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(Transversal theme ; 1)



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Historiographical Reflections on Citizenship: the Spanish Case

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Este breve trabajo relativo a la idea de ciudadanía a través de la historiografía española, obliga a señalar – desde el mismo punto de partida – la carencia de fuentes narrativas de importancia que se hayan dedicado en concreto al tema, hasta recientemente.

No es menos cierto que en el balance del quehacer historiográfico más actual, se encuentran sobrados ejemplos comparativos que afrontan con eficacia el proceso vivido por esta sociedad desde el inicio del siglo XIX, en su deseo de asentar los ideales de la ciudadanía ilustrada, con el fin de dotar al país de un sistema institucional articulado sobre principios sólidos y comunes a los demás países de la Europa emancipada. El largo proceso histórico ha tenido, y tiene, intérpretes conocidos y solventes en el panorama histórico profesional de este país. La mayor parte de estos especialistas han acotado, perfectamente, el devenir de gobiernos que poco entendieron las exigencias de la justicia y el legítimo empuje de hombres y mujeres a convertirse en ciudadanos, abandonando su condición de súbditos. A partir de este balance investigador que, en verdad, diversifica sus campos de estudio de manera multidimensional, el panorama relativo a la idea de ciudadanía ofrece, aún, en nuestros días, un vacío demasiado notorio en la atención que monográficamente se le presta al hecho en sí para la historia concerniente a la conciencia ciudadana.

Como resultado de este déficit, las aproximaciones que sobre el concepto histórico de ciudadanía se presentan, redundan en lugares comunes que, de una parte, aproximan la experiencia a casos también conocidos de la Historia europea, y de otra, acotan fases demarcadas por el devenir democrático y antidemocrático de nuestro pasado histórico, de manera moncorde.

El desarrollo histórico de los derechos ciudadanos, en el caso español, ha sido objeto, por tanto, de muy pocos estudios dedicados puntualmente al problema. El papel del ciudadano en relación al sistema político y a la misma sociedad, tiene escasos especialistas en nuestro panorama bibliográfico. Pese a algunas contribuciones breves (artículos en revistas especializadas, seminarios, cursos monográficos, etc.) lo cierto es que el debate sigue abierto y sin respuestas bien definidas o materializadas en publicaciones consistentes. Es la sociología histórica, en cualquier caso, la disciplina que ofrece ya distintas contribuciones interesantes. Autores cuya valoración se acota en este artículo desde algunas de sus aportaciones significativas al tema, y cuya entidad apunta hacia problemas distintos que concentran la atención, en todo caso, sobre la ciudadanía de nuestro tiempo, en pleno siglo XXI.

Sin perjuicio de que la historia demuestre el devenir – a veces deambulatorio – del concepto de ciudadanía, en el caso de la cultura político-social española, cabría aseverar, además, que éste se erigió en decisivo al lograr reconocimiento definitivo a partir de la década de 1990. Esta preeminencia se debió, en gran medida, al hecho de que se convirtiera en conciencia resoluta

en plena evolución, debido a los grandes cambios económicos, sociales y políticos de fin de siglo XX alcanzados.

Parafraseando a Salvador Giner: La condición de ciudadano es el mayor logro de la civilización moderna. Todos los demás empalidecen frente ante él. Por este motivo, la evocación histórica que se presenta en nuestro artículo, trata de resumir algunos pasos que, históricamente, corresponden en este capítulo protagonizado por la sociedad española, y afronta, también, las nuevas circunstancias que en el presente llevan al debate sobre alternativas, corrientes y proceso histórico que la ciudadanía democrática ha vivido y vive, hasta la actualidad.

*Es una desolación; en España el pueblo
es masa electoral y contribuible.
Como no se le ama, no se le estudia,
y como no se le estudia,
no se le conoce para amarle.
Miguel de Unamuno,
Obras completas ("Sobre el marasmo...")
Madrid 1966-71*

[It is a devastation; in Spain the people
are an electoral and taxable mass.
As they are not loved, they are not studied;
and as they are not studied,
they are not known so that they may be loved].
Miguel de Unamuno,
Complete Works ("On the current stagnation...")
Madrid 1966-71]

Examining the idea of citizenship in Spanish historiography implies following an essential pathway developed over many centuries. In this chapter, the different profiles of citizenship in different periods are noted; the influence of various historical events on the development of the concept is explained and some challenges in present-day society are commented upon.

It is evident that History constitutes an interesting discipline for developing the competences necessary for citizenship, since it contributes to the diffusion of a common narrative of the past and the present, making it possible to build a precise vision of society and the world. Teaching History permits, potentially, the development of the different dimensions of citizenship: the personal, the temporal, the spatial and the social¹.

The quotation from the philosopher Miguel de Unamuno reminds us of the period in which he, as an outstanding member of the 'generation of '98', denounced certain deficiencies in the consideration of the value of citizenship which had marked Spanish society for centuries. In our own time social history confirms that we cannot but be aware of a kind of citizenship in which popular sovereignty is the key factor. "The status of citizen is the greatest breakthrough of modern civilization. All others pale by comparison. Furthermore, any other, from universal access to education to the extension of medical and

health care to all the population have their moral and legal base in the enthronement of citizenship as a principle. The human condition now allows human beings to enjoy the full value of their humanity”².

‘CITIZENSHIP’ AND SPANISH CONTEMPORARY HISTORIOGRAPHY

This brief discussion of the idea of citizenship in Spanish historiography obliges us at the outset to point out the lack of important narrative sources dedicated specifically to the subject. Certainly, if we consider the balance of recent historiographical work, we find many comparative examples that actually deal with the process that Spanish society experienced from the beginning of the 19th century on – in its desire to develop the ideals of enlightened citizenship, in order to provide the country with an articulated institutional system based on solid principles held in common with the other countries of emancipated Europe.

This long historical process has had, and continues to have, well-known and reliable interpreters among the professional historians of this country. Most of these specialists have criticized, aptly, the appearance of governments that did not understand the need for justice and the legitimate desire of men and women to become citizens, leaving behind their condition as subjects.

This line of research, in truth, has diversified its fields of study in many directions. Nonetheless, even today the study of the idea of citizenship is marked by a notorious lacuna, insofar as it has not adequately examined the fundamental aspect of citizenship which is the awareness that citizens themselves have of citizenship and its history.

As a result of this lacuna, approaches to the historical concept of citizenship abound in commonplace: on the one hand, they compare the Spanish experience to other well-known cases in European history, and on the other, they limit themselves to univocal judgements on the democratic and anti-democratic events in our historical past. The historical development of citizens’ rights, in the Spanish case, has been the object, therefore, of very few specific studies. The role of the citizen in relation to the political system and to society itself has been a centre for the research interests of very few specialists in our historiographical and bibliographical panorama. In spite of some brief contributions (monographic articles in specialized magazines, seminars, courses, etc.) the fact is that the debate remains open. There are no well-defined, convincing and coherent overviews. In any case, historical sociology is the discipline that offers the most interesting contribution.

History perhaps demonstrates the development – not always progressive – of the concept of citizenship in Spanish socio-political culture. Nonetheless it may be asserted that this concept became decisive when it obtained definitive recognition in the 1990s. Its pre-eminence was, to a great extent, due to the powerful awareness that ‘citizenship’ was in the process of rapid development, due to the great economic, social and political changes at the end of the 20th century. In Adela Cortina’s words³, the main reason that this concept is so fashionable at the moment is due “to the necessity, in post-industrial societies, to generate among their members a type of identity in which they recognize themselves and which makes them feel a sense of membership in that society, because this type of

society clearly suffers from a lack of adhesion on behalf of the citizens to the community as a whole, without which it is impossible to respond to the challenges that face all of us together”.

By ‘citizenship’, we understand a legal and political status thanks to which the citizen acquires rights as an individual (civil, political, social, etc.) and duties (normally imposed, such as military service, good faith...) with respect to a collective political body (country, city...), as well as the possibility of acting in the collective life of a State. This status derives from the democratic principle of popular sovereignty. As in many other countries, in Spain the idea of citizenship arose as a constituent element of the idea of a nation-state and its meaning was reinforced with the appearance of the welfare state; nevertheless, the processes of internationalisation and deregulation of the economy, associated with globalisation, mean that states face difficulties in ensuring previously socially agreed minimum levels of welfare, whereas where the institutional framework is weak, capital evaporates without its yields being made available for the future of the population.

In this context, it is necessary to transcend the idea of citizenship associated with duties and rights, a citizenship circumscribed by national borders, in order to increase the understanding of the idea of the Earth ‘as a whole’; that is to say, to move progressively towards global citizenship, which is not merely limited to the legal constitutional sense of belonging to a territory with political rights and obligations. This is, generically, the perspective of the latest studies on the idea of citizenship reflected in society and in contemporary history.

This said, from our present-day perspective, and for the case of European citizenship – the standard, without exception – we may briefly recall that citizenship is a concept forged, from its historical origins, in the city. It corresponds to the status of free men and women. This status, a set of rights and duties, was created through the institutions of representation and government at local level. City councils with their elected assemblies and the control that these bodies exerted over the city government are the precursor of political democracy. The citizen was the inhabitant ‘by law’ of the city. Even today, in Spain, the population ‘by law’ is distinguished from the population ‘by fact’ in each municipality.

As Adela Cortina⁴ affirms:

...citizenship is primarily a political relationship between an individual and a political community, by virtue of which the individual is a full member of that community and owes permanent loyalty to it. The status of citizen is, consequently, the official recognition of the integration of the individual in the political community, a community that since the origins of Modernity takes the form of a national State of Law.

The concept of citizenship is generated, then, from the need for union with equals which entails separating out those who are not included, a need which, in the West at least, is experienced as a permanent conflict.

This ‘discovery’ means, in the words of S. Giner, a historical process which is much more than an episode, and which characterises an entire era, the era of modernization, “in a ceaseless battle against currents and hardships”.

FROM ARISTOTLE TO POSTMODERNISM

We must make the inevitable reference to Aristotle's formulation, contained in the first chapters of book III of his 'Politics', which defines the city and the citizen⁵. The concept of citizenship is political: the citizen "is defined by nothing better than by participation in the administration of justice and government". A citizen is someone whose capacity to participate effectively in the government of the city is recognised for whatever reason.

Following an opinion shared with other modern authors of the latest trends in sociology, the institution of citizenship is one of the consequences of urban life. "It's the result of the de-tribalization of society", which it generates unavoidably, first inside the city walls, later outside⁶.

With the appearance of the modern State, the present concept of citizenship began to be formed in principle, related to both poles of the expression 'nation-state', that is to say, 'state' and 'nation'.

Contemporary historiography, relating to ideological and social movements, to narrative history since the 1800s and to the economics of modernization, inevitably forms its hypotheses from this elementary, but on the other hand inevitable, premise. As other European societies, Spanish society participates in the tradition created by liberalism⁷.

Let us therefore consider, as a quick historical reference, what Javier Peña⁸ tells us: "(...) although the roots of citizenship are Greek and Roman, the present concept of citizenship comes mainly from 17th and 18th centuries, from the French, English and American revolutions, as well as from the birth of Capitalism".

On the other hand, in the words of Manuel Perez Ledesma⁹,

our perception of ancient and, in general, historical citizenship, is, in principle, inseparable from the representation that we make of contemporary democracy, of our own anthropology of the citizen and of the political order in which we develop. This is the point of departure for all comparison between two such distant experiences in formats of citizen participation as Athenian democracy and modern parliamentary democracy. The liberal revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries were to a great extent raised on images of ancient citizenship, the Greco-Roman virtues, republicanism and the decay of the historical experience of popular constitution. But, unlike what happened to the classic formulation of market theory in Adam Smith, the interpretation of historical citizenship, since the English Restoration and the continental Enlightenment, mainly indicates differences between the two forms of citizenship, then and now.

Since the 18th century, the difference between the two experiences of citizenship has been conceived, to begin with, in a politological sense. Later, the example of the French Revolution 'invented' the modern concept of citizenship, which permeated the potentialities that Spanish constitutionalism began to develop in the 19th century.

In Perez Ledesma's opinion, this invention affected at least three levels: legal citizenship (equal citizenship before the law, in contrast to former local or statutory privileges); political citizenship (the citizen as member of the political and participative body in public affairs); and national citizenship (the citizen as integrated in the State, as opposed to his or her previous belonging to intermediate bodies, and, at the same time, separated radically from the foreigner). However - Perez Ledesma continues:

in the second of those senses, regarding political participation, the invention met with special difficulties, derived from the resistance between two different conceptions of citizenship, one of which enjoyed the prestige of a long history while the other was just beginning to arise in the revolutionary process itself.

The Spanish constituents who met in the Cortes of Cadiz were faithful followers of the French experience. As in the French text of 1791, in the Constitution of 1812 too a sharp distinction was made between Spaniards, on the one hand, and citizens, on the other¹⁰. Nevertheless, the possibility of electing and being elected for municipal office or as national representatives was recognised only for citizens. Therefore, in the Constitution of Cadiz, the distinction between 'civil citizenship' and 'political citizenship', or between 'naturals' and 'citizens', appeared with the same clarity as in the French Constitution of 1791, although with differences derived from the different structure and social composition of the two states. Civil rights had to be common to all the individuals that composed the nation, an immediate consequence of natural law. Political rights, however, could "undergo those limitations that accord with public felicity", in the measure in which the criterion for granting them was "the general good and the different forms of government".

In the history of Spanish constitutionalism, there are circumstances in which notable failures occurred in the development of a complete awareness on the part of the citizen. These can be attributed to the absence of a stable constitutional pact (especially, as we know, during the period of the Carlist wars). The political function of the Constitution, inasmuch as it identifies the limits of the power and rights of the citizen, was simultaneously basic and traumatic in the Spanish experience. The 'constitutional pendulum' in Spanish history does not have to be attributed doctrinally, as Jover Zamora notes, to a "special idiosyncrasy of the Spanish", no matter how much groups and thinkers since the 1900s been interested in emphasizing the incapacity, socially and even doctrinally, of Spaniards to develop liberalism and democracy. The rights of the citizen are, indeed, the keystone, in a formal sense, of any political system. As M. Rodríguez¹¹ points out, between 1834 and 1874 the liberals completed the work of Cadiz and the Triennium on this point, following a substantially identical process to that followed in other parts of Europe, of identification of 'man' with 'citizen'.

Be that as it may, restricted suffrage could not withstand the assault of a people prepared to guarantee the bases of its sovereignty. This was shown in the revolution of 1868, just as it had been in the France of 1848.

The Constitution of 1869 (articles 16-20) would place its seal on that model of citizenship, albeit ephemerally. The Restoration marked the return to suffrage based on wealth, although in 1890 there was a return to universal male suffrage, thus multiplying the number of electors by six. José Alvarez Junco¹² aptly highlights the fact that it is difficult to classify the Spanish political system and society, at the time of the Restoration, as regards the degree of its modernity or traditionalism. Underlying this problem is that of citizenship, which is similar in its complexity.

We see, then, that recent historiography is ready to diagnose the period at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century as a 'society in transition'. "This is a country

in which a centralized, modern, nation state has been constructed, but on paper, more than in reality”¹³. A state that lacks the capacity to make laws, that does not control all the means of power, given the endemic phenomenon of the political domination and influence of caciques, and that must negotiate with local powers before making decisions: these are characteristics of a society that Juliá¹⁴ defines as pre-modern.

As regards the idea of inclusiveness or participation, the democratic calling seems to be absent, in the opinion of this and other authors. Universal suffrage was not put into effect, in spite of the fact that it has been recognised since 1890. Oligarchical behaviour benefits from this model. Democracy is not fully present and in no way would it be possible to categorize it as free from a liberal point of view. But, given the peculiarities of the cacique system, it is evident that the full application of the rights of citizens is absent.

On paper and in reality, this situation is more evident in the countryside than in the cities. Here, the practice of liberties was taken great advantage of, both in a literal sense and figuratively, as regards Populist protest and political movements. Thus, according to the basic aspects of what we understand today as political culture, the Spanish case in this contemporary phase shows elementary deficiencies. Plainly understood as norms, beliefs and values of a society, the conduct of citizenship became invisible at numerous historical junctures. Without continuing this consideration to its fatalistic end, in my modest opinion, and paraphrasing Santos Juliá¹⁵, Spanish citizenship pursued its own ideals, in a particular and different way.

Bourgeois democracy, as described by Spanish historians, was the starting point of this transformation, although there are some who question its overall meaning; on the other hand, given the peculiarities of the Spanish case and in view of the residual effects of the society of the old regime, it arrived at the end of the 19th century divided by diverse conflicts (mythification, centralization, decentralization, clericalism, anticlericalism, nationalisms, regenerationism, disillusion...) especially after 1898 (‘the disaster of 98’).

The citizenry was plunged into a great sea of uncertainty, which would not end until the Second Republic marked a socio-political landmark, for better or for worse. As is well known, the historical corollary soon materialized in the Civil War. Years later, democratisation reinforced the variables in which the citizen could fulfil the exercise of those historically comparable faculties, such as the right to the vote in an equitable situation.

The glorious resurrection of Spain, that the intellectuals of ‘98’ evoked, implied regeneration, refoundation, etc., but their perspective was full of anthropological pessimism.

In our view, citizenship and its importance in this context became blurred. Civilization was something coercive, exclaimed the philosopher Unamuno. But it was this same author who wrote during a personal phase of marked conviction in popular protagonism, that when the masses gained awareness there was a viable possibility: “Spain is about to be discovered and only Europeanised Spaniards will discover it”. He arbitrarily identified awareness – as Tuñón de Lara¹⁶ avoided doing – with Europeanization. The Basque philosopher, definitely placed the emphasis not only on the role of intellectual or political elites, but also on citizens.

FROM THE CIVIL WAR UNTIL THE PRESENT

The Decree of 8 May 1931 on the modification of the Law of 1907 extended suffrage to members of the clergy and women, confirming their rights as citizens to stand for election. Universal suffrage without class distinction was contained, finally, in article 36 of the Constitution of 9 December 1931.

Other positive considerations which could result in a process of social reinforcement of citizenship can be found in a work by Balado commemorating the Constitution of 1978: “the attempts to establish a ‘national education’ were in our country a praiseworthy attempt to bring the light of science and culture to all, and with them, the intellectual emancipation that the democratic system demands, when this was based on a ‘metaphysics of subjectivity’, that is to say, the fortification of the individual as the main political and social creator. Although in our country we have Claudio Moyano’s Law of Education and important essays towards an education for freedom and democracy, in the end they will be praiseworthy attempts whose seed will not be allowed to germinate (...) To associate education, culture, democracy and freedom, was and remains a precondition for forging a political system, such as the democratic one, whose health and vigour are based on the quality of its citizens”.

Because of the impact of the Civil War, modern citizenship in Spain has surely been ‘an also unpredicted’ consequence, a result of warlike conflicts and other movements that broke the stability of the established status quo.

Under the influence of union and labour struggles, during the course of much of the 20th century, it is understandable that political rights improved and pressure groups forced governments to make reforms in that direction. Later the rejection of class struggle in this society modified the process of construction of citizenship.

The so-called organic democracy of Francoism left the citizenry in a situation of very meagre representation; its participation was restricted to collective formulas and official corporations. Citizens, however, were sometimes consulted in extraordinary circumstances, as in the case of the Law of Succession of 1947, and later, in 1967, the Statutory Law of the State. These plebiscites, which gave approval by acclamation to the proposals of the Regime, evidently, cannot be compared to democratic opinions. Later, with the creation of a representative regime based on citizen participation (the Law of Political Reform, 1976), a decisive step, that initiated the change towards a new constitutional project, was taken.

We may repeat that the Constitution of 1978 is objectively the result of a history of misunderstandings between Spaniards that bore bitter fruit. In order to evaluate the values, rights and liberties contained in its text, we must not forget the past. The Constitution of 1978 certainly inaugurated a new epoch in the history of our country, incorporating it into modernity¹⁷.

It is evident that the concept of citizenship becomes increasingly complex throughout its lengthy process of development; the enrichment of its contents registers the political fluctuations through which Spanish history has passed.

As Javier Peña states, “the Right and the Left have been equally able to find in the notion of citizenship a basis for their respective demands for emancipation and social cohesion,

as it incorporates the problems of justice and of rights of freedom (liberals), those of identity and belonging (communitarists) and of active political participation (republicans, radical democracy)¹⁸.

In the review of events at global level, obviously, the presence of new social pacts also affects our society and its citizens. The appearance of new social subjects is another reality that defines the world that has developed throughout the 20th century to the present day, and it does so – as is already evident in 2006 – as a step towards multiculturalism.

A new working citizenship, with the incorporation of women in the whole that is the Spain of the Autonomies since 1978, has its roots in the years of social struggle and conflict. In the collective work *Citizenship and Democracy*, sociologist Celia Valiente¹⁹ in *Gender and Citizenship: the organisms of equality and the welfare state in Spain*, addressed the influence of equal opportunity organisms on the establishment of social rights of the female part of the citizenry. The period of reference in the 1980s, emphasizes the strategy successfully practiced since the creation of the Institute of the Woman in 1983 and thanks, obviously, to the legislation of that and the subsequent period.

European citizenship and national citizenship, we might say, is a terrain especially cultivated by politicians and sociologists who confront the new realities of a Spain that, having gone through the phase of democratic transition, today fully experiences its condition of member of the European Union. Javier Peña²⁰ limits the idea of citizenship, in a text written in an earlier period: “In my opinion, the most notable aspects of the concept of citizenship are participation, rights and belonging”. The idea of citizenship as a political ideal, with strong liberal roots, owes much to the influential theses of T.H. Marshall, popularised by contemporary conservative neo-liberal thought²¹.

But it is evident that in the age of globalisation, there is a new hierarchy of problems: the problems regarding achieving ideal citizenship in our democracies seem insignificant compared with the dramatic nature of other conflicts which are appearing: among others, that of immigration.

For decades, as we have noted above, the use of the concept of citizenship was restricted. Nowadays diverse authors recognize the importance of the notion of citizenship in the elaboration of a concept of agreed and non-formal democracy with the principles of the western liberal tradition. In explaining the ‘resurgence’ of the idea of citizenship, we can distinguish reasons both on the theoretical level and in the level of the experience of socio-political life in contemporary societies.

On the theoretical level, the concept of citizenship is, on the one hand, intimately bound to the idea of individual rights inherent to subjects and, on the other, seen as a bond with a particular community and participation in its public-political sphere. In this sense, the notion of citizenship appears to be linked to specific anthropological conceptions, a set of inalienable rights and, at the same time, to the exercise of virtues, obligations and responsibilities to oneself and to the other members of the civic community.

At the level of social experience, interest in citizenship has been fuelled by a series of political events and trends occurring all over the world: “the increasing apathy of voters and chronic dependency on welfare programs in the United States, the resurgence of na-

tionalistic movements in Eastern Europe, the tensions created by a multicultural and increasingly multiracial population in western Europe, the dismantling of the Welfare State in Thatcher's Britain, the failure of environmentalist policies founded on the voluntary cooperation of citizens, etc."²².

Certainly more 'experiences' can be added to this inventory, which otherwise corresponds to an inventory of developed societies.

In sum, the facts that we have described at general level, show that the vigour and stability of modern democracies do not depend on the justice of their 'basic structures' alone, but also on the inclinations, links, practices and attitudes of their citizens. For example, their feeling of identity and their perception of potentially conflicting forms of national, regional, ethnic or religious identity; their capacity to tolerate and work with different individuals; their motivation to talk and associate with strangers; their disposition to change, flexibility and innovation; their desire to participate in the political process with the purpose of promoting the public good and controlling their authorities; their disposition to limit themselves and to exert personal responsibility in their economic demands, in the areas of health, in their dealings with family and neighbours, as well as in environmental questions and as regards sustainable development.

These variables can be clearly placed in connection with specific problems and facets of citizenship itself, and the assertiveness of citizenship, among the diverse members of the Spanish society of recent years²³. Today, Spanish citizenship faces a double challenge. On one hand, there are factors that put the acquired contents of citizenship at risk. On the other, new phenomena create the need to extend the contents and renew the concept of citizenship.

Among the factors that put citizenship into question, the most important are those arising from the economic crisis and increased unemployment. As in other European countries, in Spain a growing proportion of the population is progressively losing its attributes as citizens: it does not vote, it is not employed, it lives in marginal areas, feels excluded from the institutions, is not connected with the progress of the communication networks; that is to say, it is 'outside', which is worse than being 'underneath'. To the above, we must add that a significant part of the population does not lose its citizenship because it has never had it: foreigners, many of them illegal. Recent analyses of these and other facts centre their conclusions on the dimension that, beyond Europeanist literature and its project of citizenship, reflects on the future in a present day where the symptoms of change and an equally surprising extension of the concept can be detected²⁴.

Some demographical and migrational trends of contemporary society, accelerated by the process of globalization, have complicated the warp itself²⁵ of our societies. This fact, combined with that of the unexpected rise of localism, ethnic nationalism, the formation of ethnically distinct quarters in cities and towns, and other trends of community affirmation, have engendered a real concern about ethnical, multicultural and inter-communitary matters, which hardly existed before.

For this very reason, Giner states that "citizenship requires a unique moral and political culture". Based on this coherent position, I suggest that his reasoning acquires an even

greater value when applied to the necessity of reinforcing education about the spirit of citizenship: “The teaching of citizenship must be a primary goal in every democratic and advanced *politeia*”.

But I would like to make clear, as he did, that “it’s not a matter of undermining in any way, directly, each community’s differences or its own terrain. (...) Nevertheless, the world of tribes or of neo-tribes, that of ethnic, religious or economic communities, is not very supportive of civic proactivity, as we know from countless studies”²⁶.

These difficulties make us wonder if the notion of citizenship in its traditional version is still tenable, or if we must adopt other forms in our time, such as multiple citizenship or cosmopolitan citizenship, in order to adapt to the universalist premises associated with modern democratic citizenship. And they lead us to the crucial question of the conjugation of the ‘Rights of Man’ and the ‘Rights of the Citizen’²⁷.

In the philosophical-political debate of recent decades this question has been approached through more or less explicit proposals of *models of citizenship*. Peña names three of them: the ‘liberal’, the ‘communitarist’ and the ‘republican’, which appear in many modern works on citizenship.

Communitarists have claimed that it is necessary to refer politics and citizenship to a common horizon of values; liberals give priority to the autonomy of individuals and their rights, the ability to choose, with respect to their own community.

Republicanism, the most ancient of these proposals, has as its axis the concept of man as a ‘citizen’, that is, as someone who conceives of himself or herself as related to the ‘city’, considering that the guarantee of his or her liberty is to be found in the compromise with the institutions of the Republic and in the fulfilment of ‘his/her’ duties towards the community²⁸.

NEW CHALLENGES AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Paraphrasing Salvador Giner, one of the main challenges that Spanish citizenship faces is the support of “the establishment of a civic democracy, of a republic of free peoples”. His reflections²⁹ are based on three premises. First, that citizenship is possible, progressively possible, inasmuch as it is consolidated in a republican *politeia*. According to his thesis, “(...) other forms of democratic *politeia*, the pure liberal on one hand and the communitarist on the other, are incompatible with universal citizenship, even though they may be compatible with a more or less restricted citizenship”.

Citizenship requires a minimum level, a critical mass of ‘legal-juridical-judicial’ homogeneity and of cultural affinity inside a society. What historians, social and political scientists of our time agree to emphasize is, obviously, an even more general premise: that of active citizenship (that is to say, participative in the public sphere) as measure of the democratic quality of a country.

Public non-partisan activity which arises in the ‘private civic’ field is an essential part of democracy and reinforces it. What we may call ‘public private’ practice is the practice of civic virtue by means other than partisan struggle or election to public office, explains S.

Giner, and he adds: “Private public practice is a good crucial component of the logical structure of *politeia*”.

In this way there arises a new concept of active citizenship, defined by this well-known Spanish author, which corresponds to the historical memory of a society made up of those who “not being professionals of politics, take part in the public sphere in order to improve the level of democratic life, to use their own liberty and above all to cultivate the supreme virtue of the republic, i. e. fraternity. Active citizens are essentially *proactive*, that is to say, they take up initiatives in order to achieve these goals, aside or beyond situations which may have hurt or damaged them”³⁰.

To conclude this brief approach to the history of the idea and practice of citizenship in Spain, we can only add that the present day is distinguished, in essence, by vertiginous changes: technological changes, changes in family and social structure, changes in the values that govern the conduct of young people and adults. At this time of both profound and superficial change, we must look to what essentially characterises us as human beings. In our search we have arrived at the ethical root of a new concept reinforced by several interdisciplinary points of view, and in analysing it we note that there is a strong connection between ethical education and education for citizenship.

NOTES

- ¹ J.J. Cogan - R. Derricott (eds.), *Citizenship for the 21st century: An international perspective on education*, London 1998.
- ² S. Giner, *Ciudadanía, ciudad y mundialización de la sociedad civil*, in F. Ovejero - A. Valcarcel, *Conciencias de la mirada urbana. Ciudad, ciudadanía y virtudes cívicas*, A. Montesinos - M. Roscales (eds.), Santander 2005, pp. 145-171.
- ³ A. Cortina, *Ciudadanos del mundo. Hacia una teoría de la ciudadanía*, Madrid 1997, p. 27.
- ⁴ Cortina, *Ciudadanos del mundo* cit., p. 34.
- ⁵ With a notable perspective, Aristotle denies the validity of citizenship through the two criteria commonly invoked by the later legal tradition: residence (*ius soli*) and affiliation (*ius sanguinis*). Athens is considered the closest example to a form of institutionalised direct democracy in the assembly in which all full citizens participate without mediation. Nevertheless, at the same time the condition of full democracy is denied it by the exclusion of slaves and women from citizen's rights. The result is that the Greek model is a form of citizenship that does not seem to correspond with any of the typological models of democracy with which political science operates. As regards the term “State”, as it was used by Machiavelli in the expression *stato*, participle of *stare*, it describes a type of stable organization, the established apparatus, with its hierarchy or bureaucracy and its governor, the Prince. On the other hand, it was Bodin who, with his concept of “sovereignty”, imbued the absolutist State of his century and the following one, with autonomy, neutrality in the religious order and absolute power.
- ⁶ Giner, *Ciudadanía* cit.
- ⁷ In any case, and again in the words of A. Cortina, “the concept of ‘State’ refers to a form of political organization that was formed in Europe from the 13th century until the end of the 18th or the start of the 19th, and which from there extended throughout the civilized world, freeing itself to an extent from the specific conditions of its birth” (A. Cortina - J. Connill, *Educación en la ciudadanía*, Valencia 2001).
- ⁸ J. Peña, *La ciudadanía hoy: problemas y propuestas*, Valladolid 2000, p. 73.
- ⁹ M. Pérez Ledesma, *Ciudadanía y democracia*, Madrid 2000, p. 40.
- ¹⁰ “All free men born and domiciled in the dominions of Spain (...), plus foreigners who obtained ‘naturalization papers’, could enjoy the condition of Spaniards, and with her of ‘civil freedom, property and other legitimate rights’” in Pérez Ledesma, *Ciudadanía y democracia* cit.
- ¹¹ M. Rodríguez Alonso, *El estado liberal español (1834-1874)*, in J. Paredes, *Historia Contemporánea de España (siglo XIX)*, Barcelona 2000.

- ¹² J. Alvarez Junco, *¿Modernidad o atraso? Sociedad, cultura y política*, in S. Juliá (coord.), *Debates en torno al 98: Estado, Sociedad y Política*, Madrid 1998.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ M. Tuñón de Lara, *España: La quiebra de 1898*, Madrid 1986.
- ¹⁷ M. Balado, *La Constitución Española de 1978 en su XXV aniversario: una obra antológica*, Madrid 2003.
- ¹⁸ J. Peña, *La ciudadanía*, in A. Arteta - E. García Guitián - R. Maíz (eds.), *Teoría política: poder, moral, democracia*, Madrid 2003, pp. 215-245.
- ¹⁹ C. Valiente, *Género y ciudadanía: los organismos de igualdad y el estado del bienestar*, in Pérez Ledesma, *Ciudadanía y democracia* cit., pp. 199-230.
- ²⁰ J. Peña, *La formación histórica de la idea moderna de ciudadanía. Seminario: Historia y Naturaleza de la ciudadanía hoy*, Madrid 2001.
- ²¹ One well-known specialist in this field is Pérez Ledesma, *Ciudadanía y democracia* cit.
- ²² W. Kymlicka - W. Norman, *Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory*, "Ethics", 104, 1994, pp. 352-381.
- ²³ J. Habermas, *Teoría de la acción comunicativa*, Madrid 1992
- ²⁴ Among the factors affecting an extension of the concept of citizenship, we can mention:
- The necessity to regulate 'universal' rights that guarantee the population the protection of the environment, the access to new communication technologies and the possibility of using 'services of general interest', but under private management.
 - The 'feminine' redefinition of the concept of citizenship, as based on important factors of legal, social, political and cultural inequality between genders (for example, economic rights, access to certain institutions, etc.)
 - The expansion of citizenship to 'non-nationals' (that is to say, 'non-Community nationals'), or through access to nationality, multinationality or the separation between citizenship and nationality.
 - Cultural identity as a component of citizenship. The right to the language and culture of the group or community of origin, whether of a territorial or ethnic base, to historical heritage and collective memory, education and mass media, to constitute associations and to participate collectively in political life. This is today a citizen counterweight to globalization.
 - The right to the city. Suburbanization, the deterioration of urban zones, exclusion, today deny basic citizens' rights: economic integration, political participation, cultural socialization, personal security, access to work, mobility and recognition on the part of others. The city includes houses and services, but it is much more.
- ²⁵ Giner, *Ciudadanía* cit., pp. 145-171.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 165.
- ²⁷ J. Peña, *La ciudadanía*, in A. Arteta - E. Guitián García - R. Maíz (eds.), *Teoría política: poder, moral, democracia*, Madrid 2003, pp. 215-245.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 241.
- ²⁹ Giner, *Ciudadanía* cit., p. 146. Santander 2005.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*

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