



Debating Citizenship: Historical and Contemporary Controversies about Membership, Rights and Self-Government

Interdepartmental seminar

**Prof. Martin van Gelderen (HEC)
Prof. Rainer Bauböck (SPS)**

Mondays, 11:00-13:00

Badia Fiesolana, Seminar Room 2

Please register with:

Nicky.Koniordos@eui.eu

Introduction:

Questions of citizenship have troubled Europeans – and others – from the days of Aristotle. Our own heated debates stand in a long tradition that starts in classical Athens and Rome, is picked up in the great centers of Renaissance culture, including Florence and Siena, crosses the Atlantic and reverberates in the American and French Revolution.

In a broad sense citizenship can be defined as a status of equal membership in a self-governing polity, as a bundle of rights and obligations attached to this status, as a shared identity in diverse societies, and as a set of civic virtues and practices that sustain political freedom and self-government.

This seminar will look at each of these aspects through the lenses of classical texts from the history of political thought and confront these with contemporary commentaries and contributions on the same topics by current political theories.

From distinctly interdisciplinary perspectives we will specifically explore and debate ideas about the external boundaries and internal differentiation of citizenship in interdependent and internally heterogeneous societies. In other words, whilst fully recognizing that for a long time citizenship was bound to the city and then to the nation-state, our interests go further as we try to take up the challenge of reflecting on what it could and should mean to be a citizen in our days of globalisation.



Programme:

11-1: Introduction

18-1: The Creation of Civil Society and Civil Rights: Grotius and Madison

25-1: Citizenship and Self-Government: The Debate on National Self-determination

02-2: Citizenship and Civility: Enlightened and New Republicans

8-2: Membership Requirements: Aristotle, Levellers and Contemporary Political Theory

15-2: Multilevel Citizenship: the Federalist, the European Union, plurinational Democracy and urban Citizenship

22-2: Social Citizenship: Marx, Marshall and Theories of domestic and global social Justice

1-3: Across the Border: Natural Law, Human Rights and the Rights of Migrants

8-3: Cosmopolitan Citizenship: Kant and Tully

Participation and Requirements:

Researchers from all EUI-departments are warmly invited to participate. Participants are asked:

- to read the seminar texts, which we try to limit to 80-100 pages per week
- to give one presentation (or more, if you want) based on additional reading, with an outline disseminated until Friday of the week before
- to engage actively in discussions, and this includes preparing comments on the topic of each week and the outline circulated

If you want to write a seminar paper for this seminar, please send an outline before 8 March. The full paper has to be submitted by 9 April 2010



Seminar Readings:

Monday 11-1: Introduction

- Ambrogio Lorenzetti: Frescoes 'Il Buon Governo'/Allegory of Good Government' (1337-1340) in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.
- Quentin Skinner, 'Ambrogio Lorenzetti and the portrayal of virtuous government', in *Visions of Politics*, Vol II, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 39-92.
- Will Kymlicka, 'Citizenship Theory' in *Contemporary Political Theory*, 2nd edition, chapter 7, pp. 284-326.

Monday 18-1: The Creation of Civil Society and Civil Rights: Grotius and Madison

- Hugo Grotius, *De Iure Praedae commentarius. Commentary on the law of Prize and Booty*, Prolegomena, pp. 19-37
- James Madison, 'Speech in Congress proposing Constitutional Amendments' — the Bill of Rights, in James Madison, *Writings*, ed. Jack Rakove, The Library of America, 1999, pp. 437-452
- Martin van Gelderen, 'The State and its Rivals in Early Modern Europe' in Quentin Skinner, Bo Strath (eds.), *States & Citizens. History, Theory, Prospects*, Cambridge, 2003, 79-96
- Jack Rakove, 'Rights' in *Original Meanings. Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution*, New York, 1996, pp. 288-338

Monday 25-1: Citizenship and Self-Government: from Rousseau to national self-determination

- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Social Contract*, book II, chapters 7-10, many editions available, e.g. Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 1973. *The Social Contract and Discourses*. London: Dent, Everyman's Library, pp. 213-227.
- 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen'; also many editions available, for example in Dale Van Kley (ed.), *The French Idea of Freedom. The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789* (Stanford, Cal., 1994), pp. 1-5 .
- Bonnie Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner*, Princeton University Press, 2001: Chapter 1+2: section on Rousseau's Lawgiver, pp. 1-24.
- Kent Wright, 'National Sovereignty and the General Will: the Political Program of the Declaration of Rights' in Dale Van Kley (ed.), *The French Idea of Freedom. The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789* (Stanford, Cal., 1994), pp. 199-233
- Allen Buchanan (1998) What's So Special About Nations? *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Supplementary volume 22: 283-309

- Monday 1-2: Citizenship and Civility: Enlightenment and Republicanism

- David Hume, 'Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences' in *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, Liberty Fund Indianapolis, 1985, pp 111-137.
- Iain Hampsher-Monk, 'From Virtue to Politeness' in Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (eds.), *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage. Volume II: The Values of Republicanism in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 85-105
- Philip Pettit, 'Civilizing the Republic' in *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 241-270.



Monday 8-2: Membership Requirements: Aristotle, Levellers and contemporary political theory

- Aristotle, *Politics*; book III, i-v
- 'The Putney Debates: 29 October 1647' in Andrew Sharp (ed.), *The English Levellers*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 102-130.
- Samuel Dennis Glover, 'The Putney Debates: Popular versus Elitist Republicanism', *Past & Present*, no. 164, 1999, pp. 47-80.
- Robert A. Dahl (1989): *Democracy and its Critics*, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, chapter 9: The Problem of Inclusion, pp. 119-134.
- Robert Goodin, "Enfranchising All Affected Interests, and Its Alternatives", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 35, no 1, 2007, pp. 40-68.

Monday 15-2: Multilevel Citizenship: the Federalist, the European Union, plurinational democracy and urban citizenship

- Publius (Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison), *The Federalist Papers*, Nrs. 9, 10, 47-51 (available in many editions)
- David Miller, 'Republicanism, National Identity, and Europe' in Cécile Laborde and John Maynor (eds.), *Republicanism and Political Theory*, Oxford, 2008, 133-158.
- Philippe van Parijs, "Must Europe be Belgian? On Democratic Citizenship in Multilingual Polities.", in *The Demands of Citizenship*, ed. C. McKinnon and Iain Hampsher-Monk. London: Continuum, 2000, pp. 235-256.

Monday 22-2: Social Citizenship: Marx, Marshall and theories of domestic and global social Justice

- Karl Marx, 'On the Jewish Question' (many editions available)
- T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class." In *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development. Essays by T.H. Marshall*, ed. T. H. Marshall. New York: Anchor Books, 1949/1965.
- Kenneth Baynes, 'Rights as Critique and the Critique of Rights: Karl Marx, Wendy Brown and the Social Function of Rights', *Political Theory*, vol. 28, no. 4 (2000), pp. 451-468
- Bo Strath, 'The State and its Critics: is there a post-modern challenge?' in Quentin Skinner, Bo Strath (eds.), *States & Citizens. History, Theory, Prospects*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 167-190.

Monday 1-3: Across the Border: Natural Law, Human Rights and the Rights of Migrants

- Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace (De Iure Belli ac Pacis)*, ed. Jean Barbeyrac, London, 1738/reprint by the Lawbook Exchange, 2004), Book II, Chapter 2, pp. 142-158
- Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New Edition (Harcourt Trade Publishers, 1973; other editions available) chapter 9.
- Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens*, Cambridge, 2004, Introduction, pp. 1-24.
- Linda Bosniak, *The Citizen and The Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006, chapters 2 and 3: 17-76.

Monday 8-3: Cosmopolitan Citizenship: Kant and Tully

- Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch" (1795), in Kant: Political Writings, ed. Hans Reiss, 2nd edn. , Cambridge, 1991, pp. 93-115.
- James Tully, 'On Local and Global citizenship: an Apprenticeship Manual, in James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key*, vol II, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 243-309