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### ***Project Statement for the Garnet Junior Mobility Fellowship***

The thesis I want to finalize in the Garnet mobility project is that European citizenship needs to be seen as the response to the disintegration of national forms of political participation. National citizenships were a contingent solution to the problem of legitimacy and identity of political communities, but they are not a viable solution anymore. Therefore, there is the need, for European actors, to “politicise” the European Union and to make the political nature of European citizenship more explicit. In particular, I will stress two aspects of the relationship between national citizenship and European citizenship. The first aspect concerns the link between citizenship and space. National citizenships are a political mechanism of identity and legitimacy that work within the framework of a territorially, politically and culturally bounded political community and the sovereignty of the Nation-State is defined as the power of controlling a given population over a given territory. The aim of State power is to keep national citizens over the national territory and not to make them go out. I claim that European citizenship is instead characterised by the need, for political power, to make citizens circulate across the space of the European Union and to control this circulation. Government and political community are defined in a complete different way than in Nation-States. The second aspect of European citizenship I analyse is its relationship with time: is European citizenship the further step of the evolution of modern Nation-State? Or is it a rupture in relationship to the history of Western Nation-States? I first analyse the discourses of European Union’s institutional actors, like the European Parliament, the European Commission and the European Council. Teleology is implicit in all discourses over European citizenship: it is considered as the achievement of Western Nation-States and as the accomplishment of national citizenships. I would like to demonstrate how misleading this vision could be: there is continuity between national citizenships and European citizenship, but there is nothing like a linear and progressive evolution; on the contrary, European citizenship is generated by the contradictions and imperfections inherent to the history of national citizenships. European citizenship is therefore the attempt to recompose, at the European level, a viable political community. The recent Constitutional referenda in France and the Netherlands, the debate over the Bolkestein directive and the enlargement of the European Union to the East have shown how strong the confusion over the political nature of

European integration is. One of the difficulties facing both the institutional actors and European citizens is the lack of a political grammar in order to address the processes taking place within the European space. My research attempts to discuss the political changes and processes underlying the inadequacy of our political lexicon. Political categories are entangled in historical political processes and analysing their shifts is a way of understanding the nature of political change. European citizenship is a central category in the debates over the Draft Constitution, over the Bolkestein directive and over the issue of European enlargement. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to say what its real content is. In my analysis; I attempt to analyse the rhetoric of European citizenship, in order to give a critical account of the use that European institutional actors make of the category of European citizenship. I would like to show the contradictions underlying the European Union's institutional discourses and the tensions existing between those discourses and the European Union's political actions concerning citizenship. The research concentrates on the link between European citizenship and free movement of people. Through the analysis of the European Union's discourses over this issue, a significant shift between the national forms of citizenship and European citizenship emerges. In particular, it concerns a re-shaping of the link between territoriality, sovereignty and political subjectivity. The questions I would like to answer concern the link between citizenship and nationality: is there a fundamental relationship between citizenship and nationality or is it an historical and contingent one? Is it possible to think citizenship as being dissociated from nationality? Is it possible to have citizenship outside the national form? The thesis I would like to argue for is that there is an historical link and not a conceptual link between citizenship and nationality and between citizenship and the national form of political association. Therefore, it is possible to think citizenship outside the Nation state. Moreover, is *democratic* citizenship conceivable outside the Nation state? If modern national citizenships refer to a population fixed on a territory, geographically and politically bounded within the borders of the Nation State, European citizenship refers to fluxes of people freely circulating through the borders of its Member States. This is demonstrated by the analysis of the laws, directives and dispositions referring to European citizenship and free movement of people. This has at the same time political and theoretical implications. Political implications are the different role that national spaces play: they are not anymore the space of citizenship, since this one is taking forms that exceed the national framework and it needs to be re-situated within the emerging political and geographical space of the European Union. European citizenship is the result of the disintegration of national citizenships: the tensions composing the multiple modern

citizenships found a viable solution in the political form of the Nation State, but this was a historical and therefore contingent solution. The process of European integration is an attempt to put together differently the elements and the forces that cannot make sense anymore at the national level.