Who belongs to ›the people‹?
The societal boundaries of national and European notions of citizenship

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1. Introduction

The process of European integration increasingly challenges the concept of national citizenship through the development of a supranational citizenship derived from countries' membership in the European Union. While nation states and borders gradually lose their political and societal significance, policies aimed at deepening and promoting further integration give rise to a backlash against the European Union. This backlash evolved around the significance of national and European citizenship and is mainly related to the conditions for belonging to ›the people‹.

Today's concepts of citizenship distinguish between nation and state due to the rise of supranational and multicultural states, where identities are developed alongside citizenship (McCrone/Kiely 2000). While this has not been the case in the past, in contemporary democracies there is a clear distinction between citizenship and nationality. The concept of citizenship denotes a person's legal status and thus regulates the legal criteria and conditions for the acquisition of citizenship. The concept of nationality, on the other hand, refers to a person's identity and thus to the subjective feeling and individual construction of belonging. However, we know little about the extent to which the citizens' (political) identities influence their attitudes towards and perceptions of different notions of citizenship.

Previous research suggests two widespread notions of citizenship among citizens – *ethnic* and *civic* – which are both related to the development of nation states in Europe. The ethnic definition of citizenship considers ancestry as the most important criterion for inclusion, and eventually members of the na-

tion share a common cultural heritage such as religious beliefs (Smith 1991). In contrast, the civic definition entails that citizenship can be acquired through efforts to join the group and adherence to legal norms (Reeskens/Hooghe 2010). For this reason, ethnic notions of citizenship tend to be considered as highly exclusive: if you are not born into it (*the country*), you cannot acquire it (Ignatieff 1994). This dichotomy of ethnic and civic notions of citizenship can be transferred to both the national and the European level. These differences into citizens' perceptions of symbolic boundaries[1] are reflected upon the legal criteria and prerequisites for obtaining citizenship, but also in the societal and individual construction of (political) identities.

In our analysis we argue that citizen attitudes regarding requirements for citizenship depend upon their political identity.

Accordingly, individuals with a strong national identity should support restrictions on the conditions for acquiring citizenship at both the national and the European level. Individuals with strong European identity should support limitations at the European level. On the other hand, we expect that the citizens' sharing cosmopolitan views – people who emphasize equality and oppose the idea of state borders – will reject both national and European restrictions on the conditions for citizenship. To identify the societal boundaries of the different concepts of citizenship in European societies, we analyze the causes of ethnic and civic notions of national and European citizenship among citizens and provide an answer to the following question: *what are the causes of citizens' ethnic and civic notions of national and European citizenship?*

In our analysis we use data from the second pre-release of the European Values Study (EVS) 2017, which covers 20 member states of the European Union[2]. Using Bayesian hierarchical models, we examine the causes of ethnic and civic notions of national and European citizenship. Our empirical results confirm the importance of political identity for the support of restrictions on the conditions for acquiring citizenship. While political identity determines the support or rejection of national and European restrictions on citizenship, social liberal values and anti-immigration attitudes are also very important

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1   Symbolic boundaries are considered the lines that include and define some people, groups, and things while excluding others (Epstein 1992: 232).

2   Though our initial goal was to include more waves and to extend the time span of our analysis, unfortunately, previous waves do not include the battery of questions about citizens` attitudes towards European citizenship.

factors. Furthermore, the results suggest that both notions of European citizenship are comparatively more inclusive to their national counterparts, although the degree of inclusiveness is ultimately determined by the distinction between the ethnic and civic dichotomy. This chapter is structured as follows: In the next section, we briefly review the literature on different notions and levels of citizenship and formulate our theoretical argument. Subsequently, in the third section, we introduce the data and methods we are using. In the fourth section, we present our empirical results, while we discuss the societal and political implications of our findings in the final section.

2.   Notions of citizenship

According to the basic assumption of political culture research, the stability of a political system rests on the congruence between the political culture and institutionalized structures (Almond/Verba 1963) and is thus largely dependent on the *political support* of its citizens (Easton 1965, 1975). A political system only receives support if it is responsive to the political orientations and attitudes of its citizens (Pickel/Pickel 2006, 2016). Besides their support for *political authorities* and the *political regime*, a certain degree of social cohesion among citizens and their willingness to collectively solve political problems is crucial for the survivability of a political system (Easton 1965, 1975; Norris 1999, 2011). The political system only receives support if the citizens' ideas about the belonging of certain groups to the people coincide with the actual composition of society. Notwithstanding the importance of the concept of *political community* for political culture research, there are different ideas about who constitutes a political community and how it should be defined.

In our analysis we define political community as *a group of people who respect commonly agreed habits of making and implementing political decisions* (Deutsch 1954). This means, in other words, groups of people with a common sense of belonging and obligations (Anderson 1991; Deutsch 1966; Wright 2011). The immediate implication is that a political community and its social cohesion are characterized by a *shared sense of identity, and mutual loyalty among citizens* (Almond et al. 2008; Brubaker 2004). Social cohesion is thus based on a societal agreement on which social groups belong to the political community. However, there are different notions about what kind of boundaries these *imagined communities* (Wright 2011) are based on and which criteria are used to determine the belonging or exclusion of people.

2.1.   The national and European dimension of citizenship

In modern democracies, the symbolic boundaries and criteria by which membership to a political community is regulated are inevitably linked to the concept of citizenship (Simonsen/Bonikowski 2019). In addition to a bundle of legal rights and (political) participation, citizenship regulates the belonging of and the relationship between citizens and the political system (Bellamy, Castiglione and Santoro 2004). Thereby, the »socially constructed sameness« (Kunovich 2009: 576) among the members of a political community can have different origins, forms and rules.

Since the contemporary political world is dominated by nation states, access to state resources is primarily granted through *national citizenship* regulations (Kunovich 2009). According to this traditional understanding, citizenship is tied to a historically grown *national identity* and defined by a common ethnicity, language, history, culture or the use of the same territorial area (Almond et al. 2008). This inclusiveness and exclusiveness of national identity also illustrates the social closure of the concept of national citizenship (Brubaker 1992).

While this may be true, the process of European integration increasingly challenges the concept of national citizenship, with the aim of developing a common European identity and thus a supranational citizenship (Nezi 2010; Nezi 2009; Shore 2004). The European citizenship is linked to the idea of an open and liberal society in which legal rights and political participation are detached from the national identity, and citizenship is regulated by civil and political norms rather than ethno-cultural criteria (Habermas 1992).

The European notion of citizenship meets the demands of cosmopolitanism – a worldview according to which all human beings belong to a single community based on shared morality (Smith 1998). Cosmopolitans, as supporters of the EU are often characterized, support a world without national borders and emphasize the equality of all humans for which rights should not be restricted based on certain individual characteristics (Merkel 2017). In this regard, European citizenship enables the development of dual identities and promotes integration and unity among European societies by breaking down prejudices (Curtis 2014). At the same time, European citizenship only simulates an openness to the world, since the inclusion and exclusion of people is simply raised to the level and borders of the European Union (Kunovich 2009). For this reason, it is questionable whether European citizenship is more inclusive compared to national approaches.

The conflict between national and European notions of citizenship is particularly important in the light of recent political developments, especially due to the backlash generated by the enforcement of European citizenship (Brubaker 2017). This backlash fosters the rise of populist radical right parties, who claim to bring power back to the national sovereign – ›the people‹. Further to the political and societal conflict around the national and European notions of citizenship, an additional conflict developed over the *ethnic and civic conditions* associated with the democratic privilege of citizenship. In particular, liberal and authoritarian nativist ideas of citizenship compete with each other. While political liberalism supports the idea of absorbing elements from other cultural traditions and integrating different ethnic groups, authoritarian nativism defines citizenship primarily through ethnic components and is exclusive towards members of out-groups (Lubbers and Coenders 2017; Mudde 2007; Rydgren 2007).

2.2.   The ethnic and civic dichotomy of citizenship

The societal conflict over the requirements for obtaining citizenship is based on two fundamental principles and legal rights for the acquisition of citizenship. The first one is the right of the soil, *jus soli*, according to which citizenship is granted to everyone born in the country, regardless of ethnicity. According to the analysis by Brubaker (1992), France is a classic example of a country following the principle of jus soli. In contrast, Germany is a classic example of a country following the principles of *jus sanguinis* – the law of blood. In this case, citizenship can only be obtained if a person is of national descent.

Previous research on nationalism suggested that citizens' notions of citizenship follow the principles of jus soli and jus sanguinis and can be distinguished between an *ethnic* and a *civic* dimension (Brubaker 1992; Kohn 1944; Kunovich 2009; Reeskens/Hooghe 2010; Shulman 2002; Simonsen/Bonikowski 2019). The ethnic notion of citizenship includes »relatively fixed attributes, such as race, ethnicity, native-born status and national ancestry, as well as deeply socialised cultural traits like religious beliefs« (Simonsen/Bonikowski 2019: 4). The civic notion of citizenship encompasses transformable and assimilating ideas such as respect for national political institutions and laws, adaptation to cultural traditions or learning the national language (Lubbers/Coenders 2017; Simonsen/Bonikowski 2019; Smith 2001). These self-conceptions of collective in-group identity therefore include the symbolic boundaries and

criteria for belonging to a nation (Bail 2008). However, these two dimensions of citizenship are not necessarily mutually exclusive, because individuals may hold both notions at the same time (Lubbers/Coenders 2017).

2.3.   Hypotheses: Causes of notions of citizenship

In addition to the question on citizens' perceptions of the requirements for obtaining citizenship, there is also the question on the causes of the competing perceptions of citizenship. Our main argument is that the societal boundaries of notions of citizenship are based on individual political identities. The social identity theory (Tajfel 1982; Tajfel/Turner 1979) predicts that identification with a particular group (in-group) strengthens negative attitudes towards members of what they define as an out-group. In our analysis, we expect different effects of political identities on notions of national and European citizenship:

We distinguish between three territorial levels individuals can identify with; the national, the European and the global level. The national level refers to the country in which a person lives (Lubbers/Coenders 2017; Smith 2007). Individuals strongly identifying with their country are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards people who do not hold the national citizenship. Moreover, strong nationalist attitudes are also associated with the restriction of certain groups on the European level to avoid jeopardizing national and European homogeneity. Therefore, *we expect that citizens strongly identifying with their country will also support limitations on the requirements for acquiring both the national and the European citizenship, albeit with a stronger effect at the national level* (H1a).

Due to the importance of the development of European integration, identification with Europe is our second political level. We expect people who strongly identify with Europe to be more likely to stand up for an open and liberal (national) society compared to nationalists, since the idea of a European identity corresponds more to the desire of a cosmopolitan society. On the other hand, we expect that strong levels of identification with Europe also lead to a desire to restrict the privilege of citizenship towards non-Europeans. For these reasons, *we expect that citizens identifying with Europe are more likely to reject national restrictions on the conditions of acquiring citizenship, but more likely to advocate requirements for obtaining European citizenship* (H1b).

As a third political level, we refer to the identification with a cosmopolitan global citizenship (Merkel 2017; Smith 1998). According to cosmopolitanism,

all humans are equal and belong to a single community based on a commonly shared morality. The idea of cosmopolitanism thus rejects (national) borders and the exclusion of people on the basis of individual characteristics. In this case, *we expect that citizens identifying with the world are more likely to reject any limitation of the conditions for acquiring national and European citizenship* (H1c).

Based on a social-psychological perspective, we control for social identities which also distinguish between *us* and the supposed *others.* Drawing on the approach of social capital, social trust in in-groups and out-groups are suitable indicators for the binding and bridging of social capital (Putnam 2001). While strong in-group trust is positively associated with a sense of community within a group, strong out-group trust also strengthens the bridging between social groups with different characteristics. Thus, in-group trust should be associated with negative attitudes towards members of out-groups, while out-group trust should increase tolerance towards out-groups. Accordingly, *we expect that people with high levels of in-group trust are more likely to support restrictions on national and European citizenship, while people with high out-group trust should be more likely to reject restrictions on national and European citizenship* (H2).

Previous research has already shown that nationalism is accompanied by prejudice, xenophobia and racism (Brubaker 1992; Kunovich 2009). However, populist radical right parties often argue that they are the defenders of social liberal values against the treat of immigration. In fact, their authoritarian and nativist ideology also contradicts these values, and these parties often represent illiberal values themselves (Akkerman 2005; Brubaker 2017; Mudde 2007; Rydgren 2007). Accordingly, citizens with positive attitudes towards immigration and supporting social liberal values, such as gender equality and gay rights, should be more likely to be tolerant towards members of out-groups (Heinisch/Wegscheider 2020; Stark et al. 2017). Therefore, *we expect citizens with negative attitudes towards immigration to support restrictions of the conditions for national and European citizenship, while citizens with social liberal values reject these restrictions* (H3).

3.   Research design

In our analysis, we use data from the second pre-release of the fifth wave of the European Values Study (EVS 2019). This data covers 37.277 European citizens from 20 member states of the European Union: Austria, Bulgaria,

Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and Great Britain. This latest version of the EVS offers the opportunity to analyze individual attitudes towards citizenship at the national and the European level.

Our main dependent variables measure the ethnic and civic dimensions of national and European citizenship. Respondents were asked on a four-point-scale to express their own views on how important they consider to be certain characteristics of belonging to their country or to Europe. To analyze the ethnic notion of national citizenship, we use questions measuring the importance of *having been born in the country* and *having country's ancestry*[3]. In addition to the equivalent questions relating to Europe, which are used to construct the ethnic notion of European citizenship, we also included a question on religious identity in our analysis. Existing research has demonstrated the importance of religion and especially of Christianity at the European level for ethnic attributions (Brubaker 2017). The above-mentioned questions measure the importance of *being born in Europe*, *having European ancestries*, and *being a Christian*[4].

To develop a more comprehensive model, we included two additional dependent variables analyzing the civic dimensions of national and European citizenship. The national dimension of civic citizenship consists of three measures gauging the importance of *respecting the country's political institutions and laws*, *speaking the national language*, and *sharing the national culture*. The civic dimension of European citizenship is constructed based on a measure asking respondents how important it is in their view to *share the European culture*.

Multidimensional phenomena such as citizenship are often difficult to measure accurately, because they are characterized by a wide range of dimensions. The civic dimension of citizenship, for example, consists of three indicators that are not ranked in any particular order – political institutions and laws, the national language, and the national culture. These three dimensions should be combined into a single indicator that measures individual attitudes towards the national dimension of civic citizenship. In soci-

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3   The exact wording of the question is the following: Some people say the following things are important for being truly [NATIONALITY]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?

4   People differ in what they think it means to be European. In your view, how important is each of the following to be European?

al sciences, this is typically achieved by index construction. Indices combine indicators representing different dimensions of the same phenomenon. There are two main approaches to index construction; the addition of variables and the reduction of variables (Reckien 2018). In our analysis, we follow the approach of the addition of variables and only consider variables that have been identified as influential in already existing studies (Brubaker 1992; Kunovich 2009; Reeskens/Hooghe 2010; Shulman 2002; Simonsen/Bonikowski 2019). These variables are then summed up and normalized (Reckien 2018).

With response to our research question, we included variables measuring the concepts of *attachment with the country, Europe and the world, social identity, anti-immigration attitudes and social liberal values*. To measure the level of attachment with their country, Europe and the world, we use a series of variables measuring how close respondents feel to their *country, Europe* and *the world*[5]. Furthermore, we add a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent has the *nationality of the country or not*[6].

Social identity is operationalized by a battery of questions asking how much people trust the so-called in-groups and out-groups[7]. We measure in-group trust through the respondents' trust in their *family, people in their neighborhood*, and *people they know personally*. In contrast, we measure out-group trust as the respondents' trust in *people they meet for the first time, people of another religion* and *people of another nationality*. *Anti-immigration attitudes* are measured using a battery of questions asking whether immigrants *take away jobs from nationals, make crime problems worse*, and are a *strain on a country's welfare system*[8]. For

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5   People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how close do you feel to...?

6   Do you have [COUNTRY'S] nationality?

7   I would like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?

8   Please look at the following statements and indicate where you would place your views on this scale?

social liberal values, we use attitudes towards *gender equality*[9] and whether respondents consider *homosexuality*, *abortion*, and *divorce* as always justifiable[10].

All measures included in the analysis are re-coded so that positive values indicate that the phenomenon under study is present. To provide a detailed example, when we construct an index to measure the level of support for gender equality, positive values indicate that the respondent price gender equality as very important. The same logic holds for the index measuring anti-immigration attitudes; higher values indicate that the individual holds negative attitudes towards immigration.

In addition to the indices described above, we include a series of variables proven to have a strong impact on how citizens define citizenship. Existing studies have stressed the importance of *political ideology* and *education*. As a proxy for *political ideology*, we use the left-right sale[11] and for *education* the highest formally completed level of education[12]. Furthermore, we control for the age, income, and gender of the respondent[13].

In our analysis, we move beyond existing scholarship in comparative politics by employing a Bayesian hierarchical model. Bayesian approaches have several advantages, especially when individual attitudes are nested within countries. This is especially the case when the number of countries included in the analysis is less than 20, as in our analysis (Stegmueller 2013).

To test our hypotheses, we use a linear hierarchical model where individuals are nested within countries. To statistically acknowledge the differences among the included countries, we use a varying intercept model. We use the so-called *non-informative prior* distributions, meaning that our model utilizes the data to inform the model and to estimate each parameter[14]. The mathe-

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9   For each of the following statements I read out, can you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family; On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do; A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl; On the whole, men make better business executives than women do.

10   Please tell me for each of the following whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card.

11   In political matters, people talk of »the left« and »the right«. How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?

12   What is the highest educational level that you have attained?

13   This dummy has the value one for a female respondent.

14   Additionally, the regression coefficient β is given a normal prior distribution with a mean value of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

matical equation y_{ij} $\alpha_j + \beta x_{ij} + {}_{ij}$ represents the linear model where y is our dependent variable, ₎denotes the constant term of the regression that is varying across countries (j), x represents the respective independent variable measured at the individual level (i), while ε represents the error term.

4.   Empirical results

Our results from the Bayesian hierarchical models are visually presented in Figures 1 and 2[15]. Figure 1 presents the determinants of ethnic and civic notions of national citizenship. Based on our literature review, we expected that citizens strongly identifying with their country will also support restrictions on the requirements for acquiring national and European citizenship (H1a). The results suggest that, as expected, national identity, operationalized as the level of attachment to the country, is an important determinant for both the ethnic and civic components of national citizenship. From the three levels of identity considered – national, European and the world – only the variables at the national level are statistically significant for both dimensions of national citizenship. While, contrary to our expectations, European identity shows no significant results (H1b), people who identify with the world are less likely to advocate restrictions on national citizenship based on ethnic characteristics (H1c).

With respect to our hypothesis related to the social identity theory (H2), our results confirm that the level of identification with in-groups and out-groups influences perceptions towards citizenship. Individuals who express higher levels of trust to their in-groups are in favor of restrictions on citizenship. Individuals expressing high levels of trust in out-groups reject these restrictions. From this perspective, citizens who hold a nationalist notion of citizenship strongly identify with their in-groups while showing a high level of detachment from out-groups.

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15   In the Appendix we included a series of tables reporting the coefficients associated to our models.

16   Notes: Plots show standardized coefficients from Bayesian hierarchical models and 95 % credible intervals. See online appendix for full tables and results (Tables 1 and 2). If the interval crosses the horizontal line drawn at 0 in the horizontal axis, it means that the estimated coefficient is not significant.

17   Notes: Plots show standardized coefficients from Bayesian hierarchical models and 95 % credible intervals. See online appendix for full tables and results (Tables 3

Figure 1: Explaining notions of national citizenship
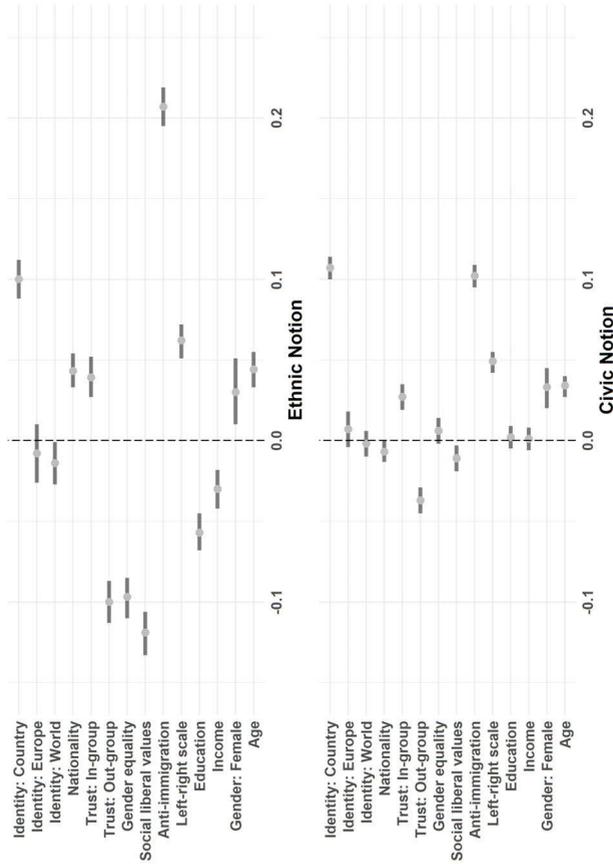
Source: Own compilation[16]. Data: European Values Study (EVS 2019).

Anti-immigration attitudes are considered a very strong component of nationalism with coefficients of 0.2 for the ethnic and 0.1 for the civic dimension of national citizenship. Accordingly, it is important for people who

and 4). If the interval crosses the horizontal line drawn at 0 in the horizontal axis, it means that the estimated coefficient is not significant.

Figure 2: Explaining notions of European citizenship
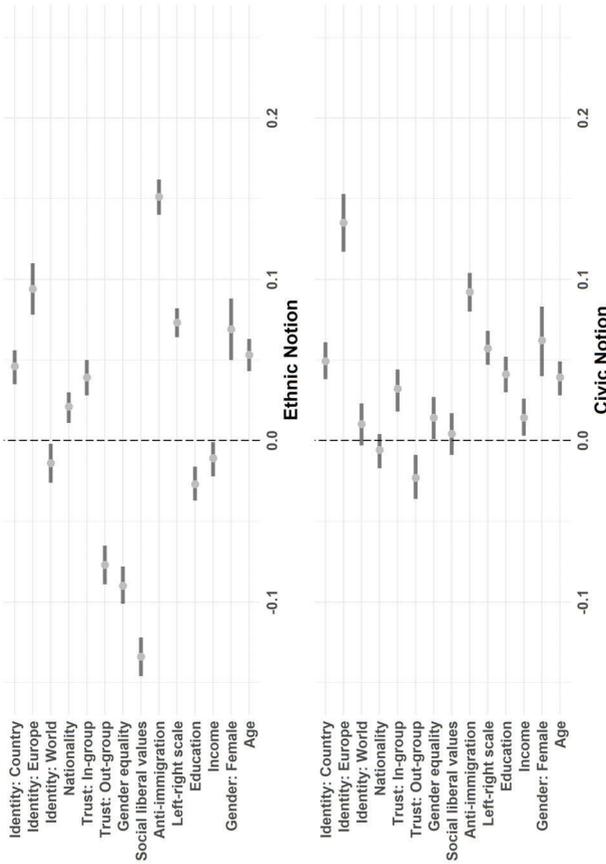
Source: Own compilation[17]. Data: European Values Study (EVS 2019).

hold negative attitudes towards migration that the barriers to acquire national citizenship are very high, regardless of whether the conditions are ethnic or civic. Anti-immigration attitudes are also an important component of right-wing ideology and nationalism, and this relationship is also reflected in the strong negative relationship of nationalism with social liberal values and attitudes towards gender equality. While people with progressive attitu-

des towards social liberal values and gender equality are less likely to support ethnic conditions for acquiring national citizenship, the effects for civic notions are less pronounced for social liberal values and not significant for attitudes towards gender equality (H3). Thus, it can be concluded from this analysis that the civic dimension of national citizenship is more inclusive than ethnic notions, at least in relative terms.

Figure 2 illustrates the results of our models analyzing the ethnic and civic notions of European citizenship. Our analysis suggests that the determinants of citizenship are similar at both levels of analysis – national and European. The most important difference is that individuals expressing a strong European identity tend to be more likely to hold ethnic and civic notions towards European citizenship. This confirms our assumption that the European dimensions of citizenship are similarly exclusive, and that exclusion is transposed on the European level (H1b). As expected, strong levels of identification with citizens' respective country are associated with higher levels of exclusion at the European level (H1a). While the effect of identification with the world is not significant for the civic notion, we see that people who have a global identity are less likely to support ethnic conditions for European citizenship (H1c).

Compared with the results for ethnic and civic notions of national citizenship, we find similar results for the effects of the levels of trust in in-groups and out-groups, anti-immigration attitudes as well as attitudes towards gender equality and social liberal values on the respective European dimension. We constantly observe the same patterns for the European notions of citizenship as for the national ones. Conservative values (H3) and the demarcation against members of out-groups (H2) go hand in hand with the support for people's exclusion due to certain characteristics from acquiring citizenship. However, while our findings confirm that civic beliefs towards citizenship are less exclusive compared to ethnic ones, our results also suggest that European notions of citizenship are more inclusive compared to their national counterparts.

The results displayed in Figures 1 and 2 confirm our first hypothesis (H1) regarding the effect of political identity: People strongly identifying with their country are more likely to support restrictions of the conditions for national and European citizenship, with a stronger effect at the national level (H1a). Furthermore, citizens who identify with Europe are more likely to advocate exclusion at the European level, while we do not find any significant effects at the national level (H1b). In contrast, our findings for the cosmopolitan

world view are statistically significant only for the ethnic dimension of national and European citizenship and partly confirm our expectation that people who identify with the world are less likely to support any restrictions on national and European citizenship (H1c).

Our analysis confirms that people with strong levels of trust in in-groups are more likely to support restrictions on national and European citizenship, while people with high trust in out-groups are more likely to reject restrictions on national and European citizenship (H2). Furthermore, anti-immigration attitudes are strongly related to the support of ethnic and civic restrictions of national and European citizenship, in contrast to those expressing liberal ideas (H3).

5.   Conclusion and discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the causes of ethnic and civic notions of citizenship at two discrete levels of identification – the national and the European. We argued that each notion of citizenship is present at the national and the supranational level and that political identity determines the support or rejection of restrictions on citizenship at the respective level. While the ethnic notion of citizenship includes relatively fixed attributes such as national descent (Simonsen and Bonikowski 2019), civic notions encompass transformable and assimilating ideas of inclusion (Lubbers and Coenders 2017; Simonsen and Bonikowski 2019; Smith 2001).

To test our hypotheses, we used recent data from the European Values Study 2017 (EVS 2019) covering 20 member states of the European Union and employed Bayesian hierarchical models to provide robust results. Our empirical results suggest that political identity matters for supporting restrictions to citizenship. Individuals with a strong national identity support restriction of citizenship at both national and European level, while individuals with a strong European identity support restriction of citizenship at the European level. From this perspective, both levels of citizenship are exclusionary. However, conservative values and anti-immigration attitudes are more important for holding restrictive notions of citizenship. Our findings suggest that European concepts of citizenship are more inclusive than their national counterparts, but that exclusiveness is rather based on the distinction between the ethnic and civic dichotomy.

Our results thus illustrate two important findings: First, restrictions on citizenship, whether at the national or at the European level, are always associated with an exclusionary mindset that contradicts the idea of an open and liberal society. Second, while civic notions are more inclusive than ethnic notions of citizenship, both ideas are exclusive in absolute terms. It is therefore necessary to develop concepts of citizenship that include a liberal and open world view and do not exclude specific groups based on certain characteristics, thereby jeopardizing the social cohesion of a political community, whether organized at the national or supranational level.

Important questions for further research include the analysis of the inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the civic and European dimensions. Another important question relates to the notions of citizenship that people represent with cosmopolitan world views. Furthermore, the question arises whether authoritarian ideas are related to certain notions of citizenship, and whether concepts of citizenship which are also represented by different political parties influence the voting behavior of individuals. Thus, this analysis provides an important approach for future research on the societal and political implications of the concepts of nationalism and citizenship.

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