

**Introduction to Political Theory**  
**Dr. Mithilesh Kumar Jha**  
**Department of Humanities and Social Sciences**  
**Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati**

**Lecture – 25**

**Citizenship - I: Introduction; Subject and Citizen, Single and Double Citizenship**

Hello and welcome friends. Today, in this lecture, we are going to start a new topic called citizenship. In this lecture, we will look at citizenship and try to understand this concept, by looking at different historical periods in which this term citizenship was conceptualized. We will make a distinction between the subject and citizen. Finally, in the last part of today's lecture, we will briefly, discuss about the notion of single and double citizenship or dual citizenship.

This term citizenship is very central to a modern political discourse, especially, in democracy. It is basically, about the relationship between the ruled and ruler or the government and the governed of a particular society or nation-state. This relationship between the ruled and the ruler is something, very contentious. It has evolved historically, by making this relationship more from the kind of a ruler treating the ruled, as a object of the rule to a situation or context, where the ruled controls those who get the opportunity or scope to rule.

In other way, with the growth of democracy, a new theorization about the state, polity, legitimacy of the state, the relationship between the ruler and the ruled or the state and its subject has changed, dramatically. Citizenship is at the core of that change or transformation. In this topic, we will try to see, how historically, such changes have been brought about to.

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**Introduction**

- Citizenship is about membership to a political community. Although, the origin of this idea can be traced back to ancient Greek city-states, however, its meaning as well as substance have been subject to changes and modifications in different historical contexts. The question of exclusion and inclusion in the sense of who are members of the community and who are not, is central to citizenship debates. Similarly, the idea of thick or thin notions of citizenship in the sense of active or passive citizenship is also at the core of citizenship debates.
- In the contemporary debates on citizenship it is by and large seen as a legal status which guarantee certain rights and protection to the individuals. And, in turn these individuals have certain duties and obligation to their political community. The notion of citizenship has traditionally been linked to an individual's right to participate in the common affairs of the state. However, in the recent times its meanings and substance have become once again subject of intense political debates and discussions. In political theory 'citizenship' refers not only to a formal- legal status as a member of a particular country but also to a normative ideal that is the ruled having rights to participate in the political process.
- There is also a growing interest in the ideas like differentiated, multicultural and cosmopolitan citizenship. Thus, idea of citizenship goes beyond the legal-formal framework to denote substantive membership in the political community. Citizenship is a distinctively democratic ideal, for people in a monarchy or in a dictatorship are treated as 'subjects' and not as 'citizens'.

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To begin, with citizenship broadly, speaking in simple terms, it denotes the membership to a political community. This political community, in modern times, is called the nation-state. In the other historical context, it could be a small city-state as in Greece or imperial states like Roman Empire or absolutist monarchy of the pre-modern times. There can be different kinds of political community. In the modern times, of course, the political community, we have usually, referred to the nation-state.

So, citizenship is the idea or the concept which is about understanding the membership of individuals in a political community. And what is the relationship, what is the status of the member in a particular political community is something, very intentionally, debated. This relates not just to the legal and formal status, but also, to what responsibilities or duties are the basis of such membership in the political community.

Broadly, speaking, in a very simple or easy language, citizenship, denotes the membership of a political community or membership to a political community. Now, the origin of this idea of citizenship can be traced back to the ancient Greek city-states. However, its meaning refer to what does the membership is all about or what does the citizenship is all about. And, what does it mean to be a member of a particular community, or why does the substance or meaning of the term citizenship have been subject to change and modification in different historical contexts. The historical context,

we will discuss in a minute, but the idea is something, which is not fixed or it is not precisely, defined.

We can begin, with discussing citizenship as a member to a political community, but the ideas, the understanding of that membership is too broad and complex, to define precisely, in a universally, accepted sense. Again, citizenship, as we see in the course of two to three lectures is a contested concept. In modern times, there are new debates, and discussions around this idea of citizenship like should it be based on the legal or formal status of individuals in a political community or it should take into consideration the socio-economic or religious background of individuals and the groups in society. So that makes the discourse and debates on citizenship very fascinating.

And this membership to a particular political community is therefore, subject to change and modification. It is not just in its meaning, but also, in its substance, historically. The prime concern in the citizenship debate is then of these two ideas. First, the exclusion, and inclusion, and then, secondly, the thick and thin notions of citizenship. Let us discuss about what this exclusion and inclusion means in the citizenship debates.

This idea is basically, about the boundary or kind of limits that citizenship has. It is not automatically, given to every member but it has certain criteria and procedures through which a large people living in a particular territory can be given this status of citizenship, but certainly, outside that territory. But many within that territory also, can be excluded on certain grounds, and they may be denied the citizenship rights.

And historically, we will see that one of the fundamental rights or the core issue of citizenship is the political participation. In political participation, the right to vote is one of the key ideas. Historically, the right to vote was not given to every member in a particular political community. It was reserved for only the male or even among the male those who have the property or educational qualification.

The criteria of giving the status of citizenship to a particular individual or a group of individual is about including or inclusion, simultaneously, excluding a large number of people, who may not fulfill those criteria. Historically, even in the modern times, who gets the citizenship and that membership to a particular community, becomes absolutely, crucial for living a dignified life.

Thus, every single individual in modern world is supposed to be or expected to have a membership to a particular political community. And that membership to a political community determines, to a great extent the kind of life that one lives in today's world. The statelessness or non-membership to political communities is a worse state for individual existence. So, all of us must be or are members of a particular political community. We carry passport, so that membership enables a lot of things. It gives us certain rights and it protects us from certain aggression.

The responsibility of the state or modern state is to protect its citizens and their rights, to protect their properties and life. So, all those facilities or services by the state are provided to the citizen. Therefore, this membership becomes very crucial, but in modern times, we see, how certain groups or individuals are excluded from the citizenship status. The grounds of the inclusions are also well established. So, who are the citizens, and who are not is something, very central to the citizenship debates which is about the idea of inclusion and exclusion.

Similarly, the idea of thick and thin notions of citizenship, also, relates to the active and passive citizenship, we will discuss in a moment, when we will discuss on the Greek idea of citizenship, but also, in other lectures as well. Basically, the thick and thin notions, in other words, the active or passive notions of citizenship is about whether the citizenship is merely, a formal legal status which provides certain protection to the citizens or it is something, more than that. That means, it enables and gives the individual, not just certain protection by the state or certain protection of the rights, properties, life by the states. But, also, they have the right and responsibility or obligation towards the state. They must participate and actively, participate in the governing of the society.

The public affair or the civic virtue or the civic republicanism is about the active participation of the citizens in the common affairs of their political community. That is about the thick notion of citizenship. The thin notion or passive notion of citizenship is it is a kind of legal and formal status, where being the citizen of a particular political community, we are given certain rights and protected against any aggression or any threat to our life and property. So, how active our participation is also, determined in different forms of the political communities.

For instance, in democracy, we have discussed the direct or indirect democracy. So, most of the modern political community in the form of nation-state is indirect form of democracy, where people govern themselves through the representatives, which they elect, periodically. Their participation is seen as merely, about electing the government or participating in the political process, only once in four years, or once in five years.

But other forms of democracy, like the direct democracy or in gram sabha, where every adult member of the gram sabha or that political community which has direct democracy, actively, participate in the decision-making of their community or village, so that degree of participation vary from a mere legal, formal status, to a more active participation in the political process. These two ideas of exclusion and inclusion, and the thick and thin notions of citizenship are at the very centre of citizenship debates.

In the contemporary debates on citizenship, it is by and large, seen as a legal status which guarantees certain rights and protection of the individuals. If we are a member of a particular political community, we have certain rights. Those rights are given only to the citizen of that country. That means, we can carry the passport or carry the right to vote, right to contest election, right to compete for public position is given to the citizens of a particular political community, which is seen as a legal status in most of the modern democracy. And in turn, the individuals have certain duties and obligations to their political community. That means, we must take participation in the election.

The notion of citizenship has traditionally been linked to the individual right to participate in the common affairs of the state. So, citizenship is seen traditionally, as the individual right to participate in the common affairs of the state, and not just in the modern sense, which is reduced to the right to vote or participating in the common face on the eve of election, but throughout in every decision-making which affects the common affairs of every member in the political community. One should actively, participate, and one has the obligation, to participate in such discussions, debates and decision-making process. Thus, it is about the political participation.

However, in the recent times, its meanings and substance have become once again, the subject of intense political debates as I said again, we have a kind of renegotiation with this relationship between the citizens and state or the government and the state, where the status of the citizenship or the accountability of the state, as the best over the citizenship

rights to the particular groups or communities, once again, fiercely, debated. And it becomes emotionally, and politically, a very challenging issue in modern democracies that makes citizenship a very fascinating topic.

It revisits, the relationship that a citizen has with the state or government, and who gets that status and on what grounds, who get excluded from citizenship is something, once again revisited, and not just in its meaning, but also, in the substance. For example, whether the membership to a political community, just because the individual is the self-defining individuals or because the individual is from a particular group or minorities, religious, linguistic, groups, which requires not just the equal status, but also, the special status. Thus, many people argued about those things as well. In political theory, citizenship refers not only merely, to the formal or legal status of the individuals, but also, it is a normative ideal which talks about the ruled or those who are ruled and their rights to participate in the political process of their political community.

There is a growing interest in ideas and we will discuss about some of these ideas such as the differentiated rights, the multicultural citizenship or cosmopolitan citizenship. Thus, the ideas of citizenship go beyond the legal and formal framework, to denote substantive membership in the political community. We need to remember, it is very distinctive about democracy, and it is a democratic idea. In monarchy or in dictatorship, the people or the population is treated as the citizens, subjects and not as a citizen.

It is only, in the modern democracy that the population is treated as the citizens and by definition, citizens having certain rights or they demand certain services from the state. State must protect those rights and provide those services. There is a kind of empowered population who can demand services from the state and this is provided only in the democracy. Whereas, in the monarchy or in dictatorship, we find the government or state treats the population or the people of their territory within their state as the subject, where they are the objects of the rule without having the necessary or the guaranteed rights which is given and protected in the democracy. Thus, citizenship is a distinctively, democratic ideal which we need to keep in mind.

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**Subject and citizen**

- In order to understand the significance of citizenship a distinction must be drawn between a 'subject' and a 'citizen'. A subject is usually subservient to the state where the right to rule is limited to a privileged class. Citizens, however, themselves constitute the state. Citizenship is the product of a community where the right to rule is decided by a prescribed procedure which expresses the will of the general people.
- In contrast to subject, citizens carry certain inalienable rights which state must protect. They are the source of legitimacy unlike the object of rule as in monarchy.
- However, there is no commonly agreed definition of citizenship. There is an internal logic to this term as Hoffman (1997) puts it that make it progressively more universal and egalitarian. The commonly accepted definition of citizenship by T. H. Marshall in *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950) as 'full and equal membership in a political community' holds the promise of equality and integration within the political community. There is constant evolution of term by including the excluded groups and communities in the fold of 'free and equal' citizenship. The constituent elements of citizenship have been uncertain and often contradictory that make it very difficult to outline a precise notion of citizenship. It is therefore important to understand different strands on citizenship and explore these various strands in their specific historical contexts.

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Let us briefly, discuss these things in between the subject and citizen. In order to the significance of citizenship, one should make a distinction between a subject and citizen. So, a subject is usually, subservient to the state, where the right to rule is limited to a privileged class. In monarchy or in a dictatorship, who gets the opportunity to rule is always, limited to a particular class which is a privileged class in the society. And the ruling is seen as something, which requires a particular expertise or a certain degree of training. And the popular participation is very limited or non-existent.

The citizen is contrary to, where the citizens themselves constitute the state. The very legitimacy and existence of the state rests on the citizenship. The citizenship is the product of a community, where the right to rule is decided by a prescribed procedure, which expresses the will of general people. Thus, who gets the opportunity to rule is based on the general idea or the general will, which reflects the will of every member of that particular community.

So, the citizenship that comes out of the community is a result of their consent or their willingness to be ruled by a particular group or a party. In contrast to the subject, which is the object of rule or subservient to the state, we find citizens as a kind of empowered individuals in the state. The very existence and legitimacy of states rest on these citizens themselves. All modern democracies or their constitutions begin with the idea of 'we the

people'. So, the people are the sovereign or the ultimate authority for the state or the government and their legitimacy.

This is very unlike, to the monarchy or the dictatorship, where there is a kind of treatment of population merely, as the object of the rule or the subject of the rule without having any rights, which they can forcefully, demand from the state or government. So, they must be subservient to the rule or state without asking for any rights.

In contrast, to the subjects, citizens carry certain inalienable rights which state must protect or provide. They are the source of legitimacy, unlike, the object of rule as in the monarchy or dictatorship in the case of subjects. The subjects and citizens is a very crucial development in understanding the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. And it is the modern democratic phenomenon, which we need to understand. Thus, in monarchy or absolutist regime, the population is merely, treated as the object.

But, in the modern democracy, the population is the citizen and every individual; therefore, carry certain rights which the state must protect and certain services which the state must provide. They have certain obligations to the state, but they also, have certain rights which the state must protect. This is in contrast to the subject in the monarchy or dictatorship.

However, there is no commonly, agreed definition of citizenship. And that we see, how this terrain of conceptualization of citizenship is very complex and often, contradictory and there are multiple interpretations and conceptualizations of this term. There is no commonly, agreed definition of citizenship. One of the crucial aspects of citizenship as Hoffman puts it, is that there is some internal logic to it. It is something, which makes the idea of citizenship, progressively, universal and egalitarian in nature.

This defines citizenship as a kind of evolutionary concept. So, historically, it is possible that citizenship is limited to a small group of people that may be the male, but it constantly, gets extended, and becomes more universal and inclusive, by including those who were excluded. So, women or labour, or the workers or unpropertied, or the illiterates, etc.

So, the citizenship, as an idea is ever inclusive or tends to become more universal and egalitarian, and that is something, very inherent in the logic of citizenship. In modern



times, there is debate that does citizenship mean only, the legal or political rights or it includes, the social and economic rights. There is the struggle for the social and economic rights of that citizenship. So, there are many welfare policies which are not turned into right. Thus, the right to work or right to food is about this progressive, evolution of the concept of citizenship.

The commonly, accepted definition of citizenship in modern times is by T.H Marshall in his text, *Citizenship and Social Class*. He defines, citizenship, as the full and equal membership in a political community. So, citizenship is about the full membership. There is no kind of partial or discriminations exist between and among the citizenship. So, every member in the political community is equal, and this equality is a horizontal equality. And this again, is something which we will discuss, and how problematic it is, but theoretically, speaking in the modern nation-states, every single individual is treated as equal. But, can we say, the equality in a legal and political sense, also, translates into equality in the social and economic sense.

However, the organization of the modern state treats the individual as equal is in contrast to a feudal state or state, which believes in the hierarchy or different stratas in the society and accordingly, in giving certain privileges, associated to the different stratas of society. Now, every individual in the modern states have the full participation or full freedom to participate in the political process, and they are treated equally, without any discrimination. This logic of citizenship is about these two ideas, the equality and the integration of individuals in the political community. There is a constant evolution of the term, by including, the excluded groups, such as women and children, or the slaves or racial minorities.

There is a constant evolution and inclusion of those, who were excluded from the idea of free and equal citizenship. And the constituent elements of citizenship have been uncertain and often, contradictory. That makes, it very difficult to outline a precise notion of citizenship. And this point, I have discussed although, they are included, and there is the very idea of free and equal membership to the political community.

But, this free and equal membership is merely, about the political and legal membership or also, about the socio-economic and cultural equality which is something, contested. There is no common agreement on the precise definition of citizenship. So, it is

therefore, important to understand different strands of citizenship and explore these various strands in their specific, historical contexts, which we will discuss in the following slides.

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**Historical development of Citizenship**

- Citizenship is derived from the Latin word 'civis' and its Greek equivalent 'polites' which means member of the polis or city. In ancient Athens citizenship was perceived mainly with reference to duties, while the modern connotation of citizenship involves a set of rights besides duties.
- In modern times citizens have the right to participate in politics but also a right to pursue their private commitments besides their political commitment. The development of ideas that surround the concept of citizenship can be attributed to broadly speaking the following four historical periods :
  1. **Classical Graeco-Roman period** (4<sup>th</sup> C BC onwards): During this period emphasis was largely on the active participation in the civic affairs of the community. It is this active participation which ensured the freedom of the individual. Here the idea that participation in the common affairs of the community was understood as part of human affairs. And therefore, Aristotle definition of human being as *Zoon Politikon* (man is political animal). He defines citizenship as the ability to rule and being ruled in turn. Thus it was a very thick notion of citizenship. However, it was also exclusionary citizenship as it was limited to 'free native born men' at the cost of exclusion of women, children, slaves and resident aliens.

Roman introduced a new aspect to the conception of citizenship as legal status. It was a passive status which provided protection to the heterogeneous subjects of Roman empire under uniform set of rules. This kind of citizenship was also called *civitas sine suffragio* (citizenship without franchise). Its extended the legal protection to the citizens but limited their participation in the political processes.

Public / Private

The historical development of citizenship, if we look at the citizenship as a term is derived from the Latin word civis and the Greek's equivalent to this term is the polites. So, it means, member to a particular polis or city. This is about the membership to a particular political community like the polis or city. In ancient Athens, citizenship was perceived mainly, with reference to the duties, while the modern connotation of the citizenship involves a set of rights, besides, duties.

So, earlier the citizenship or the membership to a particular community, requires, members to participate actively, in the political process. It was more about the public spirit or the service. But, in modern times, particularly, the early modern talks about this legal or the formal status of citizenship, which gives a kind of passive notion of citizenship. Of course, they have certain duties and obligations to the state or political community.

In the modern times, citizens have the right to participate in politics, but also, a right to pursue their private. So, this dichotomy of public and private is a crucial divide in the modern political and social organization. Individuals must participate in the public affairs, but they also, have the right to pursue their private commitments, besides, their

political and public commitments. Thus, happiness or pursuit of happiness, wealth and so on is a part of such dichotomy between the public and private life of the individuals which is a modern development, where the state and its responsibility is to allow the individuals to pursue their interests or to pursue their private interests without any threat, or any external threat.

So, the participation of the individual is divided into these two domains of public and the private, where citizenship is not just about participation in the public life, but also, about the pursuit of private or individual interests. The development of ideas that surrounds the concept of citizenship can broadly, speaking, is divided into four concepts. The citizens can be attributed to the following four historical periods.

First, is the classical Graeco and Roman period, 4th century BC onwards. Now, during this period, emphasis was largely, on the active participation, in the civic or the public affairs of the community. The citizenship is about the participation in the public or the collective life of the community. So, it is the active participation, which ensures the freedom of the individuals. Individual is thus free, and that freeness or freedom can be enjoyed or exercised, when that person actively, participates in the public affairs.

Here, the idea that participation in the common affairs of the community was understood as part of the human nature. It is seen that human-beings can lead a best possible life only in the life of polis. So, the idea of a good life is about participation in the public life of the community. The best life is not in the family or in the household, but in the life of the polis or city-states.

So, the best possible life or desirable life is the life in the participation of the common affairs of the polis. This idea that the individual is free and that freeness is something, which he or she enjoys, particularly, in the Greek time, this right was limited to the male, native born member of the polis. So, it is always he. This idea that individuals exercise the freedom in the life of community is based on the principle; it is part of the human nature.

Therefore, Aristotle's, definition of human being as the 'Zoon Politikon'. The idea of 'Zoon Politikon', defines, the man as the political animals. They live a dignified life which is possible, only in the life of community. Those who choose to live outside the community, is either a god or a beast and such is the definition.

The understanding of human-being is that a good dignified life is possible in the life of community and it is rooted in the human nature. He defines, this is the very thick or active notion of citizenship in Aristotle, who defines citizenship, as the ability to rule and being ruled in turn. So, citizenship, as participation in the public life is not merely, the receiver or we know the subject of the rule, as we see in modern times. Of course, there are some obligations and participation, but by and large, it is seen as some kind of protection or guarantee of services by the state and government.

But, in the Greek city-states, citizenship was the ability of the individuals to not just being ruled by others, but also, they have the ability to rule them. It was the ability of ruling and being ruled, in terms which defines citizenship. It is a very thick notion of citizenship in the Greek city-states. However, it was an exclusionary citizenship as well, because it was limited to the free, native born men at the cost of exclusion of women, children, slaves, residents or aliens. So, the Greek city-states have very thick and active notion of citizenship. But it was exclusionary and the right of citizenship is the participation in public life and it was limited to the free and native born men, at the exclusion of women, children, slaves, resident and aliens.

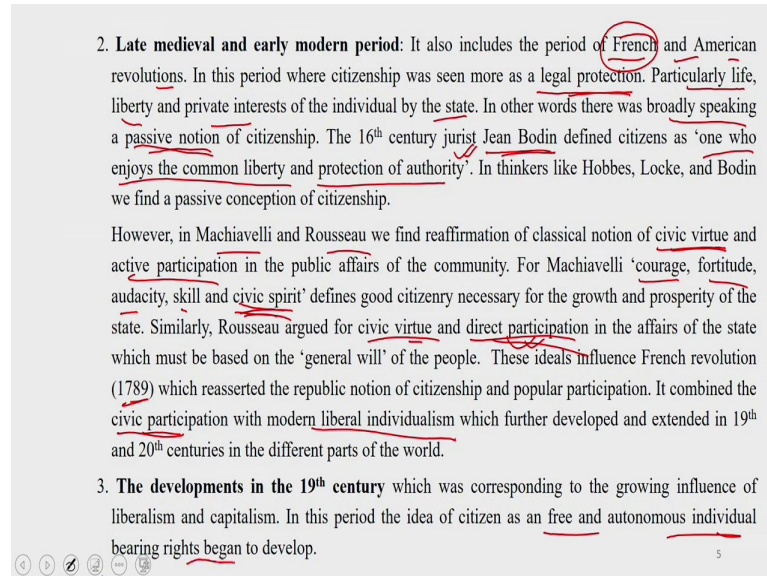
The Romans introduced further, a new aspect of citizenship, that is, a formal and legal status. There it is not just about participation, but also, about having some rights or certain protection by a uniform set of rule. So, the Roman Empire tried to unify, its heterogeneous population, and not, by allowing them to participate in the decision-making or the political process of governing the empire. But by giving them, certain legal protection, within a uniform set of rights. This kind of citizenship is about the *civitas sine suffragio*, that means, the citizenship without franchise.

So, we have citizenship as a legal status of the Roman Empire, but that citizenship does not give us the scope to participate in the governing process or the political process of the empire, but it gives us certain protection by the empire, under the uniform set of rules. It extended the legal protection to the citizenship, but limited their participation in the political process. This is something, which we see is argued by many, early modern thinkers who defines, the citizenship as merely, the legal and formal status.

The Romans, extended the idea of citizenship by including the heterogeneous masses, but then, it defines a new meaning or it defines, a new aspect of citizenship as a legal

status, where the citizens of the empire were given certain protection, but they have very limited or no right in the participation or in the political affairs.

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2. **Late medieval and early modern period:** It also includes the period of French and American revolutions. In this period where citizenship was seen more as a legal protection. Particularly life, liberty and private interests of the individual by the state. In other words there was broadly speaking a passive notion of citizenship. The 16<sup>th</sup> century jurist Jean Bodin defined citizens as 'one who enjoys the common liberty and protection of authority'. In thinkers like Hobbes, Locke, and Bodin we find a passive conception of citizenship.

However, in Machiavelli and Rousseau we find reaffirmation of classical notion of civic virtue and active participation in the public affairs of the community. For Machiavelli 'courage, fortitude, audacity, skill and civic spirit' defines good citizenry necessary for the growth and prosperity of the state. Similarly, Rousseau argued for civic virtue and direct participation in the affairs of the state which must be based on the 'general will' of the people. These ideals influence French revolution (1789) which reasserted the republican notion of citizenship and popular participation. It combined the civic participation with modern liberal individualism which further developed and extended in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the different parts of the world.

3. **The developments in the 19<sup>th</sup> century** which was corresponding to the growing influence of liberalism and capitalism. In this period the idea of citizen as an free and autonomous individual bearing rights began to develop.

Now, the late medieval and early modern period also, includes the French and American Revolution. And particularly, the French revolution is the basis of consolidating or reaffirming, the republican or civic virtue. The public spirit or aspect of the citizenship rights was for a very long time, in the late medieval or early modern period was regarded merely, as the formal or legal status of the communities.

In this period, where citizenship was seen more as a legal protection, particularly, for Locke, Hobbes, and Bodin, it is about the protection of the individual life, liberty, and private interests by the state. If we are the citizen of a particular state, that state must protect our rights to life, liberty, and private interests. In other words, there was broadly, speaking, a passive notion or it has very thin notion of citizenship.

The 16th century, Jurist Jean Bodin, perfectly, defines the passive or thin notions of citizenship, as one who enjoys the common liberty and protection of authority. The citizenship is basically, about the legal and formal status, as a member of particular community, which entitles the individuals to have certain rights or to have freedom or liberty. In thinkers like Hobbes, Locke and Bodin, we find a very passive or thin notion of citizenship.

However, in Machiavelli and Rousseau, we find a kind of reaffirmation of classical notion of civic virtue and active participation in public affairs of the community as the core of the citizenship ideal. So, both of them, describes that a good citizenry or empowered citizenry is necessary for the growth and prosperity of the state, and the political community. For Machiavelli, the good citizens should have the courage, fortitude, audacity skill and the civic spirit. So, the idea of republicanism or civic virtue is very central in their definition or understanding of citizenship, which they argue is necessary, for the growth and prosperity of state.

Similarly, Rousseau, argued for the civic virtue and direct participation. So, the very thick notion of citizenship and in a democracy, we have seen, how Rousseau, argued for a direct form of democracy and he was a critique of the representative or indirect form of democracy, which he lamented as English men are free, once in five years. Thus, after five years, there is an election and during that time, the Englishmen are free and rest of the time, it is the ruler, who actually, controls the life of citizens.

Rousseau was against the indirect form of democracy and he supported the idea of direct participation of individuals in the affairs of state, which must be based on the general will of the people. This point, we have discussed in our previous lecture on democracy, so I will not explain it, again. Basically, the legitimacy or very existence of state rest on the idea that it reflects on the general will. That general will is not the particular will of the section or a group of individuals, but it reflects, the will of everyone. And that gives a very republican notion of citizenship and these ideals, greatly, influenced the French revolution which reasserted the republican notion of citizenship and popular participation.

Thus, the French Revolution in 1789 is an example of reaffirmation of the republican notion and popular participation in the political process, in a sense, the active notion of citizenship in the modern times. It combined the two seemingly, contradictory ideals of the civic participation and modern liberal individuals. These two ideas, on the one hand, the obligations, duties or ideas of participation in the political process, and on the other hand, the idea of individuals as the self-defining, autonomous, individuals, and citizens having certain rights. And also, the right to pursue their private interests or lead a private life or pursue their happiness, and whatever their definition of happiness is or should not be the business of the state and the state must protect those rights of individuals.

So, the modern contradictions in the citizenship are about this civic participation on the one hand, and the modern, liberal individuals on the other. And these two contesting ideals are further, developed and extended throughout the 19th and 20th century in different parts of the world. And this, we will discuss, when we discuss different or alternative notions of citizenship.

The developments in the 19th century were corresponding, to the growing influence of liberalism and capitalism. In this period, the idea of citizenship as the free and autonomous individual bearing rights, began to develop. So, with the growth of capitalism and liberalism, the idea of citizen as the individual with certain rights or inalienable rights must be protected by the state. And the very existence of state is on the basis of their ability, to protect those rights which began to develop in the 19th century with the growth of liberalism and capitalism.

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4. Then comes the contests over the form and substance of citizenship in the **late 20<sup>th</sup> century**, with an increasing preoccupation with multiculturalism, community rights and globalization. These debates according to Derek Heater led to an idea of citizenship which was characterized by 'individual rights and individual mobility across social class – made possible by the idea of equality among the citizens and the replacement of a localized civil society by an all encompassing national political community.

**Two major strands of citizenship**

➤ Two dominant strands or tradition of rights and citizenship developed over these historical periods:

- 1) Civic republicanism: This form is characterized by the ideas of common good, public spirit, political participation and civic virtue. The term civic republican denotes a constitutional government founded on principles of sharing of power to prevent arbitrary authority and the involvement of citizens in public affairs to the mutual benefit of individual and community.
- 2) Liberal citizenship: this strand emphasized on the individual rights and private interests as the major aspects of citizenship.

➤ However, Marxists, Feminists and others have criticized both these strands of citizenship as exclusionary and have argued for radical changes in the theory and practices of citizenship.

Then, comes, the contest over the forms and substance of citizenship in the late 20th century, with an increasing pre-occupation with multiculturalism, the community rights and globalization. Therefore, the arguments are made about the differentiated citizenship, group rights or the cosmopolitan citizenship. These debates, according to Derek Heater, led to an idea of citizenship, which was characterized by the individual rights and individual mobility, across social classes made possible by the idea of equality among

the citizens and the replacement of a localized civil society, by an all encompassing national political image.

So, in this period, also, the idea of nation-state and all the political community is seen as the nation-state which provides the horizontal solidarity or equality among the members of that political community in the form of nation-states, which constantly, allows them to have equal or demand for the equal rights. And also, the mobility across the social classes, defines, the modern conception or characterized the modern conception of citizenship, according to Derek Heater, which will further, discuss in our following lecture.

In all these four historical periods, what we find is these two major strands of citizenship. One is the civic republicanism, and then, there is the liberal citizenship. The civic republican notion of citizenship is characterized by the idea of common good or public spirit or political participation and civic virtue. So, the civic republican notion of citizenship is about the service or participation in the public life or the political process of the political community. The term, civic republican denotes a constitutional government founded on the principles of power sharing, to prevent arbitrary authority, and the involvement of the citizens in the public affairs, to the mutual benefits of individual and community.

This is the notion of the civic republicanism, which is what sharing of the power, to counter any arbitrariness on the part of the authority, the constitutional form of government, and the idea of public good or the public spirit or the civic virtue, which works in the interests of both the individuals and community which defines the civic republican tradition, as strands of thought about the citizenship.

Then, the other is the liberal citizenship, which is about the idea of individual as the autonomous self-defining individuals or citizens which have certain rights and private interests, and this is the major aspect of citizenship and the understanding of citizenship in liberal tradition. Thus, the liberal citizenship is in contrast, to the civic republicanism which emphasis on the individuals having certain rights and private interests which must be protected by the state and authority, and that is something, in contrast to the republican emphasis on the public spirit and civic virtue.



And these two traditions, constantly, contest each other's understanding or conceptualization of citizenship throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Some of these, we will discuss in the following lecture. These two major strands of thought on the notion of citizenship in modern times, is further, criticized by particularly, the Marxists, Feminists, and among others, who considered the liberal or civic republican notion of citizenship as exclusionary.

As it is limited, to a very privileged or empowered groups or sections in the society, at the cost of excluding, the majority of the population. Therefore, they argued for the radical changes in the theory and practices of citizenship. This we will discuss, when we will discuss the alternative conception of citizenship, like the Feminist conception in the next class.

Now briefly, on the single and dual citizenship, in the modern times, we see that all individuals, for them, to lead a good and dignified life must be a member to a particular community. Whether that membership is limited to one particular community or they can be simultaneously, a member of two and more countries. And that distinguished the idea of a single citizenship or dual citizenship. So, many states may permit this partial membership to other political community, but also, the exclusive membership of one, particular citizenship.

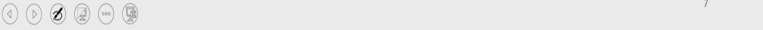
The basis or logic of such idea is the part of the loyalty or obligation of a citizen, to a particular community. So, it cannot be divided into two sovereign states. At one point of time or at any given point of time, one individual, usually, is not the member of more than one political community or more than one nation-state. So, all of us must be the members of only one political community. That is the majority of modern nation- states, which permits or allows only single citizenship, at a given point of time.

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**Single and Double citizenship**

➤ '*Single citizenship*' means the citizen of a particular country is allowed to carry a single citizenship at a time. For example, Indian constitution provides single citizenship to its people. By the Indian law, if an Indian national voluntarily acquires the citizenship of another country, he/she has his/her Indian citizenship forfeited. However, there are debates which give partial citizenship to overseas Indian. They may acquire Overseas Citizenship and will be known as Overseas Citizen of India which leaves them with certain privileges excluding them the political rights.

➤ *Dual citizenship* or multiple citizenship is when a single person is legally recognized as a citizen of two or more countries at the same time. However, not all countries allow their citizens to carry dual citizenship.



However, there are exceptions, where the nation-states may allow their members to have the membership of more than two or more than two nation-states. Thus, the single citizenship means, the citizenship of a particular country is allowed to carry a single citizenship at a given point of time. For example, Indian constitution provides single citizenship to its people. And by the Indian law, if an Indian national voluntarily acquires the citizenship of another country, he or she, has his or her Indian citizenship forfeited. Simultaneously, we cannot be the citizens of more than two countries.

However, there are debates which give partial citizenship to overseas Indians. And they may acquire overseas citizenship, and they will be known as overseas citizens of India which leaves them with certain privilege, excluding them the political right. Thus, Indian origin people living in different parts of the world may be given certain recognition by the Indian state.

However, what should be the extent of such recognition is something, which is debated. There is the argument that they should also be allowed to participate in the election. And that is something, very contentious, yet such discourse is open. However, the idea of citizenship is that the Indians or for that matter any modern nation- states provide single citizenship. That means, if the member of a particular nation-state is having a legal citizenship and in that particular state, prior to acquire citizenship of any other country, he legally, forfeit his membership to his original nation-state.


Now, the idea of dual citizenship is also practiced in some countries or which we also, call multiple citizenship, when a single individual or person is legally, recognized as a citizen of two or more countries, at the same time. That is called the dual citizenship. However, not all countries allow their citizens to carry dual citizenship. And, most of the nation-states in modern times, practices this idea of single citizenship. Because, it is about the loyalty and obligation, to a particular sovereign state which cannot be divided. It should not be distributed between and among different countries.

Of course, with the new discourse and discussions, and with the migration between and across the countries, there is the new conceptualization or development in the theorization of citizenship, but by and large, most of the modern nation-states, practice the idea of single citizenship. In some cases, there is also, the permission to have more than two or multiple citizenship for the same individuals. So, that is all on the citizenship and different historical periods of citizenship, the idea of subject and the citizenship, and how both are different. And then, we have discussed about the two strands of citizenship whether the liberal or the republican stance of citizenship and their critique to it. Further, we will develop it in the next lecture and finally, on this idea of single and dual citizenship.

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References

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3. Hoffman, John and Paul Graham (eds.) (2015). *Introduction to Political Theory*, New York: Routledge.
4. Gauba, O. P. (2016), *An introduction to Political Theory*, Mayur Paperbacks.
5. Ramaswamy, Sushila (2010), *Political Theory: Ideas and Concepts*, PHI Learning.



And on this, you can refer to some of these texts by Dryzek and Phillips, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*. And you should look at Anupama, Roy's, *Citizenship*, in

Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya's, *Political Theory: An Introduction*. This is a very important reading for this topic and you should look at it. And also, Hoffman, Gauba, and Sushila Ramaswamy, you can look at their books, as further readings on this topic of citizenship. That is all for today.

Thank you for listening and do write to us your comments, queries or thoughts. We will be happy to respond.

Thank you all.