

**Conceptualizing Citizenship in History:
an Inquiry into the Nature of the Discipline of History and its Link to
the Social Sciences between 1990-2010.**



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MA Thesis

History of Politics and Society

June 21, 2021

Supervised by prof. dr. Maarten Prak

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Abstract

This MA thesis focuses on the use of citizenship in the historical discipline. We analysed 43 articles, published in 6 different journals, and compared the use of the concept of citizenship between different subdisciplines and geographical regions. To do this we formulated three branches - a social, a geographical and a personal - which function as the analytical framework for analyzing the primary sources. We found that in some cases the use of the concept of citizenship in the historical discipline has changed over the period 1990-2010, due to the influence of the social sciences. Especially continental scholars that have a background in social and/or economic history are more likely to use newer concepts of citizenship, which originated from the social sciences. However, most of the articles in this study use a traditional or 'mixed' concept, which was not derived from the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies.

Introduction

Looking at the discipline of history there has been a longstanding discussion on the question of boundaries. Can other disciplines help expand our historical knowledge, or should the discipline of history be treated as a special - orthodox - academic field? Especially between the period of 1970-1990 this discussion grew in size, when the philosophy of history became a growing topic of discussion. Particularly in the Netherlands, where it would even become a distinct discipline, with actual philosophers of history.¹ Before the 1970's the philosophy of history was only practiced by historians with a certain interest in philosophy, but in the 1970's and afterwards this changed. In the Netherlands, where the interest in the topic was especially great, scientists who had the philosophy of history as their primary field of study appeared.² The main topic of discussion was the question whether or not the discipline of history should incorporate methods and theories from the social sciences into their own historical toolbox. This discussion started with Kees Bertels' *Tussen Structuur en Evenement*.³ In this dissertation Bertels argues that history should follow the framework of structuralism and its scientific methods, which was already dominant in the social sciences. This sparked a lot of resistance in the Dutch field of history.⁴

The discussion died because Bertels never answered his critics, but in the mid-1980's a new defender of the implementation of methods and theories of the social sciences emerged in the form of Chris Lorenz. Lorenz wrote an article in the main Dutch historical journal, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, in which he attacked Frank Ankersmit's new dissertation *Narrative Logic*.⁵ In his dissertation, Ankersmit mixed new narrativist theories with old historicist ideas, which culminated in a work that underlined the 'specialness' of the discipline of history and which was strongly opposed to influences of the social sciences. The discussion also sprouted the so-called 'undeclared textbook war' of the 1980's. Chiel van den Akker shows that rather than discussing their views in historical journals - with the exception of the polemic between Ankersmit and Lorenz - philosophers of history showed their views in a wave of new textbooks that were written on the subject.⁶

¹ In 1982 the philosophy of history was added as a topic to the scientific statute in the Netherlands.

² Chris Lorenz, 'Typically Dutch?', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 129 (2016) 77–96.

³ Kees Bertels, *Geschiedenis tussen structuur en evenement* (Amsterdam 1973).

⁴ Frank Ankersmit, 'Kees Bertels, Geschiedenis tussen structuur en evenement', *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 89 (1974) 396; Willem Otterspeer, 'Ankersmit contra Bertels', *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 91 (1976) 82–87; Chiel van den Akker, 'Een knuppel in het hoenderhok der historici, de receptie van Kees Bertels' "Geschiedenis tussen structuur en evenement"', *ex tempore* 14 (1995) 173–183.

⁵ Chris Lorenz, 'Het masker zonder gezicht. FR Ankersmits filosofie van de geschiedschrijving', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 97 (1984) 169–194; Frank Ankersmit, *Narrative logic: A semantic analysis of the historian's language* 7 (Den Haag 1983).

⁶ Chiel van den Akker, 'Methodisch dualisme. Wilhelm Windelband in Nederlandse handboeken geschiedfilosofie', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 129 (2016) 59–73.

After the 1990's the discussion died. The discipline of history became more open to the methods and theories from other disciplines, but this differed between the different subdisciplines of history. Political and/or cultural history, for example, were to be considered more of a 'traditional' subdiscipline, whereas social and/or economic history used a lot of theories and methods from especially the social sciences. By becoming somewhat more open to other disciplines, the discipline of history stood before a new question: how exactly do theories and concepts travel between the social sciences and the discipline of history?

To answer this question this master thesis will research the subject of 'citizenship', and its use in the historical discipline. The subject of citizenship is to be considered an interdisciplinary field of research within the social sciences, with at its core the main institutionalized journal named *Citizenship Studies*, which was launched in 1997. Since then, as the popularity of the subject grew - which can be seen if looked at the steadily increasing number of issues per year - the concept of citizenship 'grew' as well. Traditionally, citizenship was considered to be a 'simple' membership of a nation state. But the concept has gradually broadened over time, taking into account new social, economic and cultural factors. This led to a multitude of concepts of citizenship. All these concepts have their own focus, for example geographical concepts try to broaden or reduce the scope of the nation state by looking at regions, cities or even continents. Other researchers use a more social approach in their concept of citizenship. In their focus on agency they are trying to include women, immigrants and/or other minorities. Then again, other researchers focus on the rights and duties of citizens. In trying to include everything, the concept of citizenship has become very broad which is shown for example by the definition that Engin Isin and Peter Nyers offer. These two scholars on Citizenship use the following concept which states that: 'Our best offer is to define citizenship as an 'institution' mediating rights between the subjects of politics and the polity to which these subjects belong'.⁷

As seen above, the concept of citizenship has turned into a catch-all concept. In analysing this, Ruth Lister explains citizenship to be a 'momentum concept'.⁸ These momentum concepts unfold so that we must continuously rework them in order to gain their maximum potential. In this way the concept of citizenship is not static, and change must be understood as one of its characteristics. This view is also supported by Isin and Nyers. They use Jacques Derrida's idea of erasure to explain the concept of citizenship: citizenship is no longer, but is also not quite there yet.⁹ Meaning that the concept of citizenship is on the one hand outdated, but that there is on the other hand not an adequate new concept ready to be

⁷ Engin F. Isin and Peter Nyers, *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies* (New York 2014) 1.

⁸ Ruth Lister, 'Inclusive Citizenship: Realizing the Potential', *Citizenship Studies* 11 (2007) 49–61, at 49.

⁹ Isin and Nyers, *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*, 8.

used. Here we can also see that the concept is in flux. But in order to understand the concept of citizenship there needs to be boundaries as well. When is the concept stretched too far and does it lose its meaning? According to Lister 'there appears to be an imbalance between the theoretical and empirical advances in our understanding of Citizenship.'¹⁰ Focusing on the empirical advances could help broaden our understanding of the concept of citizenship even more.

The main purpose of this thesis is therefore twofold. On the one hand it is to follow Lister's abovementioned notion and focus on the empirical advances of the concept of citizenship in the historical discipline. On the other hand it is to research the question of how 'open' the discipline of history is, by looking at the specific example of whether or not historical articles incorporate newer concepts of citizenship from other disciplines. In doing this we will focus on history-focussed scientific journals, and more specifically: articles that use the concept of citizenship in the title or abstract or other important parts of the text. Journals are preferred over books in this research, so as to not be biased in picking the articles. In this way we hope to shed a light on how the concept of citizenship is used in a more empirical setting. This thesis focuses on the period between 1990-2010. 1990 is taken as a starting point, because it was in the 1990s that the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies came into being, as a result of a growing interest in the subject and the implementation of European citizenship laws following the 1994 Maastricht treaty. In researching the different journals and their articles the main research question will be: 'Did the concept of "citizenship" change in historical journals between 1990-2010 as a result of new developments surrounding the concept of citizenship in the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies?'. In trying to answer this question we hope to gain a better understanding of the nature of the historical discipline. How open is the historical discipline to theories and concepts from the social sciences, and how does the concept of citizenship 'travel' from the social sciences to the historical discipline.

In this way this thesis will also focus on the history of knowledge, and in particular on how theories travel through different scientific disciplines. To do this, two questions need to be answered, which are addressed in chapter one and two. The answer to these questions will function as the theoretical framework of this thesis. First, the question 'What is a discipline?', which is not as clear as the widespread use of the term would indicate. We will argue that a discipline has to be treated as an amphibious concept, linking both the essentialist and the institutionalised point of view into a new concept. The other question is linked to this and is concerned with the developments of the concept of citizenship. In chapter two we will give an overview of how the concept of citizenship has changed between

¹⁰ Lister, 'Inclusive Citizenship: Realizing the Potential', 58.

the aftermath of the Second World War and the emergence of the new interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies. We will argue that the traditional view on citizenship has been subjected to growing criticism, in which the concept of citizenship is treated as an always changing concept. We use Gilles Deleuze's rhizome to categorize the change in the concept of citizenship into three branches: social, geographical and personal. These branches will provide the analytical framework for analyzing the primary sources.

In answering the main research question, six historical journals were picked, three anglo-american and three continental journals. Not all journals identify themselves specifically as either anglo-american or continental, therefore the main factor for grouping a journal into one of these categories was the nationality of the editorial board. For the continental journals we take: *BMGN - Low Countries Review*, the *European Review of Economic History*, and the *International Review of Social History*. For the anglo-american journals we take: *French Historical Studies*, the *Journal of Social History*, and the *Journal of American History*. From these journals we set up a database that consists of articles which use a concept of citizenship. This database will then be used as the basis for a comparative analysis. For this analysis we will do a small-N comparison with the chosen articles as units of analysis.¹¹ In doing this analysis we will ask the following questions: What concept of citizenship does the author use? Is the used concept of citizenship innovative in one or more of the three formulated branches? In what year is the article written? Footnotes: where does the definition come from? To what sub-discipline does the journal belong? Is the author interested in the existing citizenship-debate? The aim is to compare the answers to these questions and see how the concept of citizenship has changed in the historical discipline over time, but also whether there is a distinction to be made between authors from geographical regions and/or sub-disciplines and to contribute to the question of how theories circulate through different scientific disciplines.

The structure of this thesis will be as follows. In the first two chapters we will describe the theoretical framework that is used for this thesis. First, we will delve into the question of what is a scientific discipline. After this, a concise history of the development of the concept of citizenship is presented. In the third and fourth chapter, we will present the findings that are distilled from the primary sources: the articles on citizenship in the six chosen journals. In chapter five we will analyze the findings that were presented in chapter three and four. In the conclusion of this thesis we will formulate an answer to the main research question: '*Did the concept of "citizenship" change in historical journals between 1990-2010 as a result of new developments surrounding the concept of citizenship in the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies?*' and the questions that follow from this: '*How open is the historical*

¹¹ Matthew Lange, *Comparative-Historical Methods* (London 2012) 95.

discipline to concepts from outside of the set boundaries and how do these concepts travel between the social sciences and the historical discipline?’ and ‘What could the discipline of history gain by incorporating new concepts of citizenship from the social sciences?’

Chapter 1. What is a discipline?

When answering the question ‘How do theories move between different academic disciplines’ it is important to work with a proper definition of a discipline.

Most of the modern disciplines were formed between 1750 and 1850.¹² The traditional way of dividing academia into three categories, namely: natural philosophy, natural history and mathematics, slowly got replaced with the disciplines that we still work with today, such as: biology, chemistry, physics but also history. Traditional historians of science treated these new disciplines as so-called natural kinds.¹³ In doing this, they created an essentialist view on the idea of a discipline. Most of these historical analyses see three fundamental characteristics when looking at disciplines.¹⁴ First, disciplines have their own methods. For the sciences these methods are perhaps more clear, but also in the discipline of history the theory of hermeneutics by Schleiermacher and Droysen is often seen as a distinct method. Second, a discipline has its own demarcated object of research. For the discipline of history this is quite clear - even though it is very broad - , it ‘simply’ contains everything that has been. Finally, disciplines have their own fundamental theories. Again, in the sciences this might be more clear (i.e. the conservation of energy, Newton’s laws, the ether), but also in the discipline of history these fundamental theories exist. The best example of this is probably Leopold von Ranke’s history-as-a-foreign-land thesis that constituted the theory of historicism, which changed the way that historians interpreted the past.

This essentialist approach to the concept of a discipline was contested in the second half of the previous century. Thomas Kuhn’s influential book *The structure of scientific revolutions* was the spark that lit the fire.¹⁵ The focus slowly shifted away from a universal viewpoint which looked at theories and methods, towards looking at the discipline as being an intricate institute, in which every discipline had its unique characteristics and power relations. Bourdieu’s theory on academic capital and the scientific field is a good example of this.¹⁶ He writes:

¹² Daan Wegener, ‘Wetenschapsgeschiedenis op lange termijn: flexibiliteit en fragiliteit van disciplines’, *Studium* 4 (2011) 16–30, at 17.

¹³ Peter T. Manicas, ‘The Social Science Disciplines: The American Model’, in: Peter Wagner, Björn Wittrock and Richard Whitley eds., *Discourses on Society: The Shaping of the Social Science Disciplines* (Dordrecht 1991) 45–71, at 45; R. de Wilde, ‘Discipline en legende : de identiteit van de sociologie in Duitsland en de Verenigde Staten 1870-1930’ (1992) at 12; Gert-Jan Johannes, ‘“Nationale filologieën” en het historisch onderzoek naar disciplinevorming in de geesteswetenschappen. Een verkenning’, *Studium* 4 (2011) 31, at 31.

¹⁴ Wegener, ‘Wetenschapsgeschiedenis op lange termijn: flexibiliteit en fragiliteit van disciplines’, 21.

¹⁵ Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions: 50th Anniversary Edition* (Chicago 2012).

¹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, ‘The specificity of the scientific field and the social conditions of the progress of reason’, *Social sciences information. Information sur les sciences sociales* 14 (1975) 19–47.

The pure universe of even the purest science is a social field like any other, with its distribution of power and its monopolies, its struggles and strategies, interests and profits, but it is a field in which all these invariants take on specific forms.¹⁷

In looking specifically at the historical discipline, Klaus Große Kracht endorses this view. According to Große Kracht, the historical discipline is not virtuously looking for the historical truth, but is in a constant state of 'fighting'.¹⁸ With fighting he means that historians are primarily fighting over power with their fellow historians in the social field of the discipline of history. But, in only looking at academic disciplines as institutions in which different forces clash and in which there is no primary place for the classical essentialist characteristics like methods, theories and research objects, we are left unsaturated. By looking at science, and in particular at academic disciplines, in this way, the relativist wins.

Daan Wegener acknowledges this problem and describes the solution that previous historians and philosophers of science have proposed: 'Philosophers and historians that deny the fact that knowledge has a fundamental basis, but also do not want to decay into relativism often defending a holistic conception of science.'¹⁹ For this reason current historians of science view the academic discipline as an amphibious concept. Rein de Wilde, for example, argues that it depends on the context whether or not an academic discipline derives its identity from theoretical concepts or institutional factors.²⁰ Trevor Pinch writes the following on the idea of academic disciplines being amphibious: 'we should not regard disciplines and the knowledge they produce as fixed and rigid structures - disciplines, their boundaries and the knowledge produced are constantly being redefined in the course of doing science.'²¹ The concept of disciplines as an amphibious concept is therefore a good solution for the problems that arise when treating disciplines as either an essentialist or an institutionalised concept.

Using the idea of an academic discipline as an amphibious concept, Rudolf Stichweh categorizes an academic discipline with the following five elements.²² First, there has to be a homogenous communication link between different researchers in the field (i.e. contacts between universities or individual researchers). Second, there has to be codification. That is, there needs to be some sort of corpus in which the scientific knowledge of that particular

¹⁷ Ibid., 19.

¹⁸ K. Große Kracht, 'Kritik, Kontroverse, Debatte. Historiographieggeschichte als Streitgeschichte', , in *Eckel, J., Etzemüller, T.(eds) Neue Zugänge zur Geschichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Göttingen 2007)at 257.

¹⁹ Wegener, 'Wetenschapsgeschiedenis op lange termijn: flexibiliteit en fragiliteit van disciplines', 29.

²⁰ de Wilde, 'Discipline en legende : de identiteit van de sociologie in Duitsland en de Verenigde Staten 1870-1930', 174–182.

²¹ Trevor Pinch, 'The Culture of Scientists and Disciplinary Rhetoric', *European Journal of Education* 25 (1990) 295–304, at 838–839.

²² Rudolf Stichweh, *Wissenschaft, Universität, Professionen: Soziologische Analysen* (zp 2014) 17.

discipline is represented (i.e. a scientific journal). Third, there has to be a set of problematic questions that need to be answered (i.e. research objects). Fourth, there has to be a set of distinct theories and methods for that particular discipline. Finally, disciplines have their own power structures and forms of indoctrination (i.e. different structures within universities and the focus on certain topics when educating students). We can see that both the essentialist view of disciplines (point 3 and 4) and the institutionalised view (point 1, 2 and 5) are represented in this categorization by Stichweh. Other historians of science, like for example Hubert Laitko, came to similar categorizations.²³ Important to note is that these definitions of academic disciplines no longer fit the old disciplines from the 19th century but are more fitting to the modern disciplines. These disciplines are often smaller and more focussed on interdisciplinary research in comparison with their predecessors. The interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies is an excellent example of one of these 'new' forms of disciplines.²⁴

In conclusion, the question 'what is an academic discipline' is one that can be, but is not easily answered. What we do know is that the best way to describe it is as an amphibious concept, which connects the essentialist and the institutionalised interpretation. On the one hand each discipline is therefore unique and has its own power distributions and contextual factors that influence it, but on the other hand it is also universal as long as it pursues classical scientific characteristics such as having a shared set of methods, theories and research objects.

²³ Hubert Laitko, 'Disziplingeschichte und Disziplinverständnis', *Disziplinen im Kontext. Perspektiven der Disziplingeschichtsschreibung* (1999) 21–60, at 34.

²⁴ Johannes, "Nationale filologieën' en het historisch onderzoek naar disciplinevorming in de geesteswetenschappen. Een verkenning', 32.

Chapter 2. Conceptualizing Citizenship

The debate on citizenship as a scholarly concept was given a new impulse after the Second World War. It was Thomas Humphrey Marshall that wrote the famous essay in 1950 called *Citizenship and Social Class*.²⁵ In this essay the sociologist states that via citizenship human rights evolved from 'civil rights in the eighteenth [century], to political in the nineteenth, and social in the twentieth.'²⁶ Marshall used a state-centered and legalistic definition for the concept of citizenship; he described the citizen to be a member of a nation state. Even though this conceptualization was not received without any criticism, it was not until the 1990's that his state-centered conceptualization became a topic of discussion. Not surprisingly this growing interest in the concept of citizenship came at the same time as the introduction of 'European citizenship', at the 1992 Maastricht treaty. Citizenship as a concept had outgrown, both in practice and in theory, its nation state borders and this raised the question: if it is not the nation state that gives conceptual borders to the concept of citizenship, what does?

It was this question that led to the growth of a whole new academic field: the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies. In 1997 the *Journal of Citizenship studies* was launched which would become the center of the abovementioned interdisciplinary field until this day. It is not surprising that the introductory paper of the first volume by Bryan Turner included a critique of Marshall's definition of citizenship.²⁷ In this paper Turner tries to answer the question how citizenship relates to minority groups, like for example gender divisions, social classes and status groups, that were previously not directly included in the traditional concept. Citizenship studies can also be seen as a critical movement. By expanding the boundaries of the concept in the cases of gender, sexuality, class and others, it gives a voice to the voiceless.

An important point to be made is that in this way the boundaries have changed, but are not removed.²⁸ By setting boundaries, there is always a group in exile. Therefore the conceptualization of citizenship is not only involved in setting boundaries, but also in the power relations between the in- and outgroup. Because of those two categories, academics in the field of citizenship studies often fall back on postmodern philosophers when trying to define the concept of citizenship. Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze (often in collaboration with Felix Guattari) are often cited by academics in the field of citizenship

²⁵ T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays* (Cambridge 1950).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁷ Bryan S. Turner, 'Citizenship studies: A general theory', *Citizenship Studies* 1 (1997) 5–18.

²⁸ Peter Nyers, 'Introduction: What's left of citizenship?', *Citizenship Studies* 8 (2004) 203–215.

studies.²⁹ Derrida is often associated with boundaries - in words and their relation to other words and the world -, Foucault with power - In particular the genealogies of power - and Deleuze with non-static concepts. To find a definition of citizenship, academics had to consider these shifting boundaries, the power relations that came with them and the changing essence of the concept itself.

We will treat three different conceptualizations of citizenship that take into consideration the mentioned criteria. Ruth Lister focuses on the non-staticness of the concept when she conceptualizes citizenship as a 'momentum concept', a definition that was first introduced by John Hoffman.³⁰ Momentum concepts "unfold" so that we must continuously rework them in a way that realizes more and more of their egalitarian and anti-hierarchical potential.³¹ Daiva Stasiulis looks more at the power relations within the boundaries: 'citizenship is more fruitfully regarded in relational terms—as an unstable set of social relations actively negotiated and contested between individuals, states, other political communities, territories, and between the realms of the private and public. Moreover, citizenship, far from being a discrete entity, is multidimensional, referring (among other aspects) to the formal, legal status of nationality.'³² Lastly, Isin and Nyers try to define the boundaries of the concept: 'Our best offer is to define citizenship as an 'institution' mediating rights between the subjects of politics and the polity to which these subjects belong.'³³

What we can see in all these definitions of citizenship is that the concept is always changing, setting new boundaries and focusing on new power relations. It is therefore best compared to Deleuze's theory of the Rhizome, ever branching out into different directions.³⁴ In looking at the 'branches' that have sprouted in the last 30 years we can see three general directions. The first branch focuses on geography. From the traditional ways of looking at the nation state as a prime determinant of citizenship we can see a shift to both local - city-focused - and global citizenship.³⁵ The second branch focuses on the personal aspects

²⁹ Some of the many examples of articles that quote postmodern philosophers are: Engin F. Isin, 'City.State: Critique of Scalar Thought', *Citizenship Studies* 11 (2007) 211–228; Nyers, 'Introduction: What's left of citizenship?'; Isin and Nyers, *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*; Jet Bussemaker and Rian Voet, 'Citizenship and gender: theoretical approaches and historical legacies', *Critical Social Policy* 18 (1998) 277–307.

³⁰ John Hoffman, *Citizenship Beyond the State* (California 2004) 138.

³¹ Lister, 'Inclusive Citizenship: Realizing the Potential', 49.

³² Daiva Stasiulis, 'Hybrid citizenship and what's left', *Citizenship Studies* 8 (2004) 295–303, at 296.

³³ Isin and Nyers, *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*, 1.

³⁴ For a thorough description of what Deleuze and Guattari mean with a rhizome, see the introductory chapter of: Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia* (London 1988).

³⁵ For a city-focused study see: Rui Ramos, 'A Tale of One City? Local Civic Traditions under Liberal and Republican Rule in Portugal (Late 18th Century–Early 20th Century)', *Citizenship Studies* 11 (2007) 173–186.; for a global focus on citizenship see: Michael Hayes et al., 'The citizen of empire', *Citizenship Studies* 14 (2010) 511–525.

in relation to citizenship, for example sexuality and gender.³⁶ The third and final branch focuses on the social relationship to citizenship, for example class and economic relations.³⁷ Categorizing the different concepts of citizenship in these three branches can be helpful for our research. However, these branches are also interrelated. For example when looking at the case of citizenship and migration, we can see that the social, geographical and personal branches are all intertwined.³⁸ The question for this thesis is whether or not these new conceptualizations in the field of citizenship studies have 'traveled' to the historical disciplines, and if that is the case, why and how? Therefore we will focus on these three - geographical, personal and social - branches of citizenship when looking at the conceptualizations that are used in the primary sources.

³⁶ See for example: Doğu Durgun, 'Beyond silence and voice: gender, sexuality and antimilitarism in Turkey and Israel', *Citizenship Studies* 23 (2019) 139–155; Leticia Sabsay, 'The emergence of the other sexual citizen: orientalism and the modernisation of sexuality', *Citizenship Studies* 16 (2012) 605–623.

³⁷ For class, see: Engin F. Isin, 'Citizenship, class and the global city', *Citizenship Studies* 3 (1999) 267–283.; for economic citizenship, see: Janet Roitman, 'The Right to Tax: Economic Citizenship in the Chad Basin', *Citizenship Studies* 11 (2007) 187–209.

³⁸ For the relation between migrants and citizenship, see: Jannis Panagiotidis, 'The power to expel vs. the rights of migrants: expulsion and freedom of movement in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1960s—1970s', *Citizenship Studies* 24 (2020) 301–318.

Chapter 3. The use of Citizenship in Continental Historical Journals

In the following two chapters we will discuss the primary sources that are central to this thesis. We already mentioned in the introduction that the primary sources consist of articles that are published in 6 chosen historical journals. These journals have been chosen on the basis of their geographical location, either continental or anglo-american, and on their variety of focus on different historical subdisciplines, such as political, social and economic history. From these journals, 43 articles have been distilled, which use a concept of citizenship in either their title or their abstract. The first thing we see is that there is a considerable discrepancy if we take the amount of articles that were published in the continental and the anglo-american journals side by side. The continental journals are only good for 16 of the 43 articles, whereas the anglo-american journals bring forth 27 articles. This difference in numbers is mainly due to the fact that the anglo-american journal *French Historical Studies* published 15 articles with a concept of citizenship, whereas the continental journals *BMGN-Low Countries Review* and *European Review of Economic History* only published 3 and 2 articles respectively.

In analysing the primary sources, the first thing we looked at was whether or not the authors of the article in question checked one or more of the branches which we have formulated in chapter 2: the social, the geographical and/or the personal branch. After analysing this, we shall look if the given article pays attention to the citizenship-debate. The articles which show attention to this debate can be categorized into two groups. First, there is a group of authors who focus mainly on Marshall's traditional primarily legalistic and state-centered approach. Second, there is also a group of authors who focus on the more recent developments in the debate, which were initiated by the social sciences, in which they often criticize Marshall because his concept, or at least the consequences of his formulated concept, shows gaps when it comes to minority groups in society. After this, we shall also try to understand how these new concepts of citizenship move from the social sciences, and in particular the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies, to the discipline of history. We are hoping to get a more thorough understanding of this transfer by focusing on citations. In asking the question: 'does this article cite literature from authors in the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies?' we are hoping to answer this.

We will analyse the articles per journal. In doing this we are also choosing to sometimes zoom in on particular articles, to give the reader a better understanding of how our findings are distilled from our primary sources. The treatment of these different journals are supplemented with tables that give an overview of the findings from that particular journal. This chapter will focus on continental journals of this study, whereas the next chapter will focus on the anglo-american journals.

BMGN - Low Countries Review, (BMGN) founded in 1877, is a continental historical journal that focuses on the history of the ‘Low countries’. The journal accepts articles written in both Dutch and English. For that reason 1 Dutch article, written by Rik Röttger, made the list of primary sources because his article mentions ‘burgerschap’, which is the Dutch translation of citizenship.³⁹ Of these three articles, two were published in 2010, and one in 2005. Röttger’s article does not give any attention to the citizenship-debate and uses a classical concept of citizenship. The other two articles, written by Maarten Prak and Mineke Bosch, do give attention to the debates. Besides, both authors use newer concepts of citizenship. Bosch focuses on women’s economic citizenship. She is the only author on our list to check all three branches.⁴⁰ In researching women’s economic citizenship, Bosch does not use the traditional state-centered way of geography, which is why her article checks the geography branch. By focusing on economy and class she checks the social branch, and by focusing on gender, she is also engaged in the personal branch. Prak also focuses on economic citizenship. In doing this his conceptualization of citizenship is very similar to Bosch’s, but he tends to primarily focus on the social and the geographical branch.⁴¹ Even though BMGN only offers us 3 useful articles, the articles the journal contains on citizenship mostly use a new way of conceptualizing citizenship.

Table 1. articles from the *BMGN - Low Countries Review*

Articles	Year	Name	Social	Geographical	Personal	Focus on citizenship-debate	Criticizes the traditional concept of citizenship	Uses literature from <i>Citizenship Studies</i>	background in history	background in the social sciences	
1 ⁴²	2010	Mineke Bosch	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	x		
2	2010	Maarten Prak	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	x		
3	2005	Rik Röttger	no	no	no	no	no	no	x		
			2/3	2/3	1/3	0/3		2/3	0/3	3/3	0/3

³⁹ R. Röttger, ‘Een rode draad voor een blauw verhaal. De links-liberale uitwerking van mimetische representatie en de opvattingen over democratisch burgerschap in België, 1893-1900’, *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 120 (2005) 435–465.

⁴⁰ Mineke Bosch, ‘Domesticity, pillarization and gender. Historical explanations for the divergent pattern of Dutch women’s economic citizenship’, *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 125 (2010) 269–300.

⁴¹ M. R. Prak, ‘The Dutch Republic as a bourgeois society’, *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 125 (2010) 107–139.

⁴² Every primary source has been given a unique number. To know which article is linked to which number, see the list of primary sources in Appendix B.

European Review of Economic History (EREH) is a journal that focuses on European economic history. The EREH is the youngest journal in this investigation. In 1994 the idea for a new journal was formed during a congress of the European Historical Economics Society, which led to the first issue of the EREH being published in 1997.⁴³ Beside the fact that the EREH is the youngest journal in the investigation, it also contains the least amount of articles on the topic of citizenship. Only two articles, one by Jan Luiten van Zanden & Maarten Prak, and one by Yadira González. The article by González, which was published in 2008, focuses on the late medieval city-state of Venice, and its tight citizenship regulations.⁴⁴ In the article there is no mention of the citizenship-debate and the author's concept of citizenship does not contain any of our formulated branches, except for the geographical one. In focusing on Venice, and Venetian citizenship in particular, she is using a city-centered concept of citizenship instead of the traditional state-centered one. The fact that Venice was a city-state does of course nuance this outcome, since a state-centered approach on citizenship would be peculiar when applied to a city-state.

In contrast to González, Van Zanden & Prak do mention the citizenship-debate in their article. The fitting title *Towards an economic interpretation of citizenship; The Dutch Republic between medieval communes and modern nation-states*, was given to their article, in which they offer a new economic interpretation of citizenship.⁴⁵ They argue that this new form of citizenship increases the efficiency of the exchange between the state and its inhabitants, which they proceed to show in their case study, which is the Dutch republic. In conceptualising citizenship, the authors are innovators within the social branch. By looking at economic citizenship the authors are interested in social classes, like for example the middle class merchants. Whether or not Van Zanden & Prak are also innovators within the geographical branch is a more difficult question to answer. In their concept of citizenship, they use an article published in 1995 by Charles Tilly which is very state-centered, this is clearly showcased in the following quote:

'Citizenship, to quote Charles Tilly, can be defined as the 'continuing series of transactions between persons and agents of a given state in which each has enforceable rights and obligations.'⁴⁶

⁴³ Timothy J. Hatton, Karl Gunnar Persson, Vera Zamagni, 'Editorial statement', *European review of economic history* 1 (1997) 1–2.

⁴⁴ Yadira González de Lara, 'The secret of Venetian success: a public-order, reputation-based institution', *European review of economic history* 12 (2008) 247–285.

⁴⁵ Jan Luiten van Zanden and Maarten Prak, 'Towards an economic interpretation of citizenship: The Dutch Republic between medieval communes and modern nation-states', *European review of economic history* 10 (2006) 111–145.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 114.

This quote seems to point out a clear state-centered approach in their concept of citizenship. However, the authors do acknowledge the fact that a difference exists between legal citizenship and practical citizenship, which can be seen in the following quote:

'Formal rights of citizenship were usually restricted to a minority of the urban population: to the owners of property and of arms. In practice the merchants often dominated the medieval commune.'⁴⁷

Legal citizenship might be a state-centered concept, but in focusing on practical citizenship, the authors show that their concept of citizenship is not bound by state borders. Next, the authors also show an interest in urban citizenship:

'The second problem of early modern urban citizenship was that by its very nature it created a club to which some belonged, and at the same time defined the rest of the world as non-members, outsiders to the inner circle of power and privileges. Urban citizenship was restricted to a specific city, and excluded the countryside.'⁴⁸

On the one hand, Prak & Van Zanden use a legalistic, state-centered theory of citizenship, which they borrowed from Tilly, but on the other hand they focus a lot on urban and practical citizenship which suggests a less narrow view on the geographical branch. For these reasons the article does also check the geographical branch in our dataset.

Table 2. articles from the *European Review of Economic History*

Articles	Year	Name	Social	Geographical	Personal	Focus on citizenship-debate	Criticizes the traditional concept of citizenship	Uses literature from <i>Citizenship Studies</i>	background in history	background in the social sciences
4	2006	Jan Luiten van Zanden & Maarten Prak	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	x	
5	2008	Yadira González de Lara	no	yes	no	no	no	no	x	
			1/2	2/2	0/2	0/2	1/2	0/2	2/2	0/2

⁴⁷ Ibid., 116.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

The *International Review of Social History* (IRSH) is a postwar historical journal that was launched in 1956. The journal is linked to the International Institute of Social History (IISH), which is located in Amsterdam. The IRSH is a peculiar journal for this research, because 8 of its 11 articles are from the same special edition on Citizenship, published in 1995. This special edition is introduced by the famous social scientist Charles Tilly, from which the aforementioned Van Zanden & Prak borrowed their concept of citizenship.⁴⁹ In this introduction Tilly gives an elaborate history of the concept of citizenship. The crux of his argument here is that, because of postmodern tendencies, Marshall's concept of citizenship is outdated, which, according to Tilly, leads to the following questions:

- ‘1 What is citizenship? Where did it come from? How does it vary and change?
- 2 What [does citizenship have to do] with the identities people deploy in everyday life, including class, race, ethnicity, gender and other identities?
- 3 How did the strong forms of citizenship we know today come into being?’⁵⁰

According to Tilly, the answer, or at least the start of an answer, lies in the articles from this special edition. Tilly states that previously no proper definition of citizenship has been given, and he acknowledges the fact that this is hard, because of the changing nature of citizenship. However, for ‘theoretical and historical clarity’ he believes that we should not abandon the search and that there should be defined boundaries to the concept, which leads him to the following definition:

‘...we should confine the definition of citizenship to a certain kind of tie: a continuing series of transactions between persons and agents of a given state in which each has enforceable rights and obligations uniquely by virtue of (1) the person's membership in an exclusive category, the native-born plus the naturalized and (2) the agent's relation to the state rather than any other authority the agent may enjoy. Citizenship thus forms a special sort of contract.’⁵¹

In this definition we see that Tilly holds on to a state-centered view of citizenship. This means that in the case of the geographical branch, he remains traditional. On the personal and social branch however, he adheres to a very innovative view on citizenship. In his critique of Marshall he is very adamant about the fact that Marshall's concept is not inclusive enough. It leaves no room for different social classes, which is problematic, according to

⁴⁹ Charles Tilly, ‘Citizenship, Identity and Social History’, *International review of social history* 40 (1995) 1–17.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

Tilly. What is even more problematic for Tilly is the exclusion within the personal branch. In his explanation of citizenship he gives full attention to the importance of pluriformity of subjects, focusing on gender, race and sexuality.⁵²

In the other 8 articles of the special edition on citizenship from 1995, we see great similarities. Without exception, the articles take over a state-centered interpretation of citizenship, which is formulated by Tilly. Most of the time, Tilly's definition is used, except for the article by Eiko Ikegami, who gives his own definition.⁵³ Ikegami's definition, however, shows a lot of resemblance to the definition by Tilly.⁵⁴ All of the articles from the special edition check the social branch. The difference between the articles mostly lies in the personal branch. Out of the 9 articles, 4 do not check the personal branch. These are often articles that focus primarily on working class movements. For example, the article by Bernhard Ebbinghaus, which focuses on the link between citizenship and the history of the so-called siamese twins: working class parties and labour unions.⁵⁵ Another difference between the articles of the special edition on citizenship is whether or not they address the citizenship-debate. In the introduction, Tilly already wrote an elaborate history on the citizenship-debate. Aside from that, four other authors also give attention to the debate. Especially in the article by Miriam Cohen and Michael Hanagan, a very clear critique is given on Marshall's concept of citizenship.⁵⁶

One last point has to be made about this special edition on citizenship. Without exception, all of the above mentioned articles are written by scholars with a background in the social sciences. Some of the authors, like for example Michael Hanagan, are working in a history department, but they all received an education in one or more of the social sciences. Aside from that, most of the scholars are from the United States, which is interesting since they are publishing in a continental journal.

Then there are 3 articles on citizenship left, which are not included in the aforementioned special edition. Of these, only the article by Fatima El Tayeb checks the

⁵² Ibid., 6.

⁵³ E. Ikegami, 'Citizenship and national identity in early Meiji Japan, 1868–1889: A comparative assessment', *International review of social history*, 40 (1995).

⁵⁴ Ikegami also focuses on citizenship as a negotiated relationship between the actor and the state. Ibid., 186.

⁵⁵ B. Ebbinghaus, 'The Siamese twins: citizenship rights, cleavage formation, and party-union relations in Western Europe', *International review of social history*, 40 (1995).

The other 3 articles that do not check the personal branch are: Ann Mische, 'Projecting democracy: The formation of citizenship across youth networks in Brazil', *International review of social history*, 40 (1995) 131–158; Marc W. Steinberg, 'The Great End of All Government...': Working People's Construction of Citizenship Claims in Early Nineteenth-Century England and the Matter of Class', *International review of social history*, 40 (1995) 19–50; Ikegami, 'Citizenship and national identity in early Meiji Japan, 1868–1889: A comparative assessment', 186.

⁵⁶ Miriam Cohen and Michael Hanagan, 'Politics, industrialization and citizenship: unemployment policy in England, France and the United States, 1890–1950', *International review of social history*, 40 (1995) 91–129, at 1–3.

personal branch, focusing on racial citizenship.⁵⁷ Like the scholars from the special edition on citizenship, El Tayeb also has a background in the social sciences. The other two articles hold a traditional view, checking no branches, which might be surprising, considering the title of the article by Sucheta Mazumdar, which is called *Localities of the global: Asian migrations between slavery and citizenship*.⁵⁸ In this article, the author focuses on race and migration, but while doing so, she does not link these to her concept of citizenship.

⁵⁷ Fatima El Tayeb, “Blood Is a Very Special Juice’: Racialized Bodies and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Germany’, *International review of social history*, 44 (1999) 149–169.

⁵⁸ S. Mazumdar, ‘Localities of the global: Asian migrations between slavery and citizenship’, *International review of social history* (2007).

Table 3. articles from the *International Review of Social History*

Articles	Year	Name	Social	Geographical	Personal	Focus on citizenship-debate	Criticizes the traditional concept of citizenship	Uses literature from <i>Citizenship Studies</i>	background in history	background in the social sciences
6	1995	Charles Tilly	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no		x
7	1995	Charles Tilly	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no		x
8	1995	Anthony Marx	yes	no	yes	no	no	no		x
9	2007	Sucheta Mazumdar	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	
10	1995	Ann Mische	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no		x
11	1999	Fatima El Tayeb	no	no	yes	no	no	no		x
12	1995	Eiko Ikegami	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no		x
13	1995	Miriam Cohen & Michael Hanagan	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no		x
14	1995	Berhard Ebbinghaus	yes	no	no	no	no	no		x
15	1995	Marc Steinberg	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no		x
16	2001	Rebecca Nedostup & Liang Hong-ming	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	
			8/11	0/11	5/11	0/11	6/11	0/11	2/11	9/11

Chapter 4. The use of Citizenship in Anglo-american Historical Journals

French Historical Studies (FHS) is a historical journal that focuses on the history of France, which was launched in 1958. Interestingly when compared with their object of study, most of the authors and editorial board are American, which is why we categorized the journal as anglo-american. The reason for this is that the origins of this journal lies in a community of American historians who studied the history of France.⁵⁹ Within FHS we have found the most articles on citizenship of this research, 15 in total. We have also found that the FHS has the least articles with new conceptualizations of citizenship, most of the articles use a traditional concept of citizenship. In all of the 15 articles, the authors use a traditional definition of citizenship. Twice, in the articles by Karen Offen and James Winders, we see the concept of citizenship being discussed.⁶⁰ Offen, for example, states that there are limitations to the traditional concept of citizenship, which excludes women.⁶¹ In his article on African music and musicians in the second half of the twentieth century, Winders talks about a form of 'Multiple citizenship,' in which he acknowledges the changeable nature of citizenship.⁶² In addition, he is the only author in FHS that refers to a debate around the concept of citizenship, but in doing so he only refers to 'traditional' authors, who mainly have a Marshallian view on the concept.

As we have seen above, most articles in FHS do not refer to the citizenship-debate in some sort of way. Most of them do however check one of the branches of our investigation. Of the 15 articles, 9 articles have adopted a newer conceptualization of citizenship in regard to the personal branch. Of these articles, 6 focus on gender inclusivity.⁶³ Two other articles, by Winder and Jenniffer Anne Boittin & Tyler Stovall, focus on a multiplicity of subjects and

⁵⁹ For a history of the Society for French Historical Studies, see: Edward Berenson and Nancy L. Green, 'The Society for French Historical Studies: The Early Years', *French historical studies* 28 (2005) 579–600.

⁶⁰ Karen M. Offen, 'French Women's History: Retrospect (1789-1940) and Prospect', *French historical studies* 26 (2003) 727–767; J. A. Winders, 'Mobility and cultural identity: African music and musicians in late-twentieth-century Paris', *French historical studies* 29 (2006) 483–508.

⁶¹ Offen, 'French Women's History: Retrospect (1789-1940) and Prospect', 761.

⁶² Winders, 'Mobility and cultural identity: African music and musicians in late-twentieth-century Paris', 487.

⁶³ Offen, 'French Women's History: Retrospect (1789-1940) and Prospect', 761; Elinor Ann Accampo, 'Integrating Women and Gender into the Teaching of French History, 1789 to the Present', *French historical studies* 27 (2004) 267–292; Mark Meyers, 'Feminizing Fascist Men: Crowd Psychology, Gender, and Sexuality in French Antifascism, 1929-1945', *French historical studies* 29 (2006) 109–142; A. Mansker, "'mademoiselle Arria ly wants blood!' the debate over female honor in belle epoque France', *French historical studies* 29 (2006) 621–647; Joshua Schreier, 'Napoleon's long shadow: Morality, civilization, and Jews in France and Algeria, 1808-1870', *French historical studies* 30 (2007) 77–103; M. H. Darrow, 'In the land of Joan of arc: The civic education of girls and the prospect of war in France, 1871-1914', *French historical studies* 31 (2008) 263–291.

on personal development.⁶⁴ In addition, there are 3 articles that focus on the social branch. Of those, two articles, by Winders and Schreier, focus on immigration and mobility, and their link to citizenship.⁶⁵ Next to that, Boittin & Stovall focus in their article *Who is French?* on different social groups in France and to what extent these groups have acquired practical citizenship.⁶⁶

We only see one article that has an innovative concept of citizenship with regard to the geographical branch. This article is quite interesting because it ignores the other branches, and also does not mention the citizenship-debate. In his 2004 article *The Decivilizing Mission: Auguste Dupuis-Yakouba and French Timbuktu*, White Owen focuses on a catholic missionary in Timbuktu during the Interwar period, who was slowly naturalized into the city-environment.⁶⁷ Even though Dupuis-Yakouba had not acquired formal citizenship of Timbuktu, Owen argues that he had in fact gained practical citizenship, which means that he acted and was being treated as if he was a citizen of Timbuktu. This is what the newer concepts of citizenship are all about, focusing on practical citizenship instead of legalistic, or formal citizenship.

We have seen some examples of new concepts of citizenship within FHS, but the journal also counts the most articles that pay no attention to the citizenship debate, and which do not have an innovative concept of citizenship in any of the three branches.

⁶⁴ Winders, 'Mobility and cultural identity: African music and musicians in late-twentieth-century Paris'; Jennifer Anne Boittin and Tyler Stovall, 'Who Is French?', *French historical studies* 33 (2010) 349–356.

⁶⁵ Winders, 'Mobility and cultural identity: African music and musicians in late-twentieth-century Paris'; Schreier, 'Napoleon's long shadow: Morality, civilization, and Jews in France and Algeria, 1808-1870'.

⁶⁶ Boittin and Stovall, 'Who Is French?'.

⁶⁷ Dr White Owen, 'The Decivilizing Mission: Auguste Dupuis-Yakouba and French Timbuktu', *French historical studies* 27 (2004) 541–568.

Table 4. articles from *French Historical Studies*

Articles	Year	Name	Social	Geographical	Personal	Focus on citizenship-debate	Criticizes the traditional concept of citizenship	Uses literature from <i>Citizenship Studies</i>	background in history	background in the social sciences
17	2000	Mita Choudhury	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	
18	2003	John Warne Monroe	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	
19	2003	Andrew Jainchill	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	
20	2003	Julie Kalman	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	
21	2003	Karen Offen	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	x	
22	2004	Elinor Ann Accampo	no	no	yes	no	no	no	x	
23	2004	White Owen	no	yes	no	no	no	no	x	
24	2006	Mark Meyers	no	no	yes	no	no	no	x	
25	2006	James Winders	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	x	
26	2006	August Mansker	no	no	yes	no	no	no	x	
27	2007	Joshua Schreier	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	x	
28	2008	Margaret Darrow	no	no	yes	no	no	no	x	
29	2008	Rachel Chrastil	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	
30	2008	Adrian Carton	no	no	yes	no	no	no	x	
31	2010	Jennifer Anne Boittin & Tyler Stovall	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	x	
			3/15	1/15	9/15	2/15	0/15	0/15	15/15	0/15

The *Journal of Social History* (JSH) is a journal that focuses on social history. Its covered topics range very widely from all geographical areas and historical time periods. The JSH was founded in 1967 by the historian Peter Stearns. Most of the editorial board is American, with a few exceptions from the UK, which makes JSH an anglo-american journal. If we look at the articles on citizenship in JSH we see big differences. First of all, the social branch is poorly represented. The only article that focuses on different social groups and

their link to citizenship is the article by James Brophy.⁶⁸ In his article on carnival culture in the Prussian Rhineland Brophy focuses on cultural politics between different social groups. The social branch is the only branch that is included in Brophy's concept of citizenship. Brophy also does not pay any attention to the citizenship-debate.

In his 2005 article Suad Joseph focuses on the teaching of citizenship in Lebanon.⁶⁹ In doing so he especially zeros in on the question of global citizenship and the rights and duties resulting from this concept. In addition, Joseph gives attention to the citizenship-debate and in doing so cites Bryan Turner, an influential theorist of citizenship within the multidisciplinary field of citizenship studies. Joseph is one of the few authors in this study that has a background in the social sciences. Another scholar that focuses on the geographical branch is Fay Yarbrough. In her article she focuses on women rights within Cherokee laws during the 19th century, which is of course straying away from the national American borders and therefore also straying away from the nationalist conception of citizenship.⁷⁰ In addition, she especially puts emphasis on women and their sexuality, which makes her article also fit into the personal branch. There was only one author that did not check any branch, he used a traditional concept of citizenship and also did not pay any attention to the citizenship-debate. This was the 1996 article by Richard Lindstrom.⁷¹

In great contrast to the Lindstrom article we see a very modern concept of citizenship in the article by Pamela Beth Radcliff.⁷² Radcliff begins her article on female citizenship in post-Franco Spain with a very extensive display of the citizenship debate. In doing this she cites Ruth Lister, another important theorist of citizenship in the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies. Like Lister, Radcliff treats citizenship as a variable concept:

'Rather than a fixed category, then, citizenship is a dynamic concept, the "outcome of legal, political and symbolic practices". To put it another way, the construction and evolution of democratic citizenship is a fluid process that takes place at the intersection between political, social and cultural history. The result is a "thick" conception of citizenship that incorporates status, collective action and cultural meanings and that links abstract concepts to ordinary lives and everyday practices.'⁷³

⁶⁸ James M. Brophy, 'Carnival and Citizenship: The Politics of Carnival Culture in the Prussian Rhineland, 1823-1848', *Journal of social history* 30 (1997) 873–904.

⁶⁹ Suad Joseph, 'Teaching Rights and Responsibilities: Paradoxes of Globalization and Children's Citizenship in Lebanon', *Journal of social history* 38 (2005) 1007–1026.

⁷⁰ Fay A. Yarbrough, 'Legislating Women's Sexuality: Cherokee Marriage Laws in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of social history* 38 (2004) 385–406.

⁷¹ Richard Lindstrom, "'Not from the Land Side, but from the Flag Side': Native American Responses to the Wanamaker Expedition of 1913', *Journal of social history* (1996) 209–227.

⁷² Pamela Beth Radcliff, 'Citizens and Housewives: The Problem of Female Citizenship in Spain's Transition to Democracy', *Journal of social history* 36 (2002) 77–100.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 78.

In addition, Radcliff also explains that the traditional legalist and state-centered conceptualization of citizenship has its flaws:

‘While the state’s role in these processes is certainly important, I would argue that a state-centered approach provides only a partial view of both the transition to democracy and the construction of new forms of citizenship. Instead, the state needs to be placed in a larger political equation that includes the realm of civil society in order to understand the full scope of these processes. In particular, a strong democratic project is inevitably rooted in a partnership between the state and civil society at a specific historical moment.’⁷⁴

For the reasons mentioned above, the article by Radcliff checks both the geographical and the personal branch.

The last article from JSH that is included in this study was published in 2005 by Isaac Land.⁷⁵ The article is very interesting because Land pays no attention to the citizenship-debate and also does not check the personal and social branch. He does, however, share very similar views on citizenship as the scholars within the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies. By focusing on bottom-up citizenship in London he goes against the traditional legalist and state-centered view of citizenship. In doing so he even introduces a new form of citizenship, which he calls ‘street citizenship, meaning ‘community recognition of who you are, where you belong, what is expected of you, and what you can expect in return.’⁷⁶ We see a very broad range of articles in JSH, ranging from articles, like the article by Lindstrom, which do not focus on modern conceptualizations of citizenship whatsoever, to articles, like the article by Radcliff, which almost check every branch and give a very detailed description of the citizenship-debate.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Isaac Land, ‘Bread and Arsenic: Citizenship from the Bottom Up in Georgian London’, *Journal of social history* 39 (2005) 89–110.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 90.

Table 5. articles from the *Journal of Social History*

Articles	Year	Name	Social	Geographical	Personal	Focus on citizenship-debate	Criticizes the traditional concept of citizenship	Uses literature from <i>Citizenship Studies</i>	background in history	background in the social sciences
32	2005	Suad Joseph	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes		x
33	1997	James Brophy	yes	no	no	no	no	no	x	
34	2002	Pamela Beth Radcliff	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	x	
35	2005	Isaac Land	no	yes	no	no	no	no	x	
36	1996	Richard Lindstrom	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	
37	2004	Fay Yarbrough	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	x	
			1/6	4/6	2/6	0/6	2/6	2/6	5/6	1/6

The last journal of this study is the *Journal of American History* (JAH). Its origins lay in 1914, when the Mississippi Valley Historical Review was founded. Fifty years later, in 1964, the name was changed to how we know it today. JAH contains articles on - surprisingly - different periods of American history. Its editorial board is filled with scholars from the United States, with one exception coming from Canada. For this study we therefore count JAH as an anglo-american journal.

The journal contains a lot of articles that mostly hold on to traditional concepts of citizenship. For example, the articles by Steven Reich, Lucy Salyer and Alice Kessler-Harris are all examples of articles that do not pay any attention to the citizenship-debate.⁷⁷ Of these, Reich does check the personal branch, because his article on the emancipation of black Texans does link citizenship to race. In addition, the article by Kessler-Harris also checks the personal branch, because her article focuses on the link between gender and citizenship. The article by Salyer is a unique one. She does not check any branch or mention the citizenship-debate, but she does however cite an article from *Citizenship Studies* by the aforementioned Bryan Turner.

Then we come to the articles by Christopher Loss and Robyn Muncy, which show some similar features.⁷⁸ The article by Loss contains a history on the concept of citizenship,

⁷⁷ Steven A. Reich, 'Soldiers of Democracy: Black Texans and the Fight for Citizenship, 1917-1921', *The Journal of American History* 82 (1996) 1478-1504; Lucy E. Salyer, 'Baptism by fire: Race, military service, and US Citizenship Policy, 1918--1935', *The Journal of American History* 91 (2004) 847-876; Alice Kessler-Harris, 'In the Nation's Image: The Gendered Limits of Social Citizenship in the Depression Era', *Journal of American history* 86 (1999) 1251-1279.

⁷⁸ Christopher P. Loss, "The Most Wonderful Thing Has Happened to Me in the Army": Psychology, Citizenship, and American Higher Education in World War II', *Journal of American history* 92 (2005)

but this does not go further than the traditional conceptualization by Marshall. In the article by Muncy we also see a brief overview of the history of the concept. Coming from a feminist point of view, he does give a very marginal critique on the traditional view of citizenship, but he does not reject the view by Marshall. Because Muncy does focus on social emancipation of social groups he checks the social branch.

An article that really stands out compared to the other articles in JAH is the last article of this study by Margot Canaday.⁷⁹ In her article, which is called *Building a straight state: sexuality and social citizenship under the 1944 GI bill*, she checks two of the three branches, namely the social and the personal branch. She also pays attention to the citizenship-debate by giving a historical overview of the conceptualization of citizenship and in the end, in contrast to the articles by Muncy and Loss, critiquing Marshall's view because the outcome of his traditional view on citizenship contains a substantial amount of gaps, for example when looking at gender and sexuality. The article has a partly emancipatory purpose, since it was completed with financial support from the Sexual Research Fellowship Program. Aside from that, Canaday also cites the theorist of citizenship, and an advocate for the newer view on citizenship, Bryan Turner.

Table 5. articles from the *Journal of American History*

Articles	Year	Name	Social	Geographical	Personal	Focus on citizenship-debate	Criticizes the traditional concept of citizenship	Uses literature from <i>Citizenship Studies</i>	background in history	background in the social sciences
38	2009	Robyn Muncy	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	x	
39	1999	Alice Kessler-Harris	no	no	yes	no	no	no	x	
40	2004	Lucy Salyer	no	no	no	no	no	yes	x	
41	2005	Christopher Loss	no	no	no	yes	no	no	x	
42	1996	Steven Reich	no	no	yes	no	no	no	x	
43	2003	Margot Canaday	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	x	
			2/6	0/6	3/6	2/6	1/6	2/6	6/6	0/6

864–891; Robyn Muncy, 'Coal-Fired Reforms: Social Citizenship, Dissident Miners, and the Great Society', *Journal of American history* 96 (2009) 72–98.

⁷⁹ Margot Canaday, 'Building a straight state: Sexuality and social citizenship under the 1944 GI Bill', *The Journal of American History* 90 (2003) 935–957.

Chapter 5. How Open is the Discipline of History?

This chapter will focus on the results of the data we have investigated. In doing this, the main focus points towards a question of inclusivity and openness. First, the newer concepts of citizenship often focus on trying to gain a wider range of inclusivity: they ask themselves the question how a definition of citizenship can help include disadvantaged races, genders, sexualities, etc. In using these new inclusive definitions of citizenship, the discipline of history could become more inclusive itself. Second, by focusing on 'openness' we have looked at how the discipline of history is an open institution, especially in connection with the social sciences. Has the discipline of history opened its boundaries towards the social sciences, or is it still hesitant in using social scientific theories and methods?

For the purpose of clarity we will try to make a distinction between authors in this investigation who are interested in the citizenship-debate and use a definition of citizenship that checks one or more of the branches, and authors who seem to be unaware or uninterested in the citizenship-debate and do not check one of the branches. The problem with making such a distinction is that if we look closely at the data, we can see that authors are on a spectrum. On the one side of the spectrum, which we will label as 'monodisciplinary authors', are the authors that do not check any of the branches and who are also not interested in the citizenship-debate. In doing this, these authors are only using the citizenship concepts traditionally used in the discipline of history, hence the term monodisciplinary. On the other side of the spectrum, we see authors who often check two or sometimes three branches, and who are well aware of and interested in the citizenship debate. We will label authors on this side of the spectrum as 'multidisciplinary authors.' There are, however, also some authors who are not easily categorized as one of the above mentioned two extremes, but who linger between the two poles of the spectrum. Most of these authors do check one of the branches, but are not intentionally trying to make the concept of citizenship more inclusive or are actively using concepts and theories from the social sciences. For this reason we will categorize authors into three categories: 'monodisciplinary', 'multidisciplinary' or 'mixed.' The last category is meant to represent the authors who are located in the middle of the spectrum.

When taking a closer look at the data that has been presented in the previous chapters, we can see two notable trends. First, the articles that have been published in economic and social history journals are more likely to be categorized as multidisciplinary than the articles that have been published in political history journals. Second, we see that the articles by continental authors are more likely to be categorized as multidisciplinary than the articles by anglo-american authors. What is going on here?

We will first focus on trend number one, but before we do so, we first have to look at which journals are representative of what subdiscipline of history. The articles that have been published in economic and social history journals were more multidisciplinary than the articles published in political journals. We categorize the *European Review of Economic History*, the *International Review of Social History* and the *Journal of Social History* as economic and social history journals. The *French Historical Studies* and the *Journal of American History* are in turn categorized as political history journals, because their main subject is a political nation state. We have one outlier, which is the *BMGN - Low Countries Review*. The title of the BMGN seems to suggest that it has political history roots, since it focuses on the Low Countries, but in contrast to America and France, the Low Countries is not a country, but a region. Aside from that, the BMGN publishes articles from all subdisciplines of history, making it hard to categorize it as solely political, social or economic.

Political history as a subdiscipline is the oldest of the three subdisciplines. Because of the link between political history and the nation state, articles that are focused on political history are more likely to use a classical definition of citizenship, focusing on the legalistic and state-centered aspects of citizenship. The link between political history and the nation state is twofold. First, the focus of political history is the state, the theoretician of history John Tosh states that the practitioners of political history focus on ‘the institutional organization of the state, the competition of factions and parties for control over the state, the policies enforced by the state and the relations between states.’⁸⁰ The second link between the state and political history is the fact that in the late 18th and during the 19th century, when political history became a subject of study, nation states were often the initiators of historical investigations. Forming a national history was placed high on the agenda by newly formed nation states. When taking these two links between the nation state and political history into consideration, it might not be surprising to find out that the articles that were published in political history journals were more likely to be categorized as monodisciplinary, because of their state-centered approach in their concept of citizenship.

From 1900 onwards we can see an upcoming movement of historians who criticise the elitist and state-focused political history.⁸¹ By focusing solely on political history, historians are inclined to focus on the rich elites, forgetting other social classes and bigger societal structures. We see this new movement in both the anglo-american and the continental tradition. In the United States ‘New History’ is becoming more and more popular amongst historians, but the best example where this new movement was most fully worked out is the French *Annales* school. Founded in 1929 by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, the

⁸⁰ John Tosh, *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history* (London 2013) 47.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 52–53.

Annales d'histoire sociale et économique was a project which not only focused on broadening the historical approach, but also on widening the awareness of what could be learned from the social sciences, such as sociology, psychology, geography and economics.⁸² As a result of the developments within the *Annales* school, social history and economic history became subdisciplines within the wider discipline of history. In contrast to political history, social and economic history were more open to influences from outside the discipline of history, especially from the social sciences. Aside from the link with the social sciences, social history in particular can be seen as an emancipatory movement. Social history focuses not only on the elite class, but tries to shed a light on the lives of ordinary citizens. Emancipation and diversity are therefore important issues for a social historian. In focusing on these two factors, modern philosophers from the Frankfurter Schule and postmodern philosophers are often used to build a theoretical framework. These are the exact same philosophers that are often used by scholars within the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies. We can therefore conclude that they build on the same theoretical foundations.

The second trend that we saw in our data is a distinction between anglo-american and continental journals. Continental journals are more likely to use a multidisciplinary concept of citizenship than anglo-american journals. This is a very interesting trend when looking at the nationality of the scholars in the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies. If we take for example the leading handbook of citizenship studies that was published in 2002, we see that almost every author in *The Handbook of Citizenship Studies* is of American or British descent and has received an education at an American university.⁸³ It seems therefore that geography cannot explain why continental articles on citizenship are more likely to be categorized as multidisciplinary. If we look further than geography, we might find an answer in the theoretical traditions of both regions. When looking at the philosophical division between continental and analytical (which is mainly practiced in anglo-american regions) philosophy, we see that continental philosophy is more interested in post-modern philosophy, whereas analytical philosophy focuses more on logic and science.⁸⁴ We have already seen that scholars from the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies are highly influenced by postmodern thinkers like Foucault, Derrida and Deleuze, and this might be an explanation as to why continental scholars are more likely to use a modern concept of citizenship. However, the choice of journals can also play a part in the division between continental and anglo-american journals. For the anglo-american journals we have picked

⁸² See for an extensive history of the *Annales* school: Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929 - 2014* (New Jersey 2015).

⁸³ Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner, *Handbook of Citizenship Studies* (California 2002).

⁸⁴ For an extensive overview of the divide between analytic and continental philosophy, see: C. G. Prado, *A House Divided: Comparing Analytic and Continental Philosophy* (New York 2003).

two journals with a background in political history. Since we have already seen that journals with a background in political history are more likely to be categorised as monodisciplinary, this might also play a part in the abovementioned division.

Some nuance has to be made here. Even though continental scholars with a social or economic background are more likely to use a modern concept of citizenship, there are a lot of historians who fit this category but are put in the mixed or monodisciplinary category. Aside from that, we also see anglo-american scholars, with a background in political history, who are put in the multidisciplinary category. The article by Margot Canaday for example is one of the articles with the most 'modern' concept of citizenship, while she is an anglo-american author with a background in political history.⁸⁵ Another nuance that has to be made is the fact that even though we found quite a lot of authors that can be put in the multidisciplinary category, most authors are in the mixed or the monodisciplinary category. Taking this into consideration, the discipline of history still is not always that 'open' with regard to its concepts of citizenship, even when solely looking at continental scholars with a background in social or economic history.

Another question that was posed in the introduction of this thesis was the question of 'how' knowledge travels between different scientific disciplines. In trying to answer this we have looked at whether or not modern authors in our investigated journals cited scholars from the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies. The result of this was very inconclusive, only four scholars cited an article or a scholar from the abovementioned field. Of these, one of the authors was not even considered a multidisciplinary scholar, since the citizenship-debate was not mentioned and no branch was checked.⁸⁶ If we want to answer the question of how knowledge travels, we have to look further than the citations in our research. It seems that knowledge might travel in unofficial ways, instead of the official way of citations. Education might play a big role in letting social scientific concepts and theories travel to the historical discipline. Scholars that have a degree in sociology, economics or another social scientific field are more inclined to use a modern theory of citizenship. These authors also work together with social scientists and are generally more 'open' to influences from outside the classical historical discipline. It seems that if we want to understand how knowledge is traveling, we need to look at the personal background of the scholars, instead of citations.

What could the discipline of history gain by incorporating more inclusive concepts of citizenship? Using a classical legalistic and state-centered concept of citizenship is not 'wrong' in the sense of how a theory in physics can turn out to be wrong. The new concepts of citizenship could, however, broaden the perspective and horizon of our view of history.

⁸⁵ Canaday, 'Building a straight state: Sexuality and social citizenship under the 1944 GI Bill'.

⁸⁶ Salyer, 'Baptism by fire: Race, military service, and US Citizenship Policy, 1918--1935'.

The wider the range of concepts, the wider the range of different horizons; uncovering parts of the past that the classical concept of citizenship might not be able to uncover. Newer concepts of citizenship, taken over from the social sciences, could therefore play a role in enriching the historical view.

Conclusion

We began this thesis by formulating a core research question: 'Did the concept of "citizenship" change in historical journals between 1990-2010 as a result of new developments surrounding the concept of citizenship in the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies?' In answering this question we had hoped to gain a better understanding of the nature of the historical discipline. How open is it to concepts from outside of the set boundaries and how do these concepts travel between the social sciences and the historical discipline? Aside from these questions we also hoped that answering this question would overcome what Lister called the 'imbalance between the theoretical and empirical advances in our understanding of Citizenship.'⁸⁷ We also tried to formulate an answer to the question that followed from this thesis: what could the discipline of history gain by incorporating new concepts of citizenship from the social sciences?

To answer the research question a theoretical framework was needed. First, we had to formulate a fitting concept of what 'scientific disciplines' are. In trying to find a way to connect the traditional essentialist view to the modern institutionalised view we came to see disciplines as amphibious concepts. In this way, each discipline is unique and has its own power distributions and contextual factors that influence it, but is also universal as long as it pursues traditional scientific characteristics such as having a shared set of methods, theories and research objects. To complete the theoretical framework we also needed to give a proper description of the developments that the concept of citizenship has undergone. We saw that with the emergence of a new interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies, the traditional view by Marshall came under criticism. Social scientists, building on a post-modern tradition, found that the traditional ways of conceptualising citizenship were not inclusive enough. We saw that the concept of citizenship is always changing, setting new boundaries and focusing on new power relations. In this way it resembled Deleuze's rhizome, always branching out into different directions. By looking at the literature on the concept of citizenship we formulated three main branches: a geographical branch, a social branch and a personal branch. These three branches provided the analytical framework for analyzing the papers on citizenship in the historical journals.

From analyzing our primary sources, the 43 articles that were published in six historical journals, we came to the following conclusions. First, there was a clear difference between the subdisciplines of history and their usage of the concept of citizenship. We found that journals coming from a social or an economic history background were more inclined to use a newer concept of citizenship, which would make us categorize them as

⁸⁷ Lister, 'Inclusive Citizenship: Realizing the Potential', 58.

multidisciplinary. On the other hand, journals that had a background in political history were more inclined to use a traditional concept of citizenship. In addition, we also saw a difference between continental and anglo-american journals. Even though anglo-american journals published more articles that were used for this investigation, they were more inclined to use a traditional concept. The continental journals on the other hand did not publish a lot on the subject of citizenship, but when they did, they were more inclined to use a newer concept. Another aspect that stood out in our research was the fact that a lot of articles that were put in the multidisciplinary category when looking at their concept of citizenship, were produced by researchers with a social scientific background. The last aspect we found was that most of the authors do not mention the citizenship-debate. Some of the authors in the multidisciplinary category criticized the traditional view on the concept of citizenship, but they very rarely cited scholars in the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies.

Taking all these findings into consideration, we have found that in some cases the concept of citizenship has changed over the period of 1990-2010. We see a clear distinction between the different subdisciplines of history. Articles that were published in a journal with a social or economic history background were more likely to be categorized as multidisciplinary. This was due to the fact that political history was strongly linked to the nation state. In contrast, social and economic history emerged as a voice against the state-centered and elitist way in which political history looked at the historical reality. In doing this they were also open to the social sciences and its concepts and theories. In addition we saw that economic and social history built on the same theoretical foundations as the scholars of the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies. What we have also discovered is that continental scholars might be more inclined to use a newer concept of citizenship than anglo-american scholars. This relationship cannot be traced back to the geographical location, since most of the scholars of the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies are from anglo-american descent. The relationship might therefore lie in the philosophical foundations of the continental and the analytic traditions. Continental philosophy is linked to postmodern thinking, whereas the analytic tradition is linked to logical and empirical thinking. Continental philosophy has more similarities with the theoretical foundations of the interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies, which might explain why continental historians seem more likely to be categorised as multidisciplinary.

We must however conclude that most of the articles in this investigation are labeled monodisciplinary or mixed, which means that a lot of the articles do not use newer concepts of citizenship. This is also the case with a lot of continental scholars with a background in social or economic history. On the other hand, there are some anglo-american scholars with a background in political history that have written articles which are labeled multidisciplinary in this investigation. However, if we have to conclude and answer the main research

question, we see that most of the articles in this investigation are categorized as monodisciplinary or mixed, which means that the concept of citizenship has not changed in their articles. However in some cases the concept of citizenship has changed over the period of 1990-2010, particularly in continental journals and by scholars with a background in social or economic history.

These findings seem to suggest that the historical discipline is sometimes, especially in the case of continental social or economic history journals, open to influences from the social sciences. However, most of the time, especially in anglo-american political history journals, this is not the case. Aside from that, it is also hard to give a clear account of how the modern concepts of citizenship - in the cases that the author is included in the multidisciplinary category when looking at her or his concept of citizenship - have traveled from the social sciences to the historical discipline. We do know, however, that these concepts often travel to the historical discipline when they are used by continental historians with a social or economic background. We have found out that if we want to know how knowledge travels, we have to look at the individual background of the authors, instead of at the footnotes. When trying to shed a new light on the empirical advances of the concept of citizenship, following the formulated question by Lister, we see that it almost never happens that a modern author checks all of our 3 formulated branches of citizenship. In practice, most modern authors focus on 1 or 2 branches.

In the end we argued that by incorporating newer concepts of citizenship from the social sciences in the historical discipline, the discipline of history could gain a wider perspective on the past. By branching out to newer forms of citizenship a richer view of the historical reality can be given, which could broaden the historical horizon.

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