Contents

Preface ix

PART 1 Why Citizenship?

1 Citizenship on the Political Agenda 3
   Political Earthquakes After 1989, 3
   Citizenship as a Dynamic Principle of Constitutional Politics, 6
   On the Agenda of Redemocratization, 8

2 Theories of Citizenship, Old and New 11
   A Field of Meanings, 11
   The Development of a Citizenship Doctrine, 13
   Three Theories of Citizenship, 16
   Old Theories in Contemporary Society, 21
   Neorepublican Citizenship, 24

PART 2 What Citizens Do

3 Plurality in The Unknown Society 33
   The Value of Plurality, 34
   The Unknown Society, 36
   Conceptualizing Plurality, 39
   Accepting Plurality, But Not Blindly, 50

4 Against Consensus 53
   Fit or Consensus, 53
   Condition or Desired Outcome, 55
   Cultural Facts, 57
5 Deep Groups Under a Multicultural Surface 59

Deep Groups, 59
Community of Fate, 61
Exclusive Cultures, 63
Principles for Multicultural Practice, 64

6 Citizens in Public Office 67

Ruling Cocitizens, 68
Extreme Situations, 70
How Normal? 72
Disturbing Demands, 76

PART 3 How Citizens Are Formed

7 Education 81

Dangerous Questions, 82
Education for Culture, 83
Educators as Exemplary Citizens, 84
The Problem of Ripeness and Other Dilemmas, 86
Fragmentation and the Avoidance of Experience, 88
Who Educates the Educator? 88

8 Admission and Exclusion 91

Claims for Admission and Grounds for Refusal, 93
Admission Policies and Practices, 96
Exclusion of Citizens, 99

9 Work and Third Age Citizens 103

From Property to Social Rights, 103
To Work or Not to Work, Is That the Question? 105
Social Rights Are Not Citizen Rights, 106
Third Age Citizens, 109

10 Moral Unity or a Steady Diet of Conflicts? 111

Politicians Moralizing About Civic Responsibility, 113
The Past as Compass: Filth, Danger, and Purification Rituals, 115
Multiple Calculations Without One Ultimate Standard, 118
Paradoxical Communication and the Ethics of the “Blank Check,” 120
The Uninterested Citizen, 121
Naturalizing Nationalism, 124
Civil Society, 129

11 Political Institutions and the Idea of Citizenship 133

European Citizenship, 134
Redemocratization, 135
The Dialectic of Public and Private Spheres, 136
Representation, 138
Loyalty, 140
Freedom, 144
In Search of Public Context, 147

The Outlook for Citizenship 149

References 154
Index 161