dollars walking on the sidewalk or something about how much money there is to be gained from free movement so that may be an ally if you're looking for one. But I just wanted to say in terms of the EU's relationships with their country partnerships, I think that's an area where free movement at least on a regional basis could definitely be promoted so the third country partnership framework that they came out with largely discourages regional migration and sort of upsets border economies and in fact can deprive people of their livelihoods so it has a sort of counter impact, or a negative impact that wasn't intended, whereas it's contrary to the African Union's aspirations for the continent which is to have free movement, though I mean it can start on a smaller scale I think than trying to go straight for the globe. But even within ASEAN as well the Asian countries also have it on their sort of agenda as something potentially so I think maybe starting, starting regionally would be a good place.

NE-Yeah thanks Dinesh for that point I think it's a really good one and I think you know we can always count on you for a kind of really helpful kind of critical question that kind of really shakes, we've all been discussing and I thank you for that, and I think that your way of looking at it should help to sort of restructure how we're looking at things. The only thing that I feel a little bit is a bit premature talking about global free movement is, I think that

because of the age of global free movement which essentially meant that white people could emigrate to wherever they wanted and you know it's not talked about so it's unremarkable because it was a level of entitlement that was so ingrained in, and that continues to be ingrained in the way in which our global order is structured is one that is racially hierarchised, because of that I'm a little bit wary of, you know, who would actually benefit from something like global free movement? What I would say first is that what we need is an acknowledgement by white dominant powerful states is that colonialism was something, and what was done during colonialism was something that was maybe wrong and maybe bad, we're not even there yet where we're actually thinking about apologies and reparations and proper education on colonialism and what it was, maybe we should be listening to the social movements within former colonial countries who have very detailed programmes of what reparative justice would look like, and I think if we were to start there in terms of what reparative justice would actually look like then we can begin to, we will begin to unravel some of the things that mean global free movement understood as kind of actual racially equal thing, what it would actually look like, would begin to take shape, but we're not even there yet. So I think that we need to start with that first, thanks.

KoR All I wanted to finish by saying was, it's been absolutely incredible because I've been through all sorts of emotions while I've sat here from sort of excitement and enthusiasm because of the potential for a more positive outcome for some aspects of Brexit, obviously depression but then I have to say this whole project that we're working on around Brexit has pulled me through these emotions anyway. We've raised phenomenal range of issues today, I've got masses of notes and I won't go through them all but I've really enjoyed thinking about categories of migrants and hierarchies of migrants, precarity and privilege, the normality of migration and sort of the assumptions around the abnormality of migration that's something that's always driven me crazy, all sorts of other things like when Omar said freedom of movement has been a recognition of multicultural identity that really struck me, we've had a lot of attention drawn to the diversity of migrants, the power of states and the role of the state in monitoring migration and mobility, some wonderful stories that have really illustrated the complexity and sometimes the sadness around migration, didn't want to change the debate but I think we could have heard a little more about things around poverty and class and ability disability but that probably would have been a whole different panel. So once again I thank you all very very much, it's been, I have been humbled to sit here so it's been a privilege, thank you very much.

(applause)

MB And just to close, I wanted to say obviously thanks to the panel for coming along and for engaging in what I thought was a really interesting discussion, but also to the British Library for hosting us, to the UK in a Changing Europe

who actually supplied us with the funds to run this event, to Emma and Tom from Art of Podcast who are there doing our recording, and to Chantelle Lewis who did all of the behind the scenes organising.

(applause)

MB As well as to Laurence Phillips for helping me with the idea in the first place, so thank you all very much and thank you for being a wonderful audience, for coming along and bringing your questions with you as well and yes, thank you.

KoR Thank you to Michaela.

(applause)

MB Thank you for listening to the Brexit Brits Abroad podcast. If you've enjoyed what we've been talking about today and want to find out more, check out our website www.brexitbritsabroad.com, or you can follow us on social media via Twitter @brexpatseu and on Facebook. And don't forget to subscribe to our podcasts on iTunes.