

REGULAR SESSION INFORMATION

Title of Session: History and Statements of Citizenship: Between Social Cohesion and Cultural Exchanges

Name of Session Convener(s): *Gilles Verpraet*, University Paris Ouest Nanterre

Chair: *Gilles Verpraet*, University Paris Ouest Nanterre

Comments: This session is organized on behalf of ISA RC 35, Conceptual and Terminological Analysis.

I) Between Nation and State: An Examination of Citizenship Tests in the United Kingdom

Elizabeth Young, University of Michigan

II) Republican Citizenship: Global, National, or Local One?

Rafał Wierzchosławski, Catholic University of Lublin

III) Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship, a Framework between Belonging and Learning: The New Basis of Cultural and Political Exchanges

Gilles Verpraet, CNRS Sophiapol University Paris Ouest Nanterre

Susana Penalva, Conicet Cedet University san Martin, Buenos Aires

Session description:

Citizenship statements are concerned by the balance between rights and duties, by the civilizing processes between social cohesion and national *bildung*. The cosmopolitanism thematic moves to recognize people and culture beyond the limitations of exclusive nationalism (Kant, Beck, Delanty). Cosmopolitanism is linked by encounter of peoples and cultures, in some specific situations, such as cities and migrations (Hannerz)

Historical and genealogical approaches combining the statements of the citizenship and the statements of the cosmopolitanisms can be heuristic, so clarify the socio cultural configurations between the State democratization and the extension of cultural exchanges. The authors of reference may be examined between historical periods, so to specify the tense relations between empire and cosmopolitanism, between Nation state consolidation and Nationalism, between open citizenship and cosmopolitanism (Wallerstein, Calhoun, Delanty). The new dimensions of democratization can be assessed on historical and sociological basis.

In particular, does this combined history of citizenship and recognition, enable us to reach a better appreciation of the recent waves of social contestation that have sought to promote democracy and is resonance implicated in their attempts to give expression to democracy through public actions and the mobilising of popular will, such as in the case of the Arab spring or the Occupy movement?

Abstracts :

I) Between Nation and State: An Examination of Citizenship Tests in the United Kingdom

Elizabeth Young, University of Michigan

Though recent literature on globalization has posited an era of “global citizenship” that calls into question the saliency of national identities, a number of countries have recently rearticulated their criteria for citizenship, most notably in the form of citizenship tests for naturalization and, in some cases, permanent residency.

While not the only source, citizenship tests offer one of the clearest government statements of what it means to be a citizen and the values, history, and laws that the government chooses to emphasize above others. How is state citizenship reconciled with national belonging particularly in liberal democracies, in both theory and practice?

In order to address this question I examine the case of the United Kingdom, which instituted its citizenship test in 2004 and subsequently revised it in 2007 and 2013. I focus on the British case due to the multiple-levels of identity: constituent English, Northern Irish, Scottish, and Welsh identities and the composite British national identity. As I will discuss, there is a tension in the test materials over how immigrants should relate to these multiple identities with an increasing emphasis on the primacy of British identity.

I argue that in addition to being mechanisms to regulate immigration, integration and naturalization, these tests provide citizens, politicians, and ministry government officials with symbolic space to discuss the meaning of modern membership in the state and national community. More specifically, I argue that, despite claims by scholars such as Joppke that universal, liberal, democratic values are replacing national distinctiveness (2010a: 111). national particulars and especially history matter as evidenced by the inclusion and expansion of the history section in the 2013 exam. I also conclude that in the most recent revision of the British citizenship material there is an almost paradoxical tension over the role of the immigrant and would-be citizen as both a threat to and a sustainer of British national identity in the face of increasing English, Northern Irish, Scottish, and Welsh affinities.

II) Republican Citizenship: Global, National, or Local One?

Rafał Wierchosławski, Catholic University of Lublin

Republican tradition makes a strong link between the idea of political freedom (either as self-rule, or as non-domination) and the social status of individuals of citizenship in order to implement the ideal in the social and political institutions. This proviso seems to be widely accepted both by neo-Athenian (or Franco-Prussian) and neo-Roman republicans (Pettit 1997, 2012a, 2012b; Skinner 1998). The republicans thought of freedom 'as the supreme political value and equated it with not being stood over by anyone, even a benevolent and protective despot. To enjoy republican freedom was to be able to hold your head on high, to look others squarely in the eye, and to relate to your fellows without fear or deference' However, citizens in traditional way of republican thinking were only mainstream, propertied males, so in any plausible revival of republican view of citizenship, it should include women as well as men, the poor as well as the propertied, the marginal as well as the mainstream. (Marti, Pettit 2010). Modern republicanism should be an inclusive, not an exclusive one.

David Miller's question: 'What kind of political community do we need to have if republican politics and republican values are to flourish?' seems essential in that context. (Miller 2008). In his answer he discusses the republican identity along with national and subnational one. What are the relations between them? Should one override another? Does 'constitutional patriotism' proposed by Jürgen Habermas might be treated as a sufficient basis for the European republican citizenship (Habermas 1996)? What does it mean to be an European citizen in front of EU structures and its bureaucratic content – is it to be a citizenship of the super-trans-national-state? (Zielonka 2006). How to ensure that there is no reason to be afraid of old republican worries of factionalism and tyrannous majorities in new European context (Bellamy 2008)? What is the meaning of republican constitutional devices,

such as: 'empire-of-law', 'dispersion-of-power', and 'counter-majoritarian' condition, to enable 'contestatory citizenry' mechanisms of democratic control of the government and checking whether the power holders 'track the common recognizable interests' of those affected (Pettit 1997, 2000, 2008, 2010, 2012; Miller 2008, Bellamy 2008)?

But in the context of cosmopolitan challenges we may ask who the 'power holders' are – on what level they can be placed/labeled, on local/regional, national/post-national, supranational or even global one, as suggests James Bohman in his recent contributions to Kantian cosmopolitan or Enlightenment version of republicanism (Bohman, 2007, 2008, Pettit 2010)?

How to respond to multicultural challenges and requirements of religious minorities in the framework of modern citizenship (Laborde 2008)? How to balance the local traditions and dominant culture with recognition claims of those who have appeared later? How to reshape the traditional civic republican conceptual scheme that it might to embrace all who are in question?! I am going to provide some plausible elucidations of the questions mentioned above and to consider whether and in what sense we may still claim the primacy of local (*Lebenswelt*) dimension of republican citizenship against its upper levels, that does not exclude its global and cosmopolitan dimension, which is suggested by some discussed authors.

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III) Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship, a Framework between Belonging and Learning: The New Basis of Cultural and Political Exchanges

Gilles Verpraet, CNRS Sophiapol University Paris Ouest Nanterre

Susana Penalva, Conicet Cedet University san Martin, Buenos Aires

Cosmopolitanism and citizenship set up two dimensions of recognition . Citizenship is concerned with the political recognition (Rousseau and alii) , with the formal equality, arguing the combination between rights and duties (Marshall). The cosmopolitanism thematic is related with the cultural recognitions, beyond the limitations of exclusive citizenship (Kant, Beck, Delanty)

Historical and genealogical approaches combining the statements of the citizenship and the statements of the cosmopolitanisms can be heuristic, so clarify the relations between the State democratization and the extension of cultural exchanges. The authors of reference can be reviewed on some historical periods, so to specify the tensive relation between ideology and utopias (Manheim Delanty, Wallerstein). The new dimensions of democratization can be assessed on historical and sociological basis.

The case studies will be coming of school debates and reforms in France, on the construction of social policies and Welfare institutions in Argentina