

Interdepartmental seminar (HEC and SPS) and Max Weber Theme Group  
Citizenship and Migration (1<sup>st</sup> term 2014-2015)

## ***Local, National and Transnational Perspectives on Citizenship, Migration, and Social Protection in Europe, 1800-present***

Organised by Rainer Bauböck (SPS) and Laura Downs (HEC)

### **Wednesday from 11:00-13:00**

Max Weber Common Room, Badia Fiesolana

For SPS researchers: Please register with: [Monika.Rzemieniecka@EUI.eu](mailto:Monika.Rzemieniecka@EUI.eu)

**Dates:** 10 Oct (Friday), 29 Oct, 3 Dec, 14 Jan (9:00-11:00), 4 Feb, 19 Feb, 25 Feb (9:00-11:00), 19 Mar (10:00-12:00), 29 Apr, 6 May, 13 May, 9 June (14:00-18:30)

Our seminar proposes a multi-scalar and pluridisciplinary approach to the intertwined questions of migration, citizenship and social protection in Europe over the past two centuries. We want to examine how political and legal constructions of community, boundaries and membership at local, national and supranational levels have gone hand-in-hand with the regulation of geographic mobility and regimes of social protection. For example, we want to examine through the lens of municipalism, the ways that local forms of social citizenship arose around the delivery of social assistance and intersected with the constant, short-distance mobility of poor and working-class Europeans across the continent over the 19th and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. By juxtaposing a deep historical perspective with approaches drawn from sociology, political science and political theory we hope to open out the analytic and social policy frameworks within which migration, citizenship and social protection are understood today, and to render explicit some of the deeper historical structures that have shaped current perspectives on these issues. We also hope that this strategy of disciplinary juxtaposition will allow us to explore the possibilities, challenges and limitations of interdisciplinary research across the ten sessions of our seminar.

The seminar is open to PhD researchers from all departments (second-year and up) and doubles up as seminar of the Max Weber Programme theme group on citizenship and migration. The seminar will run over the whole academic year and will consist of a mix of sessions organized by the conveners and by participants in the seminar.

The first three sessions, to be organized by the conveners, will thus seek to set an agenda for the course with some readings that suggest new perspectives on these questions. They will focus on conceptualizations and dimensions of citizenship, on the relation between state and civil society in providing social protection, and on the relation between citizenship and freedom of movement.

For the other units, we propose a list of possible themes but want to give participants the opportunity to shape sessions around questions that touch on their own research but are of general interest to the group as a whole. The full syllabus will be elaborated jointly during the second meeting and participants will be asked to take turns in leading sessions. The seminar will thus also provide participants with teaching experience.

*If you want to write a term paper for this seminar/workshop, please send a copy by email to the seminar's professor as well as to the organizing administrative assistant. Once the paper is approved, she will update your credit award in your academic records. The deadline for submission is: 31 May 2015.*

### **Themes:**

- Citizenship: conceptions and dimensions (first session)
- Parapolitical spaces of social protection: how civil society/'la sphère associative' has met the state in delivering public services (19th-20th centuries)
- Citizenship and freedom of movement: a citizenship privilege or a human right?
- Local citizenship and its historic transformations since 1800
- Citizenship as nationality: the origins and purposes of national birthright regimes
- Migration and citizenship: the inclusion of immigrants and emigrants in comparative and normative perspectives
- European citizenship: a derivative but fundamental status?
- Women, work and social protection/social citizenship

### **10 October: Introductory Session: Conceptions and Dimensions of Citizenship**

#### Readings:

T.H. Marshall (1949): Citizenship and Social Class

R. Bauböck (2001) "Recombinant Citizenship", in: Martin Kohli and Alison Woodward (eds.) Inclusions and Exclusions in European Societies, Routledge, London: 38-58.

## 29 October: Parapolitical Spaces of Social Protection: How Civil Society has met the State in Delivering Public Services (19th-20th centuries)

### Readings:

L. Downs (2014) [‘And so we transform a people.’ Women’s social action and the reconfiguration of politics on the Right in France, 1934-1947](#) Past & Present

J. Bailkin (2009) ‘The postcolonial family? West African children, private fostering and the British state’ *Journal of Modern History*

T. Zahra (2006) “Each nation only cares for its own:” Empire, nation and child welfare activism in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1918’ *American Historical Review*

## 3 December: Freedom of Movement: A Citizenship Privilege or a Human Right?

### Readings:

Joseph H. Carens (2013) *The Ethics of Immigration*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, chapter 11: The Case for Open Borders

Special Review Issue of *Political Theory* on Carens’ *Ethics of Immigration*. 2014 (forthcoming)

Rainer Bauböck (2012) “Migration and Citizenship: Normative Debates”, in: Daniel Tichenor and Marc Rosenblum (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration*, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 594-613.

## 14 January (9:00-11:00): Nationalized and Racialized Citizenship, Germany, and “the East” (Caroline Mezger)

In this session, citizenship, migration, and social protection will be discussed through the lens of Germany’s complex early twentieth-century relationship with Eastern Europe, particularly with the millions of German-speaking “*Auslandsdeutsche*” and their “foreign” neighbors. The first text by Gosewinkel offers a theoretical and historical overview of the development of German citizenship during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Using France as a comparative reference point, Gosewinkel sets the stage for Germany’s increasingly nationalized and racialized views on citizenship during the interwar period. Next, Sammartino’s chapters offer insight into how World War I’s mass migrations and border changes sparked novel debates on the nature of citizenship, the limitations of the state, and the definitions of national belonging, and provide an introduction to early cases of forced migration in Eastern Europe and the “creation” of the “*Auslandsdeutsche* problem.” The final text by Eppstein extends these themes into World War II by illustrating one of the most radical sets of forced migration, based on notions of

“Germanization,” which were implemented by Nazi Germany: the forced relocation (and, in the case especially of Poles and Jews, the murder) of some 1,5 million Polish, Jewish, and German individuals in the *Warthegau*.

Readings:

Dieter Gosewinkel, “Citizenship in Germany and France at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Some New Observations on an Old Comparison.” In *Citizenship and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Germany*. Geoff Eley and Jan Palmowski, eds. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008. pp. 27-39.

Annemarie H. Sammartino, *The Impossible Border: Germany and the East, 1914-1922*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010.

- Introduction- The Crisis of Sovereignty, pp. 1-17

- Chapter 1- “German Brothers”: War and Migration, pp. 18-44

Catherine Eppstein, “Germanization in the Warthegau: Germans, Jews and Poles and the Making of a ‘German’ Gau.” In *Heimat, Region, and Empire: Spatial Identities under National Socialism*. Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann and Maiken Umbach, eds. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012. pp. 93-111.

**4 February: Migration and the Limits of Citizenship: Gender, Race and Labor in Citizenship Law and Practice (Koen Docter and Michael Kozakowski)**

Starting from the premise that citizenship is a multi-layered concept, this session analyzes what citizenship can mean for migrants and how migrants are frequently imagined to possess only limited forms of citizenship. Specifically, the session examines how ideas about race, gender, and skill intersect to create specific ideas about colonial (or post-colonial) migrants’ citizenship as seen and worked out through laws, policy debates, and work practices. The readings take the example of France, one of the world’s largest countries of immigration, and particularly the case of Algerian migrants, who were legally considered French nationals from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century until Algerian independence in 1962 (and sometimes beyond). By tracing this common subject in three historical periods – in the decade following World War I, in the late 1940s and 1950s, and again during the 1980s – these readings provide an opportunity to trace continuities and changes in conceptions of migrant citizenship.

Readings:

Elisa Camiscioli, *Reproducing the French Race : Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), “Immigration, Demography, and Pronatalism,” p. 21-50.

Michael Kozakowski, “A Question of Skill: Algerian Migrants, Vocational Training, and the Politics of Colonial Employment, 1945-1962” (*draft article* – circa 40 pages).

Patrick Weil, *How to Be French: Nationality in the Making Since 1789*, translated by Catherine Porter (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), "The Algerian Crisis in French Nationality," p. 152-167.

**19 February (11:00-13:00): Workshop with Claus Offe (together with the Political and Legal Theory and Governance, Democracy and Constitutionalism theme groups)**

The Max Weber Lecturer Master Class Workshop with Claus Offe will take place on Thursday 19 February 11.00-13.00 in the Max Weber Common Room. The workshop is open to all, but especially Fellows in the thematic groups on Legal and Political Theory and Intellectual History; Citizenship and Migration; and Governance, Democracy and Constitutionalism. The attached three articles relate to each of these groups respectively and, along with the lecture, will form the basis of the discussion. In addition to the substantive arguments of these pieces, the workshop will also address the more general methodological issue of the relationship of normative theory to empirical data about contemporary societies.

Readings:

"Inequality and the Labor Market – Theories, opinions, models, and practices of unequal distribution and how they can be justified" in: *Zeitschrift für Arbeitsmarktforschung*, 43, no. 1, 39-52

"From Migration in Geographic Space to Migration in Biographic Time: Views From Europe", *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 333–373

"Europe Entrapped. Does the EU have the political capacity to overcome its current crisis?" *European Law Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 5, 595-611

**25 February (9:00-11:00): Categories of Presence: Migration, Citizenship and Expulsion (Fran Meissner and Rutger Birnie)**

This session will focus on the historical, empirical and normative dimensions of the politics of presence and expulsion in contemporary liberal democratic states faced with the realities of migration. The readings deal with the rules and regulations that allow authorities to expel people from a certain territory, and how these link to ideas about citizenship and belonging. They explore how migration policies effect not merely a distinction between 'legal' and 'illegal', but also a stratified set of conditions of presence that reveal a normative conception of the political community and have a marked impact on the lives of those subjected to it.

Questions that we hope to discuss in the session are:

1. What are the (hidden) functions of the state's power to expel and deport unwanted residents? How are those functions reflected in the state's power to classify foreign residents through categories associated with different rights (and other 'parameters of presence')?
2. How does the politics of expulsion and status stratification relate to the institution of citizenship, both historically and in the present?
3. What are the normative arguments for and against creating a multitude of categories of residents whose presence (and deportability) is conditional to different degrees?

Readings:

Walters, William (2002) "[Deportation, Expulsion, and the International Police of Aliens.](#)" In: *Citizenship Studies*, 6(3): 265-292.

Morris, Lydia (2001) "[Stratified Rights and the Management of Migration. National Distinctiveness in Europe.](#)" In: *European Societies*, 3(4): 387-411.

Vigneswaran, Darshan (2013) "Migration and Mental Maps." Chapter 2 in *Territory, Migration, and the Evolution of the International System*. Palgrave MacMillan.

**19 March (10:00-12:00): Workshop with Lucia Zedner (Sabrina Marchetti and Martijn van den Brink)**

The workshop with Lucia Zedner will follow her Max Weber lecture a day earlier. The workshop will be organized as a Q&A session about two of Zedner's recent publications which both deal with the relationship between the criminal law and citizenship. The articles focus upon immigration from the perspective of criminal law. Zedner finds two worrisome developments. The first is the criminalization of immigration and the second the placement of immigrants outside civil society, excluding them from protection normally provided to criminal citizens.

Readings:

L Zedner, 'Security, the State, and the Citizen: The Changing Architecture of Crime Control' (2010) 13 *New Criminal Law Review* 379-403

L Zedner, 'Is the Criminal Law is only for Citizens? A Problem at the Borders of Punishment' in K Franko Aas & M Bosworth (eds), *The Borders of Punishment: Migration, Citizenship, and Social Exclusion* (Oxford University Press 2013)

## **29 April: Non-Territorial Autonomy: A Solution for Minority Accommodation? (Julija Sardelic and Sofiya Grachova)**

This session will discuss a theoretical concept of non-territorial autonomy as a possible alternative to other forms of minority accommodation in different (historical and contemporary) multicultural societies. The session will present historical developments of the concept from socialist democrats of the late Austro-Hungarian Empire (Renner, Bauer) to its contemporary theoretical understandings (Nimni) and critiques (Bauböck, Kymlicka). The session will also present two case studies. Firstly, the historical case study will deal with the possibilities of accommodating national and social rights of Jewish minority in the Russian Empire as well as polities that emerged when the Empire disintegrated in 1917 (Ukraine and the Baltic states). Secondly, the session will outline, how non-territorial autonomy was suggested as a possible model for accommodating minority rights of Roma in contemporary Europe. Both case studies will be accompanied also by the critiques of the non-territorial autonomy as it was introduced in practice.

### Readings:

Nimni, Ephraim. 2007. National Cultural Autonomy as an Alternative Model to Minority Territorial Nationalism. *Ethnopolitics* 6(3): 345-364.

Klímová – Alexander, Ilona. 2007. Transnational Romani and Indigenous Non-Territorial Self-Determination. *Ethnopolitics* 6(3): 395-416

Hidden, John and Smith, David. 2006, Looking beyond the Nation State: A Baltic Vision for National Minorities between the Wars. *Journal of Contemporary History* 41 (3): 387-399

### Optional readings (each participant chooses one on or the other):

Grachova, Sofiya. Jewish Community Medicine in Wartime Russia: Between Expert Rule and National Autonomy (1914-1918).

Sardelić, Julija. 2013. "The Roma Community Act in the Republic of Slovenia: Implementation of Roma Non-Territorial Autonomy?" In Ephraim Nimni, Alexander Osipov and David Smith (eds.): *The Challenge of Non-Territorial Autonomy; Theory and Case Studies*. Peter Lang International Publishing.

## **6 May: Making Imperial/National Subjects: State, Nation, and Youth Mobilization in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries (Diana Georgescu, Sayaka Chatani and Olga Gnydiuk)**

The readings we propose move beyond normative models of citizenship to look closely at changing practices of citizenship in two distinct historical contexts. They both focus on social actors – children and youth – who are still in the process of becoming

citizens/subjects. We encourage ANY comments, whether related to questions of citizenship or not, that can help us polish these works for publication and strengthen or clarify our arguments. To jumpstart discussion, we came up with a few broader questions for reflection:

1. How does age as a category of analysis change/challenge conceptions of (socialist, national, or imperial) citizenship?
2. We often limit the discussion of citizenship to “liberal democracies” but both Romania and imperial Japan evade that category. In what ways and to what extent does the construction of citizens/subjects differ under various kinds of regimes?
3. How could the interactions between the citizens of “liberal democracies” and “socialist” or “imperial” citizens within the international sites reshape the practices and the concept of citizenship?
4. How can citizenship be practiced in ambivalent sites such as international children’s camps, which were territorially bound (i.e. organized by and in various countries), but aimed to cultivate internationalist identities and transnational communities?

Readings:

Sayaka Chatani, “Colonial Youth Mobilization in Japan’s Nation-Empire: Social and Emotional Dynamics of Taiwanese Rural Youth under Total War Mobilization”

Diana Georgescu, “Internationalism Without Contamination? Romanian Pioneers on International Youth Exchanges During the Cold War (1965-1989)”

**13 May: Women, Work and Social Citizenship in 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe (Kateryna Burkush)**

The session seeks to investigate the concept of “social citizenship” from the perspective of the relationship between state policies, labor regulations, and gender. The two case studies, suggested for the seminar will focus on the (in)compatibility of work and maternity for women in two periods of dire demand for labor power: in France, in the aftermath of World War I, and in the USSR shortly after and of World War II. The case studies can be addressed as separate pieces of gender history or materials for comparison, even though the ideological presumptions of the states in question and their ideas about social participation of women as citizens regarding work and reproduction were different. Finally, Kathleen Canning’s article serves as a theoretical introduction to the conceptual history of the “citizenship” approach in gender and labor histories not only in Germany, but also in Europe in general. It therefore can be used as contextual background for the discussion.

Readings:

Canning, Kathleen, Class vs. Citizenship: Keywords in German Gender History, *Central European History*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2004)

Frader, Laura Levine. *Breadwinners and Citizens. Gender in the Making of the French Social Model*, 2008, Chapters 1 (Introduction) and 5.

Bucher, Greta, *Struggling to Survive: Soviet Women in the Postwar Years*, *Journal of Women's History* 12.1 (2000) 137-159.

**9 June (14.00-18.30): Lecture and roundtable with Fred Cooper, Sala Triaria (Villa Schifanoia)**

Fred Cooper's lecture and round table discussion of his new book *Citizenship between Empire and Nation. Remaking France and French Africa, 1945-1960*