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in the United States and the European Union

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Abstract

This master thesis deals with the concept of citizenship in the United States and the European Union. The dimensions of citizenship to be analyzed are civic/civil, political, economic, and cultural. The applied methods are the quantitative document analysis and the qualitative document analysis. The *US Constitution* and its subsequent Amendments, the *Treaty on European Union*, and the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* were examined. The findings and evaluations identify which dimension of citizenship predominates in both entities and pose questions for further research.

Diese Masterarbeit behandelt die Konzepte von Citizenship in den Vereinigten Staaten und der Europäischen Union. Die Dimensionen von Citizenship, die analysiert werden, sind bürgerlich/zivil, politisch, ökonomisch und kulturell. Die angewandten Methoden sind die Quantitative Dokumentenanalyse und die Qualitative Dokumentenanalyse. Die *US Constitution* sowie ihre anschließenden Amendments, der *Vertrag über die Europäische Union*, und der *Vertrag über die Arbeitsweise der Europäischen Union* werden untersucht. Die Ergebnisse und Auswertungen identifizieren welche Dimensionen von Citizenship in den beiden Einheiten vorherrschen und stellen Fragen für weitere Forschung.

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1. Introduction

All national citizens of Member States of the European Union are also citizens of the European Union. They enjoy civic/civil rights, political rights, economic rights, as well as cultural rights granted to them by the Union. However, many fail to recognize this condition. One example of this is the recurring low voter turnouts in European Parliament elections. In part, this is due to a lack of identification with and knowledge of the European Union.

An entity, which successfully was able to establish a strong identity for its citizens, is the United States of America. Granted, they are a nation state, where a clear citizenship is precursory to a flourishing state, but a strong citizenship should also be mandatory for an entity as the European Union if it wants to be successful. In addition, seeing that the European Union is a *suis generis* somewhere between an international organization such as the United Nations, and a nation state, it can be compared to either sort of structure.

There are historical similarities between the United States and the European Union. The US states rights can be compared to the different legislative structures of the EU's Member States. The resemblance between the *Articles of the Confederation* and the failed *Treaty establishing a Constitution of Europe* is not as readily apparent. However, both documents created weak centralized governing structures, resulting in weak identification of citizens with the respective entity.

Thus, this master thesis examines where an entity succeeded in establishing a strong identity via citizenship as well as how and where an entity is struggling with the forming of stronger citizenship identification.

2. Theoretical Chapter

2.1. Underlying Theories

The overarching theoretical approach of this thesis is a normative-ontological one. The scientific objective of such an approach is best described by Ulrich von Alemann and Erhard Forndran.¹ They write:

“Während sowohl dialektische als auch analytische Theorien ein *nomologisches* Erkenntnisziel haben, wird von den normativ-ontologischen Wissenschaftlern die besondere Stellung und Methode der Geisteswissenschaften betont. Diese seien im Gegensatz zu den Naturwissenschaften nicht nomologisch, sondern *ideographisch*, also am Einzelfall orientiert, der sich als menschliche Tat oder gesellschaftlicher Zustand nie generalisieren lasse. Verallgemeinerndes ließe sich nur von überzeitlichen Werten aussagen, an denen das “Wesen” des Staates oder des Staatsbürgers zu messen sei. Aus diesen Reflexionen ließen sich dann praktische Imperative für das politische Handeln des Staatsmannes oder Staatsbürgers ableiten.”²

In essence, when this approach is applied to this master thesis, it implies that the basic understanding of the single definition of citizenship prevails throughout time within an entity. However, it does not mean, that the basic understanding and stance towards citizenship and everything that it entails cannot alter or evolve.

The normative-ontological approach, according to Alemann and Forndran, has a practical philosophical cognitive interest and the meaning and character of state and society as a cognitive subject matter.³ In this case, it is how the state in form of a constitution with regard to the United States and a supranational entity in form of treaties with regard to the European Union see citizenship.

¹ See Alemann, Ulrich von and Forndran, Erhard. *Methodik der Politikwissenschaft. Eine Einführung in Arbeitstechnik und Forschungspraxis*. Seventh Edition. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2005. p. 57 – 69.

² Alemann/Forndran 2005, p. 57.

³ Alemann/Forndran 2005, p. 58.

2.1.1. Components of Citizenship according to Derek Heater

On the last page of Derek Heater's book *What is Citizenship?* a two-dimensional diagrammatic figure depicts the various components of citizenship, which is shown here:

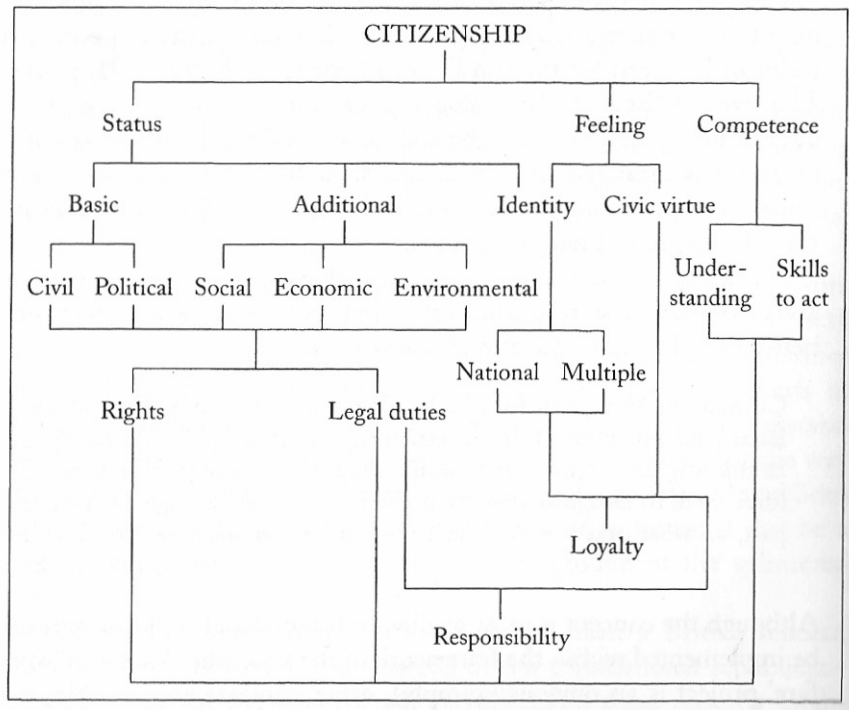


Figure 1⁴

He initially splits the concept of citizenship into three different parts: *status*, *feeling*, and *competence*. Then he goes on to break down those aspects of citizenship as well.⁵ Heater sees the *status* of citizenship consisting of *basic* status, which is again split into *civil* and *political* aspects; *additional*, which incorporates *social*, *economic*, and *environmental* dimensions; and last *identity* status, which encompasses the facets of national and multiple identities.⁶ *Identity* overlaps with the *feeling* part of citizenship, which also consists of *civic virtue*.⁷ *Competence*, on the other hand, is made up of *understanding* of citizenship as well as the *skill to act* as a citizen and in an entity to which he/she belongs.⁸ While *civil*, *political*, *social*, *economic*, and *environmental* aspects feed into *rights for the citizens*, they also produce *legal duties* of the citizens.⁹ *Identity*, broken into *national* and *multiple* aspects,

⁴ Heater, Derek. *What is Citizenship?* Cambridge: Polity Books, 1999. p. 180, figure 5.2.

⁵ See Heater 1999, p. 180, figure 5.2.

⁶ See Heater 1999, p. 180, figure 5.2.

⁷ See Heater 1999, p. 180, figure 5.2.

⁸ See Heater 1999, p. 180, figure 5.2.

⁹ See Heater 1999, p. 180, figure 5.2.

combined with *civic virtue* lead to a *loyalty* towards the entity to which the citizen is part of.¹⁰ Moreover, *rights, legal duties, civic virtue, and competence* via *understanding* as well as *skills to act* result jointly in *responsibility* for the entity to which the citizen is a part of.¹¹

The component of citizenship that will be the focus of this thesis is that of *status*. The concentration with regard to Derek Heater's concept of *status* as defined in his figure will be on *basic* with its two aspects of *civil* and *political*, seeing that they are dependent on each other; *additional* with the emphasis on the *economic* dimension because it is one of the core elements of citizenship more so than the newer elements of social and environmental; and *identity*, which will be defined through the cultural/ethnocultural side of citizenship because *identity*, while being either *national* and/or *multiple*, is mainly grounded in cultural features of public life. These main components will be referred to as civil/civic citizenship, political citizenship, economic citizenship, and cultural citizenship.

2.1.2. Theories of Civic/Civil, Political, Economic, and Cultural Citizenship

There are various theories for civic/civil, political, economic, and cultural citizenship. The following part discusses these four dimensions for better understanding. They are also the definitions used to examine the different concepts of citizenship in the United States and the European Union.

2.1.2.1. Civic/Civil Citizenship

According to Sujit Choudhry's Essay *Citizenship and Federations: Some Preliminary Reflections*, there are three conceptions of citizenship. Amongst these three, he detects civic/civil citizenship. Choudhry states, "[in] its strongest form, the political community is based not on a pre-political bond, but rather on an allegiance to shared principles of political justice flowing from a liberal political morality, and to a common set of political institutions through which those principles are realized."¹² In essence, this means that the judicial system of an entity provides the common ground for citizenship; citizenship is vested in the judiciary body of an entity. The interactions between citizens of an entity

¹⁰ See Heater 1999, p. 180, figure 5.2.

¹¹ See Heater 1999, p. 180, figure 5.2.

¹² Choudhry, Sujit. *Citizenship and Federations: Some Preliminary Reflections*. In: Nicolaidis, Kalypso and Howse, Robert (eds.). *The Federal Vision. Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the United States and the European Union*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2001. p. 381.

amongst each other as well as with the institutions of the entity are the focus in this definition. Thus, “[the] key point is that citizenship can be held by any person willing to affirm and uphold the principles of political justice and the political institutions that lie at the foundation of a political community.”¹³ Citizenship, in this case, is not based then on cultural, economic, or other more personal and private components, but rather on pluralistic, inclusive, and democratic means.¹⁴

2.1.2.2. Political Citizenship

Thomas Janoski and Brian Gran illustrate a close tie between civic/civil and political citizenship in their chapter *Political Rights: Foundations of Rights* in Isin and Turner’s book *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*.¹⁵ Janoski and Gran write, “[at] a foundation level, all citizenship rights are legal and political because citizenship rights are legislated by governmental decision-making bodies, promulgated by executive orders or enacted and later enforced by legal decisions. And what these legal and political bodies primarily make is ‘law’. Thus, legal and political rights undergird [sic!] many other citizenship rights.”¹⁶ With specific regard to political citizenship, this means that citizens are entitled to political rights. The latter are divided into *personal politics* consisting of the rights to vote, stand for office, freedom of information, and rights to protest; *organizational* expressing itself through the rights to form political parties, trade/economic unions, social movement/opposition, the right to assemble and protest as well as cultural/minority rights; and membership rights such as immigration and denizen rights, naturalization rights, asylum rights, and cultural rights.¹⁷ The authors conclude, in turn, “[political] rights refer to participation in the public arena and are also largely procedural because the process of enacting legislation is not synonymous with the substance of any particular right.”¹⁸

¹³ Choudhry 2001, p. 381.

¹⁴ See Choudhry 2001, p. 381.

¹⁵ Janoski, Thomas and Gran Brian. *Political Citizenship: Foundations of Rights*. In: Isin, Engin F. and Turner, Bryan S. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage Publications Ltd. 2002. p. 13 – 52.

¹⁶ Janoski/Gran 2002, p. 13.

¹⁷ See Janoski/Gran 2002, p. 15, table 2.1.

¹⁸ Janoski/Gran 2002, p. 15.

2.1.2.3. Economic Citizenship

Economic citizenship can be seen as “[...] individuals [...] imagined as principally concerned with pursuing their private economic interests, and therefore view their relationships with each other, and with institutions, in strictly instrumental terms”, so Choudhry explains.¹⁹ He further argues “[embedded] in this conception of citizenship is a view of politics as continuous with the isolated and private expression of preferences that occurs in the marketplace; the role of political institutions is to register those preferences accurately and to aggregate them correctly.”²⁰ Basically, this means that the governmental entity, be it the United States’ government or the European Union, set the framework of interaction in such a way, so that the individual citizen obtains economic mobility and freedom within the entity vested in a legal foundation.

2.1.2.4. Cultural Citizenship

As mentioned above, ‘identity’ will be defined through the cultural/ethnocultural side of citizenship. Charles Tilly shows the importance of identity for the political discussion of citizenship, when he writes “[the] concept ‘identity’ has remained blurred but indispensable in political analysis and social history for three obvious reasons: first, the phenomenon of identity is not private and individual but public and relational; second, it spans the whole range from category to organization; third, any actor deploys multiple identities, at least one per category, tie, role, network, group and organization to which the actor is attached.”²¹

In an attempt to clarify ‘identity’ by linking it to cultural citizenship, Toby Miller’s definition of cultural citizenship can be called upon. Miller claims, “cultural citizenship concerns the maintenance and development of cultural lineage via education, custom, language, and religion, and the positive acknowledgment of difference in and by the mainstream.”²² Culture therefore is a public good to be maintained through rights such as access to education or religious freedom. Choudhry specifies, while using the term ‘ethnocultural citizenship’, that “more moderate formulations [of ethnocultural citizenship] [...] define the nation [or entity] in terms of a shared language, history, religion, cultural

¹⁹ Choudhry 2001, p. 382.

²⁰ Choudhry 2001, p. 382.

²¹ Tilly, Charles. *Citizenship, Identity and Social History*. In: Tilly, Charles (ed.). *Citizenship, Identity and Social History*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, Sao Paulo: Cambridge University Press. 1996. P. 7.

²² Miller, Toby. *Cultural Citizenship*. In: Isin, Engin F. and Turner, Bryan S. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage Publications Ltd. 2002. P. 231.

traditions, or some combination thereof, thereby maintaining the possibility of the acquisition of membership by persons who lack these characteristics but who choose to embrace them.”²³ Thus, cultural citizenship can be broadly defined as an entity having shared traditions and a common ethos.

2.2. Description of Documents and Discussion of Literature

The research object of this master thesis is the *Constitution of the United States* with its *Bill of Rights* including the subsequent amendments to the *Constitution*, the *Treaty on the European Union* (TEU) and the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* (TFEU). All articles regarding citizenship and what rights as well as duties citizens obtain will be analyzed using qualitative and quantitative document analysis. For comparison, John Stuart Mill’s *Methods* will be applied for comparison as described in his *A System of Logic*.

2.2.1. Description of Documents to be analyzed

2.2.1.1. Description of US Constitution, Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments

The *US Constitution* was created on 17 September 1887 and ratified on 21 June 1888. It clearly shows the ideas of the Enlightenment, placing reason and rationality above all. Moreover, as Alfred G. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison write “[the] powers granted [through the Constitution] the new government reflected in part American experience with federalism under the British Empire and the Articles of Confederation [...]”²⁴ In turn, the Founding Fathers draw heavily on the influence of English Law, a slight derivation of common law. Kelly and Harbison further assert “[the] Constitution gave recognition to several ideas of colonial and Revolutionary political philosophy: the compact theory of the state, the notion of a written constitution, the conception of constitutional supremacy and limited legislative capacity, the doctrine of natural rights, and the separation of powers.”²⁵ It is clear, then, that the Constitution is a document of the eighteenth century, giving room for changing interpretation over time.

²³ Choudhry, p. 380.

²⁴ Kelly, Alfred G. and Harbison, Winfred A.. *The American Constitution. Its Origins & Development. Fifth Edition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976. P. 155.

²⁵ Kelly/Harbison, 1976, p. 155.

The *Bill of Rights* was ratified on 15 December 1791. The Founding Father James Madison suggested the first ten Amendments to the US Constitution during the First United States Congress. Their point was to regulate the powers of the US federal government in order to secure basic freedoms for the citizens such as religious freedom and freedom of speech. What seemed to be a natural conclusion, was actually rather contested before ratification. Alexander Hamilton stated in *Federalist No. 84* that the US Constitution did not imply the violation of the American people's rights, therefore protection was not necessary.²⁶ Moreover, he argues that the Constitution differs from previous governmental documents making a bill of rights irrelevant, writing "[...] bills of rights are, in their origin, stipulations between kings and their subjects, abridgements of prerogative in favor of privilege, reservations or rights not surrendered to the prince. Such was MAGNA CHARTA, obtained by the barons, sword in hand, from King John."²⁷ In essence, this argument means, the relationship between the newly founded US government and the citizens was different, seeing that the president was not a monarchical sovereign, but elected by the people; thus, the rights were ensured by the Constitution. Moreover, Hamilton viewed the Constitution as already being a sort of Bill of Rights.²⁸

Nevertheless, the *Bill of Rights* went through the ratification processes of the various states, and became effective in 1791.

The first of the subsequent *Amendments*, the Eleventh Amendment, was ratified on 7 February 1795. The last of them, the Twenty-Seventh Amendment, was ratified on 7 May 1992. The purpose of subsequent amendments was to secure rights as necessary, adapting to changing circumstances and issues as they arose throughout US history and in society.

²⁶ Hamilton, Alexander. *Federalist No. 84*. In: Hamilton, Alexander, Madison, James, and Jay John. *The Federalist Papers* (reprinted: Rossister, Clinton. New York/Scarborough/London: Signet, 1961), pp. 510 – 520.

²⁷ Hamilton, *Federalist No. 84*. PP. 512 – 513.

²⁸ Hamilton, *Federalist No. 84*. P. 515.

2.2.1.2. Description of Documents of the European Union

2.2.1.2.1. Treaty on European Union

The *Treaty on European Union*, commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty, was signed on 7 February 1992 and became effective on 1 November 1993. It instituted the European Union, established certain criteria for membership, and installed union citizenship. Moreover, it created the pillar structure of the European Union: the European Community (consisting of the Commission, European Parliament, and the European Court of Justice), the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the Justice and Home Affairs pillars.

The Treaty granted European citizens political and civil rights in addition to the economic rights they had gained in order to foster trade and industry integration of the Union.

2.2.1.2.2. Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

The *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* was named previously the *Treaty establishing the European Community* and renamed under the *Treaty of Lisbon* in 2007. The latter amended the *Treaty on European Union* and the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*. It was signed on 13 December 2007 in Lisbon, and became effective 1 December 2009. The TFEU was ratified sixteen years after the TEU entered into effectiveness. Amongst others, it clarified issues that were left in the TEU, further explaining the rights of the citizens and defining the workings of the European Union.

2.2.2. Discussion of Literature

There are many books, essays, and research papers written about citizenship. Though they all try to explain the essence of the concept, most agree that it is hard to put a definitive label on the term. Particularly when it comes to defining and clarifying “union citizenship” of the European Union, authors have a difficult time fitting it into a previously applied idea of citizenship.

In the following passage, several pieces of literature will be discussed concerning citizenship in general, in the United States and in the European Union. What is striking attention is that literature dealing with US citizenship for the most part focuses on the cultural integration aspect of citizenship, while the literature on EU citizenship deals with how the EU defines citizenship and what could be done to strengthen it.

2.2.2.1. Citizenship in General

Ralf Dahrendorf explains the basic concept of citizenship with regard to its social function in his chapter *Zu viel des Guten. Über die soziale Dynamik von Staatsbürgerschaft*.²⁹ At the beginning, he states that citizenship is an idea which expresses rights and law.³⁰ He writes, “Staatsbürgerschaft ist das institutionelle Pendant zur Rationalität, nicht bloß eine Idee, sondern eine Wirklichkeit, die Kristallisation von Rationalität in einer sozialen Rolle. Die modernen Welt ist in ihren Werten vom Leitgedanken der Rationalität beherrscht [...], und ihre soziale, ökonomische und politische Organisation ist von der Rolle des Staatsbürgers geprägt, wie überhaupt die Verbindung von Rationalität und Staatsbürgerschaft kein Zufall ist.”³¹

The first aspect of citizenship’s role, which Dahrendorf detects, is that all citizens enjoy a bundle of rights, if they have the same status of citizenship.³² The second, so the author states, is “Citizenship ist [...] mehr als das recht auf Verteidigung der persönlichen Integrität, obgleich *habeas corpus* ein unveräußerliches Element allgemeiner Staatsbürgerschaft ist. Es ist das Recht, an der Gestaltung der Bedingungen zu partizipieren, unter denen die Gemeinschaft existiert, genauer gesagt, das Recht an der Schaffung der

²⁹ Dahrendorf, Ralf. *Zu viel des Guten. Über die soziale Dynamik von Staatsbürgerschaft*. In: Mackert, Jürgen und Müller, Hans-Peter (Hrsg.). *Citizenship – Soziologie der Staatsbürgerschaft*. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2000. PP. 133 – 155.

³⁰ See Dahrendorf 2000, p. 133.

³¹ Dahrendorf 2000, p. 136.

³² See Dahrendorf 2000, p. 137.

Gesetze mitzuwirken, die für alle Staatsbürger verbindlich sind.”³³ The dynamic between these two roles of citizenship generate is mutual: Individuals obtain certain rights, when they become members of an entity; as citizens of that entity they can influence what rights they receive and how.

In his book *Staatsbürgerschaft – Eine Einführung*, Jürgen Mackert assesses the various international trends that have an influence on how citizenship is perceived. He writes,

“Im Zeitalter von Globalisierung und Europäisierung einerseits, Regionalisierung und Identitätspolitiken andererseits, ist die Institution der Citizenship damit in einen Zangengriff geraten: Vorstellungen einer Marktzivilisation, die den globalen Marktbürger proklamieren, EU-Bürgerschaft oder auch das entstehende Regime der Menschenrechte sowie eine Vielzahl neuer Konzepte, die den ‚Global Citizen‘ oder Formen ‚kosmopolitischer Bürgerschaft‘ proklamieren, scheinen den Status nationaler Staatsbürgerschaft ‚von oben‘ in Frage zu stellen und zu einer Universalisierung von Staatsbürgerschaft zu drängen; aber auch ‚von unten‘ lassen sich Bewegungen identifizieren, die im Gegensatz zur nationalen Identität der Staatsbürger partikuläre Identitäten betonen und Gruppen- oder Sonderrechte für gesellschaftliche oder kulturelle Gruppen fordern, um deren Mitgliedern zur Anerkennung ihrer je spezifischen Identität zu verhelfen.”³⁴

Mackert then goes on to identify what traits modern national citizenship has. He states that its character is inclusive, thus, in principle not excluding any member of the society from the status of citizen.³⁵ The author also argues modern national citizenship’s claim is universalistic in that it includes all citizens of a society in its national citizenship rights, consequentially elevating them to the status of national citizen.³⁶ Moreover, the entity is a territorial nation state, in which the previously mentioned claim should be fulfilled.³⁷

Not only does Jürgen Mackert describe the traits of modern national citizenship, but also what citizens actually are and the roles they occupy within a nation state. According to Mackert, then, citizens are legal persons, who are protected from the arbitrary actions of

³³ Dahrendorf 2000, p. 137.

³⁴ Mackert, Jürgen. *Staatsbürgerschaft – Eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006. P. 15.

Authors note: What Mackert calls ‚Staatsbürgerschaft‘ is translated here to ‚national citizenship‘ as to better differentiate it from ‘citizenship’ in general.

³⁵ See Mackert 2006, p. 24.

³⁶ See Mackert 2006, p. 24.

³⁷ See Mackert 2006, p. 24.

government.³⁸ Citizens are also sovereigns during elections and clients of the welfare state; they are equals; they are part of a nation; and they are subjects of the economic market.³⁹

While Jürgen Mackert tries to explain the nature of citizenship by global and regional influences, Bryan S. Turner ventures a different approach in his essay *Outline of a Theory of Citizenship*.⁴⁰ This author establishes two variables regarding the development of citizenship. One, is “the passive or active nature of citizenship, depending on whether citizenship is developed from above (*via* the state) or from below (in terms of more local participatory institutions, such as trade unions).”⁴¹ Two, “is the relationship between the public and the private arenas within civil society.”⁴² He also states that a conservative view of citizenship is passive and private, whereas a revolutionary concept is active and public.⁴³

Turner further argues that combining the two aspects of citizenship creates “a heuristic typology of four political contexts for the institutionalization or creation of citizenship rights.”⁴⁴ These are revolutionary contexts (from below and the public space), passive democracy (from above and the public space), liberal pluralism (from below and the private space), and plebiscitary authoritarianism (from above and the private space).⁴⁵

The first, revolutionary contexts is described as “[...combining] demands from below with an emphasis on the public arena, regarding the private world of the individual with suspicion.”⁴⁶ These, however, often lead to public terror such as the French Revolution.⁴⁷ The second, passive democracy, “[...] recognises [sic!] the legitimate function of representative institutions, the courts and a welfare state system, but there is no established tradition of struggles for citizenship rights.”⁴⁸ Here Turner exemplifies his argument through the regulations of citizenship in England with its parliamentary monarchy.⁴⁹ The third

³⁸ See Mackert 2006, p. 25.

³⁹ See Mackert 2006, p. 25. He writes ‘Bürger sind *Marktsubjekte*’, which is translated here to ‘subjects of the economic market’.

⁴⁰ Turner, Bryan S. *Outline of a Theory of Citizenship*. In: *Sociology*, Volume 24, No. 2, (May 1990), pp. 189 – 217.

⁴¹ Turner 1990, p. 189.

⁴² Turner 1990, p. 189.

⁴³ See Turner 1990, p. 189.

⁴⁴ Turner 1990, p. 200.

⁴⁵ See Turner 1990, p. 200.

Author’s note: I believe there was a typo in the chart Turner offers on p. 200, mixing up ‘above’ and ‘below’. I base my assumption on his chart, which is printed on p. 209 of the same essay, where Turner exemplifies the four heuristic citizenship typologies in the correct combination. Moreover, in his written explanation, he uses the correct combinations for the typologies. Nevertheless, Turner gives a valid explanation of the development of the different types of citizenship.

⁴⁶ Turner 1990, p. 200.

⁴⁷ See Turner 1990, p. 200 and p. 209.

⁴⁸ Turner, 1990, p. 200.

⁴⁹ See Turner 1990, p. 209.

typology, liberal pluralism, is described as “[...] while interest group formation typically leads to movements for rights from below, the revolutionary thrust of social protest may be contained by a continuing emphasis on the rights of the individual for privatised [sic!] dissent.”⁵⁰ Turner references colonial American liberalism as an example for this type.⁵¹ The fourth and last type, plebiscitary authoritarianism, is portrayed as “[...] an authoritarian form of democracy from above in which the state manages public space, inviting the citizens periodically to select a leader, who is then no longer responsible on a daily basis to the electorate. Private life emerges as a sanctuary from state regulation [...]”⁵² The author names German fascism during the Third Reich as an example.⁵³

Turner completes his essay by giving an outlook on the further development of the notion of citizenship. He states that the examples he mentions in the text, “were *relatively* homogenous in ethnic terms during their period of national formation”, but that the situation has changed when considering countries such as South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.⁵⁴ He gives two possible developments of the idea of citizenship: one, “[...] the conditions under which citizenship can be formed in societies which are [...] constituted by the problems of ethnic complexity (such as Brazil)”; two “[...] an analysis of the problems which face the development of global citizenship as the political counter-part of the world economy.”⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Turner 1990, p. 200.

⁵¹ See Turner 1990, p. 209.

⁵² Turner 1990, p. 200 – 201.

⁵³ See Turner 1990, p. 209.

⁵⁴ Turner 1990, p. 213.

⁵⁵ Turner 1990, p. 213.

2.2.2.2. Citizenship in the United States of America

William Rogers Brubaker focuses on the importance of immigration to citizenship and nationhood in the United States in the introduction to his book *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*.⁵⁶ Here he pays special attention to the historic origin of this notion: “Even before American independence, the pressing need for settlers had established naturalization as central to the theory and practice of citizenship. Characteristics of naturalization – a process through which an individual expresses his or her voluntary adhesion to a state – came to be ascribed to American citizenship as such.”⁵⁷ Not until after the Civil War, the author notes, was *jus soli* added by the Civil Rights Act in 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868.⁵⁸ However, practice did not do the act and the amendment full justice until 1965 during the Civil Rights movement.⁵⁹ Afterwards “[high] rates of immigration, liberal naturalization provisions, and the *jus soli* rule have made the United States, for most of its history, exceptionally open to the political incorporation of ethnically and culturally distinct immigrants.”⁶⁰ In conclusion, Brubaker argues that with minor interruptions, the United States have been rather open with their immigration policies and in fostering the integration process.

Also in the book mentioned above by William Rogers Brubaker, is a chapter written by Peter H. Schuck, *Membership in the Liberal Polity: The Devaluation of American Citizenship*.⁶¹ It deals with the eroding meaning of US citizenship. The author assesses “[for] United States citizenship – relative to most other countries and to earlier periods in American history – is notably easy to obtain, difficult to lose, and confers few legal or economic advantages over the status of permanent resident alien.”⁶² He further writes, “[liberalism’s] influence reflects the generative force in American life of three fundamental principles.”⁶³ According to Schuck, these three principles are equality, due process, and consent.⁶⁴

⁵⁶ See Brubaker, William Rogers. *Introduction*. In: Brubaker, William Rogers (ed.). *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*. Lanham: University of America Press, 1989. PP. 1 – 27.

⁵⁷ Brubaker 1989, p. 11.

⁵⁸ See Brubaker 1989, p. 12.

⁵⁹ See Brubaker 1989, p. 12.

⁶⁰ Brubaker 1989, p. 12.

⁶¹ See Schuck, Peter H. *Membership in the Liberal Polity: The Devaluation of American Citizenship*. In: Brubaker, William Rogers (ed.). *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*. Lanham: University of America Press, 1989. PP. 51 – 65.

⁶² Schuck 1989, p. 51.

⁶³ Schuck, 1989, p. 51.

⁶⁴ See Schuck 1989, p. 51.

The equality principle is the belief “[...] government must treat alike all individuals who are similarly situated.”⁶⁵ Underneath this notion, Schuck cites three tensions having an impact on American citizenship.⁶⁶ The first tension, according to the author, is that the equality principle is empty, because it affirms that like situations must be treated the same, “it fails to supply any criteria of relevant differences, criteria that might tell us *in what respects* government may legitimately take differences among people into account.”⁶⁷ The second tension is found between majority and minority rights because “[the] equality principle constrains the constitutional power of majorities by limiting the kind of distinctions that they may make in the rules they adopt.”⁶⁸ The third tension is between the values of equality and liberty.⁶⁹ Here the author writes, “[where] liberty (at least in the negative form stressed by classical liberalism) is the principle value, inequalities of wealth, status, and opportunity are certain to flourish. But when government seeks to attack these inequalities by mandating substantive equality, some persons’ liberties must inevitably be limited.”⁷⁰ The implications, so the author argues, are that citizenship by birth-right and by naturalization should be treated equally as well as legal resident aliens and citizens be treated equally with only some limitations in particular areas such as access to certain public jobs.⁷¹ Exceptions to the equality principle are the rights to vote, to serve on juries, to run for certain high elective offices, and being appointed to high administrative positions.⁷² Schuck sees the reasons for these exceptions in the assumption that aliens are too fragmented and too new to the country to have a strong political say that specific rights should be granted only to full membership via citizenship, which in turn should encourage naturalization.⁷³

The second principle, Peter H. Schuck explains, is the due process principle. He writes “[it was] established by the 5th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution, [and] requires government to observe high standards of procedural fairness in adjudicating rights.”⁷⁴ Schuck goes on by stating, the due process principle constrains the government to deport resident aliens, who might be able to obtain citizenship, and undermines the regulation of the citizenship status; in turn, making naturalization not as necessary as it ought to be.⁷⁵

⁶⁵ Schuck 1989, p. 51.

⁶⁶ See Schuck 1989, p. 52.

⁶⁷ Schuck 1989, p. 53.

⁶⁸ Schuck 1989, p. 53.

⁶⁹ See Schuck 1989, p. 53.

⁷⁰ Schuck 1989, p. 53 – 54.

⁷¹ See Schuck 1989, p. 54.

⁷² See Schuck 1989, p. 54.

⁷³ See Schuck 1989, p. 54 – 55.

⁷⁴ Schuck 1989, p. 56.

⁷⁵ See Schuck 1989, p. 56.

The consent principle is the last of the three that Shuck proposes. It “[...] occupies an important place in the liberal tradition. The consent principle holds that political membership should not be ascribed to an individual on the basis of the contingent circumstances of his or her birth. Instead, it must reflect the individual’s free choice to join the polity, as well as the polity’s concurrence in that choice”, so Schuck.⁷⁶ He reiterates his point that naturalization is not as lucrative as it should be because citizenship rights are not as significantly different from those of resident aliens.⁷⁷ Here, however, he stresses the point that “[...] American society’s valuation of citizenship is perhaps most strikingly revealed in its willingness to confer automatic birthright citizenship upon the native-born children of illegal aliens and nonimmigrants (temporary visitors)”, which weakens citizenship status in the United States.⁷⁸

Schuck concludes his chapter by emphasizing what strong citizenship is supposed to accomplish which is to strive for commonalities. He writes, “[citizenship...] is a status that can enable us to transcend these more enduring differences [ethnic, wealth, gender, religious, lingual] and achieve some common ground. If citizenship is to perform this special office, it must be accessible to all. But if it becomes too readily accessible, it may lose much of its capacity to bind us together in a meaningful, emotionally satisfying community.”⁷⁹ He thus suggests strengthening the political and emotional aspects of citizenship to make it less accessible, but more desirable.⁸⁰

In his article *Citizenship and Nationality in Democratic Systems: Approaches to Defining and Acquiring Membership in the Political Community*, William Safran compares citizenship and nationality in France, the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and Israel.⁸¹ The focus for this thesis is the United States. Safran has an historical approach to US citizenship as he writes that American citizenship was based on the French Jacobin concept of citizenship. US citizenship, however, departs from this notion seeing that “[...] a US citizen was simultaneously a citizen of a subnational community, that is, one of the federal states, while the French Jacobins rejected the idea of subnational political communities, considering these as intermediary units that denatured the relationship between the individual citizen and

⁷⁶ Schuck 1989, p. 57.

⁷⁷ See Schuck 1989, p. 57 – 60.

⁷⁸ Schuck 1989, p. 60.

⁷⁹ Schuck 1989, p. 62.

⁸⁰ See Schuck 1989, p. 65.

⁸¹ See Safran, William. *Citizenship and Nationality in Democratic Systems: Approaches to Defining and Acquiring Membership in the Political Community*. In: *International Political Science Review/ Revue internationale de science politique*, Volume 18, No. 3, Contrasting Political Institutions. Institutions politiques contrastées (July 1997), pp. 313 – 335.

the state.”⁸² The author cites another difference from the French Jacobin roots: “[...] in France there was a myth – it was held most persistently by the political Right – that its society had developed ‘organically’ from ancient Gallo-Roman, Celtic, and Germanic tribes, American society was shaped out of diverse ethnic communities that had immigrated in more or less massive numbers.”⁸³ Consequently, citizens of the United States had to build their own society, rules, and regulations, which had their origins in Europe, but tried to avoid the mistakes made on the older continent, because of their different origins among other reasons. “In short, ‘Americanness’ was defined in terms of a commitment to democracy, equality, and other values, as anchored in the US Constitution; consequently, membership in the American polity was, in principle, open to all who shared that commitment”, so Safran.⁸⁴ This, “open-door policy”, as the author calls it, led to “widely accepted existence of [...] ‘hyphenated Americans’ [reflecting] the continuing disjunction between ‘nationality’ and citizenship, the former refereeing to ethnic origins and to a variable mixture of ethnocultural, communal, culinary, and emotional identifications, and the latter to political values, rights, and obligations.”⁸⁵ What can be said of Safran’s essay is, while cultural aspects are immanent to citizenship by guaranteeing and aiding cultural diversity as a stronghold of American society, on the same account, political and civic/civil citizenship ensures such liberties.

⁸² Safran 1997, p. 317. The author explains French Jacobins’ idea of citizenship in the previous section. He writes „[citizenship] was equated with a sharing of sovereignty, which was in turn equated with full participation in a social contract and a common concern with the public interest.“ (p. 315) The citizens were viewed as subjects of a centralist structured government rather than a federalist structured government.

⁸³ Safran 1997, p. 317.

⁸⁴ Safran 1997, p. 318.

⁸⁵ Safran, 1997, p. 319 and p. 320.

2.2.2.3. Citizenship in the European Union

Antje Wiener discusses European citizenship in her chapter *Europäische Bürgerschaftspraxis*.⁸⁶ The author applies Bryan S. Turner's concept of citizenship from above and below, believing that European citizenship was implemented from above, but does not further state whether she thinks it was more in the public or the private sphere.⁸⁷ It is to be assumed, however, that she believes it to be in combination with the public sphere because in some ways the EU has traits of a passive democracy, even though, citizens can vote in European Parliament elections. She notes in her analysis of the TEU that European citizenship is hard to place within a specific framework. Wiener writes, “[wird] sie gemessen an der Vorlage von Bürgerschaft als einer grundlegenden modernen Verfassungsnorm, die Rechte, und Identität für Bürger als Vollmitglieder nationalstaatlicher Gemeinschaften sichert [...], wird das Resultat zwangsläufig einen defizitären Eindruck vermitteln. Umgekehrt ergibt der Vergleich mit Mitgliedschaften in anderen Internationalen Organisationen, wie beispielsweise dem Mercosur oder der Nordamerikanischen Freihandelszone (NAFTA), einen Demokratieüberschuss.”⁸⁸ In order to better integrate the EU's approach into the modern debate of citizenship, Wiener first takes a socio-historical stance on ‘Bürgerschaftspraxis’ and then exemplifies it through its practice in law and politics.

The author asserts the position of ‘Bürgerschaftspraxis’ as the relationship between the individual and the political community.⁸⁹ In turn, the institutionalization of EU citizenship questions the previously accepted belief of citizenship as being connected directly to the state rather than a supra-national organization: on the one hand, citizenship as a new supranational institution; on the other hand, as a new transnational practice.⁹⁰ Furthermore, Wiener establishes the ‘modern geography of citizenship’ as such: if the individual has a nationality, he or she is part of the community; if not, he/she is outside of that community; when the individual is part of a community, he/she has political, civic/civil, and social rights, making the individual a citizen of that particular community.⁹¹ Thus, she writes, “[...] die sozialhistorische Forschung zur Bürgerschaft [verdeutlicht] die Schlüsselrolle dreier historischer Elemente. Das erste Element sind *Rechte*, die die Beziehung zwischen

⁸⁶ See Wiener, Antje. *Europäische Bürgerschaftspraxis*. In: Mackert, Jürgen and Müller, Hans-Peter (eds.). *Moderne (Staats)Bürgerschaft. Nationale Staatsbürgerschaft und die Debatten der Citizenship Studies*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2007. PP. 261 – 283.

⁸⁷ See Wiener 2007, p. 261.

⁸⁸ Wiener 2007, pp. 265 – 266.

⁸⁹ See Wiener 2007, p. 268.

⁹⁰ See Wiener 2007, p. 268.

⁹¹ See Wiener 2007, p. 269.

Einzelpersonen und Gemeinwesen festlegen. Bei *Zugang*, dem zweiten Element, geht es um die Bedingungen zur Ausübung dieser Beziehung zwischen Bürger einerseits, Gemeinschaft andererseits. [...] Das dritte historische Element umfasst zwei unterschiedliche *Zugehörigkeitsmodi* zu einer Gemeinschaft [...], Geburtsprinzip [und] Abstammungsprinzip.”⁹²

Based on the above, Antje Wiener explains the historic elements of citizenship. Rights, access, and membership all belong to citizenship. Rights, according to Wiener, are civic, political, and social; access enables polity and welfare state; and membership is composed of identity, which consists of economic, social, and cultural participation, and duties.⁹³ Membership is also legal membership resulting in national citizenship.⁹⁴

To justify her examples of how ‘Bürgerschaftspraxis’ is executed through law and politics, she explains the influence the two had on the development of European citizenship. Firstly, European citizenship was created through the process of integration through law, which was fostered by the European Court of Justice.⁹⁵ Secondly, discussions and thoughts by policymakers and politics within the European Community and the European Union aided the institutionalization of European citizenship.⁹⁶ The jurisprudential perspective is summarized by Wiener when she assesses “[die] rechtliche Sicht auf die Unionsbürgerschaft konzentriert sich auf die schrittweise Erweiterung der Bürgerrechte von der Marktbürgerschaft zur Verfassung politischer Bürgerrechte durch gesetzliche Integration. [...] Die Rolle und Bedeutung der Unionsbürgerschaft wird im Rahmen von Völkerrecht, EU-Recht und der binnenstaatlichen Bestimmungen der Mitgliedstaaten bestimmt.”⁹⁷ With regard to the political perspective, she argues “[sie] [Unionsbürgerschaft] hat jedoch nicht, wie von der Politik strategisch geplant, eine einheitliche, sondern eine fragmentierte europäische Identität gestiftet, weshalb die Geschichte europäischer Bürgerschaftspraxis somit für einen Fall von Institutionenbildung mit ‘unbeabsichtigten Konsequenzen’ steht.”⁹⁸

She summarizes her elaborations by stating “[...] dass sich europäische Bürgerschaft als neue supranationale Institution und transnationale Praxis auf die Beziehung zwischen Bürgern und ihrer Gemeinschaft in Hinblick auf drei Kerndimensionen auswirkt: erstens auf die *Identität* der Bürger [...], zweitens auf die Art und den Rahmen von *Rechten*, die Bürger evozieren können [...]; drittens schließlich die *Zugangskanäle* zu Partizipation in der größeren

⁹² Wiener 2007, p. 270.

⁹³ See Wiener 2007, p. 271.

⁹⁴ See Wiener 2007, p. 271.

⁹⁵ See Wiener 2007, p. 272.

⁹⁶ See Wiener 2007, p. 272.

⁹⁷ Wiener 2007, pp. 272 – 273.

⁹⁸ Wiener 2007, p. 275.

politischen und sozialen Gemeinschaft europäischer Bürger.”⁹⁹ These three dimensions have far-reaching effects on the further evolution of the European Union, so Wiener.¹⁰⁰

Ulrich Schneider explores the development of European citizenship in his book *Die Rechte- und Pflichtenstellung des Unionsbürgers – Der Beginn einer europäischen Staatsangehörigkeit?*, stating that a European ‘Staatsbürgerschaft’ is possible, but the current status of European ‘Unionsbürgerschaft’ does not fully imply citizen-membership as nation state citizenship.¹⁰¹ With the introduction of European Union-citizenship, the author detects a qualitative improvement to the mainly economic status of Member State citizens.¹⁰² The Maastricht Treaty, in which Union-citizenship was established, enabled citizens to have rights within the European Union as opposed to just their respective nation states. Schneider adds, though, that the duties of Union-citizenship are not mentioned at all, thus underlining his case.¹⁰³ He does argue, however, “[die] jetzt eingeführte Unionsbürgerschaft leistet einen gewichtigen Beitrag dazu, im Sinne eines ‘Europas der Bürger’ den Prozeß [sic!] der europäischen Integration bürgernah auszugestalten. Mit ihr erhält der einzelne Bürger die Möglichkeit, sich starker als bisher mit dem Zusammenwachsen der Staaten und Völker in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft und Europäischen Union zu identifizieren.”¹⁰⁴ In conclusion, the author writes that the EU is on a good way to establishing a more holistic definition of citizenship with regard to Union-citizenship, but is not quite there yet.¹⁰⁵

A similar notion is made by Stephen Hall in the first chapter of his book *Nationality, Migration Rights and Citizenship of the Union*.¹⁰⁶ He writes “[...] the Union Treaty [Maastricht Treaty] embraces the liberal rights-based conception of citizenship. The rights of the Union citizens are spelled out but citizens’ duties, although a passing reference is made to them, are nowhere specified as such in the treaties.”¹⁰⁷ Hall, however, does see the establishment of a common citizenship in the European Union as a further step towards “[...] a different and more ambitious version of European unity. These forces see the future of

⁹⁹ Wiener 2007, p. 280.

¹⁰⁰ See Wiener 2007, p. 280.

¹⁰¹ See Schneider, Ulrich. *Die Rechte- und Pflichtenstellung des Unionsbürgers – Der Beginn einer europäischen Staatsbürgerschaft*. Münster/Hamburg/London: LIT Verlag, 2000.

¹⁰² Schneider 2000, p. 9.

¹⁰³ Schneider, 2000, p. 95.

¹⁰⁴ Schneider 2000, p. 90.

¹⁰⁵ Schneider 2000, p. 90.

¹⁰⁶ Hall, Stephen. *Nationality, Migration Rights and Citizenship of the Union*. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1995. PP. 1 – 13.

¹⁰⁷ Hall 1995, p. 8.

Europe in unabashedly federal terms.”¹⁰⁸ If this were to be the case, Hall argues, the EU should strengthen its concept of citizenship to give the citizens better direct access to a unified political community, thus a federal citizenship similar to the concept in the United States; then in turn securing a common European democracy.¹⁰⁹

Veit Bader’s *Building European institutions: beyond strong ties and weak commitments* argues amongst others that a strong citizenship leads to a stronger European Union.¹¹⁰ The ‘strong ties’ refer to strong national ties, whereas the ‘weak commitments’ towards the European Union should be replaced by strong commitments towards this entity.¹¹¹ Bader offers four simultaneous ways to achieve stronger European citizenship: strengthening non-state-centered political citizenship, introducing functionally centered citizenship, firmly establishing residential rights and obligations as well as refiguring social citizenship.¹¹² For nonstate-centered political citizenship he argues it “[...] should be strengthened at the subnational [sic!] level of local and regional government by proposals to modify the constituencies MEPs [Members of the European Parliament] represent [...].”¹¹³ Functionally centered citizenship brings on the introduction of Functional, Overlapping, Competing Jurisdictions (FOCJs) as it is the case in Switzerland, for instance.¹¹⁴ “FOCJs are functionally specialized units of various sizes designed to prevent spillovers and minimize costs”, Bader writes.¹¹⁵ The EU’s bureaucracy would be split up, moving its power to lower, more regional jurisdictions, making the machinery of the EU much more tangible to its citizens.¹¹⁶ According to Bader, rights and obligations of residents entail mainly that “[universalized] *jus solis* and residence-based citizenship would make it easier to deal with the issue of the rights and obligations of residents in member states and of third-country nationals in the Union.”¹¹⁷

The proposed improvements could make it easier for the European Union to deal with its external borders, especially the issue of refugees. The last, refiguring social citizenship, receives special attention from Veit Bader. He sees “indications of a striking shift away from

¹⁰⁸ Hall, 1995, p. 12.

¹⁰⁹ See Hall 1995, p. 12 – 13.

¹¹⁰ Bader, Veit. *Building European institutions: beyond strong ties and weak commitment*. In: Benhabib Seyla et. al. *Identities, Affiliations, and Allegiances*. Cambridge/New York/Melbourne/Madrid/Cape Town/Singapore/São Paulo: Cambridge University Press, 2007. PP. 113 – 135.

¹¹¹ See Bader 2007, p. 114.

¹¹² See Bader 2007, p. 126 – 135.

¹¹³ Bader 2007, p. 126.

¹¹⁴ See Bader 2007, p. 127.

¹¹⁵ See Bader 2007, p. 127.

¹¹⁶ See Bader 2007, p. 127.

¹¹⁷ Bader 2007, p. 129.

traditional egalitarian conception of justice requiring uniform treatment for everyone [...]. Instead of the focus being on equally distributed resources and rewards or maximizing and optimizing welfare, it is on guaranteeing minimum basic rights [...], satisfying basic needs [...], and combating poverty and insecurity [...].”¹¹⁸ The author argues “[differential] standards in various contexts are now viewed morally permissible at a national level, provided they guarantee that historically defined basic needs are met (e.g. via an individualized, income-independent basic income), at an EU level (e.g. via a lower minimum), and at a global one.”¹¹⁹ All these measures would foster European integration at the citizen level, according to Bader.¹²⁰

Theresa Wobbe writes about how national and supranational citizenship can coexist in the European Union and bring new forms of political inclusion in her chapter *Die Koexistenz nationaler und supranationaler Bürgerschaft. Neue Formen politischer Inkorporation*.¹²¹ She sees national citizenship as an association of rights, identity, and territory of a country.¹²² This concept of citizenship, however, is changing. Wobbe argues “[der] gegenwärtige Wandel der Staatsbürgerschaft manifestiert sich in der Bedeutung grenzüberschreitender Handlungen, in der zunehmenden Abhängigkeit von internationalen Rechtsinstituten auf europäischer und globaler Ebene sowie in der Inkongruenz von Territorium und Identität.”¹²³ She refers to the Maastricht Treaty, in which EU-citizenship has been established as co-existing next to national citizenship. Wobbe writes “[in] ihrer Prozessbildung entkoppelt diese Form der indirekten Mitgliedschaft politische Inkorporation von der Nationalität und etabliert eine neue direkte Rechtsbeziehung zwischen den Bürgern und dem Organ der Gemeinschaft.”¹²⁴ Thus, the nation-state does not necessarily function as a mediator between the European Union and the individual citizen, but a direct connection between the supranational organization and the citizen is established. However, some nation-states, depending on their civic and political structure, function as a legal mediator seeing that they still have the power to ratify mainly through a parliamentary process regulations issued by the EU. Moreover, regardless of the country’s civic and political structure, the Member States operate as a gatekeeper for

¹¹⁸ Bader 2007, p. 132.

¹¹⁹ Bader 2007, p. 132.

¹²⁰ Bader 2007, p. 133 – 135.

¹²¹ See Wobbe, Theresa. *Die Koexistenz nationaler und supranationaler Bürgerschaft. Neue Formen politischer Inkorporation*. In: Bach, Maurizio (ed.). *Die Europäisierung nationaler Gesellschaften*. Sonderheft 40 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2000. PP. 251 – 274.

¹²² Wobbe, 2000, pp. 252 – 256.

¹²³ Wobbe 2000, p. 255.

¹²⁴ Wobbe 2000, p. 258.

citizenship; only a citizen of a Member State can become a citizen of the European Union. “Allerdings wird dieses Recht nicht ohne Kontrolle ausgeübt, sondern mit Rücksicht auf die Gemeinschaftsprinzipien der EU und das internationale [sic!] Recht”, remarks Wobbe on this topic. She detects a strong development from an economic orientated organization to a more civic and political one. Initially, borders between Member States became more permeable to foster economic mobility; however, this also brought political and civic change. The author mentions as an examples of this development, the active EU voting right and the passive right to vote in local elections. Wobbe: “Für Bürger, die keine Staatsangehörigen ihres Aufenthaltlandes sind, wird es durch diesen Artikel [Article 17 – 22 TEU] erstmals möglich, auf der kommunalen Ebene an Wahlen in dem Land ihres Aufenthalts teilzunehmen.”¹²⁵ She concludes her discussion on the European Union by writing that “nationale Bürgerschaft als einziger und spezifischer Status sich wandelt und daneben weitere Formen der Mitgliedschaft treten, deren Rechte nicht ausschließlich auf Grund von Staatsangehörigkeit legitimiert sind.”¹²⁶

Richard Bellamy addresses a similar topic in his chapter *Citizenship beyond the nation state: the case of Europe*.¹²⁷ He writes about the development of the European Union's internal structure and how it is connected to the powers vested in its Member States. Bellamy comments that “[instead] of power being concentrated in a single agency, the state – albeit after devolved down for certain purposes to more local agencies – it is now becoming increasingly dispersed amongst a network of diverse types of agency that operate across a number of levels. Sovereignty is becoming more vertically, as opposed to hierarchically, organized as government by states gets supplemented and displaced by multiple levels and kinds of governance that that operate not only beyond and below, but also across them.”¹²⁸ Like Wobbe, he then goes on to exemplify his observation by mentioning the current direct effect the EU has on the citizens, pointing out freedom of movement and the political and civic rights it entails.

Bellamy is of the opinion that the current concept of European citizenship can be described as communitarian cosmopolitan, which is a combination of what the author terms cosmopolitan citizenship and communitarian citizenship.¹²⁹ For him, cosmopolitan

¹²⁵ Wobbe 2000, p. 260.

¹²⁶ Wobbe 2000, p. 262.

¹²⁷ See Bellamy, Richard. *Citizenship beyond the nation state: the case of Europe*. In: O’Sullivan, Noël (ed.). *Political Theory in Transition*. London: Routledge, 2000. PP. 91 – 112.

¹²⁸ Bellamy, 2000. P. 92.

¹²⁹ Bellamy 2000, p. 99.

citizenship is based on rights, meaning, “[...] their formulation is general and their subjects individuals.”¹³⁰ Communitarian citizenship implies explicit rights “[...derived] from their location within a specific local culture” because “[...] the rights of human beings *per se* will always be ‘basic’.”¹³¹ In turn, communitarian cosmopolitan citizenship suggests cosmopolitanism as the lowest common denominator as a framework for interaction within the European Union, whereas communitarianism functions as a qualifying factor for the EU.¹³²

Bellamy, however, offers another concept, phrasing it “cosmopolitan communitarianism”, since “[the] granting of European political rights has failed to produce a pan-European political system”.¹³³ Bellamy explains his concept as “[...] cosmopolitan notions are always rooted in the specific attachments individuals possess and the particular contexts where they operate. Through interaction, individuals or the agencies representing them gradually negotiate a range of mutually acceptable agreements in various aspects of their lives. These typically reflect compromise between different communitarian positions, rather than convergence on consensual norms.”¹³⁴ This way, political integration could be fostered and all levels of political participation integrated.¹³⁵

As opposed to the previous authors mentioned here, who try to explain the current nature of European citizenship, Elizabeth Meehan ventures a new concept of citizenship within the entity in her essay *Citizenship and the European Union*.¹³⁶ She believes “[...] a new kind of citizenship is emerging that is neither national nor cosmopolitan but which is multiple in enabling the various identities that we all possess to be expressed, and our rights and duties exercised, through an increasingly complex configuration of common institutions, states, national and transnational interest groups and voluntary associations, local or provincial authorities, regions and alliances of regions.”¹³⁷ Meehan exemplifies her concept by mentioning Italian and German workers, who may pursue different national interest, but are unified by the common interest of health and safety legislation.¹³⁸ Thus, the European

¹³⁰ Bellamy 2000, p. 94.

¹³¹ Bellamy 2000, p. 95.

¹³² See Bellamy 2000, p. 99 – 103.

¹³³ Bellamy 2000, p. 103.

¹³⁴ Bellamy 2000, p. 103.

¹³⁵ See Bellamy 2000, p. 103 – 105.

¹³⁶ See Meehan, Elizabeth. *Citizenship and the European Community*. In: *The Political Quarterly*. Volume 64, No. 2 (April 1993), p. 172 – 186.

¹³⁷ Meehan 1993, p. 185.

¹³⁸ See Meehan, p. 185.

Union can offer an arena to fight for such issues, in turn aiding the building of a common European citizenship.

In his chapter *Law, Public Service, and Citizenship – New Domains, New Regimes?*, Mark Freeland discusses the connections in the European Union between law, public service, and citizenship.¹³⁹ The definition of public service he offers is “[...] the sector of the economy in which services or activities, recognized as public in the sense that the State is seen as ultimately responsible for the provisions of them, are nevertheless not provided by the State itself but by institutions which are intermediate between the market and the State. These institutions are, on the one hand, too independent of the State to be regarded as part of the State, but are, on the other hand, too closely and distinctively associated with the goals, activities, and responsibilities of the State to be thought of as simply part of the private sector of the political economy.”¹⁴⁰ This notion is immanent to his idea of citizenship, which is based more on constitutional citizenship rather than the neo-liberal focus of citizens as consumers and workers. One, according to Freeland, is constitutional citizenship “[...] the conception we have of full individual membership of the society, State or community in question [...] it implies a set of links between the State and the individual which it is the very business of public law to maintain in a meaningful and coherent condition.”¹⁴¹ Two, Freeland cites the notion of “the citizen as primarily an economic rather than a social or political actor, in other words of promoting a notion of market citizenship rather than of constitutional citizenship, thus drawing on and developing a different philosophical tradition. On this view, the individual person is accounted a full member of the community, is identified as a citizen, more by reference to that person’s role in its economy than by reference to his or her role in its political society.”¹⁴² The author, thus views, workers and consumers as citizens, who have a more complex role through constitutional citizenship rather than economic citizenship.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ See Freeland, Mark. *Law, Public Service, and Citizenship – New Domains, New Regimes?*. In: Freeland, Mark and Sciarra, Silvana. *Public Services and Citizenship in European Law: Public and Labour Law Perspectives*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. PP. 1 – 34.

¹⁴⁰ Freeland 1998, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ Freeland 1998, p. 9.

¹⁴² Freeland 1998, p. 10.

¹⁴³ Freeland 1998, p. 26.

3. Description of Empirical Research

3.1. Containment and Exclusions

In this thesis, dual and honorary citizenship will not be examined. In addition, how a person becomes a citizen of an entity will not be explored in depth, because the underlying assumption is that the person has already obtained citizenship. Rather, the thesis looks at the interpretation of citizenship as defined in the *United States Constitution* with its *Bill of Rights* and in the *EU Treaties*.

Moreover, the thesis will focus solely on the articles in the *US Constitution*, the *Bill of Rights*, and the *EU Treaties* that relate directly to citizenship. For instance, every citizen of an entity has the right to become a worker, thus receiving the economic right to employment. On the other hand, not every citizen is a worker, thus workers' rights do not apply to every citizen, which means that workers' rights do not have implications on the definition of citizenship for that entity. For this reason the Sixteenth Amendment of the *US Constitution*, and any article referring solely to 'workers' and 'consumers' in either the *Treaty on European Union* or the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* will be excluded from the analysis because they do not apply to all citizens, but only those who chose to become workers or consumers.

However, all articles of the respective documents referring to citizenship will be taken into account and will be analyzed. The units that will be evaluated are the sections of each article instead of the entire article, since not all sections pertaining to an article have implications on citizenship.

3.2. Methods

In order to examine the role of citizenship in the United States and in the European Union fully, two methods will be used for the evaluation. The first method is the quantitative document analysis and the second is qualitative document analysis. The reason for this approach is that the two compliment each other and give a more holistic picture of the role of citizenship in both the United States and the European Union.

For both the quantitative and qualitative document analysis, the same categories will be applied in order to create a common ground for comparison as well as argumentation. After each document has been analyzed, they will be compared according to John Stuart Mill's *A System of Logic*.

3.2.1. Quantitative Document Analysis

A quantitative document analysis is suitable for this thesis in that it measures the extent to which citizenship is defined in the *United States Constitution* with the *Bill of Rights* and in the *EU Treaties*. The extent is important to the evaluation because it is a measure of how significant which dimension of citizenship is to a particular entity. The more coverage a certain dimension receives by a document, the more significant it is.

According to Jürgen Bortz and Nicola Döring, this method is described as follows: “[die] quantitative Inhaltsanalyse erfasst einzelne Merkmale von Texten, indem sie Textteile in Kategorien einordnet, die Operationalisierungen der interessierenden Merkmale darstellen. Die Häufigkeiten in den einzelnen Kategorien geben Auskunft über die Merkmalsausprägungen des untersuchten Textes.”¹⁴⁴

All articles, which have an implication on citizenship in the respective documents, will be analyzed, therefore sampling is not necessary. For the quantitative document analysis, categories will be generated to measure each component of citizenship in the respective documents.

¹⁴⁴ Bortz, Jürgen and Döring, Nicola. *Forschungsmethoden und Evaluation für Human- und Sozialwissenschaftler*. 4. Auflage. Heidelberg, Springer Medizin Verlag, 2006. P. 149.

3.2.2. Qualitative Document Analysis

The qualitative document analysis is important to this thesis because it provides a qualitative insight into the definition of citizenship as described in the *U.S. Constitution* including the *Bill of Rights* and in the *EU Treaties*. This method does not look at how often a document addresses certain themes, but rather how certain themes are addressed. In Bortz and Döring's book *Forschungsmethoden und Evaluation für Human- und Sozialwissenschaftler*, three steps for the evaluation of the data are described.¹⁴⁵ The first step is the recapitulatory content analysis, in which the content is summarized.¹⁴⁶ The second is the elaborating content analysis, in which unclear or vague passages are explained.¹⁴⁷ The final step is the structuring content analysis, in which the document is structured according to the previously generated categories.¹⁴⁸

3.2.3 Comparison according to John Stuart Mill

In his book *A System of Logic*, John Stuart Mill established four methods of experimental inquiry: Method of agreement, difference, residues, and concomitant variations.¹⁴⁹ The first two can be combined to create a fifth method, the joint method of agreement and difference. Mills describes it as such “[if] two or more instances of the phenomenon under investigation have only one circumstance in common, the circumstance in which alone all the instances agree, is the cause (or effect) of the given phenomenon.”¹⁵⁰ This will be applied in the thesis to compare the concepts of citizenship in the United States and the European Union as defined in the *US Constitution*, *Bill of Rights*, and subsequent *Amendments*; the *Treaty on European Union* and the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*.

¹⁴⁵ Bortz and Döring 2006, p. 332.

¹⁴⁶ See Bortz and Döring 2006, p. 332. The authors call this method *Zusammenfassende Inhaltsanalyse*.

¹⁴⁷ See Bortz and Döring 2006, p. 332. The authors call this method *Explizierende Inhaltsanalyse*.

¹⁴⁸ See Bortz and Döring 2006, p. 332. The authors call this method *Strukturierende Inhaltsanalyse*.

¹⁴⁹ See Mill, John Stuart. *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1858. PP. 222 – 250.

¹⁵⁰ Mill 1858, p. 224.

4. Empirical Chapter

The overarching hypothesis for this master thesis is that parallels can be drawn between the concepts of citizenship between the United States and the European Union because no single definition of citizenship, be it civic/civil, political, economic, or cultural can be the sole aspect of a citizen belonging to any entity. Moreover, if strong parallels can be drawn between these two entities, the European Union may be on its way to form a federal structure as is the case in the United States.

4.1. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The hypotheses for analyzing the four concepts of citizenship are as follows:

1. How is citizenship perceived in the USA?

-The US-perception of citizenship is based more strongly on civic/civil factors than on economic factors.

The United States are a country based on civil liberties, thus the commonality found in the United States are based on political and civil/civic rights and duties rather than a sense for common history, religion or culture, for instance.

2. How is citizenship perceived in the EU?

- The EU perception of citizenship is based more on economic factors than on cultural factors.

This hypothesis measures how citizenship is generally perceived in the EU. Since the EU has a problem with defining a common identity for its members, it stresses the economic mobility of the citizens of the individual nation states as a means to create a common Europe.

3. How strong are the cultural factors of citizenship?

- The cultural factors of citizenship are stronger in the EU than in the USA.

The Treaties concerning the EU state in the preamble of the *Treaty on European Union* that they draw from, amongst other factors, the cultural and religious inheritance of Europe, while no such reference is made in the US Constitution. Therefore, this hypothesis will examine if the cultural factors with regard to citizenship play a greater factor in the EU or the USA.

4. How strong are the civic/civil implications of citizenship?

- The civic/civil implications are stronger in the United States, because the European Union's definition of citizenship is tied more strongly to economic liberties rather than to common civic/civil liberties due to the specific political structure of the Member States.

5. Is political citizenship bound to another concept of citizenship?

- In both the United States and the European Union, political citizenship is bound to civic/civil aspects of citizenship. However, in the United States political citizenship is qualified by the cultural mean of non-discrimination, whereas in the European Union political citizenship either stands alone or is qualified by civic/civil measures.

4.2. Operationalization

As stated above, the four kinds of citizenship in this thesis are civic/civil, political, economic, and cultural. Each category will receive indicators in order to detect the traits of each category in the documents. An analyzed unit can fall under one or more categories depending on what topic it is addressing and how.

The indicators for civic/civil citizenship are regulation of citizenship (i.e. naturalization, etc.), protection/security (i.e. countries not belonging to entity, militia, etc.), interaction of citizens with judicial body, interaction amongst citizens, interaction of citizens with entity, unjust government intervention, conditions for citizens, access to civic/civil participation, and civil representation.

Political citizenship is indicated through voting rights, rights to political representation, participation, and if power is vested in the citizens.

Economic citizenship can be detected through tax implications, right to employment, consumer protection, internal market, freedom of movement, freedom of establishment, and infrastructure.

The indicators for cultural citizenship are anti-discrimination measures, specifically regarding religion/philosophy/organization, race/ethnicity/nationality, sex, age, and health. Moreover, cultural citizenship is indicated through education, right to social inclusion, sports, language, values, and tradition/heritage.

Additional information will be provided through evaluating which combinations of categories within the examined units exist. The combinations are as follows: civic/civil and political; civic/civil and economic; civic/civil and cultural; political and economic; political and cultural; economic and cultural; civic/civil, political, and economic; civic/civil, political, and cultural; civic/civil, economic, and cultural; political, economic, and cultural; as well as civic/civil, political, economic, and cultural.

4.3. Pretest

Originally, the thesis only included civic/civil, economic, and cultural citizenship. However, through extensive literature review and initial analysis of the documents the term political citizenship was incorporated into the thesis because it is not only a basic aspect of citizenship, but also closely linked to civic/civil citizenship.

Moreover, a better distinction between indicators had to be made. For instance, representation of the citizen was primarily considered as an aspect of political citizenship. Further examination, on the other hand, made the distinction of civic representation of the citizen immanent as an indicator for civic/civil citizenship. Also, a greater differentiation had to be made between cultural citizenship indicators. The indicators of education, sports, sexual orientation, health, and language had to be added to achieve a better picture of how culture is perceived by an entity.

4.4. Description and Evaluation of Results

4.4.1. Description and Evaluation of the Quantitative Content Analysis

The quantitative content analysis gives an oversight over the main citizenship characteristics of the respective documents. The findings allow preliminary conclusions about which issues are addressed, but they do not give in-depth insight into how exactly the different types of citizenship are construed. This will be done by the qualitative content analysis.

4.4.1.1. United States

	civic/civil	political	economic	cultural
Articles of US Constitution				
Article I section 2		x		
Article I section 8	x			
Article I section 9	x			
Article III section 2	x			
Article III section 3	x			
Article IV section 2	x			
Bill of Rights				
Amendment I	x			x
Amendment II	x			
Amendment III	x			
Amendment IV	x			
Amendment V	x			
Amendment VI	x			
Amendment VII	x			
Amendment VIII	x			
Amendment IX	x			
Amendment X	x	x		
Subsequent Amendments				
Amendment XI	x			
Amendment XIII section 1	x			
Amendment XIV section 1	x			
Amendment XIV section 2		x		
Amendment XV section 1		x		x
Amendment XIX		x		x
Amendment XXIV	x	x		
Amendment XXVI		x		x
Total	19	7	0	4

Figure 2: Citizenship traits of in the Articles of the US Constitution and the Amendments

The *US Constitution* with the *Bill of Rights* and the subsequent *Amendments* have twenty-four units that address and have an effect on the concept of citizenship. Six are directly in the *US Constitution*, ten in the *Bill of Rights*, and nine in the subsequent *Amendments*.¹⁵¹ The overwhelming majority of nineteen units address the civic/civil concept of citizenship.¹⁵² Seven units address political citizenship, and four cultural.¹⁵³ Of the twenty-five units, sixteen solely address civic/civil citizenship, two solely political citizenship, one solely economic citizenship, and none addresses solely cultural citizenship.¹⁵⁴ Two units, in these instances amendments, address a combination of civic/civil and political citizenships, one unit civic/civil and cultural citizenships, and three units address political and cultural citizenships.¹⁵⁵

In the case of the United States, civic/civil citizenship is indicated by regulation of citizenship (two units), protection/security (eight units), interaction between citizen and judicial body (six units), interaction between citizen and entity (two units), protection from unjust government intervention (six units), conditions for citizens (one unit), and access to civic/civil membership (one unit).¹⁵⁶ Political citizenship is indicated by voting (six units), political representation (six units), and power vested in the citizens (one unit). There are no indicators for economic citizenship.¹⁵⁷ Cultural citizenship, however, is indicated by religion/philosophy/organization (one unit), race/ethnicity/nationality (one unit), sex (one unit), age (one unit), and social inclusion (one unit).¹⁵⁸

Based on these calculations, it can be said that the *US Constitution*, the *Bill of Rights*, and the subsequent *Amendments* define citizenship in civic/civil terms making other definitions of citizenship dependent on civic/civil citizenship. The political aspect of citizenship is also prevalent throughout these documents. Seeing that cultural indicators, such as race/ethnicity/nationality, age, and sex, prevail when in combination with political indicators, it can be concluded that these are non-discrimination measures. Thus, citizens are perceived as having a right to cultural citizenship, but not being suppressed by an overarching cultural citizenship coined by the United States.

¹⁵¹ See Figure 2.

¹⁵² See Figure 2.

¹⁵³ See Figure 2.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix 3 Table 5.

¹⁵⁵ See Appendix 3 Table 5.

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix 2 Table 1.

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix 2 Table 1.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix 2 Table 1.

4.4.1.2. European Union

4.4.1.2.1. Treaty on European Union

	civic/civil	political	economic	cultural
Article 2	x			x
Article 3 section 1	x			x
Article 3 section 2	x			
Article 3 section 3	x		x	x
Article 3 section 4			x	
Article 3 section 5	x	x	x	x
Article 6 section 1	x			
Article 6 section 2	x			
Article 6 section 3	x			
Article 9	x			
Article 10 section 1	x	x		
Article 10 section 2	x	x		
Article 10 section 3	x	x		
Article 10 section 4	x	x		
Article 11 section 1	x	x		
Article 11 section 4	x	x		
Article 13 section 1	x	x	x	x
Article 14 section 2		x		
Article 14 section 3	x	x		
Total	17	10	4	5

Figure 3: Citizenship traits of the Articles in the TEU

The *Treaty on European Union* contains nineteen units dealing with citizenship. Of these, seventeen units address civil/civic citizenship, ten political citizenship, four economic citizenship, and five cultural citizenship¹⁵⁹. Civic/civil citizenship is mentioned alone in five units; political citizenship alone is represented with one unit; economic citizenship is only mentioned once by itself; civic/civil citizenship together with political citizenship is addressed six times; civic/civil and cultural citizenship together four times; civic/civil, economic with cultural citizenships once as well; and all traits of citizenship are mentioned together in two units.¹⁶⁰

With regard to this treaty, civic/civil citizenship is indicated by regulation of citizenship (one unit), protection/security (one unit), interaction between citizen and entity (four units), conditions under which civic/civil acts are conducted (ten units) as well as the access to membership to the entity.¹⁶¹ Political citizenship is shown through the indicators

¹⁵⁹ See Figure 3.

¹⁶⁰ See Appendix 3 Table 6.

¹⁶¹ See Appendix 2 Table 2.

voting (one unit), participation (two unit), and political representation (five units).¹⁶² Economic citizenship's only indicator is internal market (three units).¹⁶³ The last, cultural citizenship is indicated by race/ethnicity/nationality (one unit), sex (two units), age (one unit), social inclusion (one unit), values (four units), tradition/heritage (one unit), and language (one unit).¹⁶⁴

What the findings of the quantitative analysis of the TEU show, is a clear civic/civil basis for citizenship in the European Union. Political, economic, and cultural rights are derived from or are combined with them. Cultural citizenship never stands alone and is paired either with civic/civil citizenship or in combination with additional economic features of citizenship. Thus, it can be concluded that these articles indicate non-discriminatory measures within the economic sector of the European Union. Political citizenship is usually together with civic/civil citizenship, excluding one article in which it stands alone. It can be assumed, political rights are then viewed as being important for citizens, thus having the need to be grounded with civic/civil rights as well.

¹⁶² See Appendix 2 Table 2.

¹⁶³ See Appendix 2 Table 2.

¹⁶⁴ See Appendix 2 Table 2.

4.4.1.2.2. Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

	civic/civil	political	economic	cultural
Article 8	x			x
Article 9	x		x	x
Article 10	x			x
Article 12	x		x	
Article 13	x		x	x
Article 15 section 3	x			
Article 16 section 1	x			
Article 17 section 1	x			x
Article 17 section 2	x			x
Article 17 section 3	x			x
Article 18	x			x
Article 19 section 1	x			x
Article 20 section 1	x			
Article 20 section 2	x	x	x	
Article 21 section 1	x			
Article 22 section 1	x	x		
Article 22 section 2	x	x		
Article 23	x			
Article 24	x	x		
Article 26 section 2			x	
Article 53 section 1	x		x	
Article 56	x		x	
Article 77 section 1	x			x
Article 145			x	
Article 165 section 1				x
Article 165 section 2				x
Article 167 section 1				x
Article 168 section 1	x			x
Article 170 section 1	x		x	
Article 227	x			
Article 228 section 1	x			
Total	26	4	9	14

Figure 4: Citizenship traits of the Articles in the TFEU

The *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* has thirty-one units relating to citizenship. Of these, twenty-seven focus on civic/civil citizenship, four on political citizenship, ten on economic citizenship, and fourteen on cultural citizenship.¹⁶⁵ Seven units focus only on civic/civil citizenship, two only on economic, and three only on cultural.¹⁶⁶ Three units deal with the combination of civic/civil and political citizenships; four with the civic/civil and economic citizenships; nine with civic/civil and cultural; one unit with civic/civil, political, and cultural citizenships; two with civic/civil, economic, and cultural citizenships; as well as four with civic/civil, economic, and cultural citizenships.¹⁶⁷

In the TFEU, civic/civil citizenship is indicated by regulation of citizenship (one unit), protection/security (ten units), interaction between citizen and entity (eleven units), conditions

¹⁶⁵ See Figure 4.

¹⁶⁶ See Appendix 3 Table 7.

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix 3 Table 7.

for citizens (eight units), access to civic/civil membership (five units), and civic representation (one unit).¹⁶⁸ Voting (three units) and political representation (one unit) are the indicators for political citizenship.¹⁶⁹ Economic citizenship is indicated by rights and regulations for employment (three units), consumer protection (one unit), internal market (one unit), freedom of establishment (two units), freedom of movement (two units), and infrastructure (two units).¹⁷⁰ Cultural citizenship's indicators are race/philosophy/organization (six units), race/ethnicity/nationality (three units), sex (three units), age (two units), education (three units), social inclusion (three units), sexual orientation (two units), health (three units), sports (one unit), tradition/heritage (one unit), and language (one unit).¹⁷¹

As can be seen through the quantitative analysis of the TFEU, this treaty is more refined in its concept of citizenship, while it still maintaining a civic/civil foundation of citizenship. More issues are addressed in the cultural citizenship section, especially with regard to non-discrimination measures. Previously not mentioned in the TEU, but picked up in the TFEU are the cultural indicators of religion/philosophical/organizational, education, sexual orientation, health, and sports. Seeing that these indicators were added to the concept of citizenship in the European Union, the shortcomings of the TEU were now mitigated by the TFEU.

¹⁶⁸ See Appendix 2 Table 3.

¹⁶⁹ See Appendix 2 Table 3.

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix 2 Table 3.

¹⁷¹ See Appendix 2 Table 3.

4.4.2. Description and Evaluation of the Qualitative Content Analysis

4.4.2.1. United States

4.4.2.1.1. Description of the Findings

Many interpretations of the following document rely on case law rulings resulting in various possible readings for each Article and Amendment. This is due to two factors. One, the phrasing and terminology is at times rather vague leaving room for analysis. Two, the understanding of the passages has altered over time adjusting to any given circumstances and adapting to changes in society. However, in this thesis, case law rulings will not be examined, but solely the text in the documents will be analyzed to see in which way the four dimensions define citizenship.

4.4.2.1.1.1. Constitution: Article I section 2

“The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature. [...]”¹⁷²

Article I section 2 deals with the political aspect of citizenship. It states that the citizens of the United States have the opportunity to vote for their representation in the House of Representatives every two years. Only the people, meaning everyone qualified to vote in these elections, are allowed to participate. In turn, the states’ governors are not permitted to replace a vacancy in the State’s delegation to the House of Representatives, but have to call for a special election. This is stated in the fourth clause to the section of the Article, which says, “[when] vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.”¹⁷³

¹⁷² U.S. Constitution Article I section 2.

¹⁷³ U.S. Constitution Article I section 2.

4.4.2.1.1.2. Constitution: Article I section 8

“The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts, and Excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common Defence [sic!] and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States; [...] To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization [...]”¹⁷⁴

The fourth clause of this section “[to] establish a uniform Rule of Naturalization” establishes the foundations for civic/civil citizenship in the United States.¹⁷⁵ This clause does not state under which conditions a person can become a US-citizen, but gives the power to formulate the guidelines for US-citizenship to Congress. The qualifications for citizenship are outlined in Amendment XIV, which will be discussed later on in this thesis.

4.4.2.1.1.3. Constitution: Article I section 9

“[...] The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.”¹⁷⁶

Article I section 9 has civic/civil implications for citizenship. As opposed to the previous section, section 9 limits the powers of Congress. With regard to citizenship, this means that a person, thus also extending to citizens, cannot be harmed through unlawful detainment. The legal term for such protection is *habeas corpus*. This writ of *habeas corpus* may not be suspended except under rebellion or invasion.

¹⁷⁴ U.S. Constitution Article I section 8.

¹⁷⁵ U.S. Constitution Article I section 8.

¹⁷⁶ U.S. Constitution Article I section 9.

4.4.2.1.1.4. Constitution: Article III section 2

“The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; - to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; - to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; - to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; - to Controversies between two or more States; - [...] between Citizens of different States, - between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States [...].”¹⁷⁷

Article III section 2 regulates the interaction of citizens with the judicial body of the government, thus making it relevant for civic/civil citizenship. The section limits the power and jurisdiction of the federal courts. They only are allowed to decide cases on federal questions, diplomats, navigable water, a federal party, between states, between citizens of different states, and land grants of citizens of different states. All other cases are decided in general courts. Originally, there was an additional clause permitting federal courts to decide cases of alienage, but the Eleventh Amendment, which will be discussed later, changed this in 1795.

4.4.2.1.1.5. Constitution: Article III section 3

“Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort, No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court. [...] The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.”¹⁷⁸

Article III section 3 protects the citizen from unjust accusation of treason. Therefore, it deals with the interaction between a citizen and a judicial body, making it applicable to civic/civil citizenship. The section explicitly states that only “levying War against [the United States], or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort [...]” is treason.¹⁷⁹ In turn, it protects the citizen from unjust judicial interference. It can be argued that this section of Article III is also political because treason is a political instrument. However, treason does not always serve political means, thus this section is only civic/civil.

¹⁷⁷ U.S. Constitution Article III section 2.

¹⁷⁸ U.S. Constitution Article III section 3.

¹⁷⁹ U.S. Constitution Article III section 3.

4.4.2.1.1.6. Constitution: Article IV section 2

“The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States. [...] A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime. [...]”¹⁸⁰

Article IV section 2 refers to aspects of civic/civil citizenship, because it addresses the interaction between a citizen and an entity. There are three possibilities of interpretation. One is that all citizens are treated equally by Congress no matter from which state they come from. Another possible reading is that a citizen of one state enjoys the rights from his/her home state when traveling to another state. The third understanding is that a citizen of one state may not be discriminated against by a state favoring its own citizen.

4.4.2.1.1.7. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment I

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”¹⁸¹

The First Amendment pertains to civic/civil citizenship as well as cultural citizenship. On the one hand, it allows religious freedom, freedom of speech, and the right of assembly, preventing unjust government intervention. Thus, granting civic/civil freedom and cultural freedom with regard to religion. Also, it implies that a state-church cannot be established and the separation of church and state.

¹⁸⁰ U.S. Constitution Article IV section 2.

¹⁸¹ U.S. Constitution Amendment I.

4.4.2.1.1.8. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment II

“A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.”¹⁸²

The Second Amendment is associated with civic/civil citizenship. It serves the protection of the citizens through a militia as well as being able to own and to defend themselves with weapons. Even though this Amendment is widely discussed politically in the United States bearing a cultural sentiment, because of its significant importance to the American idea of defending oneself or also to the rather popular sport of hunting, in its core it is a civic/civil matter due to the fact that it does not explicitly state any influence on politics nor on culture.

4.4.2.1.1.9. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment III

“No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.”¹⁸³

This Amendment is linked to civic/civil citizenship. It implies the right to privacy and a limitation to executive power because the President of the United States is the Commander in Chief, thus, cannot order that soldiers enter a house without the owner's consent. Still, the amendment is not an indicator for protection from unjust government intervention seeing that in a given case it may be justified that a soldier should be quartered in a house if the law permits it even against the will of the owner.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² U.S. Constitution Amendment II.

¹⁸³ U.S. Constitution Amendment III.

¹⁸⁴ I.e.: In times of war if a soldier seeks refuge in a house in order to save his life, but the owner is not present at the time and the soldier enters anyway. This would be a just case even if it violates the Third Amendment.

4.4.2.1.1.10. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment IV

“The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.”¹⁸⁵

The Fourth Amendment concerns only the civic/civil side of citizenship as it secures the right to protection from unjust judicial intervention and protection from unjust government intervention. All warrants must be sanctioned judicially.

4.4.2.1.1.11. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment V

“No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual services in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.”¹⁸⁶

The Fifth Amendment affects only civic/civil citizenship. It deals with protection from unjust judicial intervention and with the interaction between a judicial body and the citizen. The Amendment demands that a person shall have a trial by a grand jury, except when the case involves any part of the military, it occurs within the military or during war. The passage “[...] nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb [...]” has been interpreted to mean no person can be tried for the same crime by the same judicial authority, but can be tried for the same crime by a different judicial authority.

¹⁸⁵ U.S. Constitution Amendment IV.

¹⁸⁶ U.S. Constitution Amendment V.

4.4.2.1.1.12. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment VI

“In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence [sic!].”¹⁸⁷

Like the previous Amendments, the Sixth Amendment also refers to civic/civil citizenship. It secures the right to a speedy and public trial, impartial jury, notion of accusation, confrontation of accused with witnesses, compulsory process, and the right to counsel, meaning either to be represented by the person of his/her choice or to defend him-/herself.

4.4.2.1.1.13. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment VII

“In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.”¹⁸⁸

The Seventh Amendment applies to civic/civil citizenship because it protects the right to a jury trial in common law cases, making it illegal to implement any measures to hinder someone from having a jury trial. In turn, it was a procedure to limit unjust government intervention through a legal body.

¹⁸⁷ U.S. Constitution Amendment VI.

¹⁸⁸ U.S. Constitution Amendment VII.

4.4.2.1.1.14. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment VIII

“Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.”¹⁸⁹

As the previous Amendments, the Eighth is also only pertains to civic/civil citizenship. It serves as protection from unjust judicial intervention, which might harm the citizen. Cruel and unusual punishment is usually associated with unnecessary suffering and/or humiliation as means of criminal punishment. This Amendment has been prone to change, seeing that the term ‘cruel and unusual punishment’ can alter its indications over time; what was considered cruel and unusual, may not be viewed as such later on.

4.4.2.1.1.15. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment IX

“The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.”¹⁹⁰

The Ninth Amendment applies to civic/civil citizenship. It secures the unenumerated rights people obtain. Unenumerated rights, in this case, refer to rights that are not mentioned specifically in the *US Constitution*. It does not limit the power vested in the US federal government, but it does restrict the expansion of its powers based solely on the enumerated rights in the *Constitution*.

4.4.2.1.1.16. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment X

“The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”¹⁹¹

The Tenth Amendment is civic/civil. It implies that the US federal government is only limited to the powers given to it by the *Constitution*. It emphasizes the federal structure of the country, vesting the remaining powers, not explicitly granted to the federal government in the *Constitution* to the individual states and the citizens. The latter obtain the power rather than choosing to receive it, excluding a political right in this Amendment.

¹⁸⁹ U.S. Constitution Amendment VIII.

¹⁹⁰ U.S. Constitution Amendment IX.

¹⁹¹ U.S. Constitution Amendment X.

4.4.2.1.1.17. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment XI

“The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.”¹⁹²

The Eleventh Amendment was ratified on 7 February 1795. It affects civic/civil citizenship in the United States. It determines that states do not enjoy sovereign immunity, making it possible for citizens to bring cases in law and equity to the federal courts against the states. Thus, it regulates the interaction between citizens and a judicial body as well as providing protection from unjust government intervention.

4.4.2.1.1.18. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment XII section 1

“Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.”¹⁹³

On 6 December 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified. It prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude. An exception to the latter being as means of punishment for a committed crime. This is the first of the three Reconstruction Amendments, which were passed and came into effect after the Civil War, ending and, thus, prohibiting slavery. In turn, it pertains to the civic/civil aspect of citizenship because it protects the citizen from any sort of harm to his or her freedom.

¹⁹² U.S. Constitution Amendment XI.

¹⁹³ U.S. Constitution Amendment XIII section 1.

4.4.2.1.1.19. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment XIV section 1

“All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”¹⁹⁴

The Fourteenth Amendment is the second Reconstruction Amendment, which was ratified on 9 July 1868, three years after the Civil war had ended. It is one of the key amendments regarding citizenship. The Amendment pertains to both civic/civil citizenship and political citizenship.

The first section of the Amendment is civic/civil. It includes the Citizenship Clause, Privileges or Immunities Clause, the Due Process Clause and the Equal Protection Clause. The Citizenship Clause, which is the first sentence of the section, gives a broad definition of the term ‘citizenship’ in order to include all people born within the United States. Thus, it regulates the access to citizenship. The Privileges or Immunities Clause is the first part of the second sentence of this section. It prohibits the states from limiting privileges or immunities granted to the citizens; therefore, it prevents unjust government interaction. The Due Process Clause also protects citizens from unjust government intervention by respecting the legal rights given to citizens by the law. The last clause, the Equal Protection Clause, secures that the law treats every US citizen equally.

¹⁹⁴ U.S. Constitution Amendment XIV section 1.

4.4.2.1.1.20. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment XIV section 2

“Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.”¹⁹⁵

The second section of the Fourteenth Amendment applies to political citizenship because it guarantees the political participation of the citizens. Even though, at the time of its ratification, it limits these political rights to twenty-one-year-old men, it does not count for cultural citizenship as well because this limitation was invalidated by the Nineteenth and Twenty-Sixth Amendments, which will be discussed later on.

4.4.2.11..21. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment XV section 1

“The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”¹⁹⁶

The last of the Reconstruction Amendments was ratified on 3 February 1870. Its first section applies to both political and cultural citizenships. The right to vote accounts for political citizenship and the non-discrimination clause regarding race, ethnicity, as well as social inclusion for cultural citizenship.

¹⁹⁵ U.S. Constitution Amendment XIV section 2.

¹⁹⁶ U.S. Constitution Amendment XV section 1.

4.4.2.1.1.22. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment XIX

“The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. [...] Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”¹⁹⁷

The Nineteenth Amendment affects political and cultural citizenships. It was ratified on 18 August 1920, securing the political right to vote for women, which was a peak for women’s suffrage movement after decades of fighting for equal rights. It is obvious why it pertains to political citizenship. The Amendment is cultural because it was now accepted that women were allowed, thus capable of fully participating in political life of the United States. Therefore, a change of attitude throughout US society occurred in the aftermath of the Amendments ratification.

4.4.2.1.1.23. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment XXIV section 1

“The rights of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.”¹⁹⁸

The Twenty-Fourth Amendment was ratified on 23 January 1964 and applies to civic/civil and political citizenships. It regulates the conditions under which the citizens exercise a right, thus the Amendment is civic/civil. On the other hand, it is also political because it secures the right to vote by prohibiting poll or any other sort of tax preventing a citizen from participating in elections.

¹⁹⁷ U.S. Constitution Amendment XIX.

¹⁹⁸ U.S. Constitution Amendment XXIV section 1.

4.4.2.1.1.24. Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments: Amendment XXVI section 1

“The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.”¹⁹⁹

On 1 July 1971, the Twenty-Sixth Amendment was ratified. Its first section concerns political and cultural citizenship. The Amendment is political because it secures the right to vote for every citizen over eighteen years of age. It is cultural because it is culturally accepted that citizens over the age of eighteen are mature enough and therefore eligible to participate in elections. Moreover, the first time to be able to vote is considered a right of passage, which is also an indication for the cultural value of this Amendment.

¹⁹⁹ U.S. Constitution Amendment XXVI section 1.

4.4.2.1.2. Evaluation of Findings

As already noted in the findings of the quantitative analysis, most of the units pertaining to citizenship are civic/civil. All of the Amendments applying to cultural citizenship are combined with either civic/civil or political citizenship, in order to establish non-discrimination measures. Especially after the Civil War did the United States enforce equal and just treatment amongst its citizens, eliminating the shortcomings of the post-Civil War era, in particular with regard to slavery. Beginning of the twentieth century, women were granted the right to vote and by the mid-twentieth century, the voting age was lowered to eighteen – both cultural non-discrimination measures.

What is striking is that no reference to economic citizenship is made. The only Amendment, which could in some way pertain to the economic side, is the Sixteenth. However, seeing it establishes an income tax, it only applies to those citizens, who are employed.²⁰⁰

In part, the comparably vague guidelines set in the *US Constitution*, *Bill of Rights*, and Subsequent Amendments, are due to the common law structure of the United States, the federal organization of the USA, and the derivation of non-enumerated laws from the *Constitution*, deeming it not as immanent to secure certain rights in these documents.

Regarding this master thesis, the first hypothesis can be answered. Citizenship in the United States is perceived as civic/civil and not on economic factors. However, some aspects of civic/civil citizenship are combined with political rights, thus qualifying citizenship as also being political. Consequentially, most political citizenship references in the US documents are come together with cultural citizenship, if only to meet and uphold anti-discrimination measures. In essence, the first hypothesis is verified.

²⁰⁰ It also applies to non-citizens working in the United States, but because they are not topic of this master thesis, they are not mentioned and therefore irrelevant in the context.

4.4.2.2. European Union

As in the case of the United States, there is some leeway in the understanding of the Treaties concerning the European Union. Especially when dealing with economic issues, the interpretation is based heavily on rulings of the Courts of Justice. These decisions, nonetheless, will not be taken into account in this thesis, because only the intent of the documents will be analyzed to detect how citizenship is defined.

4.4.2.2.1. The Treaty on European Union (TEU)

4.4.2.2.1.1. Description of the Findings

4.4.2.2.1.1.1. Article 2

“The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.”²⁰¹

This is the first Article of the *Treaty on European Union*, which addresses citizenship. It alludes to the civic/civil and cultural traits of citizens. It is civic/civil by promising to uphold freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, respect for human rights, and minority rights. Moreover, it adheres to pluralism, justice, and solidarity; all of which pertain to civic/civil citizenship. Article 2 is also cultural in that the European Union advocates values, non-discrimination, and tolerance, especially pertaining to minorities as well as women and men.

²⁰¹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 2.

4.4.2.2.1.1.2. Article 3 section 1

“The Union’s aim is to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples.”²⁰²

This Article’s section incorporates both civic/civil citizenship and cultural citizenship. It is civic/civil because it pertains to the well-being, thus safety, of its citizens as well as their values.

4.4.2.2.1.1.3. Article 3 section 2

„The Union shall offer its citizens an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers, in which the free movement of persons is ensured in conjunction with appropriate measures with respect to external border controls, asylum, immigration and the prevention and combating of crime.”²⁰³

Article 3 section 2 applies to civic/civil citizenship by ensuring protection and security as well as establishing access to European citizenship. While Freedom, security, justice, and freedom of movement are all civic/civil rights, the combating of crime is a mean to secure those rights; all of these aspects combined, form conditions under which citizens of the EU live. Furthermore, access to membership is regulated through external border controls, asylum, and immigration; this also applies to civic/civil citizenship.

²⁰² European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 3 section 1.

²⁰³ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 3 section 2.

4.4.2.2.1.1.4. Article 3 section 3

“The Union shall establish an internal market. It shall work for the sustainable development of Europe based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress, and a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment. It shall promote scientific and technological advance. It shall combat social exclusion and discrimination, and shall promote social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and protection of the rights of the child. It shall promote economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States. It shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe’s cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced.”²⁰⁴

This Article’s section applies to civic/civil, economic, and cultural citizenships. Firstly, it promotes justice and protection, which affect civic/civil citizenship. Secondly, the establishment of an internal market and all it entails alludes to economic citizenship. Thirdly, cultural citizenship is represented through non-discrimination of sex and age; moreover, linguistic diversity as well as cultural diversity and heritage are safeguarded.

4.4.2.2.1.1.5. Article 3 section 4

“The Union shall establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro.”²⁰⁵

Section 4 of Article 3 is related to economic citizenship because it establishes an economic union, which has an effect on citizens. It establishes a common internal market, including a shared labor market. While not every citizen is employed, every citizen of the Union has the equal opportunity to enter the common European labor market.

²⁰⁴ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 3 section 3.

²⁰⁵ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 3 section 4.

4.4.2.2.1.1.6. Article 3 section 5

“In its relations with the wider world, the Union shall uphold and promote its values and interests and contribute to the protection of its citizens. It shall contribute to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child, as well as to the strict observance and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.”²⁰⁶

Section 5 of Article 3 incorporates all four citizenship types. It represents civic/civil citizenship by referring to the protection of its citizens, security, solidarity, mutual respect, protection of human rights, observance and development of international law, and the principles of the United Nations Charter. The mention of the interests of the Union citizens not only represents civic/civil citizenship, but also political, economic, and cultural citizenship, because the interests of the citizens fall into all four categories. Additionally, economic citizenship is made reference to through the upholding of free and fair trade.

4.4.2.2.1.1.7. Article 6 section 1

“The Union recognises [sic!] the rights, freedoms and principles set out in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union of 7 December 2000, as adapted at Strasbourg, on 12 December 2007, which shall have the same legal value as the Treaties. The provisions of the Charter shall not extend in any way the competences of the Union as defined in the Treaties. The rights, freedoms and principles in the Charter shall be interpreted in accordance with the general provisions in Title VII of the Charter governing its interpretation and application and with due regard to the explanations referred to in the Charter, that set out the sources of those provisions.”²⁰⁷

Article 6 section 1 only references civic/civil citizenship because it sets the conditions for citizens within the European Union through ensuring them by the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*.

²⁰⁶ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 3 section 5.

²⁰⁷ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 6 section 1.

4.4.2.2.1.1.8. Article 6 section 2

“The Union shall accede to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Such accession shall not affect the Union’s competences as defined in the Treaties.”²⁰⁸

Section 2 of Article 6, like the previous section, only concerns civic/civil citizenship, because it describes the conditions for citizens of the EU through the *European Convention and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*.

4.4.2.2.1.1.9. Article 6 section 3

“Fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the Member States, shall constitute general principles of the Union’s law.”²⁰⁹

Section 3 of this Article also only applies to civic/civil citizenship in that it guarantees the fundamental rights as described in the *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, in turn alluding to the conditions for EU citizens. Even though the constitutional traditions of the Member States are mentioned, which could lead to a cultural connection, this is not the case because it is the constitutional tradition that is referenced and not tradition in general.

²⁰⁸ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 6 section 2.

²⁰⁹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 6 section 3.

4.4.2.2.1.1.10. Article 9

“In all its activities, the Union shall observe the principle of the equality of its citizens, who shall receive equal attention from its institutions, bodies, offices and agencies. Every national of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship.”²¹⁰

Article 9 of the TEU is crucial because it establishes Union citizenship. It does so under the civic/civil aspects of citizenship as the only qualification for membership is having the nationality of a Member State. It is left to these to decide who receives membership, but this is not truly relevant to this thesis.

4.4.2.2.1.1.11. Article 10 section 1

“The functioning of the Union shall be founded on representative democracy.”²¹¹

This section concerns civic/civil and political citizenships. It is civil because it establishes the democratic conditions under which the citizens of the Union live as well as political because they elect their representatives.

4.4.2.2.1.1.12. Article 10 section 2

“Citizens are directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament. Member States are represented in the European Council by their Heads of State or Government and in the Council by their governments, themselves democratically accountable either to their national Parliaments, or to their citizens.”²¹²

This section of Article 10 pertains to civic/civil citizenship and to political citizenship. It is civic/civil because it grants citizens direct representation through the European Parliament, but also political because the European Parliament is a political arena.

²¹⁰ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 9.

²¹¹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 10 section 1.

²¹² European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 10 section 2.

4.4.2.2.1.1.13. Article 10 section 3

“Every citizen shall have the right to participate in the democratic life of the Union. Decisions shall be taken as openly and as closely as possible to the citizen.”²¹³

Section 3 of Article 10 pertains to civic/civil and political citizenships. Once again, the citizens’ participation in democratic life is ensured, thus the interaction between the citizen and the entity, which is a civic/civil aspect. It is also political since it guarantees political involvement.

4.4.2.2.1.1.14. Article 10 section 4

“Political parties at European level contribute to forming European political awareness and to expressing the will of citizens of the Union.”²¹⁴

Once again, a section of Article 10 applies to both civic/civil and political citizenships. It is civic/civil because of the interaction between the citizen and the entity via political parties; political because it is through political parties rather than any other sort of party, thus through political representation.

4.4.2.2.1.1.15. Article 11 section 1

“The institutions shall, by appropriate means, give citizens and representative associations the opportunity to make known and publicly exchange their views in all areas of Union action.”²¹⁵

Once again, civic/civil and political citizenships are combined in a section of an Article. The civic/civil side is represented through the establishment of interaction between the citizen and the entity, while the political side is shown through the political representation of the citizens in their interaction with the European Union.

²¹³ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 10 section 3.

²¹⁴ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 10 section 4.

²¹⁵ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 11 section 1.

4.4.2.2.1.1.16. Article 11 section 4

“Not less than one million citizens who are nationals of a significant number of Member States may take the initiative of inviting the European Commission, within the framework of its powers, to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the Treaties. The procedures and conditions required for such a citizens’ initiative shall be determined in accordance with the first paragraph of Article 24 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.”²¹⁶

The second section of Article 11 that refers to citizenship is its section 4. This part, as the previous section, indicates civic/civil and political citizenships. Once again, the interaction between the citizen and the entity is established. This time, though, it delineates the framework for the interaction. It does establish a condition, but for a specific situation for citizens, rather than stating general circumstances for citizens. Thus, it does not pertain to conditions as such. Besides being civic/civil, it is also political because it addresses political participation for the citizens.

4.4.2.2.1.1.17. Article 13 section 1

“The Union shall have an institutional framework which shall aim to promote its values, advance its objectives, serve its interests, those of its citizens and those of the Member States, and ensure the consistency, effectiveness and continuity of its policies and actions. [...]”²¹⁷

Article 13 section 1 applies to all four types of citizenship. It is civic/civil since it ensures the civil liberties enjoyed by the EU citizens. Mentioning the citizens’ interests encompasses all of the aspects of citizenship because their interests do not solely focus on one, but on all four dimensions of citizenship.

²¹⁶ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 11 section 4.

²¹⁷ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 13 section 1.

4.4.2.2.1.1.18. Article 14 section 2

“The European Parliament shall be composed of representatives of the Union’s citizens. They shall not exceed seven hundred and fifty in number, plus the President. Representation of citizens shall be degressively proportional, with a minimum threshold of six members per Member State. No Member State shall be allocated more than ninety-six seats. [...]”²¹⁸

Article 14 section 2 is only political because it describes the political representation of the European citizens.

4.4.2.2.1.1.19. Article 14 section 3

“The members of the European Parliament shall be elected for a term of five years by direct universal suffrage in a free and secret ballot.”²¹⁹

The last Article of the *Treaty on European Union* concerns civic/civil as well as cultural citizenships. The first is addressed by the conditions secured for the citizens, the second through the terms of election, the voting process.

²¹⁸ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 14 section 2.

²¹⁹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. Maastricht: 7. February 1992. Article 14 section 3.

4.4.2.2.1.2. Evaluation of Findings

The *Treaty on European Union* strongly bases its concept of citizenship on civic/civil factors, rather than on the political, economic, or cultural factors. In addition, the European Union tries to touch on every aspect of its citizens' lives because it has such a diverse composition of citizens, but also because it tries to unify certain facets of life given its Member States' differing governmental structures. On one hand, the Treaty is formulated as vague as possible to include as much as possible. On the other hand, it is written as specific as possible, so as not to conflict with too many national regulations of its Member States. For instance, the TEU states in which fields it applies, such as civic/civil, political, economic, and cultural, without being precise on how it will achieve its goals.

4.4.2.2.2. The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)

4.4.2.2.2.1. Description of the Findings

4.4.2.2.2.1.1. Article 8

“In all its activities, the Union shall aim to eliminate inequalities, and to promote equality, between men and women.”²²⁰

Article 8 of the TFEU concerns civic/civil and cultural citizenships. It is civic/civil because it promotes equality; it is cultural because it eliminates inequalities between men and women.

4.4.2.2.2.1.2. Article 9

“In defining and implementing its policies and activities, the Union shall take into account requirements linked to the promotion of a high level of employment, the guarantee of adequate social protection, the fight against social exclusion, and a high level of education, training and protection of human health.”²²¹

This Article applies to civic/civil, economic, and cultural citizenship. It is civic/civil since it endorses the protection of the Union citizens and sets guidelines for the interaction between the citizens and the entity. Moreover, it is economic in that it establishes measures for high employment levels. Lastly, it is cultural since it seeks to eliminate social exclusion, thus protecting the culture of each citizen’s individual culture.

²²⁰ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 8.

²²¹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 9.

4.4.2.2.1.3. Article 10

“In defining and implementing its policies and activities, the Union shall aim to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.”²²²

This Article is civic/civil and cultural. The first is addressed through implementing non-discrimination measures in its interaction with citizens. The second is expressed through the inclusions of the measures, which are based on sex, race/ethnicity, religion/belief, condition of health, age, and sexual orientation.

4.4.2.2.1.4. Article 12

“Consumer protection requirements shall be taken into account in defining and implementing other Union policies and activities.”²²³

While Article 12 of the TFEU does not address citizenship directly, it does not exclude it either. Not all consumers in the EU are citizens and not all citizens are consumers, but seeing that consumer protection can affect other Union policies and activities, which, consequently, have an influence on any type of citizenship recognized within the entity. However, seeing that this article establishes consumer protection requirements and consumers partake in economic transactions, Article 12 applies mainly to economic citizenship.

²²² European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 10.

²²³ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 12.

4.4.2.2.1.5. Article 13

“In formulating and implementing the Union’s agriculture, fisheries, transport, internal market, research and technological development and space policies, the Union and the Member States shall, since animals are sentient beings, pay full regard to the welfare requirements of animals, while respecting the legislative or administrative provisions and customs of the Member States relating in particular to religious rites, cultural traditions and regional heritage.”²²⁴

Article 13 addresses the civic/civil, economic, and cultural aspects of citizenship. Civic/civil citizenship is indicated through the interaction between citizen and the entity, because it establishes what the Union will do for its citizens. Economic traits are expressed through the formulating and implementation of an internal market. The provisions to respect the religious rites, cultural traditions, and regional heritage of its Member States articulate cultural aspects.

4.4.2.2.1.6. Article 15 section 3

“Any citizen of the Union, and any natural or legal person residing or having its registered office in a Member State, shall have a right of access to documents of the Union’s institutions, bodies, offices and agencies, whatever their medium, subject to the principles and the conditions to be defined in accordance with this paragraph. [...]”²²⁵

Article 15 section 3 pertains to civic/civil citizenship, granting the Union’s citizens access to documents of any institution of the entity. Therefore, it establishes another form of interaction between the citizen and the European Union.

²²⁴ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 13.

²²⁵ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 15 section 3.

4.4.2.2.1.7. Article 16 section 1

“Everyone has the right to the protection of personal data concerning them.”²²⁶

This Article’s section applies only to civic/civil citizenship because it upholds the personal security of its citizens by implementing the protection of personal data.

4.4.2.2.1.8. Article 17 section 1

“The Union respects and does not prejudice the status under national law of churches and religious associations or communities in the Member States.”²²⁷

This section of Article 17 is civic/civil and cultural. It secures the freedom of the Union’s citizens, which is civic/civil, by granting them religious freedom, which is cultural.

4.4.2.2.1.9. Article 17 section 2

“The Union equally respects the status under national law of philosophical and non-confessional organisations [sic!].”²²⁸

Like the previous section of Article 17, it has the same traits of citizenship. The difference is, though, that cultural citizenship is expressed through philosophical and non-confessional freedom.

²²⁶ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 16 section 1.

²²⁷ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 17 section 1.

²²⁸ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 17 section 2.

4.4.2.2.2.1.10. Article 17 section 3

“Recognising [sic!] their identity and their specific contribution, the Union shall maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with these churches and organisations.”²²⁹

This section of Article 17 is similar to its predecessors in that it applies to civic/civil and cultural citizenship. Here, on the other hand, it applies to the interaction between citizens and the entity altering the civic/civil indications, while combining the cultural indications of sections 1 and 2.

4.4.2.2.2.1.11. Article 18

“Within the scope of application of the Treaties, and without prejudice to any special provisions contained therein, any discrimination on grounds of nationality shall be prohibited. The European Parliament and the Council, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, may adopt rules designed to prohibit such discrimination.”²³⁰

This Article affects civic/civil and cultural citizenships. It grants protection, which is civic/civil, from discrimination based on their nationality, which is cultural.

4.4.2.2.2.1.12. Article 19 section 1

“Without prejudice to the other provisions of the Treaties and within the limits of the powers conferred by them upon the Union, the Council, acting unanimously in accordance with a special legislative procedure and after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament, may take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.”²³¹

Article 19 section 1 is similar to Article 18 in its effort to protect its citizens from discrimination, which is civic/civil. However, it differs in the cultural aspect of citizenship by stating additional criteria for non-discrimination, which are sex, race/ethnicity, religion/belief, health condition, age, and sexual orientation. All pertain to culture.

²²⁹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 17 section 3.

²³⁰ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 18.

²³¹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 19 section 1.

4.4.2.2.2.1.13. Article 20 section 1

“Citizenship of the Union is hereby established. Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship.”²³²

Article 20 section 1, reiterates the establishment of Union citizenship, which was first formulated under Article 9 of the TEU. It does not add anything new to the concept of citizenship and merely reinforces the civic/civil nature of citizenship regulation in the European Union.

4.4.2.2.2.1.14. Article 20 section 2

“Citizens of the Union shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties provided for in the Treaties. They shall have, inter alia: (a) the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States; (b) the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections in their Member State of residence, under the same conditions as nationals of that State; (c) the right to enjoy, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which they are nationals is not represented, the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State on the same conditions as the nationals of that State; (d) the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman, and to address the institutions and advisory bodies of the Union in any of the Treaty languages and to obtain a reply in the same language. These rights shall be exercised in accordance with the conditions and limits defined by the Treaties and by the measures adopted thereunder.”²³³

Article 20 section 2 applies to both civic/civil and political citizenship. It creates security and protection for its citizens, frameworks the interaction between citizens and the entity, sets the conditions for the Union’s citizens, and establishes the means of access; this is all civic/civil. Article 20 section 2 is also economic, seeing that the freedom of movement also applies to citizens, who are workers and seek employment in a country to which they are not a national.²³⁴ It is political because it secures the right to vote for the citizens.

²³² European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 20 section 1.

²³³ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 20 section 2.

²³⁴ For this reason, Article 45 with all its sections are not analyzed in this thesis, seeing that it only applies to workers, whereas this Article and its section applies to all citizens regardless of their status of employment.

4.4.2.2.1.15. Article 21 section 1

“Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in the Treaties and by the measures adopted to give them effect.”²³⁵

Article 21 section 1 affects only civic/civil citizenship by granting the citizens the right to move freely within the entity, which, in turn, establishes another living condition for its members.

4.4.2.2.1.16. Article 22 section 1

“Every citizen of the Union residing in a Member State of which he is not a national shall have the right to vote and to stand as a candidate at municipal elections in the Member State in which he resides, under the same conditions as nationals of that State. This right shall be exercised subject to detailed arrangements adopted by the Council, acting unanimously in accordance with a special legislative procedure and after consulting the European Parliament; these arrangements may provide for derogations where warranted by problems specific to a Member State.”²³⁶

Article 22 section 1 concerns not only civic/civil citizenship, but also political citizenship. The former is indicated through conditions for and access of the Union citizens to political participation. The latter is detected through the right to vote.

²³⁵ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 21 section 1.

²³⁶ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 22 section 1.

4.4.2.2.2.1.17. Article 22 section 2

“Without prejudice to Article 223(1) and to the provisions adopted for its implementation, every citizen of the Union residing in a Member State of which he is not a national shall have the right to vote and to stand as a candidate in elections to the European Parliament in the Member State in which he resides, under the same conditions as nationals of that State. This right shall be exercised subject to detailed arrangements adopted by the Council, acting unanimously in accordance with a special legislative procedure and after consulting the European Parliament; these arrangements may provide for derogations where warranted by problems specific to a Member State.”²³⁷

Similar to the preceding section of Article 22, this also applies to civic/civil and political aspects of citizenship through the same indicators.

4.4.2.2.2.1.18. Article 23

“Every citizen of the Union shall, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which he is a national is not represented, be entitled to protection by the diplomatic or consular authorities of any Member State, on the same conditions as the nationals of that State. Member States shall adopt the necessary provisions and start the international negotiations required to secure this protection. The Council, acting in accordance with a special legislative procedure and after consulting the European Parliament, may adopt directives establishing the coordination and cooperation measures necessary to facilitate such protection.”²³⁸

Article 23 solely indicates civic/civil citizenship guaranteeing its citizens protection in the territory of a third country, should the national's Member State country not be diplomatically or in a consular way be represented.

²³⁷ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 22 section 2.

²³⁸ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 23.

4.4.2.2.2.1.19. Article 24

“The European Parliament and the Council, acting by means of regulations in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, shall adopt the provisions for the procedures and conditions required for a citizens’ initiative within the meaning of Article 11 of the Treaty on European Union, including the minimum number of Member States from which such citizens must come. Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to petition the European Parliament in accordance with Article 227. Every citizen of the Union may apply to the Ombudsman established in accordance with Article 228. Every citizen of the Union may write to any of the institutions or bodies referred to in this Article or in Article 13 of the Treaty on European Union in one of the languages mentioned in Article 55(1) of the Treaty on European Union and have an answer in the same language.”²³⁹

Article 24 has a civic/civil and political nature. Civic/civil citizenship is shown through further regulations regarding the interaction between citizens and the European Union by being able to petition to the European Parliament and the implementation of an Ombudsman. The political citizenship can be seen through the political concerns expressed through the petitions and the representation by the Ombudsman.

4.4.2.2.2.1.20. Article 26 section 2

“The internal market shall comprise an area without internal frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured in accordance with the provisions of the Treaties.”²⁴⁰

Article 26 section 2 addresses solely economic citizenship. The section establishes an internal market adhering to the economic needs of the Unions citizens, granting each citizen the same economic possibilities such as free movement and access to goods, employment, services, and capital.

²³⁹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 24.

²⁴⁰ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 26 section 2.

4.4.2.2.1.21. Article 53 section 1

“In order to make it easier for persons to take up and pursue activities as self-employed persons, the European Parliament and the Council shall, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, issue directives for the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualifications and for the coordination of the provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in Member States concerning the taking-up and pursuit of activities as selfemployed [sic!] persons.”²⁴¹

Article 53 section 1 applies to civic/civil and economic citizenships. The first is addressed by the easing of establishment through self-employment forming the conditions for citizens. Seeing that the Article also concerns self-employment it affects economic citizenship as well.

4.4.2.2.1.22. Article 56

“Within the framework of the provisions set out below, restrictions on freedom to provide services within the Union shall be prohibited in respect of nationals of Member States who are established in a Member State other than that of the person for whom the services are intended. The European Parliament and the Council, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, may extend the provisions of the Chapter to nationals of a third country who provide services and who are established within the Union.”²⁴²

A similar logic is behind Article 56 as is behind Article 53 section 1. Thus, it also concerns civic/civil and economic citizenships with the addition of addressing cultural citizenship. It is civic/civil because it provides the conditions for living in the European Union. The Article is economic because it secures the freedom of movement due to employment. Moreover, it is cultural since it has a non-discrimination measure regarding nationality.

²⁴¹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 53 section 1.

²⁴² European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 56.

4.4.2.2.2.1.23. Article 77 section 1

“The Union shall develop a policy with a view to: (a) ensuring the absence of any controls on persons, whatever their nationality, when crossing internal borders; (b) carrying out checks on persons and efficient monitoring of the crossing of external borders; (c) the gradual introduction of an integrated management system for external borders.”²⁴³

Article 77 section 1 pertains to civic/civil and cultural citizenships. The section is civic/civil as it guarantees the protection and security of its citizens when they cross borders between Member States.

4.4.2.2.2.1.24. Article 145

“Member States and the Union shall, in accordance with this Title, work towards developing a coordinated strategy for employment and particularly for promoting a skilled, trained and adaptable workforce and labour markets responsive to economic change with a view to achieving the objectives defined in Article 3 of the Treaty on European Union.”²⁴⁴

Article 145 only involves economic citizenship seeing that the Union is trying to establish equal employment conditions with regard to workforce and labor markets throughout its territory. It pertains to citizenship because it affects all citizen within the European Union since it wants to create the same terms for all.

²⁴³ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 77.

²⁴⁴ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 145.

4.4.2.2.2.1.25. Article 165 section 1

“The Union shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity. The Union shall contribute to the promotion of European sporting issues, while taking account of the specific nature of sport, its structures based on voluntary activity and its social and educational function.”²⁴⁵

Article 165 section 1 solely addresses cultural citizenship. It advocates the development of quality education, cultural and linguistic diversity, and the promotion of sports within the European Union. While all these issues may have effects on other types of citizenship, such as political and economic, these are not mentioned in this article's section.

4.4.2.2.2.1.26. Article 165 section 2

“Union action shall be aimed at: [...] developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States,[...] encouraging mobility of students and teachers, by encouraging inter alia, the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study,[...] promoting cooperation between educational establishments, [...] developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States, [...] encouraging the development of youth exchanges and of exchanges of socio-educational instructors, and encouraging the participation of young people in democratic life in Europe, [...] encouraging the development of distance education,[...] developing the European dimension in sport, by promoting fairness and openness in sporting competitions and cooperation between bodies responsible for sports, and by protecting the physical and moral integrity of sportsmen and sportswomen, especially the youngest sportsmen and sportswomen.”²⁴⁶

Section 2 of Article 165, like the previous section, also only concerns the cultural aspect of citizenship by promoting union through education, sports, and language within the EU.

²⁴⁵ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 165 section 1.

²⁴⁶ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 165 section 2.

4.4.2.2.2.1.27. Article 167 section 1

“The Union shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.”²⁴⁷

Article 167 section 1 only pertains to cultural citizenship. The European Union, through this section, fosters cultural diversity by maintaining the various heritages of and within its Member States.

4.4.2.2.2.1.28. Article 168 section 1

“A high level of human health protection shall be ensured in the definition and implementation of all Union policies and activities. Union action, which shall complement national policies, shall be directed towards improving public health, preventing physical and mental illness and diseases, and obviating sources of danger to physical and mental health. Such action shall cover the fight against the major health scourges, by promoting research into their causes, their transmission and their prevention, as well as health information and education, and monitoring, early warning of and combating serious cross-border threats to health. The Union shall complement the Member States’ action in reducing drugs-related health damage, including information and prevention.”²⁴⁸

Article 168 section 1 pertains to civic/civil and cultural citizenships. The first concept is addressed by protecting the health of the Union citizens and creating living conditions for its citizens. Culturally the Article’s section is referenced through the mentioning of health.

²⁴⁷ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 167 section 1.

²⁴⁸ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 168 section 1.

4.4.2.2.1.29. Article 170 section 1

“To help achieve the objectives referred to in Articles 26 and 174 and to enable citizens of the Union, economic operators and regional and local communities to derive full benefit from the setting-up of an area without internal frontiers, the Union shall contribute to the establishment and development of trans-European networks in the areas of transport, telecommunications and energy infrastructures.”²⁴⁹

Article 170 section 1 refers to civic/civil and economic citizenships. The civic/civil aspect of citizenship is addressed by setting equal conditions for all its citizens within the European Union. Economic citizenship is represented by setting up a functioning all-encompassing infrastructure.

4.4.2.2.1.30. Article 227

“Any citizen of the Union, and any natural or legal person residing or having its registered office in a Member State, shall have the right to address, individually or in association with other citizens or persons, a petition to the European Parliament on a matter which comes within the Union’s fields of activity and which affects him, her or it directly.”²⁵⁰

This Article is only civic/civil regarding citizenship. It deals with the interaction of any citizen of the European Union to be able to interact with the entity via a petition.

²⁴⁹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 170 section 1.

²⁵⁰ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 227.

4.4.2.2.2.1.31. Article 228 section 1

“A European Ombudsman, elected by the European Parliament, shall be empowered to receive complaints from any citizen of the Union or any natural or legal person residing or having its registered office in a Member State concerning instances of maladministration in the activities of the Union institutions, bodies, offices or agencies, with the exception of the Court of Justice of the European Union acting in its judicial role. He or she shall examine such complaints and report on them. [...]”²⁵¹

The last Article of the TFEU, Article 228 section 1 also only addresses civic/civil citizenship. It regulates civic representation within the EU by installing a European Ombudsman, which simultaneously sets the framework for interaction between a citizen and the entity.

²⁵¹ European Union. The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 13 December 2007. Article 228 section 1.

4.4.2.2.2. Evaluation of Findings

The *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* has a clear civic/civil concept of citizenship, on which political, economic, and cultural citizenships are based. Interestingly, many citizen rights pertain to culture be it either non-discrimination measures or the securing of local traditions, heritage, or language. Moreover, compared to the *Treaty on European Union*, it contains additional non-discrimination measures regarding religious, philosophical, and non-confessional views, age, sexual orientation, and health. It increased non-discriminatory measures regarding sex and age. Furthermore, the Treaty augments the efforts for improving social inclusion. Also, education has been adopted into the TFEU and sports as well.

The TFEU, is more explicit about the economic rights Union citizens enjoy compared to the TEU. While the latter only references internal market, the TFEU elaborates on this. It grants easy access to the European employment market, consumer protection, freedom of movement, freedom of establishment, and the creation of a well-connected infrastructure throughout the European Union.

Political citizenship, while not as elaborately formulated as in the TEU, does not lose any of its importance in the TFEU. Citizens are still represented within the institutions of the EU and are still allowed to vote. However, their function as a participatory force has received more of a civic/civil quality than a political one.

With regard to the second hypothesis, how citizenship is perceived in the EU, it can be said that it is based on civic/civil citizenship than on any other type. The initial assumption, economic citizenship is stronger than cultural citizenship, is negated. Cultural citizenship is stronger than economic citizenship in the European Union; coming in second before political citizenship and economic citizenship. In part, this trend can be explained by the efforts of the EU to form a greater political and civic/civil entity based on a common identity, moving away from the notion of citizens as purely economic subjects. As Ece Göztepe-Çelebi explains in her book *Die Unionsbürgerschaft und ihre Fortentwicklung im Hinblick auf die politischen Rechte*, the European Community focused mainly on economic integration of the citizens rather than the civic/civil and political participation of them prior to 1974.²⁵² The process that was started that year culminated in the ratification of the *Treaty on European Union* nearly twenty years later.

²⁵² Göztepe-Çelebi, Ece. *Die Unionsbürgerschaft und ihre Fortentwicklung im Hinblick auf die politischen Rechte*. Münster/Hamburg/London: LIT Verlag, 2003, p. 47.

4.4.3. Comparison of Citizenship in the United States and the European Union

	civic/civil	political	economic	cultural
US Constitution	19	7	0	4
TEU	17	10	4	5
TFEU	26	4	9	14

Figure 5

The third hypothesis whether the cultural factors of citizenship are greater in the European Union than in the United States can be verified, but with some qualifications.²⁵³ While the statement that culture plays a larger role within the Treaties of the EU is true, the statement that no such reference is made in the US documents is false. The latter preserves cultural traits, and thus cultural citizenship, by implementing anti-discriminatory measures regarding political citizenship and even civic/civil citizenship. Moreover, the conjecture that the EU Treaties draw from the entities cultural and religious inheritance can be verified only partially. While the *Treaty on European Union* strongly emphasizes the European values it upholds, mentioned in four analyzed units, no reference to them is made in the following *Treaty on the Functioning of European Union*.

The fourth hypothesis, stating that civic/civil citizenship is stronger in the United States than in the European Union, can clearly be falsified. This type of citizenship is equally strong in both entities. However, while civic/civil citizenship stands alone in many Articles and Amendments in the *US Constitution*, it is often combined with political, economic, or cultural citizenship in both European Union documents.

The fifth and last hypothesis, whether political citizenship is bound to another concept of citizenship and how, can be verified. The United States political citizenship is qualified by the cultural mean of non-discrimination, thus alluding to cultural citizenship. However, political citizenship is also bound to civic/civil citizenship in two Amendments.²⁵⁴ Political citizenship does stand alone twice in the US documents.

The hypothesis is more accurate when applied to the European Union. Here, political citizenship is always bound to another type of citizenship. Mainly, it can be found in

²⁵³ See Appendix 2 Table 4 and Appendix 3 Table 8 for a comparison of the USA and the EU regarding categories and their indicators as well as the combination of categories.

²⁵⁴ Amendments X and XXIV.

combination with civic/civil citizenship and only once is it mentioned alone. Also, political citizenship is mentioned twice together with civic/civil, economic, and cultural citizenship.²⁵⁵

5. Summary

The overarching hypothesis of this master thesis is verified, but also qualified and limited through analysis of the specific hypotheses. All four concepts of citizenship, civic/civil, political, economic, and cultural, are evident in US and EU citizenship.

The main similarity in the concept of citizenship between the United States and the European Union is that both are based strongly on civic/civil foundations. All other types of citizenship are derived from civic/civil citizenship. Political citizenship is clearly outlined in both entities leaving little leeway for differing interpretations. Economic citizenship does not play a strong role in the United States' *Constitution, Bill of Rights*, or subsequent Amendments. It does play a role in the Treaties pertaining to the European Union, though a diminishing one. This is the case because the EU is aiming to become more of a civic/civil and political entity rather than an economic one as the structure of Union citizenship based on civic/civil traits and the granting of political rights to its citizens proves.

Even though, strong similarities can be drawn between the two entities, the European Union is far from forming a federal structure similar to the United States. This is due, in part, to the lack of identification with the entity. For the European Union to develop a stronger sense of identity, thus strengthening EU citizenship, Joseph Weiler proposes five solutions, some of them based on the United States.

The first is for European citizens to be able to initiate and vote in European elections much like the US State ballot initiatives.²⁵⁶ This strengthens political citizenship. Secondly, an environment for peoples of Europe and not people of Europe should be created by establishment of a forum for the citizens to exchange ideas and participate actively in European politics.²⁵⁷ In turn, such a development would reinforce civic/civil citizenship. Thirdly, a constitutional council should be put into place to be "[...] seized by any commission, council, and member state or by the European Parliament acting on a majority of its members".²⁵⁸ Once again, civic/civil citizenship is supported. The fourth proposal is a direct taxation of the European citizens, giving them a stake in the successful working of the

²⁵⁵ Article 3 section 5 and Article 13 section 1 of the TEU.

²⁵⁶ See Weiler, Joseph. *To Be a European Citizen – Eros and Civilization*. In: *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 4, No. 4 (December 1997). PP. 513 – 514.

²⁵⁷ See Weiler, pp. 499 and pp. 514 – 516.

²⁵⁸ Weiler, p. 516.

European Union.²⁵⁹ The last suggestion Weiler makes is to install so-called horizontal human rights to fight against discrimination, xenophobia, and racism.²⁶⁰

6. Outlook

The economic dimension of citizenship is not as evident in the United States as it is in the European Union as shown in the quantitative analysis of the documents examined in this thesis. This presents two questions for further research. The first question is, do citizens of the European Union identify themselves more strongly through economic citizenship rather than the other three dimensions as defined in the TEU and TFEU. The second question is, even though the US Constitution and subsequent Amendments do not address economic citizenship, do US citizens perceive this dimension as part of their status.

In any event, it remains to be seen if the European Union is able to create a stronger bond between its institutions and its citizens and if it is able to create a stronger identity be it through civic/civil, political, economic, or cultural means. Moreover, if it achieves these goals, it will develop into a ‘United States of Europe’ rather than remaining a *suis generis* entity that it is now. The framework has been set through the *Treaty on European Union* as well as the *Treaty on the Functioning of European Union*.

²⁵⁹ See Weiler, pp. 517 – 518.

²⁶⁰ See Weiler, pp. 517 – 518.

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Appendix 1: Tables concerning indicators and categories

United States

	CIVIC/CIVIL							
	reg. of citizen.	protection/ security	interact. citizen/ jud. body	interact. citizen/ entity	protect. from unjust gov. intervention	conditions	access	civic rep.
Articles of US Constitution								
Art. I sec. 2 Art. I sec. 8 Art. I sec. 9 Art. III sec. 2 Art. III sec. 3 Art. IV sec. 2	x	x	x x	x				
Bill of Rights								
Amend. I Amend. II Amend. III Amend. IV Amend. V Amend. VI Amend. VII Amend. VIII Amend. IX Amend. X		x x x x	x x	x	x x x		x	
Subsequent Amendments								
Amend. XI Amend. XIII sec. 1 Amend. XIV sec. 1 Amend. XIV sec. 2 Amend. XV sec. 1 Amendment XIX Amend. XXIV Amend. XXVI	x	x	x		x x	x		
Total	2	8	6	2	6	1	1	0

Table 1 part 1

POLITICAL				ECONOMIC						
voting	participat.	pol. rep.	power vested in citizens	tax	employ.	consum. protect.	internal market	freedom of establish.	freedom of move.	infrastructure
x		x								
			x							
x x x x x		x x x x x								
6	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 1 part 2

rel./ phi./ org.	race/ ethn./ nat.	sex	age	education	CULTURAL						
					soc. incl.	values	sex. orient.	health	sports	trad./ herit.	lang.
x											
	x	x	x		x						
1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 1 part 3

European Union: Treaty on European Union

	CIVIC/CIVIL							
	reg. of citizen.	protection/ security	interact. citizen/ jud. body	interact. citizen/ entity	protect. from unjust gov. intervention	conditions	access	civic rep.
Art. 2	x					x		
Art. 3 sec. 1		x						
Art. 3 sec. 2		x				x	x	
Art. 3 sec. 3						x		
Art. 3 sec. 4								
Art. 3 sec. 5		x						
Art. 6 sec. 1						x		
Art. 6 sec. 2						x		
Art. 6 sec. 3						x		
Art. 9								
Art. 10 sec. 1						x		
Art. 10 sec. 2						x		
Art. 10 sec. 3				x				
Art. 10 sec. 4				x				
Art. 11 sec. 1				x				
Art. 11 sec. 4				x				
Art. 13 sec. 1						x		
Art. 14 sec. 2								
Art. 14 sec. 3						x		
Total	1	3	0	4	0	10	1	0

Table 2 part 1

voting	POLITICAL			ECONOMIC						
	participat.	pol. rep.	power vested in citizens	tax	employ.	consum. protect.	internal market	freedom of establish.	freedom of move.	infrastructure
							X X X			
		X								
		X								
	X									
		X								
		X								
	X									
		X								
X										
1	2	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0

Table 2 part 2

[illegible]

European Union: Treaty on the Functioning of European Union

		CIVIC/CIVIL						
	reg. of citizen.	protection/ security	interact. citizen/ jud. body	interact. citizen/ entity	protect. from unjust gov. intervention	conditions	access	civic rep.
Art. 8	x			x				
Art. 9		x		x				
Art. 10				x				
Art. 12				x				
Art. 13				x				
Art. 15							x	
sec. 3				x				
Art. 16		x						
sec. 1								
Art. 17		x						
sec. 1								
Art. 17		x						
sec. 2								
Art. 17				x				
sec. 3								
Art. 18		x						
Art. 19		x						
sec. 1								
Art. 20								
sec. 1								
Art. 20		x		x		x	x	
sec. 2								
Art. 21						x	x	
sec. 1								
Art. 22						x	x	
sec. 1								
Art. 22						x	x	
sec. 2								
Art. 23		x						
Art. 24				x				
Art. 26								
sec. 2								
Art. 53						x		
sec. 1								
Art. 56						x		
Art. 77		x						
sec. 1								
Art. 145								
Art. 165								
sec. 1								
Art.165								
sec. 2								
Art. 167								
sec. 1								
Art. 168		x				x		
sec. 1								
Art. 170						x		
sec. 1								
Art. 227				x				
Art. 228				x				x
sec. 1								
Total	1	10	0	11	0	8	5	1

Table 3 part 1

POLITICAL				ECONOMIC						
voting	participat.	pol. rep.	power vested in citizens	tax	employ.	consum. protect.	internal market	freedom of establish.	freedom of move.	infrastructure
x x x		x		0	x	x	x			
					x					
									x	
										x
3	0	1	0	0	3	1	1	2	2	2

rel./ phi./ org.	race/ ethn./ nat.	CULTURAL									
		sex	age	education	soc. incl.	values	sex. orient.	health	sports	trad./ herit.	lang.
		x									
x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			
x										x	
x											
x											
x	x	x	x		x		x	x			
	x										
				x							
				x							
					x				x		x
								x			
6	3	3	2	3	3	0	2	3	1	1	1

Table 3 part 3

Together

	CIVIC/CIVIL							
	reg. of citizen.	protection/ security	interact. citizen/ jud. body	interact. citizen/ entity	protect. from unjust gov. intervention	conditions	access	civic rep.
US Consitution	2	8	6	2	6	1	1	0
TEU	1	3	0	4	0	10	1	0
TFEU	1	10	0	11	0	8	5	1

Table 4 part 1

POLITICAL				ECONOMIC						
voting	participat.	pol. rep.	power vested in citizens	tax	employ.	consum. protect.	internal market	freedom of establish.	freedom of move.	infrastructure
6	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	2	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
3	0	1	0	0	3	1	1	2	2	2

Table 4 part 2

CULTURAL											
rel./ phi./ org.	race/ ethn./ nat.	sex	age	education	soc. incl.	values	sex. orient.	health	sports	trad./ herit.	lang.
1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	1	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	1	1
6	3	3	2	3	3	0	2	3	1	1	1

Table 4 part 3

Appendix 2: Combination of categories

United States

	civ.	pol.	econ.	cult.	civ. pol.	civ. econ.	civ. cult.	pol. econ.	pol. cult.	econ. cult.	civ. pol. econ.	civ. pol. cult.	civ. econ. cult.	pol. econ. cult.	civi. pol. econ. cult.
Art. of US Const.															
Art. I sec. 2		x													
Art. I sec. 8	x														
Art. I sec. 9	x														
Art. III sec. 2	x														
Art. III sec. 3	x														
Art. IV sec. 2	x														
Bill of Rights															
Amend. I							x								
Amend. II	x														
Amend. III	x														
Amend. IV	x														
Amend. V	x														
Amend. VI	x														
Amend. VII	x														
Amend. VIII	x														
Amend. IX	x														
Amend. X					x										
Subsequent Amend.															
Amend. XI	x														
Amend. XIII sec. 1	x														
Amend. XIV sec.1	x														
Amend. XIV sec. 2		x													
Amend. XV sec. 1									x						
Amend. XVI															
Amend. XIX									x						
Amend. XXIV					x										
Amend. XXVI									x						
Total	16	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5

European Union: Treaty on European Union

	civ.	pol.	econ.	cult.	civ. pol.	civ. econ.	civ. cult.	pol. econ.	pol. cult.	econ. cult.	civ. pol. econ.	civ. pol. cult.	civ. econ. cult.	pol. econ. cult.	civi. pol. econ. cult.
Art. 2							x								
Art. 3															
sec. 1							x								
Art. 3	x														
sec. 2															
Art. 3													x		
sec. 3															
Art. 3			x												
sec. 4															
Art. 3															x
sec. 5															
Art. 6															
sec. 1	x														
Art. 6															
sec. 2	x														
Art. 6															
sec. 3	x														
Art. 9	x														

Table 6 part 1

Art. 10 sec. 1					x										
Art. 10 sec. 2					x										
Art. 10 sec. 3					x										
Art. 10 sec. 4					x										
Art. 11 sec. 1					x										
Art. 11 sec. 4					x										
Art. 13 sec. 1															x
Art. 14 sec. 2		x													
Art. 14 sec. 3					x										
Total	5	1	1	0	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2

Table 6 part 2

European Union: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

	civ.	pol.	econ.	cult.	civ. pol.	civ. econ.	civ. cult.	pol. econ.	pol. cult.	econ. cult.	civ. pol. econ.	civ. pol. cult.	civ. econ. cult.	pol. econ. cult.	civi. pol. econ. cult.
Art. 8							x								
Art. 9													x		
Art. 10							x								
Art. 12						x									
Art. 13													x		
Art.15 sec.3	x														
Art. 16	x														
sec. 1															
Art. 17							x								
sec. 1															
Art. 17							x								
sec. 2															
Art. 17							x								
sec. 3															
Art. 18							x								
Art. 19							x								
sec. 1															
Art. 20	x														
sec. 1															
Art. 20											x				
sec. 2															

Table 7 part 1

Art. 21 sec. 1	x														
Art. 22 sec. 1					x										
Art. 22 sec. 2					x										
Art. 23	x														
Art. 24					x										
Art. 26 sec. 2			x												
Art. 53 sec. 1						x									
Art. 56						x									
Art. 77 sec. 1							x								
Art. 145			x												
Art. 165 sec. 1				x											
Art. 165 sec. 2				x											
Art. 167 sec. 1				x											
Art. 168 sec. 1							x								
Art. 170 sec. 1						x									
Art. 227	x														
Art. 228 sec. 1	x														
Total	7	0	2	3	3	4	9	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0

Table 7 part 1

Together

	civ.	pol.	econ.	cult.	civ. pol.	civ. econ.	civ. cult.	pol. econ.	pol. cult.	econ. cult.	civ. pol. econ.	civ. pol. cult.	civ. econ. cult.	pol. econ. cult.	civi. pol. econ. cult.
US Constitution	16	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
TEU	5	1	1	0	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
TFEU	7	0	2	3	3	6	8	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0

Table 8

Lebenslauf

Persönliche Daten

Vorname: Maria

Nachname: Geisler

Geburtsdatum: 30.04.1984

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Muttersprachen: Deutsch, Englisch

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Abstract

This master thesis deals with the concept of citizenship in the United States and the European Union. The dimensions of citizenship to be analyzed are civic/civil, political, economic, and cultural. The applied methods are the quantitative document analysis and the qualitative document analysis. The *US Constitution* and its subsequent Amendments, the *Treaty on European Union*, and the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* were examined. The findings and evaluations identify which dimension of citizenship predominates in both entities and pose questions for further research.

Diese Masterarbeit behandelt die Konzepte von Citizenship in den Vereinigten Staaten und der Europäischen Union. Die Dimensionen von Citizenship, die analysiert werden, sind bürgerlich/zivil, politisch, ökonomisch und kulturell. Die angewandten Methoden sind die Quantitative Dokumentenanalyse und die Qualitative Dokumentenanalyse. Die *US Constitution* sowie ihre anschließenden Amendments, der *Vertrag über die Europäische Union*, und der *Vertrag über die Arbeitsweise der Europäischen Union* werden untersucht. Die Ergebnisse und Auswertungen identifizieren welche Dimensionen von Citizenship in den beiden Einheiten vorherrschen und stellen Fragen für weitere Forschung.

