



Where do we come from? A History of Europe and Citizenship

Let's start at the beginning – where has this concept of citizenship come from in Europe, and what shapes and forms has it taken over the centuries? This chapter cannot tell the whole story of citizenship, and neither that of Europe. What this chapter can do, hopefully, is to show you where some of our ideas and traditions and some of our intellectual heritage comes from. Clearly, such an attempt can only be subjective. We invite you on a small journey into the past: discover great ideas and famous thinkers, reflect upon their thoughts and beliefs and form your own opinion. Enjoy the trip!

Citizenship in the ancient world

The idea of citizenship is said to be born in the classical world of the Greeks and the Romans. When the time of kings had passed, the idea developed to involve at least some of the inhabitants in defining law and executing government – clearly the first roots of modern citizenship! But most of the tiny city-states of ancient Greece allowed only free resident men to participate in their civic life, which implies that citizens were in numbers actually a minority. Children, women, slaves and foreigners were not considered citizens. The Romans even used the citizen's status 'civitas' as a privilege which could be gained – and lost.

As you can see, citizenship didn't always mean to live in a democratic environment! Nevertheless, already at that time there were thinkers like the Greek philosopher Plato, who was convinced that democracy is no less than the most attractive form of civil society. He was even convinced that his "Republic" could only begin after a revolution. And how powerfully did history prove that he was right!

Another great philosopher was Aristotle. Many of his ideas, developed more than 2,300 years ago, still play an important role in our lives and in the way we think and act today. "The whole is greater than the sum of its parts" is a quote we often use, but hardly anyone knows that Aristotle coined this famous phrase. More important for our purpose is his conviction that communities exist because of human kind's impulse to be and live with others. Aristotle also wrote something which will still be true in another 2,300 years: He believed that well-organised education – in schools as well as outside formal institutions – creates societies in which citizens want more than to survive, namely to live together with a sense of social responsibility. Amazing, isn't it?

One facet of the ancient world you may have heard about before is the 'Agora', a public place and the centre of civic activity in ancient Athens. It was here that decisions by citizens were taken, where discussions were held and where exchanges took place. The 'Agora' was the heart of Athens' civil society, a society based on the community and the collective rather than the individual.

If you want to explore the ancient world a bit further, you can consult the following websites:

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/asbook.html>

<http://ancienthistory.about.com/>

<http://plato.evansville.edu/public/burnet/>

<http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/GREECE/GREECE.HTM>

<http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/ROME/ROME.HTM>

<http://sophies-world.com/SophieText/aristotle.htm>

http://home.earthlink.net/~pdistan/howp_2.html

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Citizenship disappears – and returns

The notion of 'citizenship' and underlying concepts and philosophies had basically vanished from the continent during the medieval times of feudalism, when only few people were entitled to rule the great majority.

It was only during the 16th century and the Renaissance movement that citizens gradually re-appeared in Europe, especially in the Italian city-states, where citizenship was usually connected to certain conditions. In most of the cities, citizenship was limited to children of citizens. In Venice, to give you one example, you had to live as a non-citizen and pay taxes for 15 years in order to become a Venetian citizen.

But it was the 'Enlightenment' that finally brought the concept of citizenship powerfully back to Europe. Read on to find out more or hold on for a moment and discover the time of the Renaissance:

<http://www.historyguide.org/earlymod/lecture1c.html>

<http://www.oir.ucf.edu/wm/paint/glo/renaissance/>

<http://www.bartleby.com/65/ci/citystat.html>

<http://www.crs4.it/Ars/arshtml/arstitle.html>

The European Enlightenment

'The Enlightenment' was a very comprehensive European movement, embracing philosophy, art, literature, and music, as well as social, cultural, linguistic and political theory in the late 17th and 18th centuries. The Enlightenment was concerned to reach outside itself and see the world differently – which also included the role of citizens and the meaning of citizenship. One of its basic understandings is that nothing is given or pre-determined, but that the universe is fundamentally rational, which means it can be understood through the use of reason alone and it can be controlled. From this starting point and inspired by the Greek city-states, Jean-Jacques Rousseau developed the idea that all citizens should contribute to political decisions without thought for personal advantage.

The ideas of 'enlightened' philosophers had a great impact: The French Revolution identified itself with the ideas of the 'enlightenment', and they also influenced the constitution of the United States of America. And even today Rousseau's ideas haven't died. John F. Kennedy once said, almost a hundred years later: "Political action is the highest responsibility of a citizen", and many more quotes from a lot of famous people could be added. Just think how many people you can see talking about different ideas promoted and developed during the 'Enlightenment' every day on TV, or actually in your very neighbourhood, even during your daily work!

Unfortunately, this is not the place to get deeper into the ideas behind the 'Enlightenment', but here are a few exciting possibilities to read further about Rousseau and Voltaire, Hume and Smith and many other great philosophers and their stimulating thoughts:

<http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/ENLIGHT/ENLIGHT.HTM>

<http://mars.wnec.edu/~gempel/courses/wc2/lectures/enlightenment.html>

http://www.wsu.edu/~brians/hum_303/enlightenment.html

<http://europeanhistory.about.com/cs/enlightenment/>

http://home.earthlink.net/~pdistan/howp_7.html



The liberal understanding of citizenship

The basic idea behind the liberal understanding of citizenship is simply that there are certain basic rights every citizen has as long as they are loyal to their state (not to the regime in power at any given moment).

One of the first and most influential liberal thinkers was the English philosopher John Locke. According to him, the state exists for the sake of citizens and the protection of their rights and freedoms. Based on a social contract between the people and their government, citizens have the freedom to think, to believe, to express their beliefs, to organise themselves, to work, to buy and sell, and to choose their government freely as well as to change it (actually even to remove it by revolution).

Beyond these ideas connected to the liberty of individuals, some of the liberal thinkers were also concerned by questions regarding the collective and society as a whole. The Scottish philosopher John Stuart Mill argued for instance, that moral maturity is essential and is only possible if a citizen is involved in some kind of collective activity with other citizens or on their behalf. Liberty and freedom only make full sense by being connected to notions such as collective responsibility and equality, or, as Hobhouse expressed it: "Liberty without equality is a name of noble sound and squalid meaning" (1911, p. 38). This unalterable belief in the fundamental equality of all people is actually something that can be traced as far back as the Stoics, a philosophical movement founded in Athens around 300 B.C.

From these two closely related, but also clearly distinguishable positions, two schools of thought developed. They both share the same essential belief in the utmost significance of liberty and are usually referred to as liberal individualist (the former) and liberal communitarian or republican (the latter). As you can see, the adjective 'liberal' is related to much more than only the free market economy, a way in which the liberal movement is very often interpreted and limited to nowadays!

The roots of liberalism still play an important role in today's societies, as do the ideas of the period of the 'Enlightenment': Just think about the often-used argument that citizens are not born, but made. In other words: People have to grow up in democratic environments to become democratic citizens.

A few great resources to explore the ideas of the liberal movement further are:

<http://www.worldlib.org>

<http://www.utm.edu/research/iep/l/locke.htm>

<http://www.turnleft.com/liberal.html>

<http://www.utm.edu/research/iep/m/milljs.htm>

<http://www.lymec.org>

http://www.britannica.com/heritage/article?content_id=1374

Revolutions

Based on the entirely rational world-view promoted by the 'Enlightenment', a lot of ideas were developed on how society could be influenced and changed. Ideas for change lead to demands for change, and demands for change led to the revolutions we all know. Revolutions were seen as the most effective way to achieve political and social change.

The French Revolution was the first major social revolution, of far greater dimensions and – with its 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen' - of deeper significance than the American Revolution that had preceded it. Only the Russian Revolution of October 1917, which led to modern Communism, can rival in world importance what happened in France at the end of the 18th century.

The foundation of the modern republic, the strict separation of state and church, the root of the human rights movement, the birth of the famous revolutionary triad 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity', the ignition spark for the first explicit feminist movements – so many things have been the direct or indirect result of these social revolutions that we can't name them all. But we can invite you to a tour exploring some of the ideas and impacts and, most importantly, the human beings who did all of this!

http://www.britannica.com/history/euro/1/2_2.html

<http://www.thehistorychannel.co.uk/classroom/gcse/rus2.htm>

<http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/REV/>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/education/modern/russia/russifla.htm>

<http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/browse/texts/>

<http://revolution.h-net.msu.edu/>

<http://www.pbs.org/ktca/liberty/>

<http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/revolution/>

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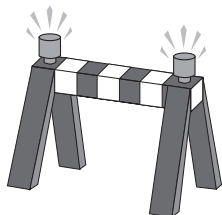
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 Within which of the above-mentioned schools of thought would you most like to be a citizen? 

 Within which of the above-mentioned schools of thought would you most like to be a leader? 





For each school of thought above, make a human statue (Image Theatre), showing the relationship between citizens, the state, and other players in society. Bring them together and look for comparisons, differences and signs of development / progress.

(For more on Image Theatre, see http://www.engage.nu/interact/Working_Methods/interactivetheatre.htm)

Having introduced you to the main schools of thought, which inspired today's understanding of citizenship, and the main events that have led us to where we are today, we invite you to discover some other notions connected to citizenship and their origins. Please keep in mind that these notions are often closely related to different philosophical movements and historical events, and that we can't point out all of these links all the time. Moreover, these notions are, as is the whole chapter, subjectively chosen and described. We trust it will stimulate your thinking.

The Nation State

The concept of nation states has only existed for the past two hundred years, even though we quite often tend to believe the opposite, just because it's what we know. But actually history is not the history of nation states. One could even dare to ask whether the concept of the nation state is only transitory. Processes like globalisation, the strengthening of the European Union and immigration have forced the once-so-closed nation states to open up. How long is their chapter in history going to last after all?

 What do you think the nation state will look like in 20 years time? 

It is basically the modern history of Europe, which can be described as the history of nation states. Many European nations materialised as states as late as the 19th century. It was usually only after their formation that languages were homogenised, national educational systems were set up and elements of a shared national 'culture' appeared (such as flags, anthems and similar symbols).

In the end, nations can be constructed more or less by chance, and they can be de- and reconstructed as well. It is important to realise that, when a nation is constructed, some people are included and others not, and the question of inclusion almost never takes into account what the people feel they are. Looking carefully at the European integration process and the political debate about immigration, you can see exactly that happening: by defining who is part of the European Union and who is not, some people are included, others are excluded. Do you know anyone who feels European but is not a legal citizen of the European Union?

While all states clearly define who is part of their nation and who is not, and who is allowed to become part of their nation and who is not, there are distinct differences in the way they do so. In some countries the belonging to their nation is determined according to the 'jus sanguinis' (originally from Latin and means 'law of blood'). It simply means that a child takes their citizenship from their father or mother. In other countries the 'jus soli' rules (also Latin and means 'law of the soil'), meaning that citizenship is decided by the place of birth. These systems are antagonistic and regularly lead to dual nationalities or statelessness (the loss of any citizenship).

For many reasons, nation states are nowadays not, as they used to be, independent from each other in the strongest meaning of the word. On the contrary, the interdependence between nation states is growing faster and stronger day after day. Just think of the Euro, which in consequence binds twelve European nation states very closely together. But actually the Council of Europe represents the first post-war attempt to organise and strengthen this interdependence, an attempt whose success was visible during its 50th anniversary in 1999.

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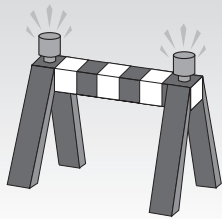
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The European Union is another, more advanced, model for the regulation of mutual dependence between a number of nation states in Europe. The EU has come a long way from its modest early stages of economic co-operation to a matured union, which is somewhat close to a confederation and has further ambitions. Actually the EU manages, for the first time in the history of nation states, to extract national sovereignties to a supranational level and to create a dynamic balance between this new sovereignty and national interests. And it also helps to sensitise people to the fact that the nation state is not the only form of collective identity and that it does not have a higher dignity than other elements of one's identity.



Brainstorm a list of issues that you think are important for people in society today. In small groups, discuss whether you think those issues should best be dealt with at local, national or international level. Feedback from the discussions and compare answers. Open up a discussion about appropriate levels for decision-making ("subsidiarity"). Link to the role of the European Union.

The Euro was not the first ...

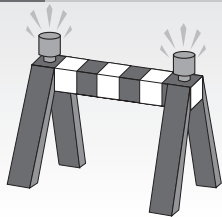
When the Euro was introduced on January 1, 2002, replacing twelve of the world's major currencies in one go, there was a lot to be read about the singleness of this event, the uniqueness of this moment and the outstanding achievement of twelve European countries.

But by going back more than a thousand years in European history, you will find out that there has been a truly European currency before. It was around 750 when Pepin the Short, King of the Franks, introduced the Silver Denier, a currency that remained Europe's standard for more than 500 years.

As is the history of nation states, the history of European currencies is amazingly brief. None of the Euro-states' currency was older than 200 years. The German Deutschmark had just turned 50 when it was replaced by the Euro. The life stories of most European currencies are surprisingly short, but very often people are convinced of the opposite. Were you?



How long has your country's currency existed in its present (or pre-Euro) form?



Set up a debate for and against the introduction of a single global currency

Human rights are older than you might think...

The concept of human rights can be traced back to the Stoics in ancient Greece as well as to other cultures outside Europe. The first time a written charter, containing some basic rights of men, was developed is believed to have been in England, where King John of England signed the 'Magna Carta Libertatum' in the 13th century.

During the Renaissance movement most of the thinkers drew on the ancient Greek belief that all men are equal, and in the following 17th and 18th centuries the idea of underlying natural rights evolved. But it was only during the 'Enlightenment' and the time of the revolutions at the end of the 19th century that human rights (as rights possessed by people simply as, and because they are, human beings) became part of the political agenda.

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It was the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, which unforgettably expressed that 'all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.' Amazingly and sadly enough, the US constitution did not extend these rights to either slaves or women.

In 1788 the 'Declaration of the rights of man and of citizens' was adopted as a result of the French revolution, defining basic human rights similar to those outlined in the Declaration of Independence.

It was only in 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was unanimously adopted by the UN on December 10, that human rights were declared valid not only for men, but for every human being.



Do you believe that human rights should be applied universally, in the same way to every woman, man and child on this planet? Should people be forced to follow the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? How would you deal with people who violated any of these "Rights"?



Since then, a number of human rights standards have been adopted throughout the world. It is to the Council of Europe's merit that a European 'Convention for the protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms' exists, which protects any human being on the territory covered by the convention. The convention is complemented by a European Court of Human Rights, which persons affected by human rights' violations can appeal to.

There is a lot more to be said about human rights, enough to write a separate publication! Feel free to explore some of these remarkable resources to learn more about human rights and human rights education:

- <http://www.coe.int/hre>
- <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>
- <http://www.un.org/works/humanrights/humanrights1.html>
- <http://www.echr.coe.int/>
- <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/WhatYouWant.asp?NT=005>
- <http://www.unhchr.ch/>

Women

Women have made up half of the population since the very beginning of our existence, but nevertheless they were often ignored. We had to point out several times already, that noble and human ideas such as the existence and the protection of undeniable natural rights were in their beginnings often only applied to men, not to women. When you take your history books from school, how many women do you find in it?

It is not a secret that no country has achieved full equality between women and men – yet. But still it is a valid question to ask if there has basically been any woman influential in history at all. Think back to the chapter you have just read. Do you remember a female name?

It might be true that women have been less dominant throughout most of the history that we are aware of. But considering everyday life, the only thing we can surely claim is that women have been less influential in the writing of history and history books.

We have collected some powerful websites for you to discover more about the history of women and their present situation. Dive in!

- <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/>
- <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/>
- <http://www.lkwdpl.org/wihohio/figures.htm>
- <http://www.unifem.undp.org/>
- <http://www.un-instraw.org/>
- <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/gender/>
- <http://www.feminist.org/>

Having read the basics of citizenship history and explored just a few of the notions connected to citizenship you are just about to jump into the next chapter, where we will introduce you to more recent developments and debates around citizenship. But before that we thought it would be useful to offer you a short overview of Europe's history after the Second World War, which will help you to place the contemporary debates around (European) citizenship in its social context. So here you go!



September 19, 1946

In his famous speech at the University of Zurich Winston Churchill calls for “a kind of United States of Europe”. According to him, “a remedy [was needed] which, as if by miracle, would transform the whole scene and in a few years make all Europe as free and happy as Switzerland is today.”

April 16, 1948

The Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) is created to co-ordinate the implementation of the Marshall-Plan, a plan announced in 1947 to foster reconstruction and the economic revitalisation of Europe. Today the organisation is called the “Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)” and has 30 member countries sharing a commitment to democracy and the market economy.

www.oecd.org

May 7-11, 1948

Fostered by the International Co-ordination of Movements for the Unification of Europe Committee, the Europe Congress meets in The Hague, The Netherlands. It is chaired by Winston Churchill and attended by 800 delegates. Participants recommend that a European Deliberative Assembly and a European Special Council, in charge of preparing political and economic integration of European Countries, be created. They also propose the adoption of a Human Rights Charter and, to ensure the respect of such a charter, the creation of a Court of Justice.

April 4, 1949

The North Atlantic Treaty is signed in Washington DC by 12 states, creating a military alliance to defend each other, if necessary. Today the alliance has 19 members and is closely co-operating with Russia and by mid-2004 NATO is expected to have further enlarged to 26 members.

www.nato.int

May 5, 1949

The statutes of the Council of Europe are signed in London by 10 states aiming to protect human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law and to help consolidate democratic stability in Europe. It enters into force on August 5 the same year. The first session of the consultative assembly takes place in Strasbourg in the beginning of September, 1949.

www.coe.int

May 9, 1950

In a speech inspired by Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, proposes that France and Germany and any other European country wishing to join them pool their Coal and Steel resources («Schuman Declaration»). The Schuman plan is later subscribed to by six more states and approved by the Council of Europe’s Assembly.

April 18, 1951

The Six (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands) sign the Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the humble beginnings of today’s European Union (EU). In May 1952 they also sign the European Defence Community (EDC) Treaty.

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November 4, 1950

The European Convention on Human Rights is signed by the Council of Europe member states in Rome. It enters into force on 3 September 1953 and defines a number of fundamental rights and freedoms. The Convention also establishes an international mechanism to ensure collective adherence to the convention by all parties signing it. One of the institutions created by the convention is the European Court of Human Rights, which was established in Strasbourg in 1959.

<http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/WhatYouWant.asp?NT=005>

March 25, 1957

The Six (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands) sign the 'Treaties of Rome' establishing the European Economic Area (EEA) as well as the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). The treaties enter into force on 1 January 1958 and represent a new quality of co-operation in the field of economics and politics between nation states in Europe.

July 20-21, 1959

Seven countries of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), namely Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, decide to establish the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). They considered free trade as a means to achieve growth and prosperity amongst themselves. In this respect EFTA was originally meant to be a counterbalance to the European Economic Area established a year before.

<http://www.efta.int/structure/main/index.html>

September 18, 1959

The European Court of Human Rights is established by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg under the European Convention on Human Rights, as the main instrument to ensure the enforcement of the obligations that the signing countries entered into.

<http://www.echr.coe.int>

August 13, 1961

Erection of the Berlin Wall.

October 18, 1961

The European Social Charter is signed by the Council of Europe member states in Rome. It enters into force on February 26, 1965. Protecting social and economic human rights, it is the natural counterpart to the European Convention on Human Rights, which guarantees civil and political human rights.

<http://www.humanrights.coe.int/csweb/GB/index.htm>

July 1, 1967

The executives of the three European Communities (EEA, EURATOM, and ECSC) are merged into one.

January 1, 1973

Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland join the European Communities.

January 1, 1981

Greece joins the European Communities as their 10th member state.



January 1, 1986

Spain and Portugal become members of the European Communities.

July 6, 1989

Mikhail Gorbachov addresses the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, proposing a new disarmament initiative. His proposal brings a new quality to the relations between East and West and, at the same time, underlines the importance of the Council of Europe as a force for a peaceful and stable European continent.

November 9, 1989

The Berlin Wall falls. With it, Soviet Communism ends and the USSR collapses. Vaclav Havel passionately called the events of 1989 'the return to Europe'; and that is what it was: A return to Europe, imposing new missions on all European and international organisations, be it the EU, the Council of Europe, NATO, the OECD or EFTA. Democratic stability could, for the first time since the end of the war, be pro-actively consolidated in all of Europe, now stretching from the Atlantic to the Russian border with Japan.

<http://www.historyguide.org/europe/lecture16.html>

February 7, 1992

The Treaty on the European Union, also known as the Maastricht Treaty, is signed in Maastricht. It enters into force on November 1, 1993 and establishes the European Union as a political union. It also introduces the Single European Market.

www.europa.eu.int

October 8-9, 1993

The first Council of Europe summit of heads of state and government in Vienna adopts a declaration confirming its pan-European vocation and setting new political priorities in protecting national minorities and combating all forms of racism, xenophobia and intolerance.

January 1, 1995

Austria, Finland and Sweden join the European Union.

February 28, 1996

The Russian Federation joins the Council of Europe and makes it a fully pan-European organisation.

January 25, 2001

Armenia and Azerbaijan join the Council of Europe, which then has 43 member states.

January 1, 2002

The Euro becomes the official currency in 12 member states of the European Union. Its introduction marks an unequalled quality of co-operation between nation states.

<http://europa.eu.int/euro/html/entry.html>

April 24, 2002

Bosnia & Herzegovina joins the Council of Europe as its 44th member country.



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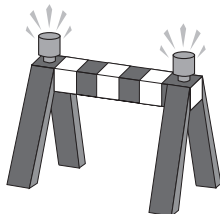
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? ? What is the most important event that you remember in your lifetime that has influenced your role as a citizen? **? ?**



Parallel Citizenship Autobiographies – Each person draws a time-line of their life, and marks on it key events that have influenced their development as an active citizen. Compare and discuss.

Now you have it all – the story so far! You have read about the roots of the concept of citizenship and how it evolved through the centuries; you have explored some notions connected to citizenship, eye-openers helping to see current debates in a different light; you have recalled the post-war history of Europe. The time has come to go on and plunge into the more recent developments and discussions around European Citizenship. Read on and enjoy!



The Return of the Citizen Contemporary approaches to citizenship

Citizenship – a popular word

The T-Kit you are reading just now is only one proof of many that the somewhat fixed understanding of citizenship – the relationship between citizens and their state – has been expanding and that the notion of “citizenship” is experiencing a major increase in its visibility.

A good example of this, is the remarkable number of results that the internet-based search engine Google returns searching for “European Citizenship”: About 9,280! If you enter “citizenship” as a query, it comes up with more than 1,560,000 results (www.google.co.uk, March 10, 2002). All these websites are the direct or indirect result of conferences that have been organised, of publications that were printed, speeches which were given, research that was undertaken, books which were published, and discussions that were held, and in fact are still going on with amazing intensity.

When following some of these debates, reading some of the publications or looking at different websites about citizenship, the first thing most likely to strike you is how differently the term “citizenship” is used and understood. Rob Gilbert describes citizenship as “a broad, complex and contested term” (1996, p. 46).

Aiming to overcome the static understanding of citizenship as a legal status in relation to the nation state, most contemporary concepts of citizenship are closely linked with the notion of “civil society”. That is the reason why we think it is important to describe the undisputed core of both notions (citizen-state and civil society) and highlight common elements, before introducing some of the main approaches currently discussed.

Contemporary Citizenship – more than a status given by the state

“You get a passport, you can vote, you are entitled to the protection of the state.”

One way among many to describe how citizenship was understood until very recently: as the straightforward relationship between citizens and their state, clearly defining rights and responsibilities of both.

At the end of the 1960’s and the beginning of the 1970’s this understanding of citizenship started to be challenged, questioned and developed in different directions. The two following definitions illustrate this development and show that citizenship was opening up and starting to connect to topics like feelings, morality and senses of belonging:

“Citizenship is the practice of a moral code – a code that has concern for the interest of others – grounded in personal self-development and voluntary co-operation rather than the repressive compulsive power of state intervention.”

(Hayek, 1967)

“Citizenship is a status bestowed on all 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. There are not universal principles that determine what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of ideal citizenship ... Citizenship requires a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession. It is a loyalty of free men endowed with rights and protected by a common law.”

(Marshall, 1973)

During the 1990’s, concepts of citizenship were taken even further, introducing the notion of ‘multi-dimensional citizenship’ and creating a direct link between citizenship and identity. In

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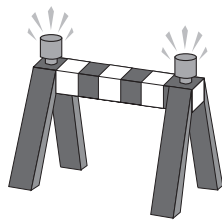
that way, they were trying to react to recent developments such as European integration, globalisation, migration and their political, social, economic, cultural and ecological consequences. Again, a selection of definitions from this period hopefully helps to give you an idea about these conceptual developments:

“Citizenship is the peaceful struggle through a public sphere which is dialogical.”
(Habermas, 1994)

“Citizenship is not just a certain status, defined by a set of rights and responsibilities. It is also an identity, an expression of one’s membership in a political community.”
(Kymlicka and Norman, 1995)

“Citizenship is a complex and multidimensional concept. It consists of legal, cultural, social and political elements and provides citizens with defined rights and obligations, a sense of identity, and social bonds.”
(Ichilov, 1998)

“Citizenship is the active membership and participation of individuals in society who are entitled to rights and responsibilities and who have the capacity to influence politics. Therefore citizenship has to be more than a political and juridical status; it also is a social role.”
(Cesar Birzea in June 2002 at the 2nd Pilot Course on European Citizenship, organised by the Partnership between the European Commission and the Council of Europe)



Using some of the quotations in this section, run a Statement Activity. Someone reads out one of the quotations, and people move to different areas of the room depending on whether they agree or not with the statement. They are then asked to explain why they agree or not, and people can change position if they are convinced by someone else’s argument. It is important to debrief this exercise afterwards, to allow people to express how they felt during the activity (not to get into another debate about the topic, which can happen very easily!).

The collected definitions are neither exclusive nor exhaustive and should really just give you an idea of how broadly and diversely the term ‘citizenship’ was and still is being understood and how its understanding has changed and developed in recent times. Beyond that, the definitions help to make a few observations about similarities between the different concepts and understandings of citizenship.

? ?	<p>Which do you believe is more important (rank them 1 to 4)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having legal citizen’s rights (e.g. to vote) • Feeling a sense of connection to the communities you belong to • Believing for yourself in respect for all people • Having the practical skills and capacities to engage in politics and / or civil society 	? ?
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Common Elements

One of the elements shared by all definitions of citizenship is the question of belonging to a community. Such a community can be defined through a variety of elements, e.g. a shared moral code, an identical set of rights and obligations, loyalty to a commonly possessed civilisation, a sense of identity.

In the geographical sense, community is usually defined at two main levels, differentiating between the local community, in which the person lives, and the state, to which the person belongs. These two levels are not exclusive, but depending on the concept and/or definitions, the accent may be more on one level than the other (Audigier, 2000, p. 17).

Another shared aspect is that citizenship always exists in public and democratic spaces, in which citizens have equal rights as well as responsibilities. These rights and obligations are being exercised and fulfilled whilst respecting the rights of other citizens and counting on them to fulfil their own responsibilities.

Different Concepts and Contexts

Beyond these shared essentials, quite a number of conceptual differences exist. Very often they are identifiable by the adjective used together with 'citizenship'. One example is the concept of 'democratic citizenship', as promoted by the Council of Europe. The adjective 'democratic' emphasises the belief that citizenship should be based on democratic principles and certain values, e.g. pluralism, respect for human dignity and the rule of law.

Apart from the above mentioned elements, which help to compare, analyse, structure and differentiate various conceptions of citizenship, there are quite some components which seem to be arbitrary unless looked at in the specific context for which a citizenship model was developed and in which it is used. The adjective 'European' is for instance used both as a reference to territory and as a reference to a certain identity, a sense of belonging and a set of cultural rights. Its exact meaning can only be understood in relation to its specific context, e.g. the political purpose, the institutional framework and/or the historical development of the idea.

Civil society – what is it about?

As we have shown, the understanding of citizenship has developed from a citizen-state relationship – in purely legal terms – to a concept embracing multi-dimensional relations between citizens and their state, citizens and their community and between citizens themselves. Nowadays 'citizenship' is much more than a legal construction and relates – amongst other things – to your very personal senses of belonging, for instance the sense of belonging to a community which you can shape and influence directly. A space to be or to become influential is civil society.

There have been numerous attempts to define "civil society". The expression is on everyone's lips, but not everyone means the same thing when using the term. While the term has already existed for a long time, its current popularity is a development of the past twenty years. During these last two decades we have seen and experienced what Forbrig (2000) describes as a "remarkable renaissance" of the term and the concept of civil society in all parts of Europe.

Introduced by the philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment, such as Adam Smith and David Hume, civil society was in its original sense meant to be a characterisation of society as a whole, which did not necessarily imply democracy (Wimberley, 1999, p. 1).

A later understanding restricts civil society to social structures outside the state, or, in other words, it simplifies civil society as society minus the state.

A third, and probably nowadays the most common, conception perceives civil society as the sphere of non-governmental organisations and associations (especially of a voluntary nature). It is therefore very close to the so-called "third sector".

Most of the contemporary definitions and debates refer to the third point of view, the main debate being whether religion, economy and/or the family should be considered as a part of civil society or not (Bahmueller, 2000, p. 1).




**European Convention
on Human Rights**
(See p. 26)

A widely accepted sociological definition of civil society is the following:

“Civil society can be defined as a set or system of self-organised intermediary groups that:

- (1) are relatively independent of both public authorities and private units of production and reproduction, that is, of firms and families;
 - (2) are capable of deliberating about and taking collective actions in defence or promotion of their interests or passions;
 - (3) do not seek to replace either state agents or private (re)producers or to accept responsibility for governing the polity as a whole; and
 - (4) agree to act within pre-established rules of a ‘civil’, i.e. mutually respectful, nature.”
- (Schmitter, 1997, p. 240)

Independent of the concrete phrasing of the definition which a discussion may be based on, the vast majority of such debates start from the same basic assumption: Society is on the move. The concept of the nation state, once a hermetically closed construction, has become porous. What will become of it is still unknown, but it is certainly going to be something new (Lauritzen, 1998).



How do you see your role in civil society?
Which of the descriptions here does it best relate to?



The EU and the CoE and their approaches to citizenship

This T-Kit can not – and does not want to – describe everything that has been done on European Citizenship by the European Union and the Council of Europe. It can only highlight a few aspects which are of interest in this context.

One of these aspects is the fact that neither the founding text of the Council of Europe nor those of the Union contain the words ‘citizenship’ or ‘citizen’. Nowadays, both institutions put great emphasis on the concept of citizenship, be it called European, active and/or democratic.

The beginning of this chapter illustrated that the two institutions are not at all the only ones pursuing ‘the return of the citizen’. On the contrary, this push is coming from all sides. Is it because our democracies are endangered – as many people claim – confronted with decreasing participation in votes and elections and, actually, most forms of traditional engagement in society? Is it because active citizens and civil society have to replace the welfare state in order to maintain social cohesion? Or is it just another thought-reducing buzzword-campaign to keep NGOs busy?



Finding profound answers to these questions would go far beyond the scope of this publication. Opinions on these issues are as diverse as the readership of our T-Kit. We believe that there is more to the concept of ‘citizenship’ than an excited response to political disillusionment. Or to say it with the words of Professor François Audigier: “We should not consider the ‘return of the citizen’, the necessary appeal to a citizenship of initiative, proximity and responsibility, to be a happy result of the crisis of the state and of democratic political institutions.” (Audigier, 2000, p. 14)

An interesting difference between the two European institutions is that the citizenship of the European Union is clearly and strictly conditioned: Only someone who possesses the citizenship of one of its member states is an EU citizen as well. The **European Convention on Human Rights**, on the other hand, protects any human being staying within the area covered by the convention, independent of their nationality. Still, you will hear a lot of EU-politicians talking about ‘European Citizenship’, simply meaning the legal citizenship of a person living inside the European Union. Clearly, European Citizenship – at least in the context of this T-Kit – is more embracing than this limited and exclusive understanding.



Another distinction can be observed regarding the approach of the institutional programmes in the youth sector. The answers which the two institutions seek to provide to the question ‘We have made Europe, but how do we make Europeans?’ are quite distinct. While both believe in the worldly wisdom that people are born, but citizens are made, the European Union attempts to bring ‘Europe closer to its citizens’ through personal intercultural experiences, voluntary service and direct dialogue with young people (European Commission, 2001, p. 17), whereas the Council of Europe is relying much more on intercultural group experiences, intercultural learning in protected learning environments, working with multipliers and the creation of snowball effects.

Despite all their differences and the diversity of their approaches, both institutions share one essential conviction – at least in the youth field of their work. That is that European identity can only be defined by a set of commonly shared values, an approach calling for a consensus much more than enforcement. This belief is reflected in a variety of resolutions of the Council of Europe, a great number of policy documents of youth organisations and recently in European Union documents such as the Commission’s “White Paper on Youth”, in which Europe is referred to as “the champion of democratic values” (European Commission, 2001, p. 52). It is therefore only consistent that the two main European institutions, based on this shared conviction, have initiated a partnership to combine experience and strength for promoting the notion of a ‘European Citizenship’ – a co-operation which would make sense for all working areas but which is, for the time being, limited to the youth sector.

 When did you last hear something from the EU or Council of Europe about European Citizenship?
What understanding of European Citizenship was behind their message? 

Recent developments

Post-modernity
(See p. 25)

Society is undoubtedly changing and is influenced by a variety of factors, which are often associated with what many call **post-modernity**. This characterisation manifests itself in a variety of different trends and tendencies, such as

- the information revolution brought about by new information and communication technologies;
- a fundamental change in the production and the use of knowledge;
- a shifting sense of identity that puts less emphasis on common interests and shared values than before;
- a change in the nature of politics and how citizens participate in political processes.

All of these developments have a significant influence on citizenship (and education and training for citizenship). While their existence remains unquestioned, opinions about possible consequences vary substantially.

 How do you think these developments will impact on citizenship? 

Some argue that the notion of identity has to and is going to remain the essence of citizenship, but needs to be disconnected from the nation state and expanded to various geographical levels, from the local through to the global level (Gilbert, 1992, p. 58).



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Others believe that the ‘traditional’ concept of citizenship is about to disappear in post-modern society. They see a need for a new ground on which another form of citizenship could be developed (Gilbert, 1992, p. 59).

Another theory, while sharing a rather pessimistic evaluation of post-modern trends in society, argues that some of the “post-modern developments themselves offer new possibilities for citizenship” (Gilbert, 1992, p. 60).

The debate on the European level has followed the first point of view for a relatively long time – that identity is the essence of citizenship, from local to global. It is not only the institutions that have argued for a European Citizenship, with a European facet complementary to other elements. Civil society organisations state that “furthering European integration requires the substantiation of the concept of European Citizenship” (European Youth Forum, 2001, p. 1).

But while still agreeing with the belief that the notion of identity should be disconnected from the nation state and expanded, an increasing number of people also argue for a set of shared values as the underlying reference point rather than geographical regions only. Whoever shares these values is a European citizen, “and they can be so in Moscow or in Cairo, in Athens or in Castrop Rauxel.” (Lauritzen, 1998, p. 5).

According to the interpretation of the notion “citizenship”, there are different theories regarding its future developments:

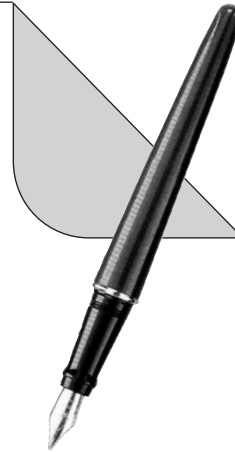
- Is the nation state a concept of the past?
- Are citizens going to refer to a community of values rather than a nation state?
- Has the concept of citizenship any future at all?

Some possible answers to these questions will be introduced in the next chapter, once again not claiming to be complete or exclusive, but rather exemplifying the diversity of opinions and theories.



Post-modern Society

Here comes a quote from the book “A Primer on Postmodernism” by Dr. Grenz, hopefully helping you to understand what post-modern society means: “*Postmodernism* refers to the intellectual mood and cultural expressions that are becoming increasingly dominant in contemporary society. These expressions call into question the ideals, principles, and values that lay at the heart of the modern mind-set. *Postmodernity*, in turn, refers to the era in which we are living, the time when the post-modern outlook increasingly shapes our society. The adjective *post-modern*, then, refers to the mind-set and its products. These have been reflected in many of the traditional vehicles of cultural expression. Thus we have *post-modern* architecture, art and theatre. *Postmodernity* is the era in which *post-modern* ideas, attitudes, and values reign – when the mood of *postmodernism* is moulding culture. This is the era of the post-modern society.”



Postmodernism – a definition based on text from www.counterbalance.org

A general and wide-ranging term which is applied to literature, art, philosophy, architecture, fiction, and cultural and literary criticism, among others. Postmodernism is largely a reaction to the assumed certainty of scientific, or objective, efforts to explain reality. In essence, postmodernism is highly skeptical of explanations which claim to be valid for all groups, cultures, traditions, or races, and instead focuses on the relative truths of each person. In the postmodern understanding, interpretation is everything; reality only comes into being through our interpretations of what the world means to us individually. Postmodernism relies on concrete experience over abstract principles, believing always that the outcome of one’s own experience will necessarily be fallible and relative, rather than certain and universal.

Postmodernism is «post» because it denies the existence of any ultimate principles, and it lacks the optimism of there being a scientific, philosophical, or religious truth which will explain everything for everybody – a characteristic of the so-called «modern» mind. The paradox of the postmodern position is that, in placing all principles under the scrutiny of its skepticism, even its own principles are not beyond questioning. It contradicts itself in the statement that there are no universal truths – except of course the universal truth of postmodernism.

A key thing to remember is that one of the identifying characteristics of Postmodernism is that there are a lot of different kinds of postmodernism, lots of different theories encompassed by the term «Postmodernism». Many people think it is not possible, or at least not safe, to rest with only one definition of Postmodernism, but there are certainly a few key elements. Diversity is one of them; much of multicultural theory has been included in what is considered to be Postmodernism, and emphasis in many areas seems to be on the voices of many rather than the chosen voices of the few. Often, Postmodern writers seem to define themselves in contrast to Modernism, that is to say: not about individual great minds working in isolation, producing «Great Works», not about the separation of high culture and low culture, not about there being one great universal truth out there which we are all working to find (maybe that’s why there’s no one great universal truth about what Postmodernism is), and therefore not about one particular version of the Universe.

The problem then comes in the extreme tendency to deconstruct everything, to make everything relative, and remove all sense of common values or moral human responsibility, so there can be no right or wrong, as it all depends on the social and cultural context. It then becomes difficult to condemn the atrocities of the previous century, or the more recent terrorist attacks. So what might post-Postmodernism look like?



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European Convention on Human Rights

The «European Convention on Human Rights» sets forth a number of fundamental rights and freedoms (right to life, prohibition of torture, prohibition of slavery and forced labour, right to liberty and security, right to a fair trial, no punishment without law, right to respect for private and family life, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and association, right to marry, right to an effective remedy, prohibition of discrimination). More rights are granted by additional protocols to the Convention. Parties undertake to secure these rights and freedoms to everyone within their jurisdiction.

The Convention also establishes an international enforcement mechanism. To ensure the observance of the engagements undertaken by the Parties, the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg was set up. It deals with individual and inter-State petitions. At the request of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, the Court may also give advisory opinions concerning the interpretation of the Conventions and their protocols.





Possible future developments - the future is not what it was, but...

After the journey through our history, and after seeing the changes in our collective understandings of citizenship, we will be looking at the most recent, and possible future, social changes and developments in relation to the notion of citizenship. This exercise might help us to anticipate some answers to the emerging tensions and challenges related to the notion of citizenship. At the same time it is important that we recognise the in-built limitations of doing so. As experience shows, the future is unpredictable.

The technological revolution, globalisation, migration, environmental degradation, the inversion of the demographic pyramid in industrial societies, the enlargement of the European Union, terrorist attacks and their consequences, are some of the most relevant socio-political developments that significantly influence the understanding and development of citizenship.

Each of these social developments is very complex, and there are multiple interactions and mutual implications among them. In the following paragraphs we will try to introduce very briefly the main tensions or open questions related to the notion of citizenship that these social changes raise.



What do you think are the most important changes happening in your society today?



A new relationship between the individual and the community/ies of reference

Until very recently, the communities of reference for individuals (communities which people relate to) were quite limited and clear: e.g. family, town, region, country, group of friends, work colleagues, religious group. Ways of participation were determined by the «rules» or habits of those communities that relate to, among others things, the sex, age, profession and socio-economic situation of the individuals. The possibilities for individuals to participate were therefore limited but at the same time clearly structured.

Nowadays, phenomena like globalisation, European integration, global environmental degradation, and technological possibilities invite us to think about larger and further communities of reference: e.g. Europe, the world. At the same time more traditional communities of reference are made less stable by the consequences of these changes, such as large-scale migration both within and between countries.

Individuals and citizens very often have the feeling that a lot of things happening in the world affect them. But at the same time they often have the feeling that the way this influences them is unclear and indirect.

In other words, the world seems to have become smaller from the point of view of information, the economy, environment and interdependence. Yet at the same time, the world seems to have become harder for individuals to influence. It seems that individuals can very easily be spectators of a lot of films but at the same time it is very hard for them to become actors in any, including their own.

“ The world seems to be getting smaller, yet harder to influence ”

While general trends have been confirmed through research (See for example *Life Chances and Livelihoods* (2000), U.N. Publications, Geneva), it is important to remember that there are also be many encouraging exceptions; committed individuals actively participating and having an influence in their communities.

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The challenge is to try to develop a new relationship, a closer one, a more balanced one, between the individual or citizen and the community/ies of reference; the basis of an active citizenship.

Slogans such as «think globally, act locally» and «reflective information leading to action» inspire the efforts of groups to bridge the existing distance between individuals and the participation mechanisms of our societies. Non-governmental organisations are using the intermediary space of civil society – between citizens and political structures – to promote participation and participative democracy. Different lobby groups try to represent the interests of groups of individuals in decision-making processes.

But it seems that all these initiatives together with others cannot completely fill the existing gap between the citizen and the decision-making bodies of our societies. The challenge is still there, it is still necessary to re-balance, taking more into account the individuals, and their relationship with their community/ies of reference.

Europe and the rest of the world

The most important present and future social developments (e.g. the technological revolution, globalisation, migration, environmental degradation) happen, or have consequences, at a world-wide level. Any development in European Citizenship in the future should therefore increasingly take into account the realities and aspirations of the rest of the world.

After «Europeanising» the world for centuries (through colonisation, the spread of political, social and cultural models, world and cold wars), it is now time to «globalise» Europe, to think of Europe in a wider, global perspective.

European Citizenship should not be developed as an island of rights and privileges. On the contrary, the privileged living conditions of Europeans – compared with those in other parts of the world – should facilitate the integration of world-wide aspirations such as peace, democracy, human rights and the promotion of ecologically sustainable development.

Europe, due to history and to its present position in the international community, has a specific role to play and a responsibility towards the rest of the world. Our historical links with many countries outside our own continent can help us to «understand the world»; something easier said than done. Our economic and political power should allow us to articulate efficient mechanisms to improve, for the common good, the living conditions and opportunities of non-Europeans.

Without falling into any new Euro-centrist position, the specific contribution of a renewed European Citizenship could consist of this understanding and of a commitment by Europeans to the whole of humanity. European Citizenship - understood as a citizenship from within Europe and committed to the world - should help us to achieve peaceful and democratic societies all around the world, which respect human rights, and live within the framework of ecologically sustainable development.

An ethical response

Scientists tell us that the world is so small and interdependent that a butterfly flapping its wings in the Amazon rainforest can generate a violent storm on the other side of the Earth. This principle is known as the «Butterfly Effect». Today we realise, perhaps more than ever, that most human activities have their own «Butterfly Effect» – for better or for worse. This realisation must drive our resolve to act for the better.

Without underestimating political, cultural or religious differences, recent social developments (e.g. communication technologies, economic globalisation, the European integration process, migrations) make us feel closer to each other all around the world.





At the same time, increasing mutual knowledge and information make us perceive more clearly than ever where the remaining borders of humanity lie. United Nations Agencies, for example, remind us, year after year, that today's real borders are between the powerful and powerless, the free and the fettered, the privileged and the humiliated. And far from disappearing, these borders are becoming ever more entrenched.

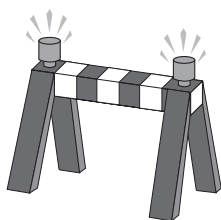
In the time that it takes you to read this paragraph, several children will be born somewhere in the world. Their mothers will hold them and feed them, comfort them and care for them – just as any mother would anywhere in the world. In these most basic acts of human nature, humanity knows no divisions. But most of these babies will begin their lives centuries away from the prosperity that one small part of humanity has achieved. They will live under conditions that many of us would consider inhuman. (Adapted from the Nobel Lecture 2001 by Kofi Annan)

Humanity grows closer through information and communication technologies, international integration processes and globalisation, and at the same time it becomes more and more fragmented due to the growing differences between those who are privileged and those who are humiliated. These co-existing, opposed and contradictory synergies of «unification» and «fragmentation» constitute a paradox and a big economic, social, political, cultural and educational challenge for humanity as a whole. This is a challenge that has to be overcome not only because the situation of our «global village» might become unmanageable in the future, but also because it questions our own human nature, our dignity as human beings and our ability to live together.

“ Humanity is growing closer, yet at the same time more fragmented ”

Overcoming this challenge requires a personal and collective response which could be, at first, an ethical one based on solidarity and mutual respect in order to be able to change the present situation. This ethical common ground of solidarity and mutual respect could be the basis of a renewed understanding of citizenship, and the connecting thread between the different economic, social, political, cultural, and educational measures to be taken, in order to transform the present situation. In the next chapter, we will outline how we translate this understanding into our way of looking at European Citizenship.

 What do you believe should be the basic values to guide us through this time of change? 



Envision how you believe your country (or Europe, or World) might look like in twenty years time. This can be done, for example, through drawing, painting, collage, Image Theatre. Share the visions, and discuss the implications for citizenship.