European Identity and Citizenship

Sanja Ivic

European Identity and Citizenship

Between Modernity and Postmodernity

palgrave
macmillan

Sanja Ivic
Institute of International Relations
Prague, Czech Republic
Institute for European Studies
Belgrade, Serbia

ISBN 978-1-137-57784-9 ISBN 978-1-137-57785-6 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-57785-6

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016940185

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

The author has asserted her right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher and the author are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the author give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London

Contents

1	Introduction	1
	Bibliography	14
2	Modernist and Postmodernist Accounts of Identity	19
2.1	Introduction	19
2.2	Hermeneutic Approaches to Subjectivity	25
2.2.1	The Modernist Conception of Identity: Descartes's and Locke's Accounts of Identity	27
2.3	The Critique of the Modernist Idea of Subjectivity: Hume and Feminist Thinkers on Identity	34
2.4	Paul Ricoeur's Hermeneutics of Suspicion as a Critique of the Modernist Concept of Identity	39
2.5	Poststructuralist and Postmodernist Concepts of Identity	46
2.6	Conclusion	58
	Bibliography	59
3	Philosophical Roots of Citizenship	65
3.1	Introduction	65
3.2	Aristotle's Conception of Citizenship: Citizenship as Active Participation	71

3.3	The Modern Liberal Concept of Citizenship	77
3.3.1	The Enlightenment Roots of Citizenship and Human Rights Discourse	78
3.3.2	T. H. Marshall's Concept of Citizenship	87
3.4	Postmodern and Postnational Concepts of Citizenship	90
3.4.1	Postmodern Legal and Political Theory	93
3.4.2	Postmodern and Postnational Notions of Citizenship	95
3.5	New Ethics of Citizenship: The Ethics of Care	106
3.5.1	An Ethics of Care: From Feminist Theory to the Idea of Contextual Morality	110
3.5.2	Ethics of Care as the Basis of Deliberative Democracy	114
3.5.3	The Autonomy of the Personality as the Fundamental Idea of the Ethics of Care and Deliberative Democracy	118
3.6	Conclusion	122
	Bibliography	123
4	The Concept of European Citizenship	129
4.1	Introduction	129
4.2	EU Citizenship: Towards a Postmodern Concept of Citizenship?	135
4.2.1	Postmodern and Postnational Traits of the European Union, and EU Citizenship	136
4.2.2	The First Decade of EU Citizenship: EU Politics as a Reflection of the Modernist Politics of Identity	141
4.3	EU Citizenship as a Mental Construct: Mental Maps of Keeping In and Keeping Out	148
4.3.1	The Second Decade of EU Citizenship: Towards a Postmodern Conception of Citizenship?	151

4.4	Poststructuralist Feminist Critique of European Law	157
4.4.1	The Problem of Discrimination against Women in European Union	160
4.4.2	The Concept of 'Family' in European Law	163
4.5	The Concept of EU Citizenship within European Public Discourse	166
4.5.1	The European Commission's <i>Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate</i>	167
4.5.2	Deliberative Democracy as a Key to the 'Democratic Deficit' in Europe	168
4.6	<i>Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate</i>	171
4.6.1	Critique of Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate: Deliberation versus Debate	174
4.6.2	Discursive Production of 'European Public Sphere,' 'European Identity,' and 'European Values'	177
4.6.3	The European Year of Citizens	178
4.6.4	Metaphysical Origins of Europeanness: Creating Narratives for Europe	180
4.7	Demographic Change in the European Union: A Challenge to EU Citizenship and European Identity	182
4.7.1	Rights of Older Adults within EU Legal Discourse	187
4.7.2	The Obstacles to Development of Active EU Citizenship	193
4.8	Conclusion	195
	Bibliography	196
5	The European Identity	207
5.1	Introduction	207
5.2	The Concept of European Identity	208

5.3	The Four Values of the <i>Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union</i>	216
5.3.1	Metaphysical Presuppositions of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union	217
5.3.2	The Four Values: Dignity, Freedoms, Equality, and Solidarity	220
5.4	Poststructuralist Understanding of European Identity	228
5.4.1	Section A of the Udine Declaration—Towards the Logic of Heterogeneity?	230
5.4.2	Section C of the Udine Declaration—Towards the Logic of Homogeneity?	231
5.4.3	European Identity and European Values in a Time of Crisis	235
5.5	The EU Visa Liberalization Process for Western Balkan Countries as a Reflection of the Politics of Modernity	241
5.5.1	The Postmodern Account of Identity and Difference	242
5.5.2	The EU Visa Liberalization Process for Western Balkans Binaries	245
5.6	Conclusion	252
	Bibliography	253
	Conclusion	259
	Bibliography	265
	Index	267

List of Tables

Table 2.1 Modernist and postmodernist accounts of identity	48
Table 3.1 Modern, Postnational and Postmodern Notions of Citizenship	96