

Citizenship versus Nationality under European Integration

Meilutė Taljūnaitė

MYKOLAS ROMERIS UNIVERSITY, LITHUANIA

ABSTRACT. In order to study new potentials for citizenship as a medium of social integration that is not reducible to juridical processes, different areas of integration policy can be distinguished: human mobility, social exclusion and/or social vulnerability, social stratification, nationality and national identity, and a thematisation of citizenship as an alternative or positive approach to social integration. The article deals with the changing quality and the context of the social dimension in the European Union. Exploring why and how citizenship and nationality under European integration became a concern for member states, the article also seeks to identify and track the changing aims, objectives as well as the conceptual framework of social integration in the Baltic states and EU.

Key words: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, SOCIAL INTEGRATION, NATIONAL IDENTITY, EUROPEAN IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP.

Introduction

The idea of Europe as a unified political system has enjoyed a long history. By the mid-1990s, the further enlargement of the European Union, encompassing the countries of central and eastern Europe, became critical to the future of European integration (Preston 1997: 3). In the past, the enlargement debate was more fragmented, and focused on the problems of particular states and policy areas. Though the EC has, from time to time, engaged in more wide-ranging debate about the effects of diversity, for instance in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as the likelihood of enlargement into the Mediterranean increased, pragmatic compromises were usually found, and the more fundamental implications of recasting the whole system were left unexplored (Preston 1997: 4).

The new social and political trends under European integration are dealt with by various researchers nowadays. Every EU citizen has EU rights protected by the national law, which includes a huge set of new relations between the citizen and the state. The principles of effectiveness and non-discrimination are well developed on a legal level, but their implementation in practice is still a new question. Fundamental freedoms, competition, and autonomy received new content, and remarkable development in legitimacy. Judicial

protection became a very essential mechanism for the implementation of all these new achievements.

The impact of EU accession is widely discussed. Controversial issues are more often presented as the results: Does EU Constitution mean a farewell to sovereignty? Few main principles – the supremacy of EU law, the direct impact of EU law, and the part of sovereignty ceded to the EU – are presented as the main arguments of the first statement. On the other hand, other arguments state that the EU motto “identity (unity) in diversity” expresses the reality, while international treaties express first of all the recognition and consolidation of the sovereignty of the state. The principle of non-discrimination includes protection for national minorities (among the 17 various bases of non-discrimination).

The meaning of integration

Integration is a complicated concept in social science. The concept has previously been used mostly in the area of political science to analyse political and economical integration in Western European societies. As M. O’Neill (1996) sees it, the meaning of integration depends much more on a consensus on a definition than it does on establishing any abiding or universal properties. Integration studies proceed along a number of parallel tracks. In the area of social integration the following main lines should be kept in mind:

- Integration is considered a process through which social actors (individuals, social groups, or states) become a functional part of important sectors in the society (or union), and these sectors share resources like work, income, participation, information, etc. Integration as a social process covers a spectrum of complex political, social, and economic relationships. Integration is much more a process of becoming than a clear outcome.
- An action oriented approach, where we study integration by looking upon the parts as individuals in action to reach their goals and to study what obstacles prevent them from reaching these goals.
- Integration is considered more a condition of a society (union) and the degree to which the part (state) has achieved welfare goals is studied. European integration theory examines the consequences of the increased interaction of long established nation-states within their regional environment (O’Neill 1996: 11–17).

The most serious methodological difficulty in uncovering a clear-cut integration dynamic is finding the key independent variable that causes it. In these

circumstances, subjectivity and political preference are bound to intrude on objective analysis. As a state of affairs, certain criteria must be met for integration to have occurred and these criteria are usually specified by the observer, since there is no generally accepted definition of integration. Any map of the process of European integration should obviously set out to chart the actual events as accurately as possible.

Citizenship: yesterday, today and tomorrow

Access to citizenship remains largely a national question, bound up with varied social and cultural constructions of nationhood and national identity in different nation states. Nation states have sought to distinguish those who 'belong' from those who can legitimately be excluded as 'outsiders'. The politics of exclusion across the new Europe comprises both the legal exclusion of unwanted aliens from beyond the EU and the social exclusion of resident nationals from countries outside the EU who are denied access to full citizenship rights. Citizenship entitlements remain closely tied to nationality.

Sociologists are not primarily interested in legal and philosophical definitions of citizenship but in socio-political ones. Legal definitions consider what kind of rights and duties citizens have towards a nation-state and the rights and duties of a nation-state towards its citizens. Philosophical definitions, being of a normative type, concentrate on the concept of a just state, its duties towards its citizens, and the relationship between citizens. Socio-political definitions agree that citizenship cannot be understood outside the nation-state but argue, first, that a nation-state has its socio-historical context and, therefore, specific social, political, and economic relations have to be taken into account.

A nation-state is one level on which citizenship can be exercised. Sociological definitions agree that citizenship is a dynamic concept, which depends on social change and its consequences on different levels of the socio-political context. Furthermore, it clearly points out that there is a difference between the letter of the law and the reality of everyday life.

The New Baltic Barometer (NBB 2000) is designed to measure to what extent people of the same nationality (or citizenship) think and act the same. Political rhetoric often describes all people of a given nationality as thinking alike. Yet when a nation has hundreds or thousands or millions of people, there are sure to be differences within it. This is most obviously the case for gender and age. It is also true of differences of income and education (e.g. dimensions of stratification). Differences lead to similarities between nations, for example, there are educated Baltic nationals and educated Russian-speak-

ers in all three Baltic States, and there are uneducated groups in each nationality. Various surveys were conducted in all three Baltic States during the Soviet times, and most often the differences between Lithuania and Estonia were the largest, and Latvia occupied the middle position. The Russians in those republics were not the same, and Russian-speakers in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania differed significantly in various aspects or cases.

Delanty (2002) argues that citizenship may be a possible option for a collective European identity formation since such an identity cannot be built on language, religion, or nationality without major divisions and conflicts emerging. He therefore calls for a new idea of Europe linked to “post-national citizenship” – a citizenship unshackled from the state, and based on universal rights and an inclusive multiculturalism. In his view, this is the only way of going beyond the divisive and exclusivist “ethno-culturalism” which he sees as inherent both in the traditional model of national identity and in the current versions of European identity.

Citizenship does not need to become culturalised in any case, beyond its traditional alliance with nationality. The only culture that citizenship has to foster is that of freedom, political participation, and the like (in entitlements and duties). The task of civil, political, and social citizenship is to provide equal access and opportunities to all members of the community. Whenever citizenship attempts to take over other forms of cultural identity, it triggers a conflict perceived as a threat in identity terms. It could hardly be otherwise, since the impossibility of universal consensus and the necessary presence of cultural identities are an anthropological *a priori* to these relations. Habermas envisages ‘global citizenship’, or ‘citizenship of the world’ as the true destination of the whole idea of membership.

Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania shall be acquired by birth or on other bases established by law (Article 12, Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, 1992). How do people in the Baltic States conceptualize citizenship? Data in the Table 1 points to the so-called inclusionary republican or civic model of the nation (Mitchell and Russell 1998: 84) in all three Baltic States. It offers citizenship to all residents, regardless of ethnic origin (everyone born in the country), who identify with, and participate actively in the national culture. This model is associated most closely with France. The number of people who stress the rights of former Soviet citizens now living here is highest among Russian-speakers in Lithuania. This could be the reaction to some processes of justice in our courts during the few last years. Estonians more strongly demonstrate restitutional interests (to defend the rights of those whose family were citizens before 1940).

TABLE 1. Which of these statements best fits your views of who should be a citizen and have the right to vote in elections for the parliament (choose only one)* (in percent)

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
Only those whose family were citizens before 1940	5	0	27	3	33	2
Everyone born in the country	39	24	39	36	36	24
Everyone who has lived here for more than ten years	26	19	17	22	21	22
Everyone here at independence	8	6	7	18	9	27
Any former Soviet citizen now living here	23	51	4	20	1	25
Other			5	1		

Source: * New Baltic Barometer IV (2000). P. 49.

NBB is a study of six publics in the Baltic States – the three titular nationalities and the ex-Soviet nationalities that continue to reside there.

Citizenship and nationality under integration

Today the process of European integration faces contradictory trends. On one hand, there is increasing economic interdependence, the advantages of a large-scale economy, the necessity of co-operation to cope with environmental disasters or epidemics, etc. On the other hand, there are local movements claiming independence in the name of a particular local identity. In an era of globalisation and fragmentation, authors are calling for the development and spread of a broader concept of European identity, which is rather weak in the Baltics yet. This is demonstrated by various data from European Value Survey analysed by European Values Study Group. Citizens of the Baltic states primarily identified themselves with their own state. The number of people who identify themselves with a concrete settlement is growing (*Europa ir mes* 2001: 63-69).

This suggests that in order for Marshall's concept of citizenship to be implemented on a European level, positive integration is a necessary condition. Positive integration is concerned with national deregulation and the removal of obstacles to unity. It is focused away from freedom of movement across nation-states and looks towards social rights in a united Europe. It implies solidarity on the European level, which requires a shared European citizenship identity. Shared European rights and identity are necessary to generate a sense of solidarity, to promote positive integration. However, as Gustavsson admits, 'the critical problem is that the Europeans do not consider the EU sufficiently legitimate, democratically speaking, for it to be possible to achieve, in the area of

positive integration, a degree of superstatism comparable to that already established in the area of negative integration' (Gustavsson 1997: 114).

The idea of citizenship in its contemporary understanding is usually considered a social process and a life style. It can be presented as a twofold system with guarantees of a special status and rights of particular practices within the given society on the one hand, and a dual process of inclusion and exclusion on the other. What I find more important is that, apart from the membership, the definition of citizen also emphasised the exclusion of the non-citizens. This tendency of constructing definitions on binary oppositions is very important, for it still prevails in our lives and dominates most political discourse.

Speaking of nationality, we can see that its concept is very obscure. It does not have a precise definition; it is rather constructed by different perceptions of the very idea of what nationality means to us, including common culture and traditions, a particular territory, and common historical memories and amnesias. Consequently, citizenship as well as the idea of nationality, draws our attention to the question of belonging to some particular territory with all its necessary attributes: national symbols, historical background, sense of shared destiny that differs from the other's – everything that belongs to what I would call an 'identity domain'. Habermas once suggested defining the questions of identity and national sentiments in democratic and constitutional terms rather than territorial ones.

Historically and conceptually, citizenship has always implied the exclusion of those who do not belong to the protective community. Marshall was also explicit about the community obligations implied by his conceptualisation of citizenship. Originally denoting the habitation within the protective walls of a city, citizenship defines those who belong within said boundaries and those who do not. Brubaker (1998) describes how the process of state building affects the norms of citizenship. Re-conceptualisation of citizenship was achieved with the adoption of the Maastricht treaty in 1992, as it pertains to the definition of European citizenship and its relationship, in clearly drawn duality, with the citizenship of the nation-state. The subject of debate is the very definition of European citizen, and the important role the European Union can play in a congenial interpretation of citizens and congruency of nation state and EU paradigms.

To conclude this review of varying views on how citizenship is challenged by contemporary social and political changes, let us list the essential dimensions around which the new citizenship is centred and which, most likely, will receive increasing attention in social sciences:

- The dignity and centrality of the human; majorities and minorities in the democratic governance of peoples; media which has freedom of expression but is fully conscious of its responsibilities.
- Social citizenship, social rights and responsibilities; the struggle against social exclusion and marginalisation; solidarity as an intrinsically European achievement; social cohesion and the reinforcement of community spirit.

- Intercultural citizenship, the value of diversity and openness for a plural world; European identity and multiculturalism; respect for different cultures and the legitimate expression of collective rights; tolerance and the active search for the richness of difference.
- Ecological citizenship, the preservation of the ecosystem; rapprochement between humanity and nature; accreted conscience of environmental values; the key significance of sustainable development.
- Egalitarian citizenship, rejection of discrimination and prejudice based on gender and ethnicity; understanding the value of equality; equality of opportunity in education.

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PILIETYBĖ VS TAUTYBĖ EUROPOS INTEGRACIJOS KONTEKSTE

Meilutė Taljūnaitė

MYKOLO ROMERIO UNIVERSITETAS, LIETUVA

SANTRAUKA. Autorės teigimu, pilietybė turi būti suprantama ne tik kaip teisinės analizės objektas, bet ir kaip socialinės integracijos priemonė bei sąlyga. Integracijos politika apima tokias sritis kaip žmonių mobilumas, socialinė atskirtis ir/ar socialinis pažeidžiamumas, socialinė stratifikacija, tautiškumas, tautinis identitetas. Pilietybė aptariama kaip alternatyvi ir pozityvi socialinės integracijos priemonė. Autorė analizuoja, kodėl ir kaip pilietybė ir tautiškumas tampa Europos Sąjungos narėms aktualia problema Europos integracijos kontekste. Aptariamos integracijos, tautiškumo ir pilietybės sampratos socialiniuose moksluose ir „naujosios pilietybės“, susijusios su ES plėtra, esminės dimensijos.

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