Lund university
Department of Political Science

WPMM40
VT17
Supervisor: Ylva Stubbergaard

(Ab)using Citizenship

- An idea-analysis of the use of Citizenship and Active Citizenship in an academic and a EU-policy discourse

Maria Fladvad

Abstract

Sometimes are words most familiar to us, the hardest ones to define. They seem self-explanatory. Political concepts are not just words that create ambivalence. They affect and shape people's lives. This thesis engages with the present context of the European Union (EU) and investigates the meaning of Citizenship and Active citizenship. It poses the questions; *what do we need citizenship for*? The conducted study is a sender-focused idea-analysis, used to grasp normative claims about behaviour and reality within primarily an academic discourse and secondly a EU policy discourse. The thesis argues for four dimensions of citizenship that evoke four different mechanisms; *Rights* (inclusion); *Duties and responsibilities* (exclusion), *Lived-experience* (self-perception) and lastly *Deeds* (interaction). This framework questions the theoretical claim that citizenship is a promoter for equality and argues for the importance of the exclusionary elements of citizenship. Instead, citizenship is highlighted as contextual, involving tensions and connected to power. Through critical assessment this thesis argues that active citizenship in a EU policy discourse is not a citizenship concept, but a government strategy, whereas it is not linked to *Dimensions of citizenship*.

Keywords: citizenship, active citizenship, EU policy, EU citizenship, idea-analysis

Word count: 19 647

Acknowledgments

Erika, Sofie, Jana, Camilla and Karin (always and forever). There would not have been a thesis without the love, support and physical space you provided and created. Thank you. Special thanks to Ylva Stubbergaard for respectful and insightful guidance. To myself, in times of darkness: "You can't always get what you want, but if you try sometimes you just might find, you get what you need".

Dedicated to
Anna Malmi - a brilliant sociologist and friend
"…better not be scared of heights"

We did that often, asking each other questions whose answers we already knew.
Perhaps it was so that we would not ask the other questions,
the ones whose answers we did not want to know.

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie - *Purple Hibiscus*

Index

1 Introduction 1

1.1 Research questions and purpose statement 2

1.2 Disposition 3

2 Historical background of Citizenship and introduction to Active citizenship in the EU 4

2.1 What is citizenship? 4

2.2 Introduction to Citizenship theories 5

2.3 Active Citizenship in EU policy 6

3 Research method 8

3.1 Methodology and political knowledge 8

3.1.1 What is an idea? 9

3.2 Idea analysis 10

3.2.1 Benefits in relation to research questions 11

3.2.2 Interpretation technique 12

3.2.3 Model. Sender focused interpretation strategy 13

3.2.4 Analytical tool: Dimensions of citizenship 14

3.2.5 Result plausibility and validity 14

3.2.6 Limitations and possible blind spots 16

3.3 Material discussion 16

4 Theoretical discussion: The Academic discourse of Citizenship 18

4.1 The elements of the texts 18

4.2 Descriptive level: Citizenship according to the senders 19

4.3 Idea level: The meaning of Citizenship 21

4.3.1 What is the meaning based on the historical context? 21

4.3.2 Interpretation based on contextual knowledge 23

4.4 Descriptive level: Active Citizenship according to the senders 25

4.5 Idea level: The meaning of Active citizenship 26

4.5.1 What is the meaning based on the historical context? 26

4.5.2 Interpretation based on contextual knowledge 26

4.5.3 Schematic summary of citizenship theories 27

4.6 Analytical tool: Dimensions of citizenship 28

5 The EU policy discourse 29

5.1 The elements of the texts 29

5.2 Descriptive level: Citizenship and Active citizenship according to the senders 30
5.2.1 EU/European Citizenship 30
5.2.2 Active citizenship in a EU policy context 34
5.3 Idea level: The meaning of Citizenship and Active Citizenship 37
5.3.1 What is the meaning based on the historical context? 37
5.3.2 Interpretation based on contextual knowledge 40
6 Discussion and conclusion 42
6.1 What is the meaning of Citizenship? 42
6.1.1 Has there been a discursive drift of the meaning of citizenship? 45
6.2 What is the meaning of Active citizenship? 45
6.2.1 Is internalising 'active citizenship behaviour' the meaning of citizenship in the EU? 46
6.3 What do we need citizenship for? 46
6.4 Conclusion 47
7 References 48

1 Introduction

February 2017, Berlin - Malmö.

Only two years ago it was a six-hour bus ride, today it takes nine. Over the years, different passengers have passed before my eyes. Thus, it is not the travel time, nor the trends among passengers, that is the striking change. It is the regulation. The bus companies are now required to keep passenger records, which imply that identification is a necessity. At the ferry station the German police board and conduct a border check. Two men get arrested. No one says anything; I don't say anything. In Denmark, and later on in Sweden, we see the same procedures, now with new questions and new documentation requirements. A Swedish policeman argues with a passenger about 'why his phone isn't charged if his friend is picking him at the bus station'. They barely look at my passport. I have a Swedish one, and a million privileges related to that status. I am not their subject. I know that, they know that, the question is though, how do '*we*' know that, and more importantly who are '*they*' looking for and *wh*y? These are all questions of citizenship.

The interest for this thesis is not the becoming of the subject and their identities presented above, but how an academic discourse and a EU policy discourse use and speak of citizenship. The aim is to find out what the meaning of citizenship is in the present EU context. It engages with two concepts, *citizenship* and *active citizenship* from two distinct perspectives, an academic point of view and from a policy perspective.

Citizenship – a political concept, familiar to the majority of people, although used in various ways, leaves a lingering question on my lips: *what is citizenship* and *what do we need citizenship for*? By searching the keyword 'citizenship' I find the definition to the left, i.e. the status of being a citizen of a particular country. This might sound comprehensible enough, although, does being a citizen always entail citizenship? If the definition given were truly exhaustive, why must it suggest the use of citizenship be something that refugees could be granted? Does this imply that the meaning of citizenship equates to being a non-refugee and that everyone that resides in a country, but lacks citizenship, should be considered, non-citizens, or refugees? That is hardly likely, and what might this infer for the political meaning of citizenship?

citizenship

NOUN

[mass noun]

The position or status of being a citizen of a particular country.
'the refugees could be granted dual citizenship'

(Oxford Living Dictionaries 2017)

Citizenship is hereby used as a framework for understanding the present social and political reality in Europe, which differentiates considerably between subjects. From an academic point of view it has been stressed that the meaning of citizenship is drifting, especially in relation to a policy discourse (Bellamy 2008; Isin & Nielsen 2008; Goul-Andersen 2005). Flow of labour power, capital and migration streams (Isin and Nielsen 2008) are claimed to frame and affect how citizenship is understood from a policy perspective. Within the EU, the concept of *active citizenship* has emerged (cf. European Economic and Social Committee 2012), which implies an explicit political governing of citizenship. Critical scholars have claimed that this has made individuals internalise an 'active citizenship behaviour', by linking behaviour - as making oneself more flexible and 'employable' in order to be good citizens - to changes within the labour market (Goul-Andersen 2005). It is argued that citizens, through this process, become investments for governments rather than being seen as creators of a political order.

Is this really true for all subjects? Scholars have stressed the process of internalisation is often perceived through a considerable time perspective, whereas situations where subjects become claimants for citizenship, 'under unusual or surprising conditions, especially within a short period of time,' are rather understudied (Isin and Nielsen 2008: 17). Linking this fact with the policy changes within the EU, illustrated in the opening paragraph, I question whether 'active citizenship behaviour' really is the meaning of citizenship, and more importantly, should it be?

1.1 Research questions and purpose statement

Citizenship seems to be transforming and appears as actual policy matter within the EU. In the light of this current empirical reality[1], this thesis engages with the following questions:

- **What do we need citizenship for?**

Which is answered through the follow up questions:

- ***What is the meaning of citizenship?***
    - *Has there been a discursive drift of the meaning of citizenship?*
- ***What is the meaning of active citizenship?***
    - *Is it accurate to speak of an internalisation of active citizenship as the meaning of citizenship?*

[1] That is a cultural, historical and social constructed reality.

These questions are answered through the conduction of an idea-analysis. Through which it is possible to detect what normative claims about behaviour and reality that is connected to citizenship. It is a descriptive two-level analysis focusing both on an academic discourse and a EU policy discourse. In order to answer what the meaning of citizenship and active citizenship is, as well as answer the two sub questions, this thesis foremost investigates citizenship through academic texts and subsequently turns to EU policy. In the policy discourse citizenship is investigated through the engagement with EU citizenship and active citizenship, through policy writing from the Maastricht treaty (Treaty on European Union 1992) until today. This makes it possible to answer the bow-questions and driving force of this thesis; *what do we need citizenship for?*

1.2 Disposition

The thesis has seven parts including a reference chapter. The first section presents the research questions and clarifies why the revisit of the meaning of citizenship and active citizenship matters, both for academia as for general knowledge concerning citizenship in Europe today. The following part introduces citizenship theories and EU policy writings of active citizenship. The third section presents the methodological point of view and the technique used for answering the research questions, i.e. a two-level idea-analysis with a sender focused interpretation strategy.

The fourth section is the theoretical part, which has two purposes. First, it is part of the result of the thesis, whereas identified tension and dimensions of citizenship, i.e. the answer to the meaning of citizenship in the academic discourse, lead up to the crystallisation of the analytical tool. Secondly, the analytical tool, *Dimensions of citizenship,* is used as an interpreter to answer what the meaning of citizenship and active citizenship is in the EU policy discourse. The fifth section, interprets EU citizenship and active citizenship in EU policy through use of *Dimensions of citizenship*. Lastly, the main findings and answers to the research questions are presented in the sixth section.

To a positivist eye, a critical study, aiming at understanding the meaning of political concepts, can appear as a melting pot; blurring out the lines between material, theory and method, resulting in questionable generalizability and (in that line of argument) minimal knowledge contribution. Therefore, for everyone to have a pleasant read no matter of personal epistemological preference, a general advice is to approach this study as picturing oneself diving into a boiling fondue of political knowledge. On that note, I wish you Bon Appétit!

2 Historical background of Citizenship and introduction to Active citizenship in the EU

In essentially all the literature that I have come across, that engages with the concept citizenship, the same fundamental question is posed, namely: *What is citizenship*? To follow good academic tradition, the point of departure in this thesis is nevertheless the same.

2.1 What is citizenship?

According to unreliable online sources Plato is credited the quotation "Our city is what it is, because our citizens are what they are". This is supposed to be found in one of the greatest classics in political philosophy i.e. *The Republic*. However, overlooking the accuracy of the quotation, the analogy, that the mindset of the citizen creates the social and political order, is one of the bases in political theory. Hence citizenship, from this point of view, is a ruling mechanism and linked to power. Thus it is not daring to state that citizenship matters for political science. Or as Elizabeth Cohen puts it "Citizenship is an essential element of democracy and a universal feature of the modern state" (Cohen 2009: 13).

Going back in history, citizenship equals the status to participate in a particular political community and through that status being privileged to, on equal terms,[2] take part in collective decision-making about social life (Bellamy 2008: 1). Citizenship is thereby regarded as serving a central democratic purpose. It is defined, as the status that allows someone of a political unit to take part in the deciding of the common will. This awakens questions as who is part of societies and who is not, and who should be able to decide over whom. For Plato the citizens were not the residents (cf. Roberts and Such 2007) and the use of citizenship - referring to the governing of the city – depended on the traits of the citizens, and not of the residents. Hence, citizenship poses classic political theory questions as; *what is the common will; what is justice;* and *what is a just society*?

[2] That is equal in relation to others privileged with citizenship status.

2.2 Introduction to Citizenship theories

In the academic field questions of citizenship primarily concerns how the concept is linked to democratic politics (Bellamy 2008; Cohen 2009). Ruth Lister has pointed out that these questions are most commonly discussed in academia through two different political philosophy traditions, the liberal tradition and the civic republican tradition (Lister 2007:7).

In the liberal tradition the focus is on the rights of the individual and here there are two very different traditions stemming from this political thought. On the one hand there is the neo-liberal school of thought, viewing the rights of the individuals against the state, the liberties of the individual, and of course including property rights. On the other hand there is social liberal and social democratic traditions, heavily inspired by John Rawls' social justice perspective. According to this line of thought the liberties of equal citizenship are taken for granted in just societies (Rawls 1971: 3). This implies that there are conditions for equal citizenship, based on rights, and the assumption that these must prevail in order for a society to be just. State intervention is therefore something that is needed in order for a society to be just. For citizenship this implies the inclusion of social rights and not just the individual rights referred to above (Lister 2007: 8). This is related to the idea of the autonomous individual whereas justice and equality should be guaranteed to ensure individual freedom.

In civic republicanism, civic equality, or the process of fostering civic virtue[3], stemming from Classical Greece, implies that citizenship is fulfilled through responsibilities. This entails rights, responsibilities and duties to contribute to the common good (cf. Bellamy 2008: 17; Stubbergaard 2010: 216; Lister 2007: 21). In this view citizenship involves three dimensions; membership of a political community, rights and benefits linked to that membership and lastly participation in social, political and economic processes of that community. As research questions these translate as questions of belonging (i.e. *What is a citizen*), questions of criterion (i.e. *What are the rights of this citizen*) and lastly questions of participation (i.e. *What should the subject do in order to 'deserve' those rights and access citizenship?*) (Bellamy 2008: 12-15). Justice is hereby conditional and equality is earned through effort, not a universal ideal.

In relation to this view of conditional equality and justice, an often-cited scholar in relation to citizenship, especially in the welfare field, is T.S. Marshall (cf. Lister's critical remark on how labour[4] is now considered as a citizenship obligation for basically every adult; Lister 2007: 9). Marshall argues that citizenship is a promoter for equality and divides citizenship into three sets of rights; *civil rights* – liberal freedoms (including property rights), *political rights* - the right to political participation and finally *social rights* – right to social welfare

[3] A beloved child has many names

[4] Labour is in this thesis defined as paid work.

and security (Marshall 1950). Equality however, which in this context equals economic equality, is thought of as a utopian strive. Thus, striving for equality must contain economic redistribution (Marshall 1950: 4).

Social justice, in this perspective is not only a condition for the freedom to act as for Rawls, but comes including responsibilities and duties, which depend on the political context (Marshall 1950: 28-29). Welfare is in this view contextual, however social services and education are mentioned and citizenship in this view entails the right to "live the life of a civilised being" according to the standards of the context (Marshall 1950: 10-11). Citizenship is thus learned behaviour, more precisely the behaviour of the gentleman, which includes labour (Marshall 1950: 8). This can be argued as being the process of fostering civic virtue, namely participating in the social, political and economic processes of the community.

A side note to this view is how Marshall argues that there have been local examples in medieval times, where citizenship has been equal (Marshall 1950: 12). This is of course a little bit provocative that a British scholar would argue in the 1950s, taking no concern to the total exclusion of women in relation to citizenship or the ongoing civil rights movements in the US, but at the same time acknowledging the differences amongst the classes. In other words the citizen, in the eyes of Marshall, is not someone, but an employed man.

This sums up two major philosophical traditions and two different views of social justice in relation to citizenship. In both perspectives of social justice is economic redistribution viewed as a necessity for equal citizenship. However, in the liberal tradition the citizen is viewed as a rights-bearer and in civic republicanism the citizen has a responsibility towards the community within the ruling political entity.

Though citizenship has gathered academic concern, it is stressed that citizenship is about to lose its meaning and its political link (Bellamy 2008) and as presented in the introduction, some scholars claim that this is already the reality (cf. Goul-Andersen 2005). From an academic point of view it is stressed that there is a drift of the citizenship concept in relation to a policy discourse. It is stressed that all of a sudden every policy area should refer to questions of citizenship (cf. Isin and Nielsen 2008; Bellamy 2008). Bellamy argues that what is needed, agreed upon or accepted as moral standards have increasingly been linked to citizenship (Bellamy 2008: 6). This outlines a divide between a policy discourse and an academic discourse and reveals that there are tensions in relation to the meaning of citizenship. This pushes the interest to understand more forward.

2.3 Active Citizenship in EU policy

In a EU policy discourse is the concept active citizenship frequently used, or the description of an active citizen. In the EU strategy *Europe 2020,* is promoting active citizenship one of the main objectives for the union, together with

promoting social cohesion and equality (European Commission, CRELL 2009). Between 2007 and 2013, the EU invested 215 million euro in the policy programme *Europe for citizens* and under the label *Active citizens for Europe* it aimed to involve citizens and civil society organisations in the process of European integration[5]. Its purpose was to develop a sense of a European identity, based on common values, history and culture (European Commission, EACEA 2017). The policy programme was thereafter renewed and the *Europe for citizens* 2014-2020, which is currently running, has two thematic fields, *European remembrance* and *Democratic participation and civic engagement* (European Commission 2017).

In addition, the academic field influences EU policy. Through the research and evaluation institution *Centre for Research on Education and Lifelong Learning* (CRELL), which is linked to the European Commission, indicators for what active citizenship entails have been developed (European Commission, CRELL 2009). The purpose of the research institution is to promote evidence-based policy support for the European Union, and the indicators of active citizenship are called the flagship of the agency (European Commission, CRELL 2009). In this policy influenced evaluation research, active citizenship, is theorised as having four dimensions: participation in political life; civil society; community life and sharing values (European Commission, CRELL 2006). These examples imply that the EU accesses a measurement tool for what active citizenship entails and additionally sets aside considerable funding to reach these targets.

This implies that active citizenship, is presented in a EU policy discourse, as promoting civil society commitment, develop a sense of European identity and relating to social cohesion and equality. This countered from an academic point of view. As stated in the introduction, active citizenship in relation to EU policy is understood as belonging to a labour market discourse, making citizens internalise active citizenship behaviour by making oneself more flexible and employable (Goul-Andersen 2005). This implies a divide between a EU policy discourse and an academic discourse. Ambiguities of active citizenship are revealed, which poses the question, what does it mean?

.

[5] The development of the European Union

3 Research method

The research questions are answered through the conduction of a text-analysis. The main reason for using this type of method is that it makes it possible to detect what claims of behaviour and reality that are implied in relation to citizenship in the two discourses, to answer the main question; *what do we need citizenship for*? The conduction is done through a two level idea-analysis, first presenting a descriptive level and secondly an idea-level with a sender focus interpretation strategy. This is done on both of the discourse and engages with two types of sources, academic texts and policy related documents. The following chapter clarifies the methodological standpoint of the study and thereafter thoroughly describes the research method and its advantages and limitations in relation to meanings of citizenship.

3.1 Methodology and political knowledge

Political science - the science of the political - or to put it in more complicated words, the study of constrained use of social power and the search for the ground and causes of those constrains, as well as "the techniques for the use of social power within those constrains" (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 4-5). This definition, although good, has earlier on in my studies brought me to question whether there is a study of 'unsocial power'[6] as well. Although this may only look like a play with words, studying the meaning of citizenship goes beyond questioning the causes of the constrains described above. It highlights the use of social power within the constrains, but at the same time puts emphasis, not only on the power exercised, but also on the exclusionary effects and the non-subjects.

The feminist critical theorist Sara Ahmed calls this process of creating a 'we', studying the social reality and producing knowledge in western academia as taking part of *strange encounters* (2000). Ahmed links community, embodiment and strangers and claims that the stranger, or in this context, the non-subjects/non-citizens, are not just anybody but always 'some-bodies' meaning that the 'other' is already socially constructed (although embodied) as someone, i.e. the stranger, in the encounter. With this in mind, understanding the meaning of citizenship, all three parts will be important for the understanding of the concept. And I would like to suggest that one could say that through this, the thought will touch upon

[6] Not reffering to electricity.

what could be understood as ‘unsocial power’. What I mean with this is that the ’borders’ or for that matter, strange encounters, in relation to citizenship is based on the imaginary unknown, and not on actual interaction. Hence, the power is in some sense unsocial, meaning that the power is exercised and used as a shield against the unknown.

In feminist research, power is always essential regardless of the methodological view, mainly with the aim to deconstruct current power relations. Though, the power relations closest to home often are the ones that are the most difficult to discover (Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002:13; 38). Therefore, turning back to the discipline. To focus on meaning in political studies, that shape actions and institutions, is to take an interpretative approach (Wagenaar 2011: 3). This is not the same as claiming that the subject is act-less or lost in discourse and therefore ‘unable’ to act, but rather that that the meanings shape behaviour; hence, the behaviour is behaviour, nonetheless. Interpretative approaches in political science are, exactly as in feminist research, not value-free activities. Wagenaar calls engaging in policy analysis through an interpretive approach a normative and moral activity, whereas the aim often is to make ‘better’, or even more democratic[7] policy (Wagenaar 2011: 5).

In spite of this, during my studies in political science, and more precisely in welfare studies, I have not engaged in literature that discusses the colonial history as a facilitator for the western welfare states. Nor have I come across literature about how the (sometimes made) assumption that welfare, or social rights, should be distributed to the most marginalised (cf. Marshall 1950 and citizenship as a promoter for equality) is contested through current welfare challenges; not to mention, as this thesis argues, was never true in the first place (since the most marginalised lacked subjection as claimants).

Disappointingly, this thesis does not engage with literature mentioned above and does not set out to deconstruct power relations in any grandiose way. It aims to clarify and describe meanings of citizenship and through that highlight a reality that has real consequences for peoples’ lives. A reality constituted through ideas.

3.1.1 What is an idea?

An idea is, in this context, defined as a thought-construction that is characterized by a certain level of stability and continuity. An idea could therefore be a perception of reality, a valuation of a phenomenon or a notion of how one ‘should’ act (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 140). In relation to political science, this of course entails the study of political ideas (Beckman 2007:9). This implies that by studying the meaning, through the lens of ideas, it is possible to assess what perception of reality and what normative claims about implied action that is

[7] Wagenaar cites Lasswell (1951) stating that the discipline serves to ”spread democracy in the world and defending it against the threat of tyranny” Wagenaar 2011: 5). A definintion of democracy is not included, but one can conclude that it referrs to liberal democracy.

related to citizenship. Because when learning what claims about reality and action that are stated both from an academic perspective as well as from a policy perspective, it is possible not only to answer what the meaning of the concepts are, but to answer the main question; what we need citizenship for? Therefore, an idea analysis is a very applicable and suitable research method for this study.

Scholars have stressed the importance of critical assessment of political ideas based on ontological arguments. This is something that this thesis stands in agreement with. It is argued that political ideas have great impact over how societies develop, and that they shape peoples' beliefs, opinions and strivings (Beckman 2007:9). However, the limitations between what is the 'social' and what is the 'political' are heavily debated within the discipline. According to Iris Marion Young the trends within political theory have been a move towards the "the politicization of the social" (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 480), which also in noticeable in relation to citizenship. This is elaborated on in the academic discourse through the introduction of self-perception (belonging) in relation to citizenship. Although, I am very critical towards a separation between the social and political, since what is political, is always dependent on context. The remaining question is then, how does one grasp the context of the political idea and transform this into knowledge? Consequently, a systemic method is needed.

3.2 Idea analysis

First of all, there is no such thing as a template idea-analysis that is 'one-size-fit-all' or 'ready to wear'[8] research method. Rather the method is characterised by entailing several decisions by the researcher, in regards to the material and research question. Therefore, the concept idea-analysis is thus described as an umbrella-term for "different possible combinations of *purpose*, *questions* and *techniques of analysis* that can be used when studying political messages" (Beckman 2007: 11, my translation). The main argument for using an idea-analysis as a research method is therefore not due to a certain way it is conducted, but due to the research focus, i.e. some sort of political message, thus in this case the meaning of citizenship and active citizenship.

An idea-analysis is cross-disciplinary and well-used social science research method. It occurs in several fields as political science, history, sociology and the study of history of ideas (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 24). It is often connected to ideology analysis and its purpose is often to investigate ideological changes and shifts, within for instance a political party (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 24). Historically there have been two different types of idea analysis, the content analysis and the functional analysis. This study will engage with neither, but they

[8] The clothing metaphors are consciously used as a wink to the epistemological questions posed by Marsh and Stoker about epistemology being a skin and not a sweater (Marsh & Stoker 2010).

will be presented as an introduction to the research method. The content analysis sees political arguments as a collection of arguments. They are thereafter viewed as variables, in a chain of events, in order to explain *why* something happened (Beckman 2007: 12-13). A functional analysis focuses on the origin of political ideas, their spread or consequences (Beckman 2007: 13). In relation to this thesis both of the stands would be problematic and undoable.

In the first example, the arguments are viewed as causes of effects (that have occurred), i.e. classic rational reasoning as x caused y. In relation to the research questions that would be the same as to initially argue for a discursive shift, meaning supporting Goul-Andersen thesis, i.e. claiming that citizenship (in relation to social policy) should nowadays be understood as active citizenship – an internalized subject's position, and finding the moments that caused this change. This would of course imply a repetition of their research and, in addition, contradict the purpose of this thesis, which is questioning this result.

In the functional analysis, one claims to find a starting point to a political idea. For a limited project as this, the origin of citizenship, or for that matter active citizenship, would be very difficult to study, which could easily lead to superficial and non-valid results. To argue for an actual point in time when a political thought construct was created is almost impossible, and considering the historical perspective and spread of the idea citizenship, that is not a reasonable limitation for this thesis. In addition it also moves the focus away from text-analysis while it could require different methods in order to explain how an idea came to be (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 147).

However, these two approaches have been criticized and challenged, mainly by scholars that have pointed out that there are severe differences between asking why something has happened and its consequences, and trying to understand a political idea by describing it. Therefore, there could be three different purposes for the researcher to conduct an idea analysis, either one i) describes and interpret the material, or one ii) values the sustainability in the political message, or one iii) explains how the political messages' have occurred (Beckman 2007: 14). This thesis follows the first purpose, since its aim is to describe and interpret material in order to understand the meaning of citizenship and active citizenship.

Important to acknowledge, is however, that an idea analysis is a two level project in itself. The first level of an idea analysis illustrates what actually is written and is descriptive, whereas the second level of analysis tries to understand underlying messages, i.e. the ideas (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 149). This means that this analysis contains of two levels in regard to material, first the academic level and secondly the policy level, and also two levels in regard to level of analysis through the descriptive level and the idea level.

3.2.1 Benefits in relation to research questions

The purpose for choosing idea-analysis as a research method is that it brings clarity to the concepts. The benefits are hence many in order to answer, what we

need citizenship for and what the meaning of citizenship and active citizenship are. First off, one need to understand and learn about different definitions in order to start to grasp what citizenship might be, as well as the political decisions in relation to it. This suits well with the two-staged project that idea-analysis is situated of, examining first a descriptive level and then an underlying level. In addition, the choice of turning to writings, both at an academic level and a policy level is, in my view, an accurate choice. A well-made text analysis, from a social science perspective, highlights a certain problem within the field (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 40), and this is also the purpose with this study.

As a research method, and more specifically a text-analysis, the purpose is therefore not to focus on the language as in a linguistic analysis, but to describe and say something about the social phenomena that are constituted in the texts. Furthermore, citizenship, says something about the relationship between humans, just as other phenomenon, as equality, power or government. In relation to these phenomenon, texts are often are the main source, or at least a fair part of the material conduction (cf. Bergström and Boréus 2012: 17). Lastly, as already stated, the choice for conducting an idea analysis, should be based on the research question. This research investigates a possible discursive shift, which entails a possible drift of the ideas related to citizenship, i.e. a possible shift in the political message. Due to these reasons it is a very fitting method for its research purpose.

3.2.2 Interpretation technique

Every text-analysis demands interpretation. As discussed earlier, no interpretative study is fully objective and it is filled with choices (cf. Wagenaar 2011). The strong claim regarding this is, that unlike positivism (that claims to be neutral, but is clearly based on several often unspoken premises), that the approach forces the researcher to put the cards on the table and admit researcher bias from the start. However, both Beckman (2007) and Bergström and Boréus (2012) would to some extent disagree with this position and claim that it is possible to make a text-analysis from a positive research position.

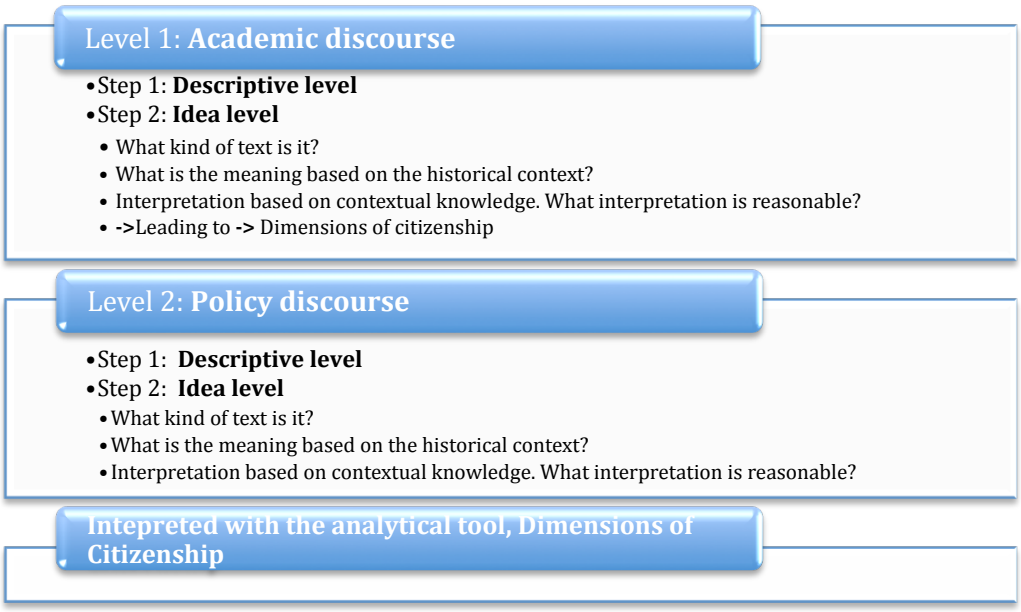
Hence, based on my epistemological and ontological view, as Stoker and Marsh (2010) would argue, my view of knowledge frames my understanding of science and research, thus in relation to this view, interpretation can never be viewed as completely value-free. Nonetheless, admitting that knowledge is situated is not the same as claiming absolute relativity or that the result is not plausible. By systemically clarifying how the interpretation was made and how sources were conducted, it becomes knowledge, which is discussable and criticisable, and thereby a plausible result. Even though, it is not argued to be an absolute truth. Thus, this is the interpretation technique that this study follows.

The texts will be studied in classic text-analysis tradition, which is based on five elements; *the text*, *the context* it has been produced in, *the sender*, *the recipient* and *the interpreter* (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 30). In addition the texts can be analysed through four different interpretation strategies with a:

- *Focus on the interpreter:* The interpreter is viewed as a recipient with special purposes or tools for interpretation.
- *Focus on the sender:* The sender is viewed as an individual, group or actor with a special societal position. The type of document is observed and the ideas and language by the sender.
- *Focus on the recipient:* The recipient/s is/are viewed as an individual, group or actor with a special societal position. Observation of the understandings of the recipients. An interpretation of an interpretation.
- *Focus on the surrounding discourse:* What is said in other texts through their dictums and language? How are current understandings and believes noted?

This analysis has a sender focused interpretation strategy. It means that it tries to highlight the ideas the sender carries, which is done in the second part of the analysis Idea level. The meaning of the texts is determined based on how the one that formulated the text intended it to mean. This is done through three steps; first by valuating what kind of text it is, which is presented under the rubrics *The elements of the texts*, secondly interpreting the meaning through the lens of its historical context and lastly interpretation based on contextual knowledge. In a sender focused interpretation strategy the context matters, hence it should not be viewed as determinant for what is meant, but helpful when framing what kind of interpretations that are reasonable to make (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 32-33).

3.2.3 Model. Sender focused interpretation strategy



As the model shows, the analysis consists of steps, the descriptive level and the idea level, and studies two different discourses, first the academic discourse and secondly the EU policy discourse. The first step describes what the sender intended to mean with the text whereas the following step try to grasp the meaning, the idea, of citizenship and active citizenship. In addition, the academic discourse has two purposes, it is first part of the analysis and is a result of the study and secondly the knowledge gathered develops the analytical tool, *Dimensions of citizenship*, which is used to understand and interpret the EU policy discourse.

3.2.4 Analytical tool: Dimensions of citizenship

In order to fully grasp the meaning of citizenship, active citizenship and answer what citizenship is needed for, dimensions are used as analytical tool. In relation to idea analysis there are two different analytical tools that can be used, ideal types and dimensions. Dimensions can either be developed to differentiate different claims or to differentiate different specification of the same claim (Beckman 2007: 25). This differs from ideal types, in which the analysis and explanatory point is not to describe the reality studied as exact as possible, but rather to highlight significant difference within that reality. This is done through clustering and gathering of parts to make a more cohesive point of view (Beckman 2007: 28). In relation to welfare studies there are numerous examples of this (cf. Esping-Andersen 1990; Lister 2007).

When using dimensions however, the purpose is to differentiate different parts of an argumentation or ideology (Beckman 2007: 28), which is more suitable for this study because it makes it possible to highlight tensions in the discourses and the reality they represent, rather than forcing them into ideals. Therefore, through the use of dimensions is it possible to understand whether there has been a discursive drift in relation to the academic and the EU-policy discourse.

3.2.5 Result plausibility and validity

Dimensions can be described as the ‘glasses’ of the interpreter, which means that what is observed depends solely on how well and precise these ‘glasses’, in other words theoretical framework, is formulated (Beckman 2007: 22). To create the dimensions one must make an operationalisation, which is an indicator that the phenomena that shall be studied are studied. To operationalise is therefore the same as trying to make the concepts and categories that are studied measurable (Beckman 2007: 24). Hence, this is a question of validity.

In this study the question of validity is, whether the dimensions are appropriate as analytical tool for answering the questions posed to the material (cf. Beckman 2007: 22). Due to validity of the study, this is an additional argument to choose dimension over ideal types, although ideal types are more

commonly used in relation to idea-analysis. Using ideal types can be considered the same as claiming that these are the observations that will be observed, whereas dimensions are more fluid to the construction and can therefore be used in a broader explanatory purpose.

However, there are some risks, which could be severely limiting for the analysis, with applying dimensions as analytical tool. First of all, there is a tendency that the dimensions become too broad, and another level of operationalisation is needed. Second of all, one critique that is often brought up against this kind of study, with some sort of classification system, is whether the model really is created beforehand and could be viewed as a analytic tool, or if it is created afterwards, which would imply that it should be considered as part of the result. As Bergström and Boréus point out, if the model is characterised as a result, then it is a result, and not an analytic tool (2012: 166). In relation to this study the dimensions are both a result and analytical tool, since they are the product of the analysis of the academic discourse, but the analytical tool for understanding the policy discourse.

Furthermore, in order to answer questions regarding the meaning of something the phenomenon must be investigated and described. Hence, the value to the research community for a descriptive study is not referring to a lot of different sources, but to reflect and draw conclusions of the material. It is therefore important to realise that to describe in a text-analysis is not the same as referring, but to make inference, which implies to draw conclusion of the material and not simply present it (Beckman 2007: 49). This is what makes the descriptive study into research. The researcher must therefore always, as in all other analysis, argue for ones interpretations and conclusions (Beckman 2007: 50).

To increase the result plausibility for the answers regarding whether there has been a discursive drift and the investigation of possible tensions in relation to citizenship and active citizenship, the description needs a comparison. By comparing the material with different measurements at different points in time, it is possible to draw conclusions about what measurement is plausible. If there is no point of reference or something that the observation can be compared to is it impossible to draw any conclusion from the observation. This is why the ‘glasses’ matter, since they clarify through which dimensions the material is read through (Beckman 2007: 51). Dimensions can be described as the ‘glasses’ of the interpreter, which means that what is observed depends solely on how well and precise these ‘glasses’, in other words theoretical framework, is formulated (Beckman 2007: 22).

To create the dimensions one must make an operationalisation, which is an indicator that the phenomena that shall be studied are studied. To operationalise is therefore the same as trying to make the concepts and categories that are studied measurable (Beckman 2007: 24). Hence, this is a question of validity. In this study the question of validity is, whether the dimensions are appropriate as analytical tool for answering the questions posed to the material (cf. Beckman 2007: 22). Due to validity of the study, this is an additional argument to choose dimension over ideal types, although ideal types are more commonly used in

relation to idea-analysis. Using ideal types can be considered the same as claiming that these are the observations that will be observed, whereas dimensions are more fluid to the construction and can therefore be used in a broader explanatory purpose.

3.2.6 Limitations and possible blind spots

This study is conducted exclusively through the interpretation of texts, which benefits are several, which is elaborated on below in section *3.3. Material discussion*. However, they are written by someone and read by someone and there is no direct interaction between sender and recipient. This might lead to the lack of possible new information and communication, which possibly would have been detected through interviews. In comparison to interviews there is no possibility for the researcher to ask follow up questions and the researcher is therefore alone with their conclusions, which could lead to knowledge blind spots.

The knowledge gathered is also contextual. Citizenship is a broad topic and the focus of this study is a western academic discourse and a EU policy discourse. Hence it investigates dimension of citizenship in relation to EU citizenship and active citizenship in EU policy. This is considerably different to various national citizenship contexts. This can be viewed as a limitation, but it is the chosen focus and context for the thesis. In addition there is a lot of research concerning questions on becoming of the subject, which is not the research focus in this study. Lastly, the material selection is solely done by the researcher and therefore shaped by my pre-knowledge, or more accurately, lack of knowledge that is.

3.3 Material discussion

The material is divided into belonging to two types discourses, an academic discourse and a policy discourse. The study engages with different types of texts and a diversity of documents. Thus, all writings that are connected to the EU, including evaluation and research reports with connections to the EU, are interpreted as belonging to the policy discourse. Texts that are interpreted as belonging to the academic discourse are hence peer-reviewed academically published writings. In addition, all the sources are easily found, and all the material belonging to the policy discourse is possible to access through open online sources.

Texts are useful as a source for understanding a social or/and political reality (thereby understanding human relations) for many reasons. As argued by Bergström and Boréus (2012) texts are valuable sources of knowledge since; people produce texts, their intended recipients are people and lastly they reflect people's values and beliefs, both conscious and unconscious. Hence, texts can say

something about the social environment (reality) in which they were created. In this regard texts both reproduce, mirror and question power (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 20). As stated earlier on, power is central in feminist research and this is something that is considered in relation to the driving force of the research questions and in the choice of material.

4 Theoretical discussion: The Academic discourse of Citizenship

This chapter opens up the academic field in relation to citizenship and active citizenship. It has two purposes and is part of the result of the thesis as well as creating the theoretical framework to interpret the EU policy discourse. It presents tensions and dimensions of citizenship, which crystallise into the analytical tool *Dimensions of citizenship,* based on four dimensions; *rights, duties and responsibilities, lived-experience* and *deeds*.

This instrument is thereafter used to interpret the policy discourse. To ease the read, a schematic summary is made, through which elements are used in the creation of the analytical tool. As stated in the method chapter, it begins with a reflection of elements of the texts, followed by a two-level analysis including a descriptive level and an idea level, to understand the meaning of citizenship and active citizenship in the academic discourse.

4.1 The elements of the texts

The selected writings belong mainly to two fields, critical citizenship studies and feminist citizenship studies. They can be subcategorised to welfare studies (very Eurocentric), democracy studies and citizenship studies.

The cited works are published between 1997-2016 and are foremost published in an English-speaking, and even British, academic environment. The research perspective is even specifically on Western Europe in some cases (cf. Goul-Andersen 2005; Lister 2007); although there are somewhat broader perspectives presented (cf. Isin and Nielsen 2008). Overall it should be read as a western academic citizenship discourse.

The recipients are pictured as someone inside the western academic discourse, or in relation to the welfare field, professionals engaged with public policy. Lastly, the interpreter, myself, is reading the texts through a Swedish political science welfare perspective, with a background in gender studies and with feminist sympathies.

4.2 Descriptive level: Citizenship according to the senders

In the academic discourse the main conclusion is, there is no consensus about the meaning of citizenship (Cohen 2009: 13). This is why it is interesting to study tensions of citizenship and develop dimension of citizenship in order to grasp what ideas that are related to citizenship and active citizenship. This section presents and argues for four dimensions of citizenship, *rights, duties and responsibilities, lived-experience* and *deeds*, which are also used to understand the meaning of citizenship in the EU policy discourse.

In an academic discourse scholars have argued that citizenship has two parts; first, *formal citizenship, which* equals the legal status within a political unit and secondly, the *substantive citizenship*, which equals citizenship as a desirable a productive activity, or the way the subject internalises or embodies the ways of thought and behaviour (cf. Steenekamp and Loubser 2016: 119; or critically discussed by Isin and Nielsen 2008: 17). Formal citizenship encounters research questions as; *who should be recognised as a citizen?* Whereas, substantive citizenship encounters questions as; *how does one become a citizen*? Citizenship is viewed as a productive activity, i.e. the subject becomes a citizen. The latter poses queries regarding what the assumed qualities, values and contributions of a good citizen are (Steenekamp and Loubser 2016: 119).

This addresses tensions between citizenship rights on the one hand, and citizenship duties and responsibilities on the other. It highlights two different traits of citizenship, namely an inclusionary mechanism and exclusionary mechanism. The inclusionary mechanism focuses on expanding citizenship rights and the exclusionary mechanism focuses on correct versus incorrect behaviour and values of the citizen. These tensions and mechanisms are recognized in this study and inspired the analytical tool.

Adding dimensions to citizenship, critical and feminist scholars have emphasised that the subject is not universal, neither a blank page. Instead of focusing on what the citizen ought to do or learn, this research contributes with self-perception as a dimension to citizenship (Goul-Andersen 2005; Lister 2007).

This points out ontological differences, going from the passive subject-construction in a liberal rights view to the internalisation and becoming of the subject. In feminist research this is called belonging. Instead of only focusing on material belonging, which equals formal citizenship, this concept emphasises emotional and psychological aspects of citizenship (Lister 2007: 9). The claim to be recognised as citizens, should not only be understood as a matter of being a claimant to being entitled to a status, but just as much a matter of feeling included. A national identity given to a citizen, could be separate to ones personal sense of belonging, a conclusion emphasised through the citizenship dimension lived experience (cf. Lister 2003; 2007, Siim 2000). In this view citizenship has three dimensions *i) rights and responsibilities*, *ii) belonging* and *iii) participation*

(Lister 2007: 1). This reveals a tension in relation to citizenship in academia from a methodological point of view. The introductory theories favours focus on implied behaviour of the citizen (duties and responsibilities), whereas critical theories have focused on the becoming a citizen (the process of internalisation). Citizenship on the one hand viewed as a tool for political governing, and on the other, as a process of becoming the subject. An example of the latter is Goul-Andersen's active citizen. This study acknowledges lived experience as a dimension of citizenship but question how one does determine what out lived experience that is citizenship?

Barbara Cruikshank (1999) claims that citizens are made through processes of governance, taking inspiration from a Foucauldian governmentality perspective. This implies that government programmes, strategies and discourses, that aim to shape action of actors, are seen as the ones that shape citizens (Cruikshank 1999: 3-4). This approach is not elaborated on in this study but the implications work as inspiration for the kind of questions I pose, regarding how the policy discourse talks about citizenship. Citizenship is argued to be a strategy for government and not a solution to political problems. The democratic citizen (i.e. the active citizen, as implied government action) is not separated from a subject receiving social welfare. They are inseparable since internalised behaviour, thought and identities, shape in the same processes of power and knowledge, which create the possibilities and limitations of citizenship (Cruikshank 1999: 1; 20). This is interesting because it involves lived experience, but shows how citizenship is used as a tool for governing. Thus, this approach argues for self-governing, which is not the focus of this study but how the senders speak of citizenship.

The last dimension that is acknowledged in this study is the dimension of *deeds*. This view erases the division between a formal and a substantive citizenship. It stresses that substantive citizenship, for most parts, has been studied as "the condition of possibility of the former" (Isin and Nielsen 2008: 17), by referring to the condition of possibility of a formal citizenship. Instead a shift from the institution of citizenship and the individual is proposed to 'acts of citizenship' (Isin and Nielsen 2008). Acts of citizenship is defined as "collective or individual deeds that rupture social-historical patterns" (Isin and Nielsen 2008: 2). This emphasises another tension of citizenship. From this point of view, citizenship should not be understood through what the individual *should learn,* or *feel that it has learned*, but rather *what deeds that have made an affect*. This shifts the focus on trying to understand the meaning of citizenship by focusing on the individual and the doing (action), to go beyond the subject and comprehend the meaning through what is actually done (had an affect).

Based on this discussion I view citizenship from four dimensions in an academic discourse: a *rights dimension, duties and responsibilities dimension, lived-experience dimension* and a *deeds dimension*.

4.3 Idea level: The meaning of Citizenship

4.3.1 What is the meaning based on the historical context?

This part discusses the presented theoretical views in the academic discourse, and tries to grasp the meaning of citizenship from a historical context. In the academic discourse the various feminist critiques of citizenship mainly stem from, the rather non-controversial feminist critique, about individualism, the dichotomy of private-public, and critique of contract theory,[9] broadly used within the field of political science (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 489). This implies acknowledgement of the exclusion of women in the political arena, mainly through legislation, and secondly, through the deficient acknowledgement of the consequences of connecting social rights to labour market responsibilities.

This is emphasising a critique towards Marshall's use of citizenship as a promoter for equality. Citizenship cannot be a promoter for equality, as long as rights and obligations are linked to the public sphere and the labour market (Lister 2007: 27) and if women are excluded from these arenas, which been very accurate from a historical point of view. This has forced a research field focusing on inclusion (to citizenship rights) (cf. gender regimes, Lister 2007) and recognition (cf. Fraser and Honneth 2003; Sainsbury 1993). This shows new tensions in relation to the inclusionary and exclusionary mechanisms of citizenship. The exclusionary mechanism is not only about which behaviour the claimant (for citizenship) should learn. It shows that there has always been a bias towards shutting individuals out of citizenship, without really acknowledging it. This implies that citizenship is not only concerning the individual's possibility to act, but also the exclusion of other individuals and their acts in relation to other acts (of the excluded subjects). This is an interesting citizenship dimension, which is applicable to a present context and not just from a historical point of view and is used in this study. This view of implicit exclusion is included in the *duties and responsibilities* dimension in this study.

Continuing on this track most of the feminist critique has reacted to the male-construction of the liberal rights possessing subject (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 487). Thus, in relation to citizenship there are more traditions than the liberal one. The idea of civic virtue is heavily influenced by the writings of Niccolò Machiavelli. In republicanism, the political man is described to rely on competition, risk, sport, battle and danger (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 488). In relation to the citizen-construction this implies on the one hand the self-interested autonomous individual (liberalism) and on the other the calculating conflicting strong competitor (republicanism). Marshall even calls the dutiful

[9] Most social contract theorists assumed a women's position to equal the women in the bourgeois family, which made the inclusion of men possible and kept women out of citizenship (Lister 2007: 30).

behaviour of the citizen, the behaviour of the gentlemen (Marshall 1950: 8). This is interesting in relation to *lived-experience* and *rights* as dimensions of citizenship. It has been stressed from several critical scholars that there is a Janus-faced quality of citizenship (Goul-Andersen 2005; Lister 2007; Isin and Nielsen 2008), meaning the rights and obligations of citizenship are modelled for another type of individual, rather than the ones that are excluded from citizenship and are meant to 'learn it'. The extension of citizenship can therefore be both emancipating and disciplinary (Lister 2007: 11).

I think it is interesting how it highlights and clarifies a difference in thought between active and passive subjects. The active subject has rights, participates and contributes, whereas the passive subject is excluded and does not fulfil its duties and responsibilities. This makes one search for the assumptions regarding the passive subject. Is this "individual" also assumed to be as universal, as the active subject, and is the passive subject even unproductive or even act-less? Of course that would be a horrible assumption to make about marginalised and excluded people, not to say ignorant, given the various civil rights movements during the last century and the expansion of the normative understanding of citizenship through political action (of the passive subject). I would also critically remark that the non-subjects/aliens (the so called passive subjects) do not have the same power position to begin with. I would argue that this is an example of a strange encounter in the western academic citizenship discourse.

This is where a *deeds* dimension is a useful dimension of citizenship. Isin defines 'acts of citizenship' as deeds that rupture social-historical patterns (Isin and Nielsen 2008: 2). It is illustrated by the historical act of Rosa Parks, which pointed out the separation, racism and discrimination related to American citizenship in the 50s (Isin and Nielsen 2008). The regulation to keep bodies separated based on race. To understand this theoretically, a deed is separated from an action. An action (or practice) is both intended and acted behaviour or thought. It focuses on one individual's possibility to act, for instance voting (a central citizenship act). However, the right to vote (as an action) does not say anything about the action in relation to others, nor if ever even happened. This means that voting can be looked upon as a passive practice. The main difference between an action and a deed is hence that a deed always took place; a deed is therefore never a passive practice and can never be only intended. The question regarding whether something is a deed or not, is thus, what its responsibility to others was.

This creates other possibilities when it comes to understanding citizenship. For instance, a document can always be read as an action, but you cannot say that every document can be read as a *deed*. In the view of voting, not every vote has an impact on others, but when it did, it is theoretically possible to speak of a deed, or act of citizenship. This breaks quite dramatically with other theories of citizenship. Especially with the liberal tradition, since the focus is no longer on citizenship status, rights or obligations, but the affect to others. According to Isin and Nielsen this makes it possible to see the boundaries between 'us and others' and draw conclusions about governance, community and identities (Isin and Nielsen 2008: 11). For these reasons the division between formal and substantive

citizenship is not used in this study, while the dimensions of *rights* and *duties and responsibilities* are kept.

4.3.2 Interpretation based on contextual knowledge

This part discusses the meaning of citizenship in the academic discourse through contextual knowledge. The sub question in relation to the meaning of citizenship is if there has been a discursive drift in the meaning of citizenship. This question is based on the supposed discursive drift between a labour market discourse and a democratic discourse in relation to citizenship.

Based on this material I would not like to argue that I could interpret it as a discursive drift in the academic discourse. It is also apparent that the meaning of citizenship is connected to ontological views in regard of the subject and level of abstraction. Thus some shifts are acknowledged. In this academic discourse the citizen as a passive subject is left behind, together with the sole focus on individual action. Instead an interest for the process of making and becoming the citizen is shown and lastly, *deeds* a doing that sometimes even goes beyond the subject (Isin and Nielsen 2008). This means a shift from individual behaviour (freedom to act, *rights*), to the internalisation of behaviour and thought (*duties and responsibilities* and *lived-experience*), to the interactional dimension of *deeds*. I would not argue that *deeds,* is the new way in the academic discourse to understand citizenship, but a current view.

This is an important shift in the meaning of citizenship, whereas dimensions as *lived experience* questions the divide between formal and substantive citizenship, which is important in a context of global flow of labour power, migration streams and international capital transactions (Isin and Nielsen 2008: 16). It is more difficult to argue that the meaning of citizenship is a specific internalised behaviour that claimants learned, when the terms and possibilities for such processes contently are changing. It also reveals a strange encounter in the academic discourse, since the claimants are assumed to internalise behaviour in the same way.

Additionally, to answer whether there has been a discursive drift of the meaning of citizenship in an academic discourse, and investigate a possible drift between a labour market discourse and a democratic discourse in relation to citizenship, I associate citizenship theories with other trends within political science. I link the feminist citizenship critique; claiming that labour as a citizenship duty has occupied the citizenship discourse, disfavouring questions of democratic participation as a duty of citizenship (Lister 2007: 9) with the critical remark that substantive citizenship for most part has been studied as a possibility of formal citizenship (Isin & Nielsen 2008: 17). Following this thought, labour can be theorised as a condition of possibility of a formal citizenship. For democratic participation, this would be a contradiction, whereas some democratic

participation[10] demands a formal citizenship. This stresses a tension between a democratic discourse and a labour market discourse in relation to the meaning of citizenship. This forces the question, when and how did labour become a citizenship duty?

I connect these tendencies in an academic citizenship discourse with influences of distributive justice and liberal egalitarianism[11]. In liberal theory there has been a shift influenced by Rawls' perspective of social justice (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 481). The state, according to this approach, has two purposes; first an activist role to promote liberties, and secondly an interventionist role to bring greater social and economic equality (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 481). This approach, as stressed by Iris Marion Young, includes an interesting contradiction. Normative theory (liberal theory) is responding to a practical political compromise, i.e. welfare capitalism, in order to reach these conclusions (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 483), meaning welfare capitalism is taken for granted. This is an interesting observation, which also is applicable to citizenship. The cry for inclusion to citizenship in this view is the same as responding to a view of citizenship inseparable from the context of welfare capitalism. Young stresses this by stating:

> Literature on social justice and welfare […] tends to conceive citizens as rights-bearers and receivers of state action, rather than as active participants in public decision-making (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 484).

This is pointing of a division in the academic citizenship discourse. One view that is influenced by a social justice approach and connects social rights to the labour market, and another one that is influenced by democratic participation. This means that the drift in relation to citizenship is not between an academic level and a policy level but in relation to political philosophy tradition. It thereby presents to uses of citizenship; citizenship as a promoter for equality and citizenship as the possibility on equal terms take part as a creator of the political order. Without elaborating too much on this and as stated in the method chapter, contextual knowledge is only included to conclude which interpretations that are reasonable, the influences of social justice could have contributed to the premises of a labour market discourse in relation to citizenship.

The critique towards this development in political theory is democratic theory, in which active discussion and decision-making by citizens are ideals. According to this argument, social equality is a condition for democratic participation, since "deeply deprived [people] cannot be expected to exercise the virtues of democratic participation" (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 485), whereas democratic participation is seen to evolve (and restore) social equality (Goodin and Klingemann 1998: 484-485). Making citizens active to participate politically

[10] E.g. voting or standing as a candidate

[11] Social justice approach/social liberalism.

is thus crucial to social equality. Hence, it shows a division in the academic discourse. However, this thesis is critical towards the use of citizenship in both these tradition based on the unannounced exclusion of subjects in relation to these assumptions. As stated in the descriptive part, Cruikshank counters this, by claiming that processes of making citizens active (focus on democratic participation) are only government strategies and not solutions to issues with social inequality. This implies tensions in regards to the use of citizenship in regards to democratic versus more or less government agenda setting aspects, and of course proposes the question, what is then the meaning of active citizenship?

4.4 Descriptive level: Active Citizenship according to the senders

In the academic discourse there are two different traditions in relation to the understanding of active citizenship. First, scholars speak of active citizenship in relation to democratic participation and motivating civic engagement (Bee and Pachi 2014). Consequently, the trend theoretically has been to analyze and interpret policy initiatives of active citizenship, as the process of fostering civic virtue, i.e. being part of ideas of civic republicanism. However, other scholars have challenged this notion; claiming that the policy initiatives of active citizenship are belonging to ideas of neo-liberalism (cf. discussion by Bee and Pachi 2014: 103).

Goul-Andersen and colleagues, quoted in the introduction, would be one example of the latter. They take departure in Sennet's writings (1998) and argue that the *active citizen* is autonomous, flexible, extremely mobile and self-responsible. The subject is thereby responsible for its own well-being and its own life (Goul Andersen 2005: 7) instead of being a responsibility of the collective. Goul-Andersen argues that the relationship between citizenship, social policy and marginalisation has changed and that this is due to three processes on three levels of abstraction, namely *i) a shift from fordism to post-fordism* (macro level) meaning changing structure of the labour-market through flexibility and specialisation, *ii)* ne*w market structures and new family structures*[12] (institutional level) and *iii)* as a *change of actor constellations* (actor level) (Goul Andersen 2005: 10-11).

This view clearly states that a labour market discourse has changed the conception of citizenship towards the construction of active citizenship, whereas the fostering of civic virtue relies on government action.

[12] Creating new marginalised groups

4.5 Idea level: The meaning of Active citizenship

4.5.1 What is the meaning based on the historical context?

From a historical point of view, fair amounts of research claim that there has been a neo-liberal colouring of citizenship (cf. Irisdotter Aldenmyr 2012; Kymlicka and Norman 2000). This implies a changing view of the individual in relation to the collective, whereas the view of state responsibilities has shifted from a collective responsibility to the responsibility of the individual. Goul-Andersen argues that these changes shift the view of the passive subject-construction to an active one (Goul-Andersen 2005).

This has changed the relationship between citizenship, marginalisation and social policy, foremost due to two major shifts in western welfare states. First, a shift from state governing toward deregulation and privatisation, and secondly, a shift from a social justice perspective (i.e. Marshall, Rawls etc.) towards a view of economic investment as key factor in social policy (Goul Andersen 2005: 2; 10). In the labour market discourse this implies that unemployment has gone from a structural problem towards a problem for the individual, claiming that the individual should make oneself more employable, or in other words, be/become a good investment. The research concludes that this economic discourse has caused an individualisation, which is affecting the framing of social policy and also the life-course of subjects (Goul Andersen 2005: 259).

Thus, as already discussed, citizenship in relation to social rights is in industrialised western societies based on the notion of a male full-time employed citizen, that receives economic benefits in times of illness and unemployment (Goul-Andersen 2005: 5; cf. Esping-Andersen 1990). This argumentation is based on the idea of the passive rights-bearing subject in relation to social justice. Drawing from feminist and critical citizenship scholars, there is a Janus-faced side of citizenship, meaning the truly "passive" subject is not the marginalised activ(ated) one, but an unmentioned and hidden one. Active citizenship from this point of view can be a symptom of changes within western welfare states, but not be an exhaustive meaning of citizenship.

4.5.2 Interpretation based on contextual knowledge

I question the academic use of active citizenship and its contribution to the understanding of citizenship. Barbier has pointed out that Gaul-Andersen paints a too simple picture of the consequences of activation for citizenship rights. In contrast this research shows that collective action and negotiation have huge impacts on the outcomes of welfare reform (Barbier in Goul Andersen 2005: 129-130). This is highly interesting in relation to the political view of the subject (with citizenship status), since it is possible to read this, as when the ones that are

privileged with citizenship rights, fear their own rights, it can lead to democratic action. Theoretically this imagined action could be read as *deeds*, since it would be a doing that is relational to other subjects. This emphasises the participatory element of the citizenship and its exclusionary and relational mechanisms in relation to other subjects. As stressed by Isin and Nielsen (2008) a lot of the critical citizenship studies has only focused on the becoming of the citizen, which in policy studies implies the idea of the market-citizen, the worker-citizen and so forth.

A pivotal point is stressed; one can argue about the marketisation of the individual and the globalisation of the individual, but it is political compromises that determine whether a subject is able to enter a country, participate in the labour market or receive social welfare (Isin and Nielsen 2008). The point is that the focus on individualisation and market forces may underestimate the participatory element i.e. the political element of citizenship, or reinforce a discourse that there is no political meaning to citizenship. This highlights that active citizenship should not be theorised of as a force of making a passive subject active, but rather as the process of how active subjects, or government action for that matter, limits and excludes actions of other subjects. This brings forth the question whether active citizenship has anything to do with citizenship at all or if it is rather as Cruikshank argues, a strategy for government.

4.5.3 Schematic summary of citizenship theories

This is a schematic summary of the gathered knowledge in the academic discourse. Hence it should be read as a summary. However, elements of this scheme are used for the creation of the analytical tool, dimensions of citizenship.

	Liberal Rights	Civic virtue	Democratic Participation	Acts of citizenship
Main Feature	Individual rights	Responsibilities and duties, embodiment	Counteract democratic deficit	Deeds and their affects
The citizen	The subject as rights-bearer Passive construction	The subject should be or become (active) the moral and dutiful citizen.	The subject becomes active through democratic participation	Not object of analysis, question passive/active
The state	Granting citizenship rights	Fostering and ensuring moral citizenship behaviour through rights and duties	The creator of the common will and thereof democratic arenas	Legislator and separator/enabler of acts between subjects
Economic system	Capitalism, welfare compromise	Capitalism	Some sort of redistribution to ensure social quality	Not relevant

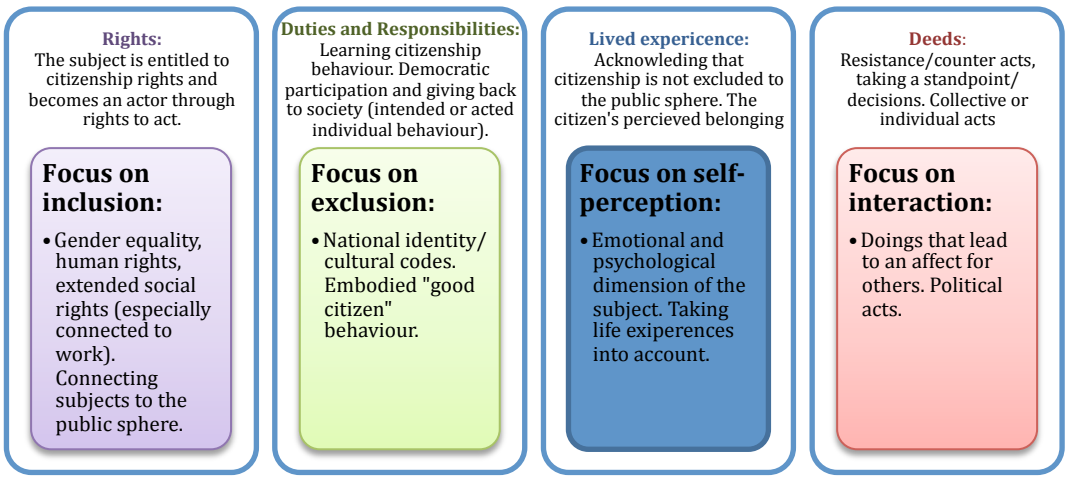
The role of the welfare state	Expansion of social rights, e.g. child care, labour market inclusion	Performance based rights	Governance structure with community involvement, strong civil society	Inclusive and exclusive power
Justice	Distributive justice	Conditional	Equal participation, active discussion	Feelings and outcomes matter

4.6 Analytical tool: Dimensions of citizenship

Moving forwards, the identified theoretical tensions that are acknowledged through the academic discourse and highlighted as elements in the summarised scheme, are used as basis for creating the analytical tool. The analytical tool, *Dimensions of Citizenship*, is conducted through an idea centric approach. This implies that the argument is key as a creator for the analysis-category and not the actual actor, i.e. the author of that argument (Beckman 2007: 17). Based on the meaning of citizenship in an academic discourse the following four dimensions of citizenship are acknowledged, *rights*, *duties and responsibilities*, *lived experience* and *deeds*.

As seen through the academic discourse, these dimensions put different emphasis of the citizenship concept. Exactly as a cartoon, shown in 2D or 3D, none of them are claimed to be 'more real', although one of them is claimed to shape (e.g. perform) reality better. They simply provide different perspectives, through which different experiences are made possible.

Relating this thought to the context and the political reality, different dimensions can thereby affect real conditions of people's lives and how they experience them. They will therefore together complement and reveal ideas of implied citizenship action or claims about the social and political reality in the EU.



5 The EU policy discourse

This chapter discusses citizenship and active citizenship from a EU policy perspective. It surrounds policy writings of EU citizenship[13] and active citizenship. The analytical tool, *Dimensions of Citizenship*, with the four dimensions, *rights*, *duties and responsibilities*, *lived experience* and *deeds*, is used to understand what ideas that is linked to citizenship in the EU policy discourse.

5.1 The elements of the texts

The texts chosen for the policy discourse vary somewhat in genre; from legally bound treaties of the union, followed by evaluation reports from agencies connected to the European union, to public information presented through their web pages. The writings discussed are dated from the early 1990 until today. This time perspective is chosen since The treaty on European Union (1992) is the starting point when the union change from a distinct market-related policy union to becoming a political and monetary union (Buonanno and Nugent 2013: 5) and the introduction of the European citizenship (Treaty on European Union 1992).

The sender is for the most part the European Union, or as previously stated, evaluation agencies with connections to the European Commission. The European Commission is a key actor in regards to the EU policy process and can have many roles from agenda setting to the stages of implementation and evaluation (Buonanno & Nugent 2013: 40). In addition, all of the documents are very easy to access and the recipients are thought of being from a broad spectrum. Regarding my own role as interpreter, I would like to refer to what I stated regarding the academic discourse.

[13] EU citizenship is in a EU policy discourse also called European citizenship. European citizenship has, in this context, nothing to do whether a person resides in Europe or holds a European nationality. European citizenship equals the fact that a person possesses a nationality within one (or more) of the European Union member states.

5.2 Descriptive level: Citizenship and Active citizenship according to the senders

This section presents what the senders, i.e. the European union and its institutions, intend to say when they speak of citizenship, i.e. EU citizenship and active citizenship. By applying the analytical tool, *Dimensions of citizenship*, with the four citizenship dimensions, *rights*, *duties and responsibilities*, *lived experience* and *deeds*, on policy writings from the launching of European citizenship to policy writings of today, the meaning of citizenship in a EU policy discourse is grasped.

5.2.1 EU/European Citizenship

I interpret the EU policy discourse as the EU relates EU citizenship to a *rights* dimension of citizenship. Thus, the descriptions of EU citizenship are foremost revealing the dimensions of *duties and responsibilities* and *lived-experience* in relation to citizenship. This is elaborated on below.

According to the European Commission and the European Parliament, EU citizenship/European citizenship (which are used interchangeably by the European union) are defined respectively:

> Any person who holds the nationality of a EU country is automatically also a EU citizen. EU citizenship is additional to and does not replace national citizenship. It is for each EU country to lay down the conditions for the acquisition and loss of nationality of that country (European Commission 2017a).

> European citizenship is enshrined in the Treaties […] It is an essential factor in the formation of a European identity. European citizenship exists as a complement to citizenship of a Member State. The main difference between the two is that the rights that citizens enjoy as a result of European citizenship are not matched with duties (European Parliament 2017a).

Looking at these two definitions different dimensions of citizenship reveal themselves. In this manner, not only is a tension in the view of EU citizenship shown, but also a tension in the perception of EU citizenship between the two institutions. Whether this is an intentional division, or not, is not possible to conclude based simply on the material, and therefore it is only a reflection.

In the European Commission explanation, the emphasis is put on the EU and that the citizenship is additional and conditional based on the nationality of a member state (European Commission 2017a). This is showing the rights dimension of citizenship, meaning that the subject is entitled to EU citizenship, if

the legal requirements are met. This implies that the subject is not expected to act or do something in return, and the definition is thereby presenting a passive subjects view, exactly as in a liberal citizenship view.

Although, at the same time, it is not fully a *rights* view in its classical sense, as something the subject is entitled to per se. The definition reveals other dimensions of citizenship and how complex the issue is. The European Commission definition is possible to associate it with the notion of a state that exists unconditional of the subject, and that it is up to the state to grant (or take away) nationality of the subject. However, that is only an associated notion and not a fact in the various contexts of the member states. From an abstract point of view the associated notion is revealing a *duties and responsibilities* dimension, since I associate this with the notion of the state, which is expecting some kind of behaviour from the subject in order not be excluded from citizenship. This reveals a citizenship view favouring exclusion rather than inclusion. Thus, moving back to the European Commission definition, EU citizenship is a state given benefit, which can be lost (cf. discussion on Brexit; The Economist 2017). The latter discussion, regarding Brexit, could hence be viewed from a *deeds* dimension of citizenship, as a relational deed that had an affect on others.

Additionally, implying that a subject exists in a world, relational to the citizenship context (cf. European Commission 2017a), shows an understanding of the subject, which cannot be entirely passive. The subject is therefore not seen, or understood, as a blank page. This implies a view of the subject that is different than the *rights dimension*'s passive subject construction. Neither is the subject described as active or something that should be activated through *responsibilities and duties*. Thus, it implies that the citizenship dimension of *lived experience* is thereby not denied, but ignored in the quotation. This implies a view of the subject of citizenship as described as state governed, and not as "governor"[14], i.e. the ruling entity is implying behaviour and the citizens are not seen as creators of the political order. This relates to the question regarding the use of citizenship in this context. Hence, citizenship is in this context is not viewed as a key feature of democracy, but rather a governing tool for the ones already in power.

Regarding this view from a *deeds* dimension of citizenship, meaning that citizenship is a relational doing with responsibility to others, it would imply that it would only be possible to speak of citizenship when the political entity in power proposes policy changes that have real effect[15] on subjects. That would be a severe conceptual stretch or not to say draining of the meaning of citizenship, which the senders do not present. The *deeds* dimension, is therefore, not considered by the European Commission as a dimension of citizenship. This is an interesting remark given the political reality of Brexit.

In the European Parliament definition, the concept is described as something entirely different and indicates different views. First off the European citizenship

[14] Referring to a democratic participant.

[15] By real affect it is referred to Isin and Nielsen's definition of deeds explained in the theory section.

is described as complementary to a national one, and as a key factor of a European identity. An identity is without question related to *lived-experience* and self-perception in relation to dimensions of citizenship. However, as seen in the theoretical section, it could be viewed as embodied behaviour through the fulfilment of *duties and responsibilities*. It would thereby imply that the European Parliament wants the subject to embody a European identity, whereas the European citizenship becomes a means for this process. Thus, this would imply that some sort of behaviour is expected. The question of what that behaviour might entail is however implicitly posed, because, the definition states that European citizenship is to not be matched with duties (European Parliament 2017a). It is statement that shows that the senders want to present European citizenship as through a *rights* dimension with focus on inclusion.

The definition shows how contextual and complex the citizenship concept is (European Parliament 2017a). It contains several tensions and reveals the distinction between national citizenship and European citizenship. Regarding the view of what a national citizenship entails, it is leaning more towards a *duties and responsibilities* dimension. The identity could therefore be understood as the exclusionary dimension, focused around cultural codes and "good citizenship behaviour" in relation to dimensions of citizenship. However, this is the view of national citizenship. European citizenship is claimed, not to be matched with duties, as for instance, moral behaviour. The use of identity shows thereby an ambiguity in the definition of European citizenship, since it implies some sort of behaviour, but is presented through a *rights* dimension. This again forces the question of what kind of behaviour is expected, i.e. the behaviour towards an internalisation of a European identity.

According to the fact sheet 'The citizens of the Union and their rights' European citizenship involves:

- The right to move and reside freely within the union
- The right to vote and to stand as a candidate
- The right to diplomatic protection
- The right to petition to the European Parliament
- The right to write to any EU institution in any official EU language
- The right to access documents from the parliament, Council and Commission (European Parliament 2017b)

Additionally it is stated that European citizenship was considered as early as the 1960s and based on a political idea, which stems foremost from the freedom of movement, residence and right to petition (European Parliament 2017b). This is a clear liberal *rights* dimension, i.e. the individual is given the freedom to act through rights. It is thereby fair to draw the conclusion that EU citizenship was intended, to be based on a *rights* dimension of citizenship.

Notably, the emphasis is on movement and settlement and not on labour, and it should be noted that nowhere are social rights mentioned. However, emphasising residency is also acknowledging a 'private' life of the subject, not making citizenship exclusively to the public sphere, as in the rights dimension, or at least opening up the discussion for inclusion and a dimension of *lived experience*.

Thus, looking at what EU citizenship entails more than the above-mentioned rights, it is as much as what it does not include. It is clarified that no fundamental rights, as human rights, are legally acknowledged through the citizenship. It is claimed that the union recognises these rights, but they are not legally linked to European citizenship (European Parliament 2017b). This is showing that the EU strictly limits the inclusion focus and that the subjects are not viewed as (only) being entitled to rights (to act).

Although, EU citizenship today also includes *the European Citizens' Initiative*, which implies that the minimum of one million citizens from at least seven different member states can initiate EU law (European Parliament 2017b). This reveals a view that is pretty far from one subject, and is better understood from a *deeds* dimension in relation of dimensions of citizenship, if an initiative was approved and made a significant change. Posing this possibility to citizenship might mean that the union has considered the academic debate on citizenship. However, the question is, given the demands of the initiative, if that is not a very narrow understanding in that case. Lastly the union states that EU citizenship, like national citizenship is:

> [D]efined by rights and political participation. […] intended to bridge the gap between the increasing impact that EU action is having on EU citizens […] The aim is to increase people's sense of identification with the EU and to foster European public opinion, a European political consciousness and a sense of European identity (European Parliament 2017b)

In this quotation political participation is emphasised, and it states that EU citizenship is meant to foster public opinion. In relation to dimensions of citizenship this is possible to link both to a *duties and responsibilities* dimensions as well as a dimension of *lived experience*. The senders present a view where citizenship is about learning behaviour, but it is not a quick fix, but a fostering, which implies a significant period of time. This is exactly what Isin and Nielsen (2008) emphasised in their critique to current understandings of citizenship, that the process of internalisation is studied from long-term perspective and understudied in dissimilar situations, which is quoted in the introduction. I propose that it is possible to challenge this assumption regarding European citizenship, made by the EU, through the use of a *deeds* dimension. Once again associating claims with the process of Brexit (The Economist 2017).

Moving forward, the reason for fostering public opinion, is the expressed and experienced imbalance between the impact the union has on its citizens and their

political participation, i.e. the governing by the citizens. However, the aim is not about opening up for reform or change, but identification and the creation of values that can transform into a "European political consciousness". This is interesting not as a political idea, but as a definition of EU citizenship. I associate this view of European identity as part of a policy package, some sort of political consciousness. In relation to dimensions of citizenship, this is expecting some sort of *lived-experience* of its subjects. The EU is stated to affect the citizens' lives, and EU citizenship is thought as the bridge between them. But what does that mean? In order to answer that question we must turn to the more policy related concept active citizenship and thereafter the idea-level of the analysis.

5.2.2 Active citizenship in a EU policy context

It has been clarified in the former section that the EU wants to foster behaviour and a 'European political consciousness', which I interpreted as policy solutions or standards. Hence, this poses questions regarding what these might contain. This is where the concept of active citizenship becomes interesting. A research Institute institution linked to the European Commission describes active citizenship in the EU in the following manner:

> Facilitating Active citizenship is one of the European Commission's strategies for increasing social cohesion and reducing the democratic deficit across Europe within the context of the wider Lisbon process. (European Commission, CREA 2009: 5).

This is interesting in relation to the dimensions of citizenship. (Active) citizenship is here expressed as a solution to two political problems, i.e. social incoherence and increasing democratic deficit. Active citizenship is thus defined as a policy solution. It is possible to link this to a *duties and responsibilities* dimension. This is supported through the definition of active citizenship as the glue that keeps society together, which balances rights and responsibilities and is "crucial to the welfare of society and its members" (European Economic and Social Committee 2012: 6). In this quote active citizenship from a EU policy perspective is explicitly posed to reflect citizenship dimensions of *rights* and *duties and responsibilities*. However, linking this with the EU definition of EU citizenship, what does it mean, since EU citizenship from a EU perspective is not connected with *duties and responsibilities*?

From a *deeds* dimension this implies nothing. Since active citizenship in this view, from a policy perspective is only intended action. Therefore, active citizenship, in this view can never theoretically be understood as a *deed*. In addition, it has very little to do with a *rights* dimension of citizenship, since it is clearly about a subject that *should* do actions. The freedom to choose to participate in the EU elections (the right to act) is already given the 'EU citizen'.

Additionally, these are not just any actions, but normative 'good' actions that contribute to the societal good, a pre-understood good.

The quote states that active citizenship is a strategy to increase social cohesion. In relation to dimensions of citizenship this evokes a *lived-experience* dimension of citizenship. As *lived-experience*, active citizenship, could be viewed as the bridge between current differences amongst the subjugated (the one's with a nationality of a member state). Another interesting remark in relation to dimensions of citizenship is, how active citizenship does not make a distinction between a private and a public sphere, which is seen in the traditional theories of citizenship. Active citizenship can therefore be understood, as the European Union's wish of embodied behaviour in the everyday life. However, what intended action would make subjects with different emotional and psychological backgrounds unite? What is active citizenship behaviour and does the European Union really believe that this behaviour should overcome emotional differences?

This is emphasised through the phrasing that citizens are expected to 'give back to society' and the listing of activities of what active citizenship (behaviour) could mean, e.g. voting, teaching, learning, recycling, volunteering and donating to good causes (European Economic and Social Committee 2012: 6). This implies that good citizenship behaviour, as from a duties and responsibilities dimension of citizenship is even explicitly expressed. However, interestingly the responsibilities (as for instance, economic redistribution) of the European Union, as ruling political entity, is not mentioned, only the responsibilities of the subjects. Thus, the following association is possible to make; if citizenship is viewed as part of the compromise of welfare capitalism, active citizenship is here seen as the solution to current welfare challenges.

This conclusion is supported through the EU strategy for training and education (ET 2020). One of the objectives for the "common challenges" of the union defined as, ageing populations, technological progress, global competition and skills deficit in the workforces, is promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship (European Commission 2017b). Although, this is where it gets highly interesting. The objective "promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship" is an active link on the European Commissions web page for education and training, and when following it the headline reads "Social inclusion and citizenship through formal and non-formal learning", with the following explanatory text:

> In June 2016, the European Commission adopted a Communication supporting the prevention of radicalisation leading to violent extremism. […] [it] outlines action in seven specific areas where cooperation at EU level can ring added value, notably in the areas of education, training and youth (European Commission 2017c)

This for me is a very surprising and unexpected text in relation to the promotion of equity, social cohesion and active citizenship. It leads me to the association of what the claimed social incoherence could be, i.e. the problem of radicalisation of

youth to violent extremism. This makes me question, is active citizenship the solution to this identified political problem? Following this thought process it would suggest that the EU claims that by making their citizens recycle and donate to charity, it will decrease the radicalisation to violent extremism among its youth, and lastly, that this is the meaning of (active) citizenship. This is only an association and this thesis cannot make such claims, however the quote evokes questions. This is clearly revealing a *duties and responsibilities* dimension of citizenship in EU policy, but also a dimension of *lived-experience*. It stressed that active citizenship is promoted through activities in relation to education and training, and is targeted at youth with the aim to prevent radicalisation. Additionally I think this is an example of a strange encounter in a EU policy discourse, where the 'youth' in these writings is imagined as some-bodies (cf. Ahmed 2000).

The targeting on youth as the issue for non-active citizenship behaviour is supported by CRELL, linked to the European Commission. An active citizen is described extremely precisely. It is a high educated, high-earning man or women, 48-64 years old that lives in the country side and practices religion, reads newspapers, watches little TV and participates in life long learning (European Commission, CRELL 2009: 5). In contrast, the "least active" citizen(s)[16] are low-educated, low-earning young, that live in big cities and do not care for religion or partake in life long learning activities or read newspapers but watch a lot of TV (European Commission, CRELL 2009: 5-6). This is interesting in relation to the dimensions of citizenship. The subject here is not a blank page at all. The passive subject is vividly illustrated; highlighting non-desirable citizen behaviour. Active citizenship is thereby not only about what is wishful behaviour, but as much as what is unwanted. This reveals a clear exclusionary mechanism of the concept. At first glance this could be interpreted as belonging to dimension of *duties and responsibilities* and a *lived-experience*, but we need to be reminded about the operationalisation. Are these individual choices, preferences and behaviour part of citizenship? Based on the theoretical framework I would argue no.

The interesting part with this delineation of the active citizen is that the EU pays a research institute, not only to map behaviour as in activities, but as in socio-economic and socio-demographic characteristics of the active versus the passive citizens. The report goes further and concludes, "the more equal societies are in term of distribution of wealth the higher the levels of active citizenship" (European Commission, CRELL 2009: 6). I interpret this as the policy discourse uses the academic discourse and claims from democratic theory to legitimise these claims. However, this is not in line with democratic theory, which claims that active discussion and decision-making are bases for social equality. These assumptions have nothing to do with whether a subject watches television or not or whether it resides in the countryside or in big cities. As already stated has active citizenship in this description nothing to do with citizenship. In addition, in

[16] An interesting remark is that the active citizen is an individual while the least active are called they and described as a group

democratic theory active participation is viewed as a promoter for equality based on the assumption that the less fortunate would partake in active decision-making. Neither is this true in the EU context, since the EU citizenship is meant to be exclusive (i.e. not include all residents) and based on the associations made in this study, including a political consciousness related to social policy.

In the former section I draw the conclusion that the union's wish, to foster public opinion through *lived-experience*, shaped through political institutions building up a political consciousness about what policy areas that are to be expected and used. Through these writings active citizenship becomes the marker for what equals 'good' citizenship behaviour respectively unwelcome citizenship behaviour, but also what is a good citizenship thought and preference. In addition CRELL argues for life long learning activities as good behaviour (European Commission, CRELL 2009). This implies from a *duties and responsibilities* dimension that the democratic element is lost and neither is this behaviour linked to social rights. I therefore argue that this implied behaviour is not within the reach of the theoretical framework of citizenship. Hence, this is not the new meaning of citizenship but rather a strategy for government. I interpret this, as active citizenship is a EU policy context is used as a tool for policy justification, i.e. a tool for governing, and not as citizenship.

5.3 Idea level: The meaning of Citizenship and Active Citizenship

5.3.1 What is the meaning based on the historical context?

This section grasps the meaning of citizenship in the EU policy discourse from a historical context. Starting off with the founding document of the European Union as a political and monetary union (Treaty on European Union 1992; EU-upplysningen 2017); one of its major resolutions was the establishment of a European citizenship, in excess of a national citizenship (European Commission 2017a).

In relation to the objectives the union set itself, e.g. to promote economic and social progress by strengthening economic and social cohesion and strengthen the protection of rights and interests of the national by introducing a citizenship of the union (European citizenship) (Treaty on European union 1992). The historical context is regarding how the union should be able to govern. In my point of view, it becomes a ruling entity within a frame of welfare capitalism.

In relation to citizenship a *rights* dimension is emphasised, however it is claimed that there is a shared interest among the 'nationals'. The welfare compromise is herby included in the understanding of citizenship, which reveals a *duties and responsibilities* view of citizenship. The claimed common interest, the interest of the union is not only about the subject's freedom to act, but the

assumed common understanding, or political consciousness so to speak. This is expressed as extensive systems of social protection, including labour related social benefits, including parental leave (European Commission 1995), which are explained as the best way of maintain and promote social cohesion. Social cohesion is described a facilitator for unemployment, increased labour market uncertainty, increase of women in the labour market, aging population and rise among lone household and lone-parent families (European Commission 1995: 7). These are all expressed welfare challenges. In relation to citizenship, the consciousness of the "European citizen" was therefore viewed as embracing these ideals, although, this is not explicitly expressed.

Instead a *rights* dimension is highlighted, stating the right to move and reside freely, vote, petition and stand as a candidate[17] (Treaty on European Union 1992: 7). However, one difference between the early 90s and 2017 are expressed. The Maastricht treaty states that the person[18] holding a nationality of the union should be considered a citizen of the union and "be subject to the duties imposed [by the rights]" (Treaty on European Union 1992), which is very different from the European Parliament state European citizenship as not match with duties in 2017 (European Parliament 2017a).

It is interesting since it signals that the idea of European citizenship does not entail a passive subject but someone who is subjected with duties. The establishment of European citizenship could therefore be interpreted as resting on *duties and responsibility* and *rights* dimension. However, I would argue that this is only in relation to an idea level, since it poses the question, what duties and responsibilities are implied here? If democratic participation is the implied duty, why is the text concerning EU citizenship changed, to not be match with duties in 2017 (cf. European Parliament 2017a)? The democratic element has not changed. The *duties and responsibilities* dimension includes an exclusionary mechanism.

This becomes evident in the statement that a citizen of the union is related to the legal status and not based on residency in the union (Treaty on European Union 1992). European citizenship is therefore not only an entitlement, but also a clear mechanism of differentiation between residents within the union. From this point of view citizenship is described very much the same as in the times of Plato, quoted in the historical background.

The exclusionary mechanism takes even a new turn by using the expression "peoples of Europe" and states that the union should work in respect of their history, culture and traditions (Treaty on European Union 1992: 2) and thereafter stating that the union should be based on "the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe" claiming universal values of freedom, democracy and equality (Treaty on European Union 1992: 1). This is interesting because it is somewhat contradictory; on the one hand the 'peoples of Europe' are acknowledged as having different cultural and historical background. On the other hand, it is claimed that there is a cultural, religious and humanist past that shapes

[17] In a municipal election according to national rules

[18] Clearly a man given the use of the bureaucratic 'he'

the universal values of liberal freedoms. Sharing universal values are linked to a citizenship dimension of *duties and responsibilities* and an acknowledgement of a *rights* dimension. This entails a citizenship understanding with an exclusionary mechanism. The question is though if a EU policy discourse not underestimating the dimension of *lived-experience* of the subjects in relation to EU citizenship. 'The peoples' do not necessarily share a common culture or history, but are argued in EU policy to create solidarity among each other (Treaty on European Union 1992: 2). I interpret this as some sort of common identity, which could be related to a *duties and responsibilities* dimension, but also a lived-experience dimension whereas the subject feel on an emotional and psychological level as being a EU citizen. The remarking thing however, this identity is not community based. It does not include all residents in a community, but is European Union-based. This thesis cannot make any claims whether this is the situation or not, it can only state that these mechanism and dimensions are included in the EU policy understanding of EU citizenship.

In the treaty of Amsterdam the union expanded on several policy-related areas. It included common asylum politics, a minimum standard for the protection for refugees, social rights, meaning workers rights, and promoting gender equality and inclusion of people excluded from the labour market (Treaty of Amsterdam 1997: 7; 29; 33; 35). This is revealing a *rights* dimension with focus on inclusion and the expansion of citizenship rights. In addition the paragraph "The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" was replaced by the phrasing "The Union shall respect the national identities of its Member States" (Treaty of Amsterdam 1997: 9).

This could be associated with a shift from a *duties and responsibilities* dimension to the acknowledgment of a dimension of *lived-experience*. In this view the *rights* dimension is discarded, for recognizing self-perception, i.e. *lived-experience*. In relation to the question regarding a drift between a policy and an academic discourse this shift argue against such a division, since this rather can be interpret that a policy discourse is influenced by an academic discourse.

However, this thesis cannot make such claims based on this information. It is solely a reflection. The claim that the EU policy discourse considers a dimension of *lived experience* is however supported by the fact that the union stated to provide a high level of safety by "preventing and combating racism and xenophobia" (Treaty of Amsterdam 1997: 16). This is revealing a completely different view of citizenship in relation to the dimensions of citizenship. The safety of the citizens is linked with a common action against racism and xenophobia. This is acknowledging that citizenship entails a dimension of self-perception, also acknowledging an emotional and psychological dimension. This was not highlighted earlier on in the EU policy discourse.

5.3.2 Interpretation based on contextual knowledge

This section interprets the meaning of citizenship in the EU policy discourse through contextual knowledge. As already stated in *5.2.2. Active citizenship in a EU policy discourse*, this thesis does not view active citizenship in a EU policy discourse as belonging within the framework of citizenship. Rather it is argued that active citizenship is a strategy for government and not implied citizenship behaviour. Hence, what remains is EU citizenship.

European citizenship is described as a means to creating a European identity. The notion of an identity in relation to dimensions of citizenship is related to *duties and responsibilities* and *lived-experience*. However, I would question how 'real' the construction a European identity is as a citizenship construction. As stated through the dimension of *lived-experience*, the psychological and emotional part, affects the self-perception of citizenship. I question whether the European union underestimates *lived experience* as a dimension of citizenship in relation to the possibilities of EU citizenship. Without deepening the discussion or being able to support it, this possible underestimation could be the answer to why citizens would use their citizenship rights to choose to disclaim citizenship (cf. discussion on Brexit; The Economist 2017). It is also discussed earlier on that this act, referring to Brexit, could be understood through a *deeds* dimension; a dimension that is not recognized in EU policy writings. Thus, the act could also be viewed from a *rights* dimension, but would be thoroughly described through the deeds dimension given its relational aspects.

In addition, it is argued earlier on in the analysis that EU citizenship is exclusionary from the beginning, by not considering all residents of the union but only speaking to the nationals of the member states as 'the peoples'. This could once again be an underestimation of *lived experience* as a dimension of citizenship from the EU, in relation to the meaning of EU citizenship. Additionally, understanding this from contextual knowledge from an academic discourse, Bellamy (2008) presented in the *2.2. Introduction to Citizenship theories,* argues that the active commitment, which civic republicanism demands only can be linked to the national-state. I interpret this that Bellamy links the behaviour of active commitment to a labour market discourse, since the duty of political participation is possible within the EU context (cf. European Parliament 2017b). This might be true; a critical remark from my side is, inspirited by Isin and Nielsen (2008), that Bellamy might underestimate the contextual changes within national arenas. This is not a conclusion of this study but a suggestion that *deeds* could be a useful dimension to understand changes within national citizenship areas as well.

The use of EU citizenship as the means of creating a European identity is interesting, given its connection to *duties and responsibilities*. According to the European parliament definition is EU citizenship not linked with duties (European Parliament 2017a). From a theoretical perspective *duties and responsibilities* are understood as partaking in social, economic and political processes of the community. However, which are these processes in relation to EU citizenship?

Since they are not explicitly expressed in relation to EU citizenship it leads back to the promotion of active citizenship in a EU policy discourse. Lingering with the meaning of citizenship as being part of a *duties and responsibilities* dimension and applying it active citizenship, what does it mean? Through this reasoning the EU policy framing of education and "lifelong learning" seem like possible outcomes. Claiming this is the same as saying that citizenship is not a democratic feature at all, but a government strategy. This thesis cannot draw conclusions on internalisation; however, through this argumentation it is possible to stress that active citizenship is not the meaning of citizenship. This is in line with Cruikshank (1999) that democratic citizenship is less a solution to political problems than a strategy of government. As stated before, active citizenship in a EU policy discourse does not relate to the theoretical framework of citizenship.

Thus, based on dimensions of *lived experience*, and the claim of Bellamy (2008) that the fostering of civic virtue through *duties and responsibilities* is linked to the national arena, this would imply that active citizenship always would fail as internalisation (for all subjects) and thereby stay a reverie for the policy promoters, but this is for someone else to study.

6 Discussion and conclusion

The bus ride is over. It is time to answer the question; *what do we need citizenship for?* Well, the short answer is, it depends on who is asking.

This study starts off with an introduction to citizenship theories. It links citizenship with the privilege of creating a political order. It is a privilege to equally take part in collective decision-making. Thus, citizenship includes power. Linking citizenship with questions of justice a new meaning of citizenship is revealed. Citizenship is argued to be a promoter for equality. Two different uses of citizenship are thereby highlighted, as well as the academic concern, that citizenship is loosing its political meaning, especially in relation to a policy discourse. The meaning of citizenship is claimed to be drifting focusing on labour as a citizenship duty instead of democratic participation. This is related to different claims regarding the concept active citizenship.

From a EU policy perspective active citizenship is presented as the act of taking part in society, sharing mutual values and participating in political life and promoting a sense of a European identity. Thus, the EU description is challenged from an academic point of view. It is claimed that the EU makes its citizens incorporate 'active citizenship behaviour', which is not linked to democracy. Rather academics imply that the subject change behaviour in relation to changes within the labour market by becoming and making oneself a good investment. This forces the interests of the study and poses the question, what is the meaning of citizenship and active citizenship?

6.1 What is the meaning of Citizenship?

The Academic discourse

In relation to an academic discourse, it is impossible to answer exactly what the meaning of citizenship is. There is no consensus regarding this matter and citizenship is always contextual. Through the analysis of the academic citizenship discourse this thesis argues that it is possible to grasp the social and political reality of a citizenship context through four dimensions, *rights, duties and responsibilities, lived-experience* and *deeds*.

The academic discourse starts off with the discussion of the division between a formal citizenship (legal status) and a substitutive citizenship (internalised thought and behaviour); highlighting two important mechanisms of citizenship namely an inclusive one and an exclusive one. The inclusive mechanism in an

academic discourse is focusing on expanding citizenship *rights (dimension)* whereas the academic focus on the exclusionary mechanism is focused on what the expected values and behaviour of the citizen in the given context is, *duties and responsibilities (dimension)*. Contextual knowledge reveals that citizenship in the current western academic context is connected with the political compromise of welfare capitalism. This could be an answer to the academic concern why there has been a favouring of labour market responsibilities instead of a democratic participation in relation to citizenship.

The mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion are thereafter deepened through the dimension of self-perception, adding psychological and emotional layers to citizenship. It is highlighted that a national (citizenship) identity can clash with personal sense of belonging. This highlights an ontological difference of the subject, whereas the subject is no longer thought of as a universal individual, but different individuals with different life experiences. The historical context shows, the citizen construction been shaped through two ideals, the autonomous individual (liberal tradition) and the construction of the gentlemen (civic republicanism). Feminists have challenged these notions by pointing out the exclusion of women and marginalised groups in relation to the public sphere and the labour market; traditionally liked to citizenship rights, social justice and equality matters. As a result, critical citizenship scholars have emphasised a Janus faced view of citizenship, whereas being recognised as a citizen, is not only empowering for the subject, but could also involve disciplinary mechanisms, since the citizenship rights were created with another type of subject in mind. This reveals one of the main findings of this study in relation to the meaning of citizenship. Citizenship has always contained the exclusion of subjects, within the political and social context of its formal extension, without acknowledging it. This discussion lead up to the third dimension in this study, *lived-experience*.

Lastly, the division between a formal and a substantive citizenship status is challenged through the dimension of citizenship, as deeds, or 'acts of citizenship'. It is argued that the substantive citizenship often is viewed as a condition of possibility of a formal citizenship. Instead a *deeds dimension* of citizenship is highlighting in this study, as a dimension of interaction. A deed is described as a collective or individual doing that has a responsibility (and effect) to others. The reason for including this dimension is to put emphasise on citizenship as a political concept. It highlights practices that change social-historical patterns and exemplifies through the act of Rosa Parks and her refusal to leave her bus seat for a white man resisting the racial laws in America in the 1950s. This inspired me because it clarifies that the non-subject (the one without citizenship) is not passive, nor is the subject with citizenship rights passive, as in a liberal rights view. Their actions are relational to one another and include power dimensions.

Hence, the meaning of citizenship in an academic discourse is related to power. I believe this is the same mechanism that is illustrated in the anecdotal example in the introduction. Citizenship is related to a subject's behaviour and its behaviour in relation to others. A deeds dimension, with focus on interaction, can therefore reveal how power relations can be questioned, broken or reinforced.

The EU policy discourse

In the policy discourse the meaning of citizenship is investigated through studying EU citizenship with the analytical tool, dimensions of citizenship. This thesis argues that EU citizenship is presented in the policy discourse as revealing a dimension of inclusion and *rights*.

The EU emphasises the differences between a EU citizenship and a national citizenship. It claims that the difference between a EU citizenship and a national citizenship is that the former only include *rights*, whereas the latter include *rights* and *duties and responsibilities*. I argue that this view of citizenship affects how the EU policy discourse imagines the use of EU citizenship. EU citizenship is presented as only belonging to a *rights* dimension but the analysis argues that EU citizenship, in a EU policy discourse, touches foremost on the dimensions *duties and responsibilities* and *lived experience*.

This conclusion is reached by critically assessing how the EU describes the subject, showing that the subject is not thought of as a passive subject-construction as in a rights dimension. This notion implies behaviour of the subject, i.e. wished citizenship behaviour from the EU. In addition, the EU describes EU citizenship as a means for creating a EU identity, which I conclude implies embodied behaviour and thought. It also implies an understanding of the subjects as sharing mutual experiences of their life-courses. This is interesting, since everyone that resides in a EU country is not a EU citizen, since EU citizenship is depending on being a national of a member state. It is possible to associate this with the belief that the EU imagines that their citizens share more in common than for instance individuals in the same community (meaning EU citizens and residents in the same community context). And more severely, does not consider the experiences of new claimants.

Therefore, this study argues that the dimension of lived-experience is underestimated by the European Union. In order to grasp current changes within the context could be the *deeds* dimension, which is in this study exemplified through the reality of Brexit. As argued in the academic section, a *deeds* dimension goes beyond the passive practice of voting, in regards of a *rights* dimension. A deed becomes a dimension of citizenship when it actually took place, and had an effect on others. This dimension is emphasising the power aspect of citizenship. Thus, this thesis only views this dimension as complementary since it was not applicable to most of the policy writings. Hence, *deeds* is not argued to be the new way of theorising citizenship, but a dimension that contributes with perspectives.

6.1.1 Has there been a discursive drift of the meaning of citizenship?

Citizenship is an ambiguous concept. It means different things in different contexts. There have been both shifts and drifts of the concept, but this thesis does not see a discursive drift, but multiple tensions in relation to the concept.

It is argued by scholars that there has been a shift towards the becoming of the citizens and the process of internalisation. A reply to this is 'acts of citizenship', as a new theoretical take, inspiration to the creation of a deeds dimension. This shifts the focus from the subject to the deed. I claim different dimensions show different views of reality and contribute with knowledge of citizenship. Hence, this is not the new way of theorising citizenship. As shown in the policy discourse, *deeds* as a dimension of citizenship, was not always a suitable analysis-tool for the chosen material.

6.2 What is the meaning of Active citizenship?

In the academic discourse two meanings of active citizenship are presented. First, one claiming that active citizenship is understood as part of fostering civic virtue through the promotion of democratic and civic engagement. Secondly, one, which is claiming that active citizenship, is affected by neo-liberalism whereas the citizen is no longer a collective construction, but an individualised subject, whom internalises behaviour linked to changes within the labour market. The latter argument is challenged in this thesis based on the academic critique that internalisations processes are often studied from a long-term perspective. This is challenged by the present EU context, which is not equal for all subjects.

I argue that social justice and a *duties and responsibilities* dimension affect EU's view of citizenship. I argue this is based on a passive subjects view (marginalised subjects) that can become active, i.e. enter the labour market. This thesis argues that citizenship entails an exclusionary mechanism. There is a bias of shutting people out of citizenship within the citizenship context, without acknowledging it. Therefore, the truly marginalised is not even considered as being part of the framing of active citizenship and can therefore not internalise this type of claimed neo-liberal behaviour, since they are not even recognized within the policy discourse. To support this, it is argued that collective action has huge affect on the outcomes of welfare reform and that the consequences of activation on citizenship rights might be too simply pictured. By following this thought process, I argue that citizenship entails power, meaning entailing a political meaning, whereas active citizenship is not about a how a labour market discourse makes subjects internalise a behaviour of becoming a good investment, rather, active citizenship is a strategy for government. This argument is inspired by Cruikshank's claim that democratic citizenship, i.e. active citizenship, is not a solution to political problems but a strategy for government.

In the policy discourse active citizenship is implicitly expresses as behaviour. In addition, it is descried as crucial to the welfare of society. Active citizenship is described as a policy solution to democratic deficit and social incoherence. I interpret this as a misconception of this democratic theory in the EU policy discourse. In democratic theory the active discussion is leading to increase social coherence based on, as I interpreted it, the assumption of interaction between subjects. In a EU context this is not the situation. This study argues that citizenship includes an exclusionary mechanism and adding to this the EU context make this claim even more difficult, since where are the different arenas for this active discussion?

Hence, active citizenship behaviour is the EU's wish for embodied behaviour, or not wanted behaviour, for that matter. Through the historical context of the policy discourse social cohesion is explained as facilitator for unemployment and overall other welfare challenges. I argue that active citizenship is not the solution to these problems, based on the argumentation made above. Lastly, active citizenship in a EU policy is not interpreted, as belonging to dimensions of citizenship. This interpretation would be too broad. Hence the conclusion, active citizenship in this context is not citizenship but a strategy for government.

6.2.1 Is internalising 'active citizenship behaviour' the meaning of citizenship in the EU?

No. The material shows that 'active citizenship behaviour' in the EU policy discourse goes beyond the *duties and responsibilities* discussed in the academic discourse, which are used as a operationalisation for this study. This is the same in relation to the dimension of *lived-experience*, since the explicitly posed unwanted behaviour even includes preferences of news sources and living arrangements.

Thus, It should be added that this study does not investigate the internalisation of active citizenship behaviour through a lens of becoming, but descriptively investigates how the EU policy discourse speak of active citizenship and the ideas it transcend.

6.3 What do we need citizenship for?

Citizenship is a concept that includes power. It is related to many different claims and questions; do we need citizenship for collective decision-making, do we need citizenship for establishing social justice, do we need citizenship as an answer to current welfare challenges or do we need citizenship to establish a 'we'?

The background to this study is an academic concern that citizenship is loosing its political link and that the citizenship discourse is focused on labour market inclusion as duty of citizenship. This thesis shows that the citizenship

concept in a western academic welfare, or social justice discourse is connected to the political compromise of welfare capitalism. I argue that this is contributing to exclusionary element (often unannounced) of citizenship. Hence, citizenship is not a promoter for equality, if equality is viewed from an inclusive view.

6.4 Conclusion

Citizenship is a contextual ambiguous concept that implicates power. This thesis argues for four dimensions of citizenship: *rights, duties and responsibilities, lived-experience and deeds* and applies them on a EU policy context. It is concluded that citizenship involves exclusionary mechanisms but it is also argued that all four dimension contributes to understanding different tension and different human relations. It argues that the EU policy discourse reveals a citizenship view that is influenced by a *duties and responsibilities* dimension in relation to citizenship and that EU citizenship is explicitly used as a means for creating a sense of a European identity among its citizens. However, this thesis questions whether the EU does not underestimate the dimension of lived-experience in relation to citizenship. It also questions what the imagined *duties and responsibilities* in relation to a EU-level are, and find very specific claims of wanted and unwanted citizen's behaviour. Hence, active citizenship in a EU policy discourse is not interpreted as citizenship, since the concept does not relate to the dimensions of citizenship but goes beyond them. Lastly, this is only a master thesis with limited possibilities. In a EU context the topic still remain interesting, especially given the current context of Brexit and how mixed experiences' of different claimants change the political and social reality of Europe, for all subjects. Thus, hopefully it evokes an interest for further studies of the tensions of citizenship, through the use of *Dimensions of citizenship*.

7 References

Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. (2003). *Purple Hibiscus*. Algonquin Books.

Ahmed, Sara. (2000). *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. Routledge: London & New York.

Bao, Noonie (2015). *Pyramids.* [Music].

Beckman, Ludvig. (2007). *Grundbok i idéanalys: Det kritiska studiet av politiska texter och idéer*. Santérus: Stockholm.

Bee, Cristiano & Dimitra Pachi. (2014) Active Citizenship in the UK: Assessing Institutional Political Strategies and Mechanisms of Civic Engagement. In: *Journal of Civil Society*. Vol. 10 (1). pp. (100–117).

Bellamy, Richard. (2008). *Citizenship: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bergström, Göran & Kristina Boréus. (2012). *Textens mening och makt: Medtobok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*. Studentlitteratur: Lund.

Buonanno Laurie & Neil Nugent. (2013). *Policies and policy Processes of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillian: New York.

Cohen, Elizabeth. (2009). *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

Cruikshank, Barbara (1999) *The will to empower: Democratic Citizens and Other subjects.* Ithica and London: Cornell University Press.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

EU-upplysningen (2017). *EG blir EU 1993.* Available at: http://www.eu-Upplysningen.se/Om-EU/EUs-historia/EG-blir-EU/ [Accessed 12 Apr. 2017].

European Commission (1995) *Social Protection in Europe*. (31 Oct. 1995).

European Commission (2017). *EU citizenship Portal: The "Europe for Citizens" funding programme for the period 2014-2020 is officially adopted!* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/about-the-europe-for-citizens-programme/future-programme-2014-2020/index_en.htm [Accessed 14 Apr. 2017].

European Commission (2017a). *EU Citizenship.* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu /justice/citizen/. [Accessed 12 Apr. 2017].

European Commission. (2017b). *Strategic framework – Education & Training 2020: What is the EU's role in education & training?* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/strategic-framework_en. [Accessed 24 Apr. 2017].

European Commission (2017c). So*cial inclusion and citizenship through formal and non-formal learning.* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/education/ policy/strategic-framework/social-inclusion_en [Accessed 05 May. 2017].

European Commission, Centre for Research on Education and Lifelong Learning (2006). Measuring Active Citizenship in Europe. Luxembourg: European Communities.

European Commission, Centre for Research on Education and Lifelong Learning. (2009). *The Characterization of Active Citizenship in Europe.* Luxembourg: European Communities.

European Commission, Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (2017) *Europe for Citizens Programme.* Available at: http://eacea.ec. europa.eu/citizenship/programme/about_citizenship_en.php [Accessed 24 Apr. 2017].

European Economic and Social Committee (2012) *Active Citizenship: For a better European Society.*

European Parliament (2017a) *The Citizens of the Union and their rights*. Available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/ displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_2.1.1.html [Accessed 16 Feb. 2017].

European Parliament (2017b) *The Citizens of the Union and their rights: Fact* sheet of the European Union – 2017.

Fraser, Nancy & Axel Honneth. (2003). *Redistribution Or Recognition? A Political-philosophical Exchange.* London: Verso.

Goodin, Robert E., & Hans-Dieter Klingemann. (1998). *Political science: The*

discipline. A new handbook of political science. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goul-Andersen, Jørgen (eds). (2005). *The Changing Face of Welfare: Consequences and outcomes from a citizenship perspective*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Irisdotter Aldenmyr, Sara, U. Jepson Wigg & M. Olson. (2012). Worries and possibilities in active citizenship: Three Swedish educational contexts. In: *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* .Vol 7(3) pp. (255–270).

Isin, Engin & Greg M. Nielsen (eds). (2008). *Acts of Citizenship*. New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Jagger, Mick & Keith Richards. (1969). *You Can't Always Get What You Want*. [Music].

Kymlicka, Will & Wayne Norman. (2000). *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lasswell, H.D. (1951). The Policy Orientation. In: Lerner, D. and H.D. Lasswell. *The Policy Science: Recent Developments in Scope and Method*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. (3-15).

Lister, Ruth. (2003). *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives Second Edition*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.

Lister, Ruth. (eds). (2007) *Gendering Citizenship in Western Europe: New Challenges for Citizenship research in a cross-national context*. Bristol: Bristol Policy Press.

Marsh, David & Gary Stoker (eds). (2010) *Theory and methods in political science*. 3rd ed. Palgrave Macmillan.

Marshall, Thomas Humphrey. (1950). *Citizenship and Social Class*. Cambridge: University Press.

Oxford Living Dictionaries, Citizenship. [Image] Viewed, March 2017. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/citizenship>

Plato. (380 BC). *The Republic*.

Ramazanoğlu, Caroline, & Janet Holland. (2002). *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices*. London: Sage.

Rawls, John. (1970, 1999). A *Theory of Justice*: revisited edition. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Roberts, Peri & Peter Such. (2007). Politiskt tänkande. Pozkal: Studentlitteratur.

Sainsbury, Diane. (1993). 'Dual Welfare and Sex Segregation of Access to Social Benefits: Income Maintenance Policies in the UK, the US, the Netherlands and Sweden' in *Journal of Social Policy* 22:1 (pp. 69-98).

Sennet Richard. (1998). *The Corrosion of Character, The Personal Consequences Of Work In the New Capitalism.* London: Norton.

Steenekamp, Cindy & Reinet Loubser. (2016). Active Citizenship: A Comparative Study of Selected Young and Established Democracies, Politikon. 43:1, pp. (117-134).

Siim, Birte. (2000). *Gender and Citizenship: Politics and Agency in France, Britain and Denmark.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stubbergaard, Ylva. (2010). Making Citizens: Theories and Practices of Constructing Citizenship Identities. In: Bengtsson, B, ed., *Diversity, Inclusion and Citizenship in Scandinavia*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. (215-240).

The Economist. (2017). *A nasty spat erupts between Britain and the EU*. Available at: http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21721682-leak about-testy-dinner-london-triggers-political-war-words-across-channel. [Accessed 4 May 2017].

Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). (Treaty of Amsterdam Amending The Treaty on European Union, The Treaties Establishing The European Communities and Certain Related Acts) (Amsterdam, 2 Oct 1997).

Treaty on European Union. (1992). **(**Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union). (Maastricht, 7 Feb 1992).

Wagenaar, Hendrik. (2011). *Meaning In Action: Interpretation and dialogue in policy analysis.* M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, New York.