



Master of Arts Thesis Euroculture

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“We are Europeans”: Perspectives of European citizenship and identity in the European Union and Argentina

Abstract: The European Union is a supranational structure of its own, created to bring peace after years of war on the ground of shared economic interests. In the 1970s, the polity started to realize its need of a European identity to further pursue its integration process efficiently, opening a door on a whole new sphere. This latter shift brought new issues on the table, questioning the features of a common identity bringing the European countries of the Union together and eventually introduced the concept of EU citizenship as a condition of (EU)ropean belonging. On the other side of the Atlantic, Argentina has been on the quest of its own identity since the independence from Spain in 1810. In the twentieth century, the country started to identify with Europe, resulting in the creation of a European identity in a non-geographically European continent and far from the concept of EU citizenship. This thesis seeks to study the different understandings of a European identity. The leading question is: How are European citizenship and European identity interwoven in the expression of belonging to Europe in the official discourse in the EU and Argentina? According to a model of the sociologist Delanty, we will deconstruct the concept of citizenship according to three features and look at citizenship as a community of Rights, a participatory behaviour and an identity with means of cultural cohesiveness and historical traditions in both the EU and Argentina’s official discourse. Our findings show, neither the study of EU rights and participatory behaviour of EU citizens in Argentina allow us to understand the identification of Argentina with Europe, in opposition with the EU. Indeed, being a European in the EU refers to belonging and participating in a political sphere and eventually could lead to a political identity. In Argentina being European refers to a cultural, if not eugenic identity which can be explained by the history of the country.

Keywords: European citizenship, feeling of belonging, EU, Argentina, cultural identity, political identity, Participation, EU citizenship rights, Delanty

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MA Programme Euroculture

Declaration

I, Camille MEYER hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “We are Europeans”:

Perspectives of European citizenship and identity in the European Union and Argentina” submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within this text of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the bibliography.

I declare that the written (printed and bound) and the electronic copy of the submitted MA thesis are identical.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed in Strasbourg, 20th May 2018

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'M' followed by a series of horizontal and curved lines.



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Introduction

Collective identity belongs to everyone's daily-life. The way we behave and interact with other people relies on what group we feel we belong to. All identities are based on a discourse, a narrative that states the borders of this groups. These borders might shift as the identity is being further constructed. Such construction of a collective identity is often created on regional and national level as it constitutes one of the key elements of the creation of a Nation-state, representative of the late 19th early 20th century. The late 20th century witnessed the increasing impact of the globalization. This new dynamic consisted in a shift in economies and politics but also saw the deconstruction of the idea of borders as separating 'us' from 'them'. This shift of borders eventually challenged the idea of collective identity and transnational groups started to form.

The European Union (EU) is a product of historical conflicts but also an example of how the globalization manifested itself. Many agree that the EU is one supranational polity of a kind. In the 70s, the polity started to realize its need of a European identity to further pursue its integration process efficiently, opening a door on a whole new sphere, far from the economic oriented goal it had initially set with the creation of the European Community of Steel and Coal in 1950. But what brought these countries beyond their economic interests? What were the borders of the European project? Looking at it nowadays, it appears that EU has come up with an European identity based on the concept of European citizenship, which limits are delimited by each member-states.¹

Since the independence from the Spanish Crown in 1810, Argentina has been on the quest of its own identity. After erasing from the map most of its indigenous population during the 19th century, the country decided to construct its nation as 'white' by encouraging European immigration. Immigration waves between 1880-1914 had such an impact on the early 20th century Argentine population that by 1914, 60% of the population in Buenos Aires and 30% in the rest of the country came from Europe.² The middle class of Buenos Aires spread the idea that they came from the boats in the 1900s. The identification with Europe in Argentina is nowadays vividly present. Mauricio Macri himself stated in a

¹ See : European Commission, "European Citizenship - Standard Eurobarometer 83 - Spring 2015", Standard Eurobarometer, 2015.

² Silvia Citro, "Cuando «los descendientes de los barcos» comenzaron a mutar. Corporalidades y sonoridades multiculturales en el bicentenario argentino", *AIBR. Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana* 12, no. 01 (1 January 2017): 53–75.

speech in 2015 just before coming into office as president that the reason why Argentina is one of the most entrepreneur country in the world is because their ancestors came in boats (referring to immigration from Europe) looking for an opportunity they eventually had found in Argentina.¹ From a European perspective, European feeling of belonging lying under the condition of European citizenship, one might ask oneself how could a born and raised Argentine possibly be European as me. Throughout this work, we will be trying to look more in depth at what being European refers to by comparing European and Argentines feeling of belonging in the official discourse. The main question asked in this work is the following: How are European citizenship and European identity interwoven in the expression of belonging to Europe in the official discourse in the EU and Argentina? We will also try to tackle following questions: Does the Argentine feeling of belonging to Europe reflect the amalgam between European citizenship and European identity made in the EU discourse? How can one identify with Europe without being born in one of the EU-member states? What does ‘Being European’ refer to?

To give a response to those questions, we will use a Eurocentric perspective and deconstruct European citizenship drawing inspiration from a model of Delanty.² This model divides citizenship between 4 features: Right, Duties, Participation and Identity, understood as cultural cohesiveness and historical traditions. We will however leave the Duties out of our study. We will go through each 3 feature and try to analyse if this feature shows a feeling of belonging to Europe in the EU and in Argentina and to what aspect of the Europeanness this feature refers to.

Chapter 1 will look at the different visions of citizenship and will try to understand how citizenship is related to a feeling of belonging in Europe and in Argentina. It will explain the relevance of Delanty’s model to study the feeling of belonging in the EU and in Argentina. The second chapter will analyse the theoretical universality of EU citizenship rights before looking at restrictions these rights might have. We will look at whether the EU has aimed at playing a role in shaping citizenship rights in Argentina using soft power

¹ “El recién electo Mauricio Macri está a punto de pisar el palito”, Uno Entre Rios, accessed 9 May 2018, <https://www.unoentrierios.com.ar/pais/el-recien-electo-mauricio-macri-esta-punto-pisar-el-palito-n943470.html>.

² Gerard Delanty, “Models of Citizenship: Defining European Identity and Citizenship”, *Citizenship Studies* 1, no. 3 (1997): 285–303.

to analyse whether citizenship rights might be a reason for Argentines and EU citizens to feel like they belong to a same sphere.

Chapter 3 will first look at participation in the EU, introducing the idea of second-order elections. We will then look at the participatory behaviour of Argentines taking part in Spanish and Italian national elections to understand what values those Argentine Europeans support and whether the ways in which they cast ballots shows a feeling of belonging to Europe.

The last chapter will look at the realm of identity more in depth according to the divide made by Delanty. After analysing the discourse of the EU on the construction of a European identity, opposing essentialist to constructivist perspectives, we will deconstruct the feeling of belonging in the EU using surveys from the Eurobarometer. We will then analyse the discourse of 'white nation' in Argentina throughout the 20th century and see where this discourse is at nowadays. A second section will ask the question of a collective memory in the EU. We will also look at the celebration of the Dia de la Raza in Argentina and how this celebration, initially celebrating the Europeanness of Argentina changed of discourse throughout the 20th century.

Throughout this work, Europe and European will refer to the European Union. It is important to keep in mind that we will be comparing 2 constructions of European belonging in different time slots: the discourse of the EU on the construction of a European identity in the second-half of the 20th century until today will be compared to the construction of a national identity in Argentina taking roots in the late 19th century (1890s).

The relevance of this master thesis consists opening the scope to what Europeanness might be instead of focussing on what it is, by looking at different understandings of what belonging to Europe is. I intend to highlight new ways of conceiving a European cultural identity crossing borders and oceans, in parallel to a European political identity within the borders of the EU.

Chapter 1 : Theoretical Framework

Citizenship Studies are a new field and has been standing on its own feet for only a couple of years, but the concept of citizenship isn't. Many identify the first traces of its genealogy already in the Ancient Greek.¹ The 20th century and particularly the emergence of the concepts of nation, blurred the borders of citizenship by extending the concept universally to a community delimited by the limits of the polity ruling it. This shift of perception to a citizenship referring to all nationals of a polity delimited by its borders during the 20th century, may be referred to as the modern definition of citizenship, designates Marshall's contribution.² We'll have a look at it in the next section, it has however undergone internal and external challenges in the late 20th century. The internal challenges consisted in the emergence of "second-class citizens" represented by minority groups claiming their identity in difference such as foreigners, migrants or women to name a few; and external as the growing globalization has blurred the concept of nation itself by introducing supranational structures.³ The shifts occurring in the society of the late 20th century, have brought Marshall's modern definition of citizenship to a post-modern era and forced the concept of citizenship to adapt to new forms of citizenship, beyond national borders.

The establishment of citizenship as a field of research itself occurred in the context of the late 20th century. The creation of the academic journal in 1997 named Citizenship Studies under the initiative of Engin F. Isin and Bryan Turner, co-authors of the very first Handbook of Citizenship Studies published in 2002, which marked a real turn in the discussion around citizenship. The following section investigates different understanding and deconstruction of the socially constructed concept of citizenship, as an imagined community.⁴ Citizenship will be investigated as a multi-folded complex allying a legal status and an identity, before explaining why Delanty's deconstruction of Citizenship according to Rights, Participation and Identity as being the most convincing theory for our comparative study of expression of European belonging in the European Union and

¹ Engin F. Isin, "Who Is the New Citizen? Towards a Genealogy", *Citizenship Studies* 1, no. 1 (February 1997): 115–32.

² T.H Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class (1950)", in *The Citizenship Debates, A Reader*. (Gershon Shafir, 1998), 93–112.

³ Antje Wiener, "From Special to Specialized Rights: The Politics of Citizenship and Identity in the European Union", in *Extending Citizenship – Reconfiguring States*, Hanagan Michael, Tilly Charles, 1999, 195–227.

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1983.

Argentina. In a second paragraph, we will try to have a look at specificities of citizenship with regards on Latin America, and especially Argentina, and we will try to see if these specificities impact our study of the expression European belonging in Argentina.

a) Citizenship as a mere legal status or a collective identity ? Towards a definition

Historically citizenship designates “privileges of membership of a particular kind of political community - one in which those who enjoy a certain status are entitled to participate on an equal basis with their fellow citizens in making the collective decisions that regulate social life”.¹ In other words, citizenship designates the membership to a political community. According to the political scientist Bellamy, this very formal definition of citizenship lacks multidimensionality, necessary to our study of expression of belonging. T.H. Marshall contributed highly to the theory of citizenship as he outlined the modern multi-dimensional and historical definition of citizenship, in his masterpiece *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950)², that represents the grounding definition of Citizenship in its modern form of the 20th century. In his perspective, citizenship was constructed around 3 different types of rights: civil rights, developed during the 18th century, political rights developed during the 19th century and social rights developed in the 20th century. Civil rights were the products of the equality that arise in the 17th century in England and provided the society with the right to work. The political rights didn't add new rights but granted old ones more importance, it introduced the right to participate in the exercise of political power and was exercised through the introduction of councils and parliaments. Social rights, developed in the 20th century introduced access to the economic welfare state and security and the right to live according to the societal standards, achieved through education and social services. A range of responses to Marshall's piece quickly emerged as fourth generation of rights: the cultural rights.³ We shall also name Marshall's theory of formal citizenship, as a top-down citizenship leaving out any questions of identification, restricting citizenship to a bundle of rights and excludes an active dimension of citizenship.⁴ Marshall's contribution also received a lot

¹ Richard Bellamy, *Citizenship : A Very Short Introduction*, 2008.

² Marshall, 1950.

³ Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, 1995.

⁴ See, Turner, *Outline of a Theory of Citizenship*, 1990 and Delanty, *Models of Citizenship: Defining European Identity and Citizenship*, 1997

of criticism on its inability to address new forms of citizenship of the late 20th century, such as the supranational European level.¹

This stance was strongly argued by Turner in the 1990s.² Turner criticizes the focus of Marshall on England, evaluated as inadequate to tackle the issue of social inequality in relation to individual freedom, due to capitalism. Turner also identifies his failure to consider that additional rights might be developed in the field of culture in the 20th century formulated by Parsons and Platt in 1973.³ They reflect on the necessary shift in society to embrace universalistic values instead of the particularistic ones, which is a representative shift of the late 20th century's society. Turner develops a typology of citizenship based on a historical suggestion, according to two dimensions: a passive-active contrast depending on whether citizenship grew from above (passive) or below (active). In this sense, Turner sees in citizenship a bottom-up outplay of social struggles and political participation⁴, introducing a notion of Western and non-western traditions of citizenship.

By comparing being part of a polity in the person of a citizen as the membership to a private club golf, Bellamy highlights a new aspect of citizenship that goes hand in hand with the idea of an active citizenship: namely identity.⁵ In the latter definitions, citizenship appears as something more than just a mere legal status and conceive citizenship, as an *imagined community*.⁶

Similarly to Turner, Bauböck identifies two dimensions of citizenship namely the nominal and the substantive dimensions of the concept.⁷ With the term nominal, the Professor of Social and Political Theory approaches the formal side of citizenship, to what I refer to as a relation between individuals and territorial political entities. Under the substantive realm, Bauböck reflects on the actual capacity of people to enjoy human rights in the country they live in.⁸ To tackle the changing global interconnection, Bauböck

¹ Delanty, 1997.

² Bryan S. Turner, 'Outline of a Theory of Citizenship', *Sociology* 24, no. 2 (May 1990): 189–217.

³ Talcott Parsons and Gerald Platt, *The American University*, 1973.

⁴ Bryan S. Turner, "Four Models Of Citizenship: From Authoritarianism To Consumer Citizenship", in *Shifting Frontiers of Citizenship: The Latin American Experience – Comparative Perspectives* (Mario Sznajder, Luis Roniger and Carlos Forment, 2013), 56–81.

⁵ Bellamy, 2008.

⁶ Anderson, 1983.

⁷ Maarten Vink, 'Comparing Citizenship Regimes', in *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, Ayelet Shachar et al., 2017.

⁸ Rainer Bauböck, *Transnational Citizenship: Membership and Rights in International Migration*, 1994.

suggests studying *citizenship constellations*.¹ “Constellations of both sending and receiving countries jointly produce a set of legal statuses and bundle of rights that are still immensely valuable, especially for mobile individuals but also marks important inequalities between different groups”, in other words, constellations of citizenship works in the cracks of national citizenship, especially in the case of migrants, that in this sense could be seen as simultaneous stakeholders in countries of origin and settlement.² Unfortunately, the focus on rights unexhaustive for our study.

“Instead of regarding themselves as citizens of sovereign nation-states, much less citizens of the world, many people have come to see themselves primarily as members of a racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious or gender group” stated James Littleton.³ This evolution of citizenship, has been studied extensively by Engin F. Isin and Wood. According to them, being a citizen is a social construction in the sense that it is “those who were able to constitute themselves as a group, confer rights on and impose obligations on each other, institute rituals of belonging and rites of passage, and, above all, differentiate themselves from others, constructing an identity and an alterity simultaneously”.⁴ In the wake of an active citizenship, Isin and Wood have identified movements of “identity politics” shaking up and transcending concepts of citizenship and bringing in eventually, cultural rights that go beyond a mere legal status in the 20th century.⁵ The debate over citizenship and identity puts in perspective the theoretically universal aspect of citizenship and the individualistic aspect of identity and might be defined as a set of practices (cultural, symbolic and economic) and bundle of rights and duties (civil, political and social), which defines an individual’s membership in a polity.⁶ In comparison to identity, citizenship is more a concept of status because it defines a juridical and legal framework of the members of a polity, however it has never been extended to all the members of a polity (despite its ideal universal features). In opposition, identity isn’t defined by legal norms but might be likely to be at the center of a legal dispute. However, identity and the legal status of citizenship are linked in the way politics of belonging shape group identities. This

¹ Rainer Bauböck, “Studying Citizenship Constellations”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, no. 5 (May 2010): 847–59.

² Rainer Bauböck, “The Rights and Duties of External Citizenship”, *Citizenship Studies* 13, no. 5: Realignment of Citizenship (2009): 475–99.

³ James Littleton, *Clash of Identities: Media, Manipulation, and Politics of the Self*, 1996.

⁴ Engin F. Isin, *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*, 2003.

⁵ Kymlicka, 1995.

⁶ Engin F. Isin and Patricia K. Wood, *Citizenship and Identity*, 1999.

problematique has been investigated by the sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis in her piece *Belonging and the politics of belonging*.¹ Three political theories compete in the shaping of a political community, as known as a citizenry. Firstly, the liberals who are in favor of a reciprocal relationship of rights and responsibilities between individuals (namely Rights). Secondly, the Republican perspective, seeing the political community as a mediator between the individual citizens and the states, to which the citizen owes loyalty, promotion, and preservation (echoing participation). The last conception is the communitarian often used to describe the identarian feature of citizenship.

Through this investigation, it appears that 3 features of citizenship come forward: being provided a legal status, being actively participating in a political community and being part of a community with common features. These features are described in Wiener's theory looking at the shift from special to specialized rights and the shift of citizenship in the European Union.² By looking at European Union, she identifies four elements of citizenship that seem central to understanding European identity, according to Delanty in his contribution to the discussion on the substantive dimension of citizenship, as an active behaviour.³ As citizenship seems to enjoy a certain territoriality in a process of state-building, which has now been replaced, as mentioned above, by a globalization process, raising debates about transnational citizenship such as the European citizenship, having different criteria than those of national citizenship (such as residence instead of blood)..

Delanty formulates four elements of what he calls democratic citizenship: Rights understood as formal citizenship in the sense of Marshall, duties implied by the membership, participation emphasizing an active membership in opposition to the obedience implicit to the two latter aspects, and at last identity, closely related to cultural cohesiveness and historical traditions. This definition relies on many of the grounding theories of Citizenship and deconstructs the concept of citizenship in a clear way that will allow us to study fully the different aspects of the expression of belonging in both the European Union and Argentina. Delanty goes further by classifying those four elements into two forms and two types of citizenship like following:

¹ Nira Yuval-Davis, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging", *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no. 3 (2006): 197–214.

² Wiener, 1999.

³ Delanty, 1997.

Type of citizenship	Formal	Substantive
Historical form		
Civic citizenship	Rights	Participation
Ethnic citizenship	Duties	Identity

Source 1: *The core components of citizenship, Delanty (1997)*

These types of citizenship show a clear split between citizenship as being part of a political polity (namely civic citizenship) opposed to a citizenship based on ethnic identity, both having formal and substantive features. Since the aim of this paper is to study European identity expressed in the European Union and in Argentina, under the scope of European citizenship, I've made the decision not to investigate the conservative model of citizenship on the ground that holders of European passports in Argentina aren't exposed to directly to European duties and policies, through their status of nationals in Argentina. Therefore, I intend to focus on the legal status of a European citizen in both regions and to investigate the identity linked to this citizenship in the EU and then look at what European identity refers to in Argentina. European citizens in Argentina aren't allowed to participate in European elections, however they do participate in the national elections of the European country they are citizens of. The results of votes among voters in Argentina, might give us a clue on their political orientation towards Europe. On this ground, we also will shortly investigate the participation realm according to Delanty's definition of citizenship in this thesis, which will allow us to deconstruct the phenomenon of expression of belonging to Europe occurring both in the EU and Argentina according to three lines. This deconstruction of citizenship will allow us to compare thoroughly both understandings and conceptions of European citizenship and Identity. My choice to use Delanty's theory relies also on the fact that the latter is familiar with the newest definition of citizenship, as author of *Citizenship in the global age* in 2001. His exhaustive literature on the topics of cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, Europeanization and European cultural identity¹, makes of his model of European citizenship a grounded basis for exploring the different features in both the EU and Argentina

¹See: Gerard Delanty, "The Idea of a Cosmopolitan Europe: On the Cultural Significance of Europeanization", *International Review of Sociology* 15, no. 3 (2005): 405–21.

In the next parts, I intend to look more into new forms of citizenship, as the European citizenship is part of a bigger complex of new forms of citizenship.

b) *Citizenship as a Western concept : specificities of Argentina*

While citizenship is well known from Weber's perspective as being a Western construction, on the ground that it comes from the very Western modern concept of nation.¹ However, citizenship, as we've seen in a previous section comes with the dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion, which seems to be reinforced in Latin America, as the region mostly marked by great inequalities² and disputes around the concepts of nation and democracy, which are to find under different forms in Latin America than in Europe.

De La Paz, a researcher from the Centre of Civic education in Sand Diego argues that the exercise of citizenship shall depend from access to education letting shining through great discrepancies³ as many people lack access to quality education and information allowing them to participate in their citizenship. In this sense, it appears that citizenship in Latin America is interconnected and impacted by social inequalities in a way that the EU isn't.

Another debate occurring around the question regards the concept of nation. On the one hand, the sociologist Eisenstadt argues that no pure nation-State ever existed in Latin America and that the emergence of such constructions was "always much more heterogenous and complex than what its imagery predicates and yet was a very strong ideological and institutional implications".⁴ Citizenship, as a by-product of such constructions as therefore undergone various forms, independent from the State. This process might shine through as an occurrence of a bottom-up citizenship in a more active form, embodied in social movements, in opposition to a top-down citizenship linked with nation rebuilding. The sociologist Turner himself has researched the area and came to the conclusion that citizenship was linked to nation rebuilding in Argentina and has taken different forms throughout the migration flows of the 20th century: "Migrants in Argentina

¹ Max Weber, *General Economic History*, 1927.

² "GINI Index (World Bank Estimate)", The World Bank Data, 2015, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?view=map>.

³ Gabriel De La Paz, *Citizenship Identity And Social Inequality*, vol. Instituto Federal Electoral San Diego, 2012.

⁴ Schmucl Noah Eisenstadt, "Latin American and the Problem of Multiple Modernities", in *Shifting Frontiers of Citizenship: The Latin American Experience – Comparative Perspectives* (Mario Sznajder, Luis Roniger and Carlos Forment, 2012), 43–52.

formed the basis of a broad-based middle class, but later migrants from Bolivia and Paraguay had a very different experience, remaining at the bottom of the urban social hierarchy”.¹ Shedding the light on Argentina also brings up new forms of citizenship such as “uncompleted citizenship” or second-class citizenship.²

This thesis explores the European perspective of EU citizenship in Argentina in order to study whether there can be a European feeling of belonging, i.e. an European identity based on something else than EU citizenship. We will therefore consider European citizenship and identity in Argentina in a Eurocentric perspective, going from the hypothesis that Argentines see themselves as Europeans, the way Europeans consider themselves as Europeans. Accordingly, we will look at the constitutive elements of citizenship according to Delanty, namely: Rights, Participation and Identity in both regions trying to study the same process but adapting the methodology it to the data available in both regions, which might let shine through different understanding of what “being European” means.

¹ Turner, 2012.

² Mario Belén Olmos Giupponi, “Citizenship, Migration and Regional Integration: Re-Shaping Citizenship Conceptions in the Southern Cone”, *European Journal of Legal Studies* 4, no. 2 (2011): 104–136.

Chapter 2: EU Citizenship as an access to a bundle of rights

The investigation of the relation between European Identity and citizenship starts in this section with an investigation of EU citizenship rights. Delanty's starts his theory by explaining that "Citizenship implies membership of a political community and is internally defined by rights, duties, participation, and identity".¹ He perceives the feature of rights according to the modern definition established by Marshall, dividing rights into 3 categories: civil, political and social rights.² Bearing this approach in mind, this section aims to look at EU citizenship rights. We will first look at the historical development of EU citizenship and the shift from a market citizenship (namely having rights to take part in an economic market shaped by the EU integration process) to EU citizenship. We will then ask the question whether EU citizens living in Argentina can enjoy their rights fully. Finally, on the ground that the claim made in Argentina to be European seems to go beyond the few EU passport holders, we will try to have a look at the relation between the EU and Argentina (in different spheres) to see if the EU is using its Normative power in Argentina to forge citizenship rights according to its European standards, which could eventually encourage the feeling of being European in Argentina, on the ground that the rights enjoyed by nationals in Argentina directly stem from the action of the EU in the country.

a) From market citizenship to EU citizenship in the EU

The idea of a *European citizen* isn't a new concept of the European Union. The premises of the concept of EU citizenship lie in the stepping stone of the Treaty of Rome. Back in the 60s, the citizens were envisaged as mere workers engaged in economic activity inside a market, to whom the Treaty provided rights and freedom in order to execute their activity outside of national boundaries.³ This first definition of a *European*, prompted by the immigration waves from third countries in a post-war context (the guest-workers), saw the introduction of the right to establish oneself in one of the six other Member-States of the ECSC and opened up a new employment market in times of economic growth. However, the formulation of "citizenship"

¹ Delanty, 1997.

² Marshall, 1950.

³ Andrew Evans, "European Citizenship", *The Modern Law Review* 45, no. 5 (1982): 497-515.

didn't appear in the official discourse until the 70s, where the cooperation between countries was taken to another level.

The Commission president Mansholt expressed in front of European Assembly in 1972 the Commission's intention to call for a full European citizenship no longer confined to the socio-economic field, but that would entail the enjoyment of all the rights associated with citizenship in a liberal democratic state.¹ This proposal, supported by both Belgian and Italian prime ministers, resulted in the creation of 2 working groups, leading up to the Tindemans Report on the EU in 1975, formulating the concept of European citizenship. According to the late Belgian Prime Minister, the latter concept was meant to be articulated around two key elements: a passport Union, and the granting of 'special rights', namely the right to vote, to stand for elections and to become a public official in the Member-States.² It wasn't however until 1979, that these rights to vote in European elections were enforced as the first election of the European Parliament took place. However, this right came with restrictions: it is undetachable from nationality and based the principle of universal suffrage on residence over time.³ Moreover, the right to vote in a local election represented a politico-legal challenge as it would have constituted a constitutional revision in most of the Member-states. Consequently, only a few countries implemented it, namely Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal and the United Kingdoms (only for Portuguese nationals, Irish and Commonwealth citizens).⁴ Regarding a Passport Union, the European Passport was introduced in 1981. However, introducing such identification documents involved "coordinating legislation on foreigners and abolishing passport controls within the Community"⁵, as a step in the process of establishing the Schengen Union. A second report that gave a new impulse to the matter was published in 1985 by Adonnino and pointed out specifically that the existence of frontier controls and formalities (such as taxation for cross-border workers⁶) was an obstacle to the creation of a European territory.⁷ Nevertheless, the extension of rights to more people than just workers engaging in economic activities occurred in 1990, as the Council adopted 3 directives on free movement for

¹ Evans, 1982.

² Carlos Closa, "The Concept Of Citizenship In The Treaty On European Union", *Common Market Law Review* 29 (1992): 1137–1169.

³ Ebda.

⁴ Ebda.

⁵ Christiane Facomprez, "Un Passport Uniforme Pour Les Européens", *30 Jours d'Europe*, November 2015.

⁶ Pietro Adonnino, "Report from the Ad Hoc Committee on a People's Europe to the European Council", 1985.

⁷ Siofra O'Leary, *The Evolving Concept of Community Citizenship : From the Free Movement of Persons to Union Citizenship*, 1996.

students, pensioners and non-economically active persons in general.¹ Slowly but surely, the Union was adopting a more inclusive position on who should benefit from the market union, soon to be the European Union and its citizens.

The signature of the Treaty of Maastricht gave a new start to the concept of a citizen of the EU, building on latter implementations, such as the Schengen Agreement in 1985. Described in the Art.20-24 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, European citizenship is a status granting “special rights” at a number of four: Art.21 describes the right of “Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member-States”, the right to vote in municipal and European elections (Art.22), diplomatic or consular protection in a third country (Art.23) and the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the Ombudsman and to write to any of the EU institutions, bodies, offices, or agencies in any official language (Art.24). All four rights shall be granted to all citizens of the Union on the only condition of “holding the nationality of a Member State”, seemingly inclusive condition on the paper.

Interestingly, citizenship of the Union and the establishment of an internal market without frontiers are split into two different parts of the Treaty, showing a real desire to separate the citizenship, a universal and inclusive concept from the engagement in economic activities inside the internal market, only concerning a certain group of people.

However, the newly formulated concept of EU citizens didn’t last long until it showed its first flaws. Unable to stand on its own, EU citizenship is independent of the Member states will. Likewise, the process leading up to the Maastricht treaty saw the creation of the “bubble idea” as it “forced the introduction of ‘citizens into the European community game’ regardless of citizens’ opinion throughout the constitutive process.”²

The issues and misunderstandings that occurred with the officialization of citizenship as a status also ended up revealing themselves in the European Court of Justice. Indeed, the ECJ is the driving force in implementing and interpreting the status.³ Indeed, we will look at two relevant cases that were brought in the ECJ and highlighted certain grey zones existing in the Treaty.

¹ Jo Shaw, ‘Citizenship: Contrasting Dynamics at the Interface of Integration’, in *The Evolution of EU Law*, vol.5 (Craig Paul, De Búrca Gráinne, 2010), 575–609.

² Maracz László, “European Citizenship as a New Concept for European Identity”, *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, European and Regional Studies* 1, no. 2 (2010): 161–169.

³ László, 2010.

The first case is the Martinez Sala Case law.¹ As the citizenship status encourages individuals to move freely throughout the states, Mrs. Martinez Sala, a Spanish national living lawfully in Germany, found herself stuck between her right as a citizen to reside and work freely in any of the Member-States and the complexity of the internal market. Once established in Germany, Mrs. Martinez Sala was denied child-raising allowance on the ground of permanent resident status. The ECJ's response called upon the Maastricht Treaty, and especially Art.21 (right to move and reside in any of the Member-States). The early years of the implementation, it appears that the ECJ took any opportunity to restate EU Citizenship. Shuibhne identifies 2 statements in the approach of the ECJ to this case: (1) situations considered to be wholly internal to a Member State lie outside the scope of EU free movement law, and thus, outside the scope of EU citizenship; (2) Member-States may withhold from their own (non-mobile) nationals the substantive benefits that they may be compelled to provide to lawfully resident EU nationals (the phenomenon of reverse discrimination).² According to him, the treaty is only invoked by the court in cases of cross-border movements, which is a weakness of the Treaty also put forward by the second court case : Ruiz Zambrano.³

The second case stages a Colombian national, Gerardo Ruiz Zambrano, who came to Belgium in 1999 with his spouse and son on a visa from the Belgian embassy in Bogota. Once in Belgium, Zambrano claimed asylum for violence by private militants, assault against his brother and kidnapping of his son for a week. His request was refused in 2000 but the context of the civil war in Colombia allowed them to stay in Belgium. He was offered a residence card after he applied with his 2 children (the second one being born in Belgium) until 2006. After being suspended from his job, he applied for social benefits and was denied which led to an investigation by the Belgian Labour authority on his case and eventually his employer dismissed him. Unemployed, he reapplied for social benefits. The Belgium court than addressed the ECJ with two questions. The first one questioned whether the status of citizen (of his youngest child) could be evoked without involving a cross-border situation. The second question asked whether a 3rd country national caring for a minor Union citizen, and has sufficient resources and sickness insurance, has a derivative right of residence in that Member

¹ ECJ, "María Martínez Sala against Freistaat Bayern.", CASE C-85/96 § (1998).

² Niamh Nic Shuibhne, "The Resilience of EU Market Citizenship", *Common Market Law Review* 47, no. 6 (2010): 1597–1628.

³ ECJ, "Gerardo Ruiz Zambrano v. Office National de l'emploi", C-34/09 § (2011).

State, irrespective of that child or their legal representative exercising their right to move to another Member State.

It appears that the ECJ stance on calling upon citizenship only in case of cross-border processes is far more restrictive than the prime establishment in the TFEU in relation to activities in internal Market. Once again, the court took advantage of this case to remind that citizenship is “intended to be the fundamental status of nationals of the Member State”¹ according to the Art.20 of TFEU, however it appears that only mobile citizens fall under the scope of EU citizenship.

As we have seen thus far, EU citizenship rights as described in the at Art.20 TFEU appears to be challenging and problematic, especially in combination with the four basic freedoms of the internal market. As a matter of fact, the status of EU citizens, meant to be the fundamental status of EU-nationals is only being invoked in case law dealing with cross-border processes, echoes the definition of a market citizen. Even if the TFEU made it clear to separate both concepts of market citizenship and EU citizenship, it appears that the implementation of this division is still unclear. Showing that EU citizenship as a legal status is still a new concept that is under construction and constantly needs to be clarified.

b) Argentine European citizens, market citizens?

For the purpose of the research questions, this work will look at the limits of EU citizenship rights by assessing the extent to which EU citizens outside of Europe can benefit from their formal status. The treaties suggests that living outside of the EU shouldn't take rights away from EU-citizens, as “Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union”.² However, by looking more into the essence of the 4 main EU rights as described at the Art 20-24 of the Treaty on the European Union, it appears that the access to the enjoyment of rights by EU-citizens living outside of the EU is restricted by their place of residence.³

The first EU citizenship rights mentioned at Art.20 is the “the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member-States”. Further developed in Art.21, the freedom of

¹ According to : ECJ, “Rudy Grzelczyk v. Centre Public d'aide Sociale d'Ottignies-Louvain-La-Neuve”, C-184/99 § (2001).

² “Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) - Art.20”, 1950.

³ Sybe De Vries and Hanneke Van Eijken, “A New Route to Promised Land ? Being a European Citizen after Ruiz Zambrano”, *European Law Review* 36, no. 5 (2011): 704–21.

movements of EU passport holder in Argentina applies on the EU territory. The figures collected by DatosMacro¹ show us that in 2015, roughly 34,5 % of Argentines emigrating settle in countries of the EU (Spain being the first destination, in front of the USA (19,13%) and Italy (7,79%)).² These figures show that EU passport holders living in Argentina are aware of their status and use their freedom of movement to migrate to the EU, to a certain extent. However, we should not forget that Argentina has hosted different migration cycles, both immigration and emigration processes, not only with Europe but also on a regional scale. These migration flows have been constructed around different phases, all of them coming with different factors. Laura Calvelo, researcher in Social Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires describes 4 stages of emigration history: the brain-drain (1960-1975), the political exile (1976-1983), the hyperinflation escape (1989-1992) and Crisis of 2001. Each flow targeted different social classes, but at each stage, Europe was an easy loophole for many descendants of immigrants (mainly Italian and Spanish) having access to European passports. Therefore, we should take into consideration, the importance of push factors in the emigration. A good example are the figures presented by Calvelo of 2000: 4,2% of the Argentine population lived outside of the country whereas 1,9% of the population consisted of foreigners inside of the country. The latter situation also encouraged Argentina to reconsider citizenship rights and especially enhanced the discussions around whether to extend voting rights to citizens living outside the country.³ This decision, made in 1993 by the Argentine government questions the feature of identity in citizenship by enabling Argentine citizens to participate to the political life of the country (which might have brought them to leave the country in the first place) and to nurture the link to the national identity from distance, encouraging the emergence of transnational identities. This latter consequence will be investigated more in depth in the last chapter of this thesis.

The second right described as EU citizenship rights is “the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections in their Member State of residence”. This right, as inclusive as it tries to be, very much depends on the place of residence. The restricted access to this right restrains EU-citizens living outside of an EU

¹ Datos Macro crosses data from different national census institutions and the UN.

² See: “Argentina - Emigrantes Totales 2015 | Datosmacro.Com”, accessed 25 March 2018, <https://www.datosmacro.com/demografia/migracion/emigracion/argentina>.

³ John P. Tuman and Hafthor Erlingsson, “External Voting Rights in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Influence of Remittances, Globalization, and Partisan Control”, *Latin America Policy* 8, no. 2 (2017): 295–312.

Member State to participate in the Union's democratic life which could, de facto, affect the way they project themselves as part of the European political community.

The fourth right described at Art.20 provides “the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman” and the right to address the institutions in any of the official languages. This right, just like the one described in the last paragraph, is also restrained by the residence. For example, the *citizens' Initiative* lays out the condition that “citizens must form a “citizens' committee” composed of at least 7 EU citizens residing in at least 7 different Member-States.”¹, which shows us that EU-Citizens outside of the European Union can hardly enjoy their rights fully.

The only right not restricted by the place of residence is the third right “to enjoy, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which they are nationals is not represented, the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State”. A closer look at the reality of the EU consular protection opens however the door to some critics, especially in the case of Argentina. EU passport holders, accounting for a total of 2 Million citizens in Argentina (i.e. 4,56% of the Argentine population), usually hold Italian, Spanish, or, to a lesser extent, German citizenship. According to information provided to me by the EU-Delegation, most (but not all) of the EU-passport holders hold double nationality, which reduces highly the absolute need of consular protection. The condition to benefit from EU diplomatic protection falls under the provision that no national representation is available in the third country. In the case of the EU-citizens in Argentina, all 27 countries of the European Union are represented, either by national consulates or embassies, which makes EU diplomatic protection inapplicable in the case of Argentina.

It appears that the provisions coming with the enjoyment of EU citizenship rights are restricted by the place of residence, keeping EU citizens living in Argentina from participating and enjoying their status. This finding leads us to the conclusion that the presence of EU-citizens on Argentine soil isn't fostering any sort of belonging to the European Union, as their location prevents them to participate in their role of members of the European political community.

¹ See:“Basic Facts - European Citizens' Initiative - European Commission”, accessed 25 March 2018, <http://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/public/basic-facts?lg=en>.

c) *The role of the EU rights in the development of rights in Argentina?*

One could ask oneself if the European belonging expressed in Argentina has influenced the relation to the European Union, down to the development of rights in Argentina according to European standards. If this is the case, one could say that Argentine citizens and EU citizens in Argentina enjoy EU rights of an Argentine interpretation. To study this statement, we will investigate whether the EU is using its normative power to shape Argentinian citizenship rights to its image. EU's normative power has been defined by Ian Manners as being "Europe's capability to shape the conceptions of 'normal'".¹ This section will go through the 6 mechanisms of diffusion of normative power described by Manners and identify whether this mechanism has been used in EU-Argentina, EU-LAC or EU-MERCOSUR relations to shape citizenship rights in Argentina according to European standards.

The first mechanism described by Manners is named contagion, i.e. the replication of its integration process outside of the EU. Manners uses MERCOSUR as an example: "Such regional replication can clearly be seen in the attempts at integration currently taking place in Mercosur".² Manners argues here critically that the EU tries to replicate its integration process in Latin America. It is true that since the Treaty of Asunción signed between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay in 1991, the EU has been very supportive of this initiative.³ Dromi and Molina del Pozo see the reason for this support in the two regions "natural partners" on the grounds for a common culture coming from not only a shared history but decades of both ways immigration, and of common political values and international laws.⁴ This argument has also been reintroduced in 2018 on the occasion of the World Economic Forum in Davos by the current Argentine President Mauricio Macri "it's a natural association because in South America, we are all descendants from Europe".⁵

However, the interest of the EU for Latin America was the result of a shift in the European discourse bringing region into being an area of opportunity.⁶ The speech given by the former

¹ Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (2002): 235–58.

² Manners, 2002.

³ Aimee Kanner, "European Union-Mercosur Relations: The Institutionalization of Cooperation", *Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series* 1, no. 8 (2002).

⁴ José Roberto Dromi and Carlos Francisco Molina del Pozo, *Acuerdo Mercosur-Union Europea*, 1996.

⁵ "We Are All Descendants from Europe": Argentine President", accessed 1 May 2018, <https://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/We-Are-All-Descendants-from-Europe-Argentine-President-20180125-0013.html>.

⁶ Teodora-Maria Daghie, "Migration and Development in Post-Totalitarian Argentina", *Sfera Politicii* 2, no. 184 (2015): 93–106.

president of the European Commission Prodi on the decision made in August 2002 to provide economic assistance amounting €200 Million to the Member-States of the Mercosur between 2002 and 2006 also goes in the direction of the argument formulated by Manners : “As our experience in Europe has proven, it will allow Mercosur to transform itself into a strong community of nations based on common values of democracy and social justice, offering its citizens new opportunities and prosperity”.¹ This extract of Prodi’s speech really shows that the EU tries to reproduce its own pattern in Latin America. Moreover, the EU is unwilling to see MERCOSUR collapse and pressures the countries to push its agenda forward², testifying its resilience in being present in the region. We might interpret this interest as purely economic, as the EU is Mercosur’s biggest trading partner and both regions are currently negotiating a free-trade Agreement based on the inter-regional Framework Cooperation Agreement which came into force in 1999.³

The second mechanism formulated by Manners is Informational diffusion, namely strategic communications such as new policy initiatives by the EU. To illustrate this mechanism, we will look at the EU-Argentina Country Strategy 2007-2013.⁴ Argentina became a beneficiary of EC co-operation programmes in 1990 following the signature of the Economic and Co-operation Framework Agreement.⁵ The EU has been financing mostly Environmental, Human Rights projects and NGO projects. The strategy was formulated in 2007 under Néstor Kirchner’s presidency and Argentina’s international retraction and re-industrialization after the country’s deep economic crisis in 2001-2002⁶ affecting all MERCOSUR countries. The strategy intends “to stimulate, support and intensify the ongoing reform process in the country and address the key challenges of creating the conditions for long-term sustainable economic growth, generating employment opportunities and strengthening social cohesion”. The objectives on a national level consisted in strengthening Argentina’s education and training system, improve the country’s economic competitiveness, strengthen bilateral relations and mutual

¹ ‘Commission Européenne Communiqué de Presse - EU-Mercosur: European Commission Adopts Euro 200 Million Assistance Package, Sending Signal of Confidence and Commitment to Mercosur’, accessed 25 March 2018, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-02-1189_en.htm.

² Jean Grugel, “New Regionalism and Modes of Governance – Comparing US and EU Strategies in Latin America”, *European Journal of International Relations* 10, no. 4 (2004): 603–626.

³ “Mercosur - Trade - European Commission”, accessed 25 March 2018, <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/regions/mercosur/>.

⁴ “Argentina Country Strategy Paper 2007-2013” (European Commission, 23 April 2007).

⁵ “Framework Agreement for Trade and Economic Cooperation between the European Economic Community and the Argentine Republic” (European Commission, 26 October 1990).

⁶ Steen Fryba Christensen, “Argentina and Brazil’s Relations to the EU”, in *Competing or Complementary? Multiple and Overlapping Integration and Cooperation Schemes within Regions*, 2010.

understanding between the EU and Argentina. The country did so good economically that the strategy hasn't been prolonged for the period 2014-2020.¹ More recently, the EU has been however actively supporting projects promoting democracy and Human Rights in Argentina through instruments such as the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR).²

The third mechanism I would like to introduce is named procedural diffusion, which consists in the institutionalization of a relationship between the EU and a third-party as inter-regional co-operation agreement or membership of an international organization. As we have already had a look at the EU-MERCOSUR relations in the last paragraph, I would like to have a look at another level of institutionalization of the relations between the EU and Latin America, specifically the creation of the EU-Latin America and the Caribbean (EU-LAC) foundation. This institution was initiated in 1999 by the Rio Declaration³ and aims at promoting “Democracy and the rule of law; Respect for the personal dignity and human rights; Tolerance; Inclusive and cohesive societies”.⁴ The latter statement very much echoes the official values of the as depicted on its official websites as being “Human Dignity, Freedom, Democracy, Equality, Rule of law and Human Rights, [...] as laid out in the Lisbon Treaty”.⁵ If we take a look closer at the declaration, we might be able to read the following statement in the political field: “[we will] promote and protect the rights of the most vulnerable groups of society, especially children, youth, disabled persons, indigenous peoples and migrant workers and their families.” And in Art.46 “Special care will be given to promoting the rights of minorities and implementing training schemes which lend value to cultural and linguistic identities”. Interestingly, it wasn't until 2001 that the national Argentine census allowed the quantification of the number of households hosting persons belonging to an indigenous group⁶, showing that

¹ “Argentina - International Cooperation and Development - European Commission”, International Cooperation and Development, 17 June 2013, https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/countries/argentina_en.

² See : “Eu Calls for Proposals Eidhr - European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights - Argentina - 2017 Welcomeurope”, accessed 25 March 2018, <http://www.welcomeurope.com/europe-funding-opportunities/eidhr-european-instrument-democracy-human-rights-argentina-2017-8067+7967.html>.

³ “Declaration of Rio de Janeiro” (Latin America/Caribbean/European Union, 29 June 1999), <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/delegations/noneurope/idel/d12/docs/cumbrederio/prioridadesaccionen.htm>.

⁴See: “About Us | EU-LAC Foundation”, accessed 25 March 2018, <https://eulacfoundation.org/en/about-us>.

⁵See: European Union, “EUROPA - The EU in Brief”, Text, European Union, 16 June 2016, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en.

⁶ See : “INDEC Censo 2001 Datos Por Provincia”, accessed 25 March 2018, https://www.indec.gov.ar/micro_sitios/webcenso/ECPI/index_ecpi.asp.

the country, wasn't willing to acknowledge the diversity of Argentina and the existence of indigenous people.¹

The fourth diffusion mechanism is transference, that Manners establishes as the exchange of goods, trade, aid or technical assistance, either largely substantive or in financial means. We can mention once again the Framework agreement for trade and economic cooperation between the European Economic Community and the Argentine Republic signed in 1990 in Luxembourg and enhancing economic and trade cooperation.² A look at figures will evaluate the extent of the exchanges. In 2016, the EU imported €8,2 Billion (versus €8,1 in 2015 and €7,7 in 2014) and exported €8,5 Billion to Argentina (versus 9,1€ in 2015 and €8,2 in 2014).³ However, Argentina remains the 36th trade partner of the EU in 2017.⁴ On the other hand, the EU is Argentina's second trading partner (after Brazil), accounting for 15.7% of total Argentinean trade in 2016⁵, showing a real unbalance in the value of the partnership on both sides. Also, Grugel argued that the EU aimed at increasing its investment presence by more than 50% of EU funding to Argentina between 1990 and 1998 consisted of forms of economic cooperation designed accordingly⁶, showing the intention of the EU to use Argentina as a proper economic partner.

The next mechanism proposed by Manners describes overt diffusion by the physical presence of the EU in third states and international organization. This presence can be concretized through the existence of the EU Delegation of Buenos Aires. Opened in November 1991, the Delegation represents the European Union in Argentina.⁷ Its role is to promote political, economic and trade relations between Argentina and the European Union through active contact with government and other stakeholders, as well to monitor the implementation of the agreements between the Union and Argentina. It also engages actively for the implementation

¹ Gastón Gordillo and Silvia Hirsch, "Indigenous Struggles and Contested Identities in Argentina: Histories of Invisibilization and Reemergence", *The Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8, no. 3 (2003): 4–30.

² "Framework Agreement for Trade and Economic Cooperation between the European Economic Community and the Argentine Republic".

³ "Figures of Trade between EU and Argentina" (European Commission, Directorate General for Trade, November 2017), http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_111470.pdf.

⁴ "Client and Supplier Countries of the EU28 in Merchandise Trade (Value %) (2017, Excluding Intra-EU Trade)" (European Commission, Directorate General for Trade, 20 March 2018), http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_122530.03.2018.pdf.

⁵ See: "Argentina - Trade - European Commission", accessed 25 March 2018, <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/argentina/>.

⁶ Grugel, 2004.

⁷ It represented the Commission only until 2009

of cooperation programs of the EU. On a more pedagogic side, its role is also to raise awareness of the European institutions and policies.¹

The last mechanism explained by Manners is the cultural filter in the sense of the construction of knowledge and the creation of social and political identity by the subject of norm diffusion. Looking at the Brussels Declaration of 2015², we can see that there has been a real shift in the focus of the EU-CELAC community emphasizing the cultural dimension by focussing on higher education networks, research, and technologies. These academic summits, however, were the result of Declaration of the Madrid EU-LAC Summit of 2002, deepening and widening their cooperation. Summits have also taken a new turn in tackling migration issues in the region in 2008 during the EU-LAC Summit in Lima³ to come up with a joint action against smuggling and trafficking of human beings which very much echoes the actions undertaken by the Council of Europe.

In this section, we have followed Manners' theory of EU normative power, to evaluate whether the EU has impacted the creation of rights (and specifically citizenship rights) in Argentina by using its normative power. The EU has normative power in Argentina, as we have identified processes of international relations impacting directly EU-Argentina relations. However, none of these relations promote rights, apart from MERCOSUR engaging with the protection of Human Rights but remains impotent on citizenship rights in Argentina. To a certain extent, we might say that by the extension of its normative power, the EU might have shaped the idea of national governance, which might eventually have for consequence to shape citizenship rights. However, the EU does not intend to directly shape citizenship. Also, we shouldn't consider this process as a one-sided process and considering that Argentina itself might draw inspiration from the EU to shape its governance and rights. One must add that both regions do share similar values of human rights, which brings them together on several levels. This, however, doesn't exclude the potential of a cultural impact of the EU on Argentina, leading to the creation of identity, which is to be investigated in Chapter 4.

¹ Daghie, 2015.

² "Building the Common Space for Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation for the Strategic Bi-Regional Association" (Second Academic Summit Latin American and Caribbean and the European Union CELAC-UE, 2015).

³ Daghie, 2015.

Concluding remark

This investigation of EU citizenship rights has given us some answers to our questions. First, we have seen that EU citizenship, in its formal sense, is still a work in progress, struggling with the separation between EU citizenship and market citizenship. Also, the concept is restricted by residential provisions on the enjoyment of EU rights, keeping EU-citizens in Argentina to benefit from their formal status. This could lead to the conclusion that the expression of European belonging in Argentina doesn't rely on the formal status of EU citizenship nor on the impact the EU might have had on Argentina's political and constitutional development by extending its normative power on the Latin American country. Also, it is true that Argentines leaving the country tend to go to Spain or Italy (34,5 % of emigration destination in 2015), however, we should not forget that emigration of Argentina is motivated by push factors specific to economic or political events. To conclude, this part showed that the claim formulated in Argentina, to belong to the EU doesn't rely on EU citizenship as a formal status, as the status gives them few benefits living in Argentina.

Chapter 3: I belong, so I vote, a participatory cogito ?

The second structural feature of the imagined community created around the idea of citizenship is participation. Going deeper in the meanings of participation, the focus will be put on the primary and most investigated participatory behaviour: participation in European Parliament (EP) elections. This *parti-pris* of mine will also allow us to approach the question of participation in European elections (not to be confused with European Parliament elections) in Argentina. Indeed, this section will first have a look at the concept of second-order elections of the EP elections. In a second section, we will study more in details what participatory behaviour shined through in the last EP elections of 2014 and what it allows us to conclude about EP elections. Based on findings of the last chapter, the right to vote in EP elections provided to EU citizens is a residential vote. Therefore, we will have to adopt another strategy to study participatory behaviours among EU citizens in Argentina. To do so, a third section will investigate the participation and the results of Spanish and Italian citizens residing in Argentina in the most recent national elections: the general elections of 2016 in Spain and the general elections of 2018 in Italy. It is important to keep in mind that participation could be understood as the role of Citizens' Organisations and the use of tools such as the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) and their relationship with the European institutions. However, the use of such tools seems to undergo strict residential conditions (in the case of the ECI¹) or need Brussels-specific dynamics in order to achieve its goals.² Another behaviour could consist in a study of protest activism over time³ or in a case study such as in the citizens mobilization against TTIP.⁴ It appears however more than complex to extend such a study outside of the border of the European Union, explaining my reasons for choosing to focus on the understanding of participation in the sense of the mere participation in European elections, either for the European Parliament or in national elections.

¹ "at least 7 EU citizens old enough to vote in European Parliament elections (18 except in Austria, where the voting age is 16) and living in at least 7 different member states" see: "Citizens' Committee - The Procedure Step by Step - European Citizens' Initiative - European Commission", accessed 9 April 2018, <http://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/public/how-it-works/committee>.

² Giovanni Moro, *Citizens in Europe: Civic Activism and the Community Democratic Experiment*, 2012.

³ See Doug Imig, "Contestation in the Streets: European Protest and the Emerging Euro-Polity", *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 8 (2002): 914–33.;

⁴ See : James Organ, "EU Citizen Participation, Openness and the European Citizens Initiative : The TTIP Legacy", *Common Market Law Review* 54, no. 6 (2017): 1713–1747.

a) European Parliament elections, second-order elections?

Looking at the Eurobarometer, the EU survey institute, the relation between the EU and its citizenry appears to be complex. Indeed, in the last Standard EB of May 2017, 40% of the citizens have a positive image of the EU, but a sharp 42% of the Europeans agrees to say that their voice counts in the EU¹, the highest share ever recorded (which was also the rate in Spring 2014, around the elections). As a consequence of the lack of interest for the EU, the supranational institution is often described as suffering a democratic deficit², which has become one of its biggest priorities to tackle. In his collaboration to the book *Making European Citizens: Civic Inclusion in a Transnational Context*³, Castiglione identifies 5 features encouraging the democratic deficit. The first is the lack of a European demos to legitimize the European institutional system, in other terms, the lack of unity in the European society keeping the EU to develop as a fully democratic and legitimized system. The second is the fact that the EU isn't an expression of citizenry at all as Castiglione identifies a technocratic more than an actual political body. Continuing down this road, he sees the only elected body, the European Parliament (EP), as not fully integrated in the decision-making process, as it lacks proper legislative power. His critique also goes to the many unelected and non-public actors such as the private lobbyist but also the civil servants and many experts. The last remark formulated by Castiglioni as encouraging the democratic deficit is the principle of secrecy of the European Council, important actor of decision-making of the EU, provoking citizens' withdrawal and detachment from the EU democratic life. This interpretation of the EU democratic approach refers to a citizenship as a mere output of institutional decision and whose social dimension has been considered in cases of a refusal (i.e. referenda on the constitutional Treaty).⁴ It is true that participation rates in EP elections have been critically decreasing from the first elections in 1979 dropping from 61,99% in 1979 to 42,61% participation rate in 2014, the lowest rate ever recorded up to date.⁵ While the reasons for the drop of participation isn't always, researchers have analysed electoral behaviours extensively. While a handful of researchers see in this rising abstention an increasing participation in the sense that it reflects the voter's dissatisfaction with

¹ European Commission, "Standard Eurobarometer 87 - Spring 2017", May 2017. European Commission.

² European Union, "Democratic Deficit - EUR-Lex", accessed 28 March 2018, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/democratic_deficit.html.

³ Dario Castiglione, "We the Citizens? Representation and Participation in EU Constitutional Politics", in *Making European Citizens: Civic Inclusion in a Transnational Context*, Bellamy, R., Castiglione, D., Shaw, J., 2006, 75–96.

⁴ Moro, 2012.

⁵ "Turnout 2014 - European Parliament", Turnout 2014 - European Parliament, accessed 10 April 2018, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/turnout.html>.

the functioning of the European democratic system.¹ However, a consistent majority of the scholars has acknowledged Reif and Schmitt's theory of second-order elections.² As this latter theory appears to be the most acknowledged approach to the EU elections, I suggest looking at the existing studies that have been made over the elements influencing the participation in the EU elections after going quickly over the definition of second-order elections.

This EU-specific concept is opposed to first-order elections, referring to national elections. Reif and Schmitt analyse the differences between both levels based according to four observations: Participation rates are lower at a EU than at national level because there is less at stake; the outcome of the elections is very much influenced by the popularity of the governing parties in a country; the turnout depends on the national electoral calendar: EP elections tend to be used as mid-term evaluation of the governing party on a national level and at last, minor parties are usually the main beneficiaries of the protest vote against the government as they usually do well in EP elections.³ Building on this, many studies have studied the role of national level in the EU elections. On participation itself, it has been shown that the media coverage of the EU during the campaign plays a role in the participatory behaviour of citizens.⁴ Stockemer also showed that the support in said country for the EU and turnout are interconnected based on his study of the 2009 elections, as the individuals who consider their country's membership in the EU a 'good thing' are more likely to participate in EU votes.⁵ He also has demonstrated that countries scheduling EP elections alongside other elections and countries with higher participation rates in national elections are likely to observe a higher participation rate at EU level. The role played by the national sphere is also salient in the study of Hobolt, Spoon and Tilley⁶, who showed that distance on the EU dimension has a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of defecting and abstaining in both 1999 and 2004 elections. This means that the voters do compare their position to the one of their national government towards the EU before voting in EP elections. If they perceive themselves as more Eurosceptic than their government this will affect their behaviour in the EP elections. In a nutshell, voter's decision in EP elections

¹ Richard S. Flickinger and Donley T. Studlar, "One Europe, Many Electorates?: Models of Turnout in European Parliament Elections After 2004", *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 4 (April 2007): 383–404.

² Karlheinz Reif and Hermann Schmitt, "Nine Second-Order National Elections - A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results", *European Journal of Political Research* 8, no. 1 (1980): 3–44.

³ Reif and Schmitt, 1980.

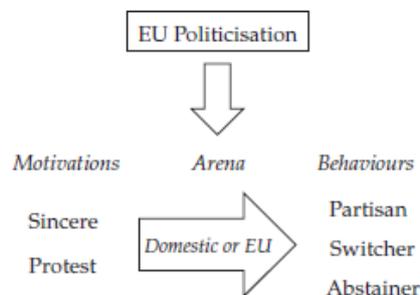
⁴ Sara Hobolt, Jae-Jae Spoon, and James Tilley, "A Vote Against Europe? Explaining Defection at the 1999 and 2004 European Parliament Elections", *British Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 01 (2009): 93–115.

⁵ Daniel Stockemer, "Citizens' Support for the European Union and Participation in European Parliament Elections", *European Union Politics* 13, no. 1 (March 2012): 26–46.

⁶ Hobolt, Spoon, and Tilley, 2009.

are not only a referendum on the domestic performance but also argue that the EU is now an issue that matters more in EP elections because of the increasing power it has over the domestic arena.¹ Clark explains low turnout with the low salience of the EP elections and notices that the performance of national institutions might impact turnout in the EP elections.² Where national institutions offer more transparency and responsiveness, the public may expect the same level of procedural input from representative bodies at other levels of government in the EU and therefore might feel like less is at stake in the EP elections or that their voice counts less, since the EU level might look less able to represent them with the same responsiveness and transparency as their own national government does. He concludes that voters appear to use EP elections as referenda on the performance of national political parties rather than opportunities to influence EU politics and that the low salience of EU issues explains the lack of public interest in EP elections.³ This study echoes Rohrschneider’s argument that national institutions are being used as references for evaluating EU institutions and therefore influence the public’s positions on European integration.⁴

Hobolt and Spoon have also shown that the political parties play a crucial role in shaping the nature of electoral choices in Europe and comes up with the following model.⁵



Source 2: Model of Hobolt and Spoon 2012

¹ Hobolt, Spoon, and Tilley, 2009.

² Nicholas Clark, “Explaining Low Turnout in European Elections: The Role of Issue Salience and Institutional Perceptions in Elections to the European Parliament”, *Journal of European Integration* 36, no. 4 (7 June 2014): 339–56.

³ Also see : Nick Clark and Robert Rohrschneider, “Second-Order Elections versus First-Order Thinking: How Voters Perceive the Representation Process in a Multi-Layered System of Governance”, *Journal of European Integration* 31, no. 5 (September 2009): 645–64.

⁴ Robert Rohrschneider, “The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-Wide Government”, *American Journal of Political Science* 46, no. 2 (2002): 463–75.

⁵ Sara Hobolt and Jae-Jae Spoon, “Motivating the European Voter: Parties, Issues and Campaigns in European Parliament Elections: Motivating the European Voter”, *European Journal of Political Research* 51, no. 6 (October 2012): 701–27.

The impact of the EU politicisation enhances the voter to cast a sincere or a protest vote which in both domestic and the EU arena will translate itself into a partisan, switching or abstaining behaviour, meaning that the position of the domestic party towards the EU will influence the citizens in the EP elections, showing the importance of domestic politics in EU elections. As a matter of fact, in 2009, almost half of the voters abandoned their national party by either abstaining or switching to another party, testifying of the importance of this phenomenon. According to Hix and Marsh, the EP elections and vote switching in favour of smaller parties is used to send a message to the domestic politics, acting as a mid-term evaluation.¹ The reason for this switch has also been investigated by Carruba and Timpone who tried to find what the voters' motivations are.² One of their motivation relies on the study opposing sincere voting to strategic voting in national elections, a topic research intensively inter alia by Eijk and Franklin. According to them, the reason to that is that in national elections, voters vote to form a government, which small parties wouldn't be capable of, meaning the voters would 'waste' their vote over small parties and hence vote strategically for bigger parties.³ In EP election, the objective isn't to form a government, so citizens are more likely to vote according to their personal beliefs, i.e. sincerely. This phenomenon has also been reinforced by the European electoral system itself as the access to the plenary for small parties is facilitated in comparison to the national parliaments where a minimum percentage of the votes is necessary to enter the parliament.

This small literature review on the previous investigations realized on EU participation behaviours brings forward the role played by the national sphere in EP elections but also the impact of the media on the participation in the EP elections. However, it also allowed us to see that EU issues matter as well in EP elections, because of the increasing impact it has on national politics. To have a clearer idea of how these concepts and studies come together, I intend to do a small case study of the latter elections for the European Parliament in the next session, and question whether the last elections of 2014 showed features of second-order elections.

¹ Simon Hix and Michael Marsh, "Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections", *The Journal of Politics* 69, no. 2 (May 2007): 495–510.

² Cliff Carrubba and Richard Timpone, "Explaining Vote Switching Across First- and Second-Order Elections: Evidence From Europe", *Comparative Political Studies* 38, no. 3 (April 2005): 260–81.

³ Cees Van der Eijk, Mark Franklin, and Johann Ackaert, *Choosing Europe?: The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*, 1996.

b) *The European Parliament elections of 2014*

The elections of 2014 came with new challenges and followed the Economic crisis that squarely hit Europe. The question whether the European Parliament elections of May 2014 have been second-order or a response to the crisis elections has been asked by Toygür and Schmitt in their article published in 2016.¹ The particularity of the 2014 EP elections is that it introduced an indirect form of voting for the president of the European Commission as each party promoted its *Spitzenkandidat* during the campaign. Except for in Belgium, the participation in the election was generally lower than in the preceding national elections. Interestingly, the lowest participation rates are in 5 Eastern European countries, which Toygür & Schmitt attribute to the history and mistrust for institutions because of ‘fake’ elections in the region. Interestingly, even though the participation rate recorded, 42,61% as known as the lowest ever recorded up to this day, participation increased in 11 countries. In accordance with the model of Second-order elections, small parties did better in almost all of the EU member states, benefiting populist parties. European People’s Party (EPP) arrived first, but lost a few seats, followed by the Social & Democrats (S&D) and the coalition of the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) and Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD) (Extreme right parties). Toygür & Schmitt then annul the hypothesis of a crisis elections and confirming the second-order elections phenomenon of the 2014 elections.

The book *European Parliament Elections of 2014* asks the same question but answers by underlining that there are several answers to this question as participation has increased in some countries compared to 2009 (Lithuania, Greece, and Germany) but decreased in some others (Cyprus, Latvia, and Czech Republic), once again the importance of the national electoral calendar shined through in the 2014 EP elections, confirming the second-order elections scenario. Similarly, the rise of populist parties wasn’t uniform in all countries following a pattern closely related to the structure of the political supply in the individual countries.² More interestingly, the study of the results introduces old theories of social cleavage that would need to rise to restructure the political system to represent more consistently the splits in the European society which has encouraged the rise of Eurosceptic parties. This latter study of participation in the EU shows us clearly that there is no such thing as European belonging in

¹ Hermann Schmitt and Ilke Toygür, “The European Parliament Elections of May 2014: Second-Order or Crisis Elections?”, *Politics and Governance* 4, no. 1 (2016): 167–81.

² Lorenzo De Sio, Emanuele Vincenzo, and Nicola Maggini, *The European Parliament Elections of 2014*, Centro Italiano Studi Elettorali, 2014.

the way that ballots are cast in EP elections. We have seen that in each EP elections since 1979, the national sphere and the domestic politics played a more central role than actual EU issues.

c) *Argentina: a look at how EU citizens in Argentina cast ballot towards elections in their EU Member-States, an analysis*

This section aims at studying participatory practice in the EU from EU citizens living in Argentina. However, the status of citizens of the EU doesn't provide Europeans living in Argentina with the right to vote in EP elections, as the right to vote in EP elections involves to live in a Member-state of the EU. The results shown in the last section highlight that national elections are still very influential in EP elections. Based on this, we will look at the participation rate of EU citizens living in Argentina in their respective national elections. We will focus on the two biggest communities: the Italian (about 800,000 people¹) and the Spanish communities (about 439,000 people²). Not only will we look at figures of participation in the last elections (March 2018 for Italy and general elections of 2016 in Spain) but we will also look at the winning parties to try to see if a certain feeling of belonging to the EU is expressed by EU citizens in Argentina while casting a ballot in the national elections of their Member-State.

1. The case of the general elections of 2016 in Spain

Spain counts 1 924 012 citizens living outside of the national territory. On the 1st of January 2016, 439 236 Spanish citizens were registered as residing in Argentina, and 324.000 Spanish citizens registered in Buenos Aires only, making it the country where most Spanish citizen live outside of Spain, a long way before France accounting for 232 693 Spanish citizens living abroad. However, during the elections, votes are divided between provinces to which those 1,9 Million potential voters are divided into. In the case of Argentina, there isn't a centralisation of the votes at an Argentine national level before sending the results to Spain, but each of the 5 representations in Argentina (Buenos Aires, Mendoza, Rosario, Bahía Blanca and Córdoba) merges its own results into to the Spanish provinces the residents are registered in. Therefore, the analysis of the votes of the Spanish citizens in Argentina is hard to get a hold of. In terms of participation rate, I suggest looking at the case of Buenos Aires, as the city is where the

¹ "Empiezan a Votar Más de 800 Mil Italianos Residentes En Argentina", accessed 6 April 2018, https://www.clarin.com/mundo/empiezan-votar-800-mil-italianos-residentes-argentina_0_S1ITNJa8M.html.

² Diego Fonseca, "Los españoles en el extranjero aumentan un 56,6% desde 2009", EL PAÍS, 17 March 2016, https://politica.elpais.com/politica/2016/03/16/actualidad/1458145510_786597.html.

Spanish immigration first settled massively before the first World War.¹ According to the information provided by the consulate of Buenos Aires, 73,76% of the total Spanish population (439,236 people) registered in Argentina is registered in Buenos Aires, i.e. 324,000 Spanish citizens on the 1st of January 2016. As a matter of fact, in general migration from Europe mostly settled in big cities of Argentina and not so much on the countryside. Looking at the demographic repartition in 2010 in Argentina, we can also see that Buenos Aires is the province with most ‘foreign born population’², making the city a perfect case to study the multiculturalism of Argentine society. Andreu Domingo, vice director of the Centro de Estudios Demográficos³, outlined in an interview to *El Pais* that the law approved in 2007 granted access to the Spanish nationality to many Argentinians. He states that out of the 22,512 people that registered in 2015, 20,885 were born in Argentina, as a direct result of the migration waves that took place over the 20th century.⁴

In the case of Buenos Aires, 13 146 people requested the documents necessary to participate in the elections.⁵ But according to the newspaper *El Pais*, 12,300 people actually completed the process in the whole of Argentina to take part in the general elections.⁶ Amongst those, 9,760 did vote in Buenos Aires, meaning not less than 3% of the total population registered in Buenos Aires but accounts for 79,3% of the total votes cast in Argentina. Most votes registered in Buenos Aires went to the provinces of autonomous community of Galicia, with about 4,694 votes representing 48% of the votes. This result is representative of the massive immigration waves from Spain to Argentina that especially touched the Galician autonomous community. Overall these figures show a particular disinterest of Spanish citizens living in Buenos Aires to take part in the national elections.

¹ Ilan Rachum, “Origins and Historical Significance of Día de La Raza”, *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe* 76 (2004): 61–81.

² INDEC, “Población Por Lugar de Nacimiento, Según Provincia. Total Del País. - Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2010.”, 2010.

³ Centre of Demographic studies

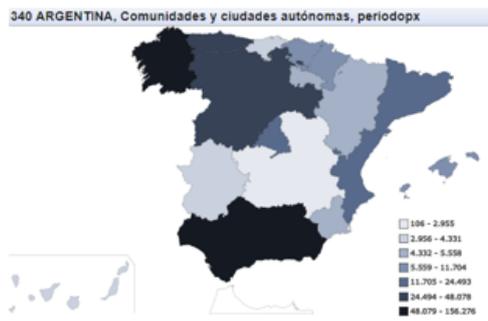
⁴ Fonseca, “Los españoles en el extranjero aumentan un 56,6% desde 2009”.

⁵ Document sent by the Consulate of Spain in Buenos Aires in April 2018.

⁶ See note 4.



Source 3: Winning list in the exterior votes,
Source : <http://www.elmundo.es>, Unidos Podemos vuelve a ganar el voto emigrante y el PSOE pierde todas sus circunscripciones



Source 4: Votes from the CERA from Argentina according to the provinces, INE,
http://www.ine.es/jaxi/Datos.htm?path=/44/p09/a2015_2/10/&file=0305.px

According to the newspaper *El Mundo*, the exterior votes went to the Unidos Podemos party as it already did in the elections of 2015.¹ According to *20 Minutos*, Unidos Podemos won over 29,8% of the votes from all the votes from the exterior but was closely followed by the Partido Popular, accounting for 28,4% of the votes from the exterior. However, by comparing the map of the winning party in the exterior votes and the map of the provinces where the most voters from Argentina are registered, we can guess what the tendency of the votes in Argentina was (i.e. the first receiving country of Spanish migration in 2016²).

The region where most Spanish citizens in Argentina are registered are Galicia and Andalusia. According to the map provided by the newspaper *El Mundo*³, in both regions the parties that won the votes from the exterior are respectively the Partido Popular and Unidos Podemos. Both PP and Unidos Podemos are pro EU parties, even though Podemos MEPs are part of the GUE/NGL group, known to be soft Eurosceptics. However, the position of the Podemos Party/Podemos Unidos' leader, Pablo Iglesias, towards the Brexit strongly affirms that none of the party joining the Podemos Unidos party shall support the exit of Spain from the EU.⁴ This shows that the Podemos party is more critical towards the EU approach to the integration process rather than fundamentally Eurosceptic. However, the next map shows the number of citizens registered outside of Spain (Fig.3). We can see that region where the most votes went

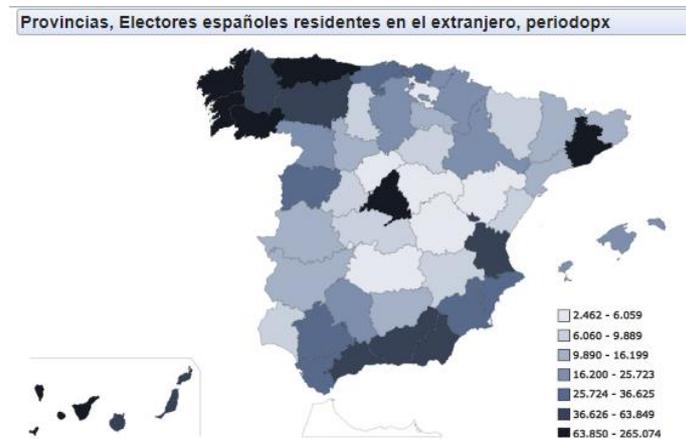
¹ elmundo.es, “Unidos Podemos vuelve a ganar el voto emigrante y el PSOE pierde todas sus circunscripciones”, ELMUNDO, 5 July 2016, <http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2016/07/05/577b8ab0468aeb52478b45cd.html>.

² Fonseca, “Los españoles en el extranjero aumentan un 56,6% desde 2009”.

³ elmundo.es, “Unidos Podemos vuelve a ganar el voto emigrante y el PSOE pierde todas sus circunscripciones”.

⁴ Aitor Riveiro, “Pablo Iglesias reitera el compromiso de Unidos Podemos con la UE pero pide ‘cambiar Europa’”, eldiario.es, accessed 8 April 2018, https://www.eldiario.es/politica/Pablo-Iglesias-reitera-compromiso-UE_0_530197163.html.

in Buenos Aires, Galicia counts about 44,3000 electors living outside of Spain. Therefore the 4,694 ballots cast in Buenos Aires that went to this region represent a minimal share of the possible exterior votes.



Source 5: Spanish electors residing outside of Spain,
 Source : http://www.ine.es/jaxi/Datos.htm?path=/t44/p09/a2015_2/10/&file=0102.px

This last remark leads to the conclusion that the study of the Spanish citizens residing in Argentina voting patterns in Spanish election doesn't allow us to conclude whether Spanish citizens residing in Argentina express a feeling of belonging to the European Union in the way they cast ballots. However, the figures to which we were given access does allow us to conclude there is an important disinterest for national elections in the Spanish community of Buenos Aires (and most probably in Argentina) showing that the feeling of belonging to the European Community isn't referring to the active participation in their EU citizenship. Moreover, we could even state that the Spanish community's electoral behaviour in Argentina joins the EU citizens' opinion that their voice doesn't count in the EU.

2. The case of the general elections in Italy in 2018.

With about 4,230,854 Italian citizens around the globe, the case of Italy is particularly interesting due to the specificities it brings forward. The transparency on the votes cast not only in Italy but in all and each country around the world allowed me to analyse more in details the tendency of the votes cast by Italians in Argentina. The Italian citizens in Latin America are represented by 4 deputies and 2 Senators.¹ The participation in Argentina for the last elections

¹ "Empiezan a Votar Más de 800 Mil Italianos Residentes En Argentina".

was of 33,70%¹ of the 693,370 potential electors, which seems quite low in comparison to the 72,99% participation registered in Italy but happens to be the highest the participation rate in the exterior by accounting for about one third of the ballots casted by Italian citizens living abroad. This participation rates shows that Italian not only in Argentina but in the whole southern cone do feel more concern about taking part in national elections than Italian citizens in the rest of the world. A closer look at the results allows us to have a clearer idea what Italians in Argentina (accounting for the most Italian citizens in Latin America) stand for. The result of Latin America reflects the results of Argentina and Uruguay very much as the winning party, the *Movimiento Asociativo Italianos en el Exterior*, Associative movement of Italians in the Exterior, (MAIE), only was a winning party in Argentina and Uruguay which shows us the importance Italian communities in both countries have over the rest of the Italian citizens in the region.

The first two winning parties in Argentina were indeed created specifically for Italian Immigrants in Argentina and Latin America. Both parties were created in the years following the opening of the votes outside of Italy in 2006. The winning party is the MAIE collecting 33,91% of the votes. Not only did the party win a seat in the Chamber with Mario Alejandro Borghese but for the first time, the party also won a seat in the Senate, in the person of Ricardo Merlo, an Italian citizen born in Buenos Aires who funded the party in 2007, who also turned out to be the most voted candidate among those who presented themselves abroad. A closer look at the program of the party² allows us to understand the concerns faced by Italian citizens in Argentina. Apart from improving the network of consular institutions and strengthening Italian-Argentine cooperation in commercial, university and scientific fields, the party stands for the elimination of the citizenship tax and the reduction of the time needed for the process of Italian citizenship recognition. The party also stands for the provision of free medical care while being in Italy and the improvement of AIRE (Register of Italian Residents Abroad) to protect effectively rights of Italian migrant's citizens. In short, the party wishes for an extension of rights on the Italian territory to the Italians citizens in Latin America. Though the party is addressing Latin America, both list leaders are Argentine citizens actively engaging with Italian community in Argentina, testifying the central role of Argentina.

¹ See : <http://elezioni.interno.gov.it/camera/votanti/20180304/votantiCE2>

² “Os 10 pontos programáticos do MAIE”, MAIE Mondiale, accessed 8 April 2018, <http://www.maiemondiale.com/it/2018/1201-os-10-pontos-programaticos-do-maie.html>.

The second party represented strongly in Latin America, which also had one deputy votes is the *South American Union Italian Emigrants*¹ (USEI), winning 28,93% of the votes² for the Chamber, and 30,12% of the votes for the Senate in Argentina and whose President, Eugenio Sangregorio, is also an Italian-Argentine. The values put forward by the party are more towards a greater cooperation between Italy and Latin America on an economic, diplomatic, and educational point of view rather than an extension of the benefits given by the Italian citizenship in Italy to Italian immigrants in Latin America. The worries expressed in Europe over the rise of the 5 Stars movement in Italy didn't find themselves to be true in Argentina nor in Latin America as the party won respectively 4,26% and 4,68% for the Chamber votes and 4,97% and 5,14% of the votes for the Senate.

This study of participation of the Italian citizens in national elections of March 2018 shows us the relevance of the role played by the Italian community/descents in Argentina and in Latin America. It appears that the concern about the fatherland is real however the result shows that Italian citizens in Argentina are very much in favour of political parties that would increase opportunities for them to be the *Italians of Argentina*. This electoral behaviour doesn't allow us to conclude any sense of European belonging in the way that Italian citizens in Argentina cast ballots in Italian elections. The results in Latin America is however very much influenced by the results in Argentina, which shows us that the Italian citizens in Argentina are a substantial community in the region.

Concluding remark

After having introduced the idea of second-order elections to explain low participation rate and the perceived democratic deficit of EU citizens, we had a look at the last 2014 EP elections, which allowed us to see that even with the effort made by the EU to engage with EU citizens, when it comes down to electoral participation, only 42% of the EU citizens agree that their voice to count in the EU. Having concluded that national elections still play a crucial role in European elections, we had a look at the electoral behaviour of Spanish and Italian citizens in Argentina to see if the ballot cast by the Spanish and Italian citizens in Argentina translated a

¹ "USEI Pagina Oficial", accessed 8 April 2018, <http://www.usei-it.org/index.php/es/>.

² "Eligendo: Camera [Scrutini] ARGENTINA (Estero) - Camera dei Deputati del 4 marzo 2018 - Ministero dell'Interno", Eligendo, accessed 8 April 2018, <http://elezioni.interno.gov.it/camera/scrutini/20180304/scrutiniCE2260>.

feeling of belonging to the EU. The study of both communities concluded that the data available to conduct such study didn't show the expression of belonging to the EU in the way ballots are cast in Argentina. This conclusion leads us to the argument that the feeling of belonging to the EU, the idea of "Being European", refers to something else than a legal status and a participatory behaviour. This idea seems to exist in the EU as well, as only 42% of the EU citizens agree that their voice counts in the EU but 68% feel they are citizens of the EU. Also, the awareness on their rights is relatively high (53% know what their rights are) but the willingness to be better informed about their rights as citizens (67%) shows that there is, even in Europe a sense of conscience of belonging to a community, of rights, but also to something more abstract. The positive¹ response given by 56% of EU citizens in 2006 to the question "I feel European..." combined with the latter findings encourage us to think that there is a feeling of belonging to a community that refers to more than a mere legal status. In his model, Delanty identifies one feature of EU citizenship as cultural cohesiveness and historical tradition. I argue that the case of Argentinian feeling of belonging to Europe is based on a mere reference to a shared cultural identity (that Delanty divides into Cultural cohesiveness and historical traditions). The case of Argentina might turn around Delanty's model, by arguing that EU citizenship rights and participation are features of European identity or expression of European identity rather than the contrary.

¹ Meaning the responses "Sometimes" (39%) or "Often" (17%)

Chapter 4 : “We are Europeans”, constructing a European identity ?

In his model of citizenship, Yuval-Davis explains that citizenship stems from 3 different conceptions: the liberal conception (a community of rights), the republican conception (a participatory behavior in a political community) and the communitarian conception.¹ In Delanty’s term, it refers to a closed community defined by its cultural ties and historical traditions which existed prior the state. This chapter will discuss the essence of European identity by having a look at the conception of European identity underpinning the feeling of belonging in the EU official discourse and in Argentina. A first part will focus on cultural cohesiveness. It will introduce conceptions of the European Identity in the EU, opposing the essentialist approach to the constructivist approach and will introduce theories of cosmopolitan identities. Investigating Argentina, the discourse of ‘white nation’ established in the early 20th century will be introduced. A second part will look at cultural traditions and will question the idea of a European collective memory in the EU by looking at different commemorations that occurred in the last few years throughout Europe before looking at European historical traditions in Argentina, with a study of the celebration of *Dia de la Raza*.

a) A community of cultural ties

1. European identity or European identities?

The debated nature of a sense of belonging to a European political community became relevant in the EU in the 1990s.² It originally stems from the cultural and ethnic pluralism of modern societies, which required a new conception of citizenship able to create a common identity.³ In the creation of a collective identity, 3 dominant conceptions intervene. Essentialism and constructivism stand in opposition, while constructivism is gravitating around cosmopolitanism. The concept of cultural cohesiveness described by Delanty leads us to a rather essentialist conception of a *European Demos*. Essentialism is the idea that people have inherent natural characteristics that legitimizes their membership in a group.⁴ Based on the concept of

¹ Yuval-Davis, 2006.

² Feyzi Baban, “Cosmopolitan Europe: Border Crossings and Transnationalism in Europe”, *Global Society* 27, no. 2 (2013): 217–35.

³ Percy Lehning, “European Citizenship: Towards a European Identity?”, *Law and Philosophy* 20, no. 3 (May 2001): 239–82.

⁴ Melody Chao, “An Essentialism Perspective on Intercultural Processes”, *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 18, no. 2 (2015): 91–100.

nationalism, Smith argues for a conception of a European identity based on a common language, history, and culture existing naturally in a group.¹ This latter conception sees European identity as something that is given, as it existed before the nation. These essentialist identities are grounded on constructions of a historic territory, common myths and memories and therefore, rarely contested.² They constitute a continuity with the past in the present, shared memories, the idea of a common destiny uniting and a culture.³ Such an identity would transcend other identities, resulting in the case of the EU, in a zero-sum identity.⁴ Drawing on the national level, Smith is rather skeptical to see one day the emergence of a European identity, transcending the national level and creating a European culture. The same conclusion has been drawn by social anthropologist Shore arguing that even creation of a cultural policy by the European Commission would not lead to the creation of a European identity able to be an alternative to national identity.⁵ In opposition to essentialism, constructivism opts for a conception of identities as being constructed, may them be on cultural (lying at the border with essentialism) or political commonness (a political identity). Delanty argues against an unified essentialist European culture. Seeing in the lack of a European *lingua franca* and the lack of a common culture an obstacle.⁶ Delanty then looks at Christianity as a unifying feature of a constructed European identity before arguing that historically Christianity has divided Europeans into Greek and Latin Christianity in the 11th century.⁷ Some argue that in the debate regarding Turkey's accession to the EU, Europe's cultural identity has been constructed in essentialist terms as it conceived the EU as a cultural (if not religious) sphere to which Turkey didn't belong.⁸ Such position and conception of the European identity is often used by Euro-pessimists seeing a European polity as impossible "because there are no European people no common European history or common myths on which collective European identity could be built".⁹ The reason for that might be found in the cultural diversity constituting Europe. On this

¹ Anthony Smith, "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity", *International Affairs* 68, no. 1 (January 1992): 55–76.

² Thomas Risse, *A Community of Europeans? - Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*, 2010.

³ Smith, 1992.

⁴ See Dario Castiglione, "Political Identity in a Community of Strangers", in *European Identity* (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009).

⁵ Cris Shore, *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*, 2000.

⁶ Gerard Delanty, "The Quest for European Identity", in *Making the Euro-Polity: Reflexive Integration in Europe* (Erikson Erik Oddvar, 2006), 127–42.

⁷ Ebda.

⁸ See: Sven Vitse, "The (de)Construction of European Identity in Contemporary Fiction", *Journal of Dutch Literature* 2, no. 1 (2011): 99–127.

⁹ Thomas Risse, "Nationalism and Collective Identities: Europe Versus the Nation-State?", in *Developments in West European Politics* 2 (Paul Heywood, Erik Jones, and Martin Rhodes, 2002), 77–93.

ground, constructivists argue for a civic approach to a European political identity, one based on common values and encompassing European cultural diversity.¹ Such argument finds its relevance in the recent European surveys that have been made in 2010 on the elements that constitute a European community. The most common answer is the single currency (36%), followed by Democratic values (32%).² Common culture (22%), history (17%) and religious heritage (5%) only account for a minority of answers, showing that the European identity might be most likely to be constructed around civic terms.

However, it appears that the perspective of a cultural identity might encourage European citizens to feel more European. The political scientist, Bruter showed that despite the perspective of a cultural identity drawing more identification, Europeans identify with the EU with a civic and political identity based on universal values.³ In contrast with a cultural approach to European identity, a political identity can be distinguished by shared beliefs about the origin of the group, i.e. a common conception of what the European identity is constructed as supported by the constructivists Delanty, Risse, and Hermann.⁴ This vision, promoted by the elites and perceived by the larger public, shows the EU as standing for values of modernity such as enlightenment, democracy, human rights and peace as opposed to a vision of a ‘nationalist European identity’.⁵ Constructivism also relies on the fact that individuals can identify on several levels and acknowledges that European identity doesn’t need to be a strong, homogenous collective identity.⁶ As shown by the Eurobarometer, in 2017, a majority of Europeans (54%) feel ‘(Nationality) and European’, a rising share since 2015.⁷ Building on these results, Risse comes up with the marble cake model of multiple identities that might be merged together to a certain extent.⁸ Indeed, the social constructivist argues for a

¹ Thomas Risse, “Social Constructivism and European Integration”, in *European Integration Theory* (Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, 2004), 159–76.

² European Commission and Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, “New Europeans”, Special Eurobarometer 346, April 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_346_en.pdf.

³ Michael Bruter, *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*, 2005.

⁴ Richard Hermann and Marilynn Brewer, “Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU”, in *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU* (Richard Hermann, Marilynn Brewer and Thomas Risse, 2004).

⁵ Risse, 2010.

⁶ Risse, 2002.

⁷ European Commission, “Do You See Yourself as...? PublicOpinion - European Commission”, accessed 30 April 2018, <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Chart/getChart/chartType/lineChart/themeKy/41/groupKy/206/savFile/867>.

⁸ Risse, 2004.

Europeanization of national identities where Europeanness would be embedded in the national identity. This Europeanization lies in a certain conception of cosmopolitanism, consisting in a “pervasive and ongoing cross-fertilization of identities and discourses to which can be related a new imaginary, or socio-cognitive cultural model, in which the very idea of Europe itself becomes a reality” as argued by Delanty.¹ In his book *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*, Risse analyses the level of Europeanization of national identities in France, Germany, Spain, Poland and the United Kingdom through a survey. His findings show that in Germany, Spain, Poland, and France, the marble cake model is salient, and the EU is integrated to the national narrative, up to the point that in Germany and Spain national identity and the EU are inseparable. In France, the political has managed to make Europe echo with French republican values and *Grandeur a la Française*. Risse underlines that even though we observe a Europeanization of national identities, this does not result in the creation of a unified European identity. In a Bachelor Assignment of 2008, Niklas Aschhoff analysed the ways in which the different national and European institutions refer to European discourse in their discourse. The student analyses in the Declaration on European Identity in 1973 a concept of EU’s identity that is rather essentialist, whereas national governments (except from the UK) tend to refer to European identity in constructivist terms at the national level.²

The European Commission tried describing what Europeans are in the Preamble of the (failed) Constitution in 2004.³ The short but dense paragraph shows in fact the ambitious ideas of a common cultural European identity in essentialist terms. The Preamble highlights that the EU inherits from cultural, religious and humanist traditions laying the basis for its universal values of human rights, freedom, democracy and the rule of law. In the second paragraph, the treaty evokes being “reunited after bitter experiences” which emphasizes an idea of continuity of the past in essentialist terms. However, recognition of national identities in the third paragraph and the motto ‘United in diversity’, as presented in the fourth paragraph highlights concepts of cosmopolitanism, depicting European identity through a diversity of identities. This short preamble shows that the European Commission conceives the European identity as an ensemble of modern values founded on an historical and cultural heritage and open to cosmopolitan identities. This introduction acknowledges the existence of a historical community looking

¹ Delanty, 2005.

² Niklas Aschhoff, “Shaping European Identity, How Do Memberstates Support Identification with the European Union ?” (Osswaarde, 2008).

³ European Union, “Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe”, 29 October 2004.

towards a “common destiny” in essentialist terms but sees the values of modernity and cosmopolitanism a product of this the cultural heritage. Europe is also referred to as a continent, making the idea of a political identity fall short. As the constitutional treaty was eventually rejected, a few years later the Lisbon Treaty has emphasized the political identity of the EU. Its Preamble still expresses and reminds the common values of the EU, which draws inspiration from cultural, humanist and religious heritage. However, the focus of the whole declaration lays much more on the values of solidarity, democracy and on the integration project than the constitutional treaty did, testifying of a clear change of discourse on the nature of a European community, from essentialist to constructivist terms.

Delanty argues that this very idea of cosmopolitanism is the reason why the EU is unable to formulate a cultural viable identity, as European identity relies on cultural diversity.¹ Its inconsistency might also explain why the Constitutional Treaty has eventually failed, by trying to bring together contradictory perspectives of essentialism and constructivism. However, cosmopolitan identities are more likely to happen in specific social spheres as shown by the sociologists Pichler and Fliegstein: people are the most likely to feel Europeans are citizens who actively take part in the European integration through mobility² and are most likely well educated, young people from an upper middle class with higher incomes, showing some limitations to the whole concept of European identity as an ensemble of values.³

2. Argentina, a ‘white nation’ discourse.

This section intends to understand in what terms Argentines refer to *Europeanness* by looking at the ‘white nation’ discourse. One possibility could be that they refer to the ‘European blood’ running through their veins as a result of mass immigration and common history. Another possibility could be that they refer to the impact of the European culture on the Argentine or that they refer to common values with the ones supported by the EU. I suggest looking at the official discourse throughout the 20th century and the essence of the ‘white nation’ discourse and the role it has played in national identity building in Argentina until recent years.

¹ Delanty, 2005.

² Florian Pichler, “Cosmopolitan Europe: Views and Identity”, *European Societies* 11, no. 1 (February 2009): 3–24.

³ Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe* (OUP Oxford, 2009).

It is inevitable to talk about Argentine identity without mentioning the context of the late 19th century- early 20th century in Argentina. The enormous immigration wave coming from Spain and Italy from 1880 to 1910 did influence the context of nation building. As a matter of fact, Buenos Aires became almost a foreign city between 1869 and 1939 as 52% of the population was considered European.¹ A second wave occurred after the Second World War (1946-1951), 610 000 Europeans arrived in Argentina, of which 388 00 of them were Italians. The immigrants formed a big community without being much integrated into pre-existent the society² which provoked a significant identity crisis around the centenary of the independence and resulted in the implementation of a new society by introducing whitening practices by the elites and the state.³ This crisis, influenced by writers from the second-half of the 19th century like Rodó or Sarmiento, brought forward the narrative of the ‘white nation’ amongst the Argentine elite and increased creole xenophobia by putting the accent on education, as suggested by Rojas’ *Restauración Nacionalista* (1909).⁴ As an example, Sarmiento, a founding father explains:

the mixture of black and white, of white and Indian, of Indian and black’ are dangerous because they regress to their inferior ‘original types’ and cannot be whitened. He highlights that as a consequence, ‘Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Mexico remain in the worst state of backwardness’ in contrast to Argentina, which is governed by a European, Christian, civilized race.⁵

In doing so Argentina could get rid of ‘barbarism’ and reach its ideal of becoming a ‘white nation’ but also embrace the modernism that was representative of Europe. This piece of Sarmiento’s work was published on behalf of the government, showing us the importance of such discourse in the national sphere. This narrative was made concrete through 3 strategies of the government: by encouraging immigration from European countries (a stance already stated in the Argentine Constitution of 1853, introducing an open-door policy for European migration,

¹ Arnd Schneider, “The Transcontinental Construction of European Identities: A View from Argentina”, *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures* 5, no. 1 (1996): 95–105.

² Diana Sorensen Goodrich, “La Construcción de Los Mitos Nacionales En La Argentina Del Centenario”, *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana* 24, no. 47 (1998): 147–66.

³ Florine Arkenbout, “Thesis National Identity and Nation Branding of Argentina” (Leiden University, 2015).

⁴ Ministry of Education in Argentina, “Como Se Establecio La Celebración Del 12 de Octubre”, Ministry of Education in Argentina, 6 June 2008, <https://www.educ.ar/recursos/92892/como-se-establecio-la-celebracion-del-12-de-octubre>.

⁵ Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Conflicto y Armonia de Las Razas En America*, 1883.

provoking the following immigration wave in 1880¹) and by reforming education; by erasing indigenous people by merging indigenous and black population into the traits of European elite and considering them as mixed-blood ('mestizos')²; by erasing practices of slavery in the official history and by acknowledging that the Creole population had white blood.³ Indeed, the massive (desired and planned) immigration wave impacted the composition of the Argentine society in such ways that it entered in the national discourse on national identity and saw the emergence of the 'white nation' discourse, incorporating all ethnics group as 'white' into the discourse of the nation. The narrative can be considered successful since the Columbia encyclopedia and CIA world Factbook describe the country as 98% white, despite the fact that European-born and European descent could not have reached more than 60% of the population in the 1920's.⁴ As the historian Moya sums it up: "the Spaniards had moved from enemies to foreigners, to cousins and for some to brothers".⁵

Scholars would argue that between 1916-1930, Argentina lived its Belle Epoque referring to the new political habits and the national feeling introduced in the country⁶ before being overthrown by a Coup d'État in 1930 by the General José Félix Uriburu. This event introduced more restrictive and anti-revolutionary measures, starting line of the Conservative Republic (1930-1943)⁷ and saw the rise of nationalist groups. On the demographic side, the dropping birth rate due to the spread of contraception and women work saw the increase of smaller families in all social classes. In response, the government introduced even more restrictive measures to select elite immigrants from European Catholic and Latin countries and avoiding rising immigration from neighboring countries. This highlights the rise of the eugenic ideal of a pure race in Argentina and also shows us an essentialist vision of what 'European' meant ethnically in such terms: Catholic and Latin based on the idea of a culture that comes through blood. Such discourse was mostly supported by the elites.

¹ Tanja Bastia and Matthias vom Hau, "Migration, Race and Nationhood in Argentina", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40, no. 3 (2014): 475–92.

² Oscar Chamosa, "Indigenous or Criollo: The Myth of White Argentina in Tucumán's Calchaquí Valley", *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2008): 71–106.

³ Arkenbout, 2015.

⁴ Chamosa, 2008.

⁵ José Moya, *Primos y Extranjeros. La Inmigración Española En Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*, 2004.

⁶ Diana Quattrocchi-Woisson, "Discours historiques et identité nationale en Argentine", *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 28, no. 1 (1990): 41–56.

⁷ José Luis Romero, *Breve Historia de La Argentina*, 1997.

The crisis bursting in 2001 had roots in the military dictatorship (1979-1983), which damaged the society: the standards of living and the size of the working class declined, and unemployment and underemployment grew, along with poverty.¹ Therefore, Alfonsín's focus after these years was to consolidate human rights and democracy in the country, at loss of economic matters, causing a crisis in 1989. The following privatization of state-owned companies until 1998 were the first signs of another crisis were starting to shine through and resulted in a veritable crisis hitting the country in 2001.² For the first time, the middle class separated from the ruling elite to pair with the lower classes which introduced a real gap between the civil population and the ruling elite and its idea of a great, white and modern Argentina, achieved through immigration from Europe. Those protest created a new sense of belonging, based on an idea of diversity.³ In the late 2000's, the government initiated the recognition of the so-called *negro* groups and other ethnical historical minorities of the country. However, the interview given last winter at the World Economic Forum in Davos shows that the tension on national identity in Argentina is vivid. The president stated that EU-LAC relations are "a natural association because, in South America, we are all descendants from Europe"⁴, shaking up the Argentine civil society. The use of such terms such as "natural" shows us Argentine officials do refer to Europeans in cultural essentialist terms.

This section has given us an interesting insight has how different structure and actors refer to European identity in different terms. After looking at the different constructions of European identity, we have looked at the preamble of the European Constitution that showed that the European Commission conceives the European identity as an ensemble of modern values of a historical community and open to cosmopolitan identities but still depicts a European community in essentialist terms. A political community based on common values is most likely to happen, as shown in the preamble of the Lisbon Treaty really shows a change on the discourse of the EU on the essence a European community in constructivist terms, emphasizing the institutional bonds between the citizens instead of suggesting a common culture. However, it appears that the idea of a European identity has also been outdated by the Europeanization of national identities, resulting in cosmopolitan identities: people don't feel either just national,

¹ Carlos Waisman, "The Argentine Paradox", *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 1 (1990): 91–101.

² Arkenbout, 2015.

³ Ariel Armony and Victor Armony, "Indictments, Myths, and Citizen Mobilization in Argentina: A Discourse Analysis", *Latin American Politics and Society* 47, no. 4 (2005): 27–54.

⁴ See "We Are All Descendants from Europe", <https://www.telesurty.net/english/news/We-Are-All-Descendants-from-Europe-Argentine-President-20180125-0013.html>, published 25.01.2018

nor just European, but they *feel European in their nationalness*. Finally, we have seen that in Argentina in the early 20th century, the discourse of a ‘white nation’ founding a national identity referred to ‘being European’ in essentialist, if not eugenic terms, encouraging European immigration and hoping for a modernization of the whole country. This discourse seems to have made room for economic but also academic cooperation. It appears however that both Argentina and the Constitutional Treaty associate Europeanness in culturalist terms with the idea modernity and the idea of a cultural and religious heritage. Such conception of Europe still resonates nowadays, as showed by Macri’s intervention in Davos 2018 calling out on the natural aspect of EU-LAC relations on historical reasons.¹ However, we’ll see a bit later that such discourse now has to face strong criticism in the rest of the society as the shift to a multicultural society has started to grow since the 2010s.

b) *Historical traditions: a collective memory for Europeans?*

1. A collective memory for Europe?

Scholars tend to agree that there is no existing European *Lieu de mémoire* in the sense of Pierre Nora’s Masterpiece analysis the French commemoration culture.² One explanation is the EU relatively memory-less, given the absence of a European people.³ However, those scholars do argue that the Holocaust might constitute the departure point a common European memory.⁴ One could ask himself why the EU needs a collective history. Anderson argues that by invoking historical memory and by rewriting, reinventing and reinforcing this historical memory, one nation-state (or here one polity) actively create the sense of belonging among people.⁵ The aim would be to establish a European sense of belonging through education, cultural production and institutional organisation of their territories into geographically coherent units.⁶ Already back in the 80s, the EU began to support national cultural heritage. The first *Lieu de Mémoire* to receive financial support of the European Commission was the Parthenon in 1984, opening the

¹ See “‘We Are All Descendants from Europe’”, <https://www.telesur.tv/english/news/We-Are-All-Descendants-from-Europe-Argentine-President-20180125-0013.html>, published 25.01.2018

² Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, 1997.

³ Delanty, 2006.

⁴ See: Dan Diner in Aleida Assmann, “Europe : A Community of Memory ?”, 16 November 2006.

⁵ Anderson, 1983.

⁶ See Anderson (1983) in Baban, 2013.

path to more monuments oriented towards a Greek, Roman and Christian heritage.¹ The label of European heritage, introduced in 2007 then continued on this line by ascribing what was until then considered as national heritage as European heritage: the Acropolis in Athens, the Capitol Square in Rome, Goethe's house in Frankfurt or the naval construction site in Gdansk, just to name a few. This formulation of a European narrative however lets us think that the EU encourages a Europeanisation of national *lieu de mémoire* instead of creating its own at a European level.² Such process happened for example in Alsace in 2015 at the Memorial of the Second World war in Schirmeck. The museum on the history of Alsace and the Struthof in the WWII closed its doors in 2015 to get a "European lifting" by emphasizing the European dimension of this tragic times. The decision testifies of a real Europeanisation process in the way history shall be presented.³

Similar processes have taken place in key events of the European history as well. The 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall took place in front of the Brandenburger Tor on the 9th November 2009. Many representatives were present among whom English, French, US and Russian officials. The participation of English and French head of states in the celebration does testify of the transnational dimension this key event of the German history has taken.⁴ However, the presence of the Russian head of state and former US Foreign Minister Hilary Clinton shows that beyond the transnational dimension of the Fall of the Berlin Wall there is an internationalisation of national history. Same conclusions are to be drawn when looking at the 2014's 70th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz were not less than 38 countries were present to commemorate this traumatic piece of history.⁵ Beyond a Europeanization, an internationalization of national memory is showing through in Europe. Another tendency seems also to appear in France in commemoration of the first and second World Wars. These commemorations have particularly gained significance in French-German relations, aligning with the idea of a Europeanization of national memory. One example could be the

¹ Oriane Calligaro and François Foret, "La Mémoire Européenne En Action : Acteurs, Enjeux et Modalités de La Mobilisation Du Passé Comme Ressource Politique Pour l'Union Européenne", *Politique Européenne* 2, no. 37 (2012): 18–43.

² Calligaro and Foret, 2012.

³ Jean-Marc Loos, "Lifting européen pour le Mémorial", *L'Alsace*, 28 June 2015, <https://www.lalsace.fr/bas-rhin/2015/06/28/lifting-europeen-pour-le-memorial>.

⁴ "20 Jahre Mauerfall: Deutschland und die Welt feiern ein rauschendes Freiheitsfest", *FAZ.NET*, 10 November 2009, sec. Politik, <http://www.faz.net/1.620254>.

⁵ BFMTV, "Le monde commémore le 70e anniversaire de la libération d'Auschwitz", BFMTV, accessed 3 May 2018, <http://www.bfmtv.com/societe/le-monde-commemore-le-70e-anniversaire-de-la-liberation-d-auschwitz-859593.html>.

commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Verdun Battle in 2016. Apart from the Presence of Angela Merkel, and François Hollande, both European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker and former European Parliament President Martin Schulz were present, emphasizing the European dimension of the commemoration.¹ However, the representation of the European dimension restricts the idea of Europe to a bi-national and political space. Moreover, similarly to national identities, the Europeanization of national *lieux de mémoire* does not lead to a harmonized European collective memory but European collective memories, as some countries might have different visions of a same historical event. Sierp has shown the integration of European memories on the national level, however the shared European narrative is based on universal values which are part of the European values but not exclusively as they belong to an even greater worldwide scale.² Bernd Giesen argues that collective trauma is becoming the stepping stone for a European identity and gaining significance similarly to the memory of revolutions in the past, however, these key events converge on a European (as a continent) wide scale.³ This leads us to wonder whether: is there a (EU)ropean collective memory? Many national *lieux de mémoire* commemorate national uprisings, key events of the national history. At an EU level, the history of the European Community is constituted of Treaties and agreements, whose founding fathers were administrators rather than revolutionaries.⁴ The decision to adopt the Schuman Declaration as a symbol of the European Community laid the ground for introducing Europe Day. But there are debates on whether the celebration could be considered of a European collective memory since the few events occurring in different places of Europe often take place locally and independently, sometimes among rituals related to the end of World War II and don't cast any official discourse.⁵ On the contrary, the celebration of the Treaty of Rome amongst the elites consisted in a proper commemoration. Indeed, elite festivities and celebrations in Rome, the historical references and linkage to concrete places of remembrance made on this occasion added new dimensions to the idea of European *lieu de mémoire*. However, this commemoration seems to keep citizens away from any celebration

¹ “1916 – 2016 : La France et l’Allemagne commémorent le centenaire de la bataille de Verdun”, Frankreich in Deutschland, accessed 4 May 2018, <https://de.ambafrance.org/1916-2016-La-France-et-l-Allemagne-commemorent-le-centenaire-de-la-bataille-de>.

² Aline Sierp, *History, Memory and Trans-European Identity: Unifying Divisions*, 2014.

³ Bernd Giesen, “The Collective Identity of Europe : Constitutional Practice of Community of Memory”, in *Europeanization, National Identities and Migration* (Willfried Spohn and Anna Triandafyllidou, 2003).

⁴ Delanty, 2006.

⁵ Hannes Hansen-Magnusson and Jenny Wüstenberg, “Commemorating Europe? Forging European Rituals of Remembrance through Anniversaries”, *Politique Européenne* 2, no. 37 (2012): 44–70.

held in small elitist committees in Rome.¹ Therefore, the European integration itself isn't fit to be the starting point of a European collective memory.

2. Argentina: the case of the Día de la Raza.

Argentina has actively been working towards creating a cultural European cohesion through the 'white nation' discourse which still resonates in some minds today, as opposed to the EU. Could it be that such phenomenon has allowed Argentina to create a culture of European historical traditions? We will have a look at the Día de la Raza celebration, institutionalized in 1917.

The 12th of October belongs to the calendar of many Spanish-speaking countries and commemorates the day Columbus reached America. It is celebrated as Columbus Day in the United States of America or national day in Spain. After centuries of colonization and years of struggle for independence, the beginning of the 20th century introduced the institutionalization of the latter celebration to a few Latin American countries as well, such as Mexico and Argentina. As the celebration seems to have lost its popular enthusiasm in Mexico, the Argentine state of the president Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner agreed in 2010 to change the name to *Día del Respeto a la Diversidad Cultural*², showing on the one hand the interest remaining on the celebration since its first introduction as a national holiday in 1917, but seems on the other hand to underline a change of public discourse regarding Argentine national identity throughout the century. The term of *Raza* itself goes back to the 19th century and Sarmiento's piece *Facundo* opposing Civilization (pure European race) to Barbarism (namely indigenous blood).³ The first proposal to make the Día de la Raza an annual national holiday in Argentina was brought in front of the newly elected Yrigoyen Administration in 1916, through a petition made by the Asociación Patriótica Española. On 4th October 1917, Yrigoyen declared 12th October as a national holiday, to be known as Día de la Raza and embraced the moment to declare its support for the concept of Hispanismo in his decree. The decree depicts the discovery of America as an incomparable occurrence in the history of mankind, which provoked advances indebted to this 'amazing event', which had both tangible and spiritual consequences. He also thanks "the Spanish genius" for discovering and conquering America, as unique performance "that has no parallel in the annals of all peoples" and praises Spain to have made

¹ Hansen-Magnusson and Wüstenberg, 2012.

² Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, "Decreto 1584/2010", Decreto 1584/2010 § (2010).

³ Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Facundo o Civilización y Barbarie En Las Pampas Argentinas*, 1845.

“the miracle of conquering for civilization the immense land where today the American nations flourish”. The reception of the decree was quite good as testified this quote from Sierra Vicente in *El Hogar* on the 12th October 1917:

Welcomed be the Fiesta de la Raza if we force us for one second every year to feel the spirit of the blood that bathes our veins and gets through our hearts [...] and so we will understand everything that for us represents the Ser Argentino. Only so we will be fully Argentines.¹

This institutionalization of the celebration and the legal procedures made to encourage immigration from Europe exclusively² testifies that the government was spreading a discourse praising the Europeanisation of the Argentine society, hand in hand with the acceptance of the coupling made between Spanish and Hispanic cultures, reflecting also the context of the time, influenced by the (provoked) massive immigration from Europe but especially from Spain and Italy and the beginning of a new Era on what regards Argentine, if I may say, the European Argentine identity. In the 20s, the discourse already started changing as the focus was set on a more radical Hispanismo, perceived as the duality between Spanish language and Catholicism. The *Día de La Raza* started to have a religious resonance more than a racial identity as such.³

The change of name of the celebration in 2010, however, showed an apparent change of discourse on Argentine identity, a discourse of ethnic and cultural diversity instead of a discourse of ‘white nation’, which occurred after the recognition of minorities, which were merged in the ‘white nation’ until then. Already in 1992, on the occasion of the 5th centenary of the discovery, debates leading to the recognition of the indigenous population in 2000’s by the ratification in 2000 of the International Labor Organization (ILO). The more multicultural approach of Nestor (2003-2007) and Cristina Kircher (2007-2015) gave more visibility to minorities⁴, resulting in the change of national discourse on identity, inaugurated in 2010 through the celebration of the Bicentenary. The celebration organized by the INADI⁵ celebrated

¹ Vicente Sierra, “El Día de La Raza”, *El Hogar*, 12 October 1917.

² Bastia and vom Hau, 2014.

³ See Apología de la Hispanidad Isidro Gomá Tomás, Discurso pronunciado en el Teatro «Colón», de Buenos Aires, el día 12 de octubre de 1934, en la velada conmemorativa del «Día de la Raza» and Claire Decobert, “Le Discours de Juan Carlos à Propos de l’Hispanité Ou Comment Enseigner Quelques Faits de Civilisation ?” (Culture de l’autre, Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 2008).

⁴ Citro, 2017.

⁵ Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación, Xenofobia y el Racismo

for the first the diversity of Argentina in its all entirety, including minorities such as the Afro-Argentines. The agenda counted a military parade, a car parade, Catholic ceremonies, projects of the history of the country on the façade of a monument and a historical-artistic parade, which we will analyze quickly. While the celebration is one of Argentine memory, the analysis of the parade provides us with a description of the national discourse on the history and the identity of the country while also gives us an insight of the perspective of Europe's role in the Argentine culture. The pre-Hispanic period is exoticized, the *Republica Argentina* is represented as a mestiza woman enveloped in clothing contextualizing the European republican tradition. The struggle for independence is represented in three scenes but introduces the presence of indigenous, mestizos and afro-descendants soldiers. Also, the discourse on immigration got through a change as it is represented by a boat from Europe but also illustrates the migration from China, Korea but also from Bolivia and Paraguay. Those communities of immigrants were given visibility for the first time through the parade. Even though the new official discourse on Argentine identity reflects diversity, we can see that Europe was now seen as one cultural sphere among the other. Europe is conceived at the roots for Argentine republican tradition which contrasts with the 'white nation' for good. Nevertheless, the interview given in 2018 in Davos by the President Macri does show that the discourse of a 'white nation' still is present in some minds. However, the reaction of the press towards the Presidents interview does show that there has been a change of mindset in an important part of the society and that the 'white nation' utopia might be breathing out.

Concluding remark

This chapter has to lead us through more cultural and identarian aspects of citizenship. We have seen that Argentines do refer to Europe in culturalist terms while the EU conceives its community as one of shared values and diversity. This very change in the way identity is constructed results in a lack of European collective memory. The EU has been incapable of developing a unique and universal narrative apart from one based on universal values. However, there has been a Europeanization, if not an Internationalization of national *Lieux de mémoire*, such as the Fall of the Berlin wall and the Liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. From the study we have lead in this chapter, I would draw the conclusion that, the Argentines calling themselves Europeans, do indeed refer to a mere culturalist idea of what is Europe while constructing their Argentine identity of diversity in parallel of their personal family history. This latter statement I formulated myself after this research could be the purpose of a further research work. The sense of belonging expressed in Argentina seems to belong to

the level of individual identity, based on a family history rather than an official discourse on national identity.

Conclusion and conceptual perspectives

This work has lead us through an exploration of the realm of citizenship in order to try to understand what the European belonging expressed in Argentina shows us about European identity, itself interwoven with European citizenship. We looked at rights, participation and identity. We have seen in our first investigation, on rights, that EU citizenship rights are meant to be inclusive, but their nature remains based nationality to one of the member states and their use is restricted by residency in one of the member states. Also, we have seen that there is no expression of belonging to Europe in the way rights are built in Argentina. The EU is indeed using its normative power in its relations with the country but isn't trying to shape Argentina *à son image*. The investigation of the participatory feature has shown us that participation in the EU is constrained by the national level, playing a significant role in participation but also in participatory behaviour, influencing the results. By looking at participatory behaviour of Italian citizens and Spanish citizens residing in Argentina in their respective national elections, we concluded that Argentine Europeans don't express a sense of belonging in the way they cast ballots in national elections. For the case of Italians, the values they support are rather specific as they wish for more benefits from their own nationality while being in Argentina and would like to be allowed to *be Italians in Argentina specifically*. Our last part has investigated the conception of 'being European' through a look at cultural cohesiveness and historical traditions.

It appears that in the case of Argentina, being European refers to a cultural sphere that is rarely being referred to in the official discourse in the EU. We can conclude that while Europeans on the national level and the European Union after the failure of the Constitutional Treaty tend to refer to Europe as a community of values synonym of modernity, Argentines tend to use the term Europeans to refer to a cultural, if not eugenic community, whose culture is associated with modernity. Indeed, the EU refers to Europeans as citizens that have rights, participate and might be likely to develop a political cosmopolitan identity around common values which would not affect there already-well-established national identity. We might see the emergence of a new form of citizenship by looking that Argentine sense of belonging to the EU, one based on the expression of an identity, more than it refers to a legal status.

In 2014, Schlenker and Blatter published a great overview of the 9 new forms of citizenship which can be arranged according the origin of the membership (Specific to a nation-state, in multiples community or in the community of humankind) and the direction of the citizenship (in the domestic arena, at a transnational level or at a supranational level).¹ This very convincing work gives us the clue that citizenship can be constructed according to different lines. The table underneath gives an overview of the different forms of citizenship.

Origin of citizenship	Membership in the universal community of Humankind	1) Post-national citizenship	2) Fuzzy citizenship	3) Cosmopolitan citizenship	
		<i>All inhabitants</i>	<i>All affected</i>	<i>All humans</i>	
		Disputed experience	Non-existent	Minimal existence	
		Normative: dominant aspiration	Disputed aspiration	Dominant but disputed aspiration	
	In multiples communities	4) Partial citizenships	5) Dual citizenship	6) Multilevel citizenship	
		<i>All Migrants</i>	<i>All people with multiple affiliations</i>	<i>All members of member-states</i>	
		Growing existence	Strongly growing existence	Existing but exceptional (EU)	
		Growing acceptance	Strong acceptance	Strong acceptance	
	In one particular national community	7) Westphalian citizenship	8) External citizenship	9) Mediated citizenship	
		<i>All mono-national residents</i>	<i>All mono-national non-residents</i>	<i>All mono-nationals through their nation-state</i>	
		Dominant but growing deviations	Growing existence	Dominant but growing deviations	
		Declining acceptance	Dominant non-acceptance	Declining acceptance	
	Domestic arenas	Trans-national level	Supra-national level		
	Direction of citizenship				

Source 6 : The conceptualization of (new) forms of citizenship, Schlenker & Blatter (2014)

We are trying to find a flexible definition that would allow studying citizenship on an EU level, therefore we will focus on Multilevel, Dual, Cosmopolitan and Post-national citizenship, which have been investigated on an EU level.

An approach was introduced by Soysal: post-national citizenship.² Starting from the irrelevance of formal citizenship, this form of citizenship is based on personhood more than the membership in a particular state. Based on the impact of guest workers in Germany, the sociologist argues for citizenship based on a deterritorialization of rights

¹ Andrea Schlenker and Joachim Blatter, 'Conceptualizing and Evaluating (New) Forms of Citizenship between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism', *Democratization* 21, no. 6 (19 September 2014): 1091–1116.

² Yasemin Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*, 1994.

and universal personhood. However, the focus made on the guest-workers makes her theory hardly applicable to our study.

Cosmopolitan citizenship represents a community of “citizens of the world” committed to universal values. The cosmopolitan citizenship also relays on a republican ideal of the autonomous citizenry, in which the citizen actively takes part in politics. Based on solidarity and trust, this perspective leaves outside of the discussion minority identities and cultures.¹ To some extent, we could see European citizenship and extended to Argentina as a cosmopolitan citizenship based on values of democracy and state of law throughout the world. This statement appears, however, to be unreflective of today’s European citizenship, as we’ve seen its flaws.

Another growingly accepted form of citizenship is the dual citizenship, which consists of full members of more than one national community. This form of citizenship facilitates identities in significant ways in both national communities. Dual-citizenship could also be misinterpreted as showed by the Hungarian case. In 2010, the Hungarian state introduced a new citizenship law, providing Hungarian citizenship to the millions of *ethnic Hungarian* living outside of Hungary (for example in Slovakia, or for example in Romania, where about 1,5 Million ethnic Hungarians live).² This conception of citizenship by the Hungarian government, promoting dual-citizenship with certain neighbouring countries³, shows us that citizenship law (defining the formal status of citizens) establishes the rules defining who belongs to the national narrative and hence participates in the creation of the self-image of one political entity as a community more expanded than the national territory.

Multilevel citizenship gives a supranational status through membership to the nation-state (here member states of the EU). By allowing citizens with multiple citizenships, such citizenry gives them a cosmopolitan attitude that defenders of supra-national citizenship are wishing for. This latter form of citizenship, specific to the European Union is highly compatible with Delanty’s deconstruction of citizenship.⁴ This form of citizenship could

¹ Cohen in Andrea Schlenker and Joachim Blatter, 2014, 1091–1116.

² Laurence Peter, “New Hungary Citizenship Law Fuels Passport Demand”, BBC News, 4 January 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-12114289>.

³ See: Mónika Ganczer, “Hungarians Outside Hungary – the Twisted Story of Dual Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe |”, *Verfassungsblog*, 8 October 2014, <https://verfassungsblog.de/hungarians-outside-hungary-twisted-story-dual-citizenship-central-eastern-europe/>.

⁴ Delanty, 1997.

indeed very much explain the phenomenon of identification to Europe happening in Argentina. This would give Argentine-Europeans access to a new sphere of citizenship in Europe. This conception of citizenship could consist of a goal to achieve but remains nowadays far from reality as we've seen the actual restrictions of EU citizenship.

What this comparative study has shown us is that one can feel like they belong to Europe without needing European citizenship. In Argentina, the sense of belonging goes way beyond the actual legal status of EU citizens, showing that European identity could go beyond the European continent and become a global issue. In the case of Argentina, the claim to belong to Europe is a claim of difference and specialness to separate from the other countries of Latin America. This study, more than anything shows us that there are European identities to which people identify with. However, it appears that a unique European identity would be one that would be hard to get a hold of. A way to formulate European identity consists in a community of values embracing diversity throughout the world, however, this statement would need an abstraction of European identity to a level of Global identity as most of the values supported by the EU are values protected in global spheres, at the United Nations for example. We could consider a Western Identity in such terms. Such abstraction would indeed allow countries with a past of colonialism to be recognized as part of a wider community. However, such conception of collective identity would focus exclusively on the past and its impact on the present.

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