

# Changing Meanings Of Citizenship In Modern China Harvard Contemporary China Series

This book examines citizenship as practiced in China today from a variety of angles. Citizenship in China—and elsewhere in the Global South—has often been perceived as either a distorted echo of the ‘real’ democratic version in Europe and North America, or an orientalized ‘other’ that defines what citizenship is not. By contrast, this book sees Chinese citizenship as an aspect of a connected modernity that is still unfolding. The book focuses on three key tensions: a state preference for sedentarism and governing citizens in place vs. growing mobility, sometimes facilitated by the state; a perception that state-building and development requires a strong state vs. ideas and practices of participatory citizenship; and submission of the individual to the ‘collective’ (state, community, village, family, etc.) vs. the rising salience of conceptions of self-development and self-making projects. Examining manifestations of these tensions can contribute to thinking about citizenship beyond China, including the role of the local in forming citizenship orders; how individualization works in the absence of liberal individualism; and how ‘social citizenship’ is increasingly becoming a reward to ‘good citizens’, rather than a mechanism for achieving citizen equality. This book was originally published as a Special Issue of the journal *Citizenship Studies*.

This book explores the extent to which the varied political status of Latinos is changing the meaning of citizenship and belonging in the United States. It brings together broad theoretical considerations of citizenship with discussions of

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historical and contemporary case studies pertaining to Latinos and current debates on citizenship. Focusing on Latinos' historical and continuing struggles against exclusion, the authors of this anthology discuss issues such as Latinos' multiple national allegiances, dual citizenship, the changing meaning(s) of belonging, their transnational political and social participation, the question of language and citizenship, regional cultural citizenship and loyalties, and the mobilization of Latino youth in their struggle to affirm their rights and belonging in US society.

The inequalities that persist in America have deep historical roots. Evelyn Nakano Glenn untangles this complex history in a unique comparative regional study from the end of Reconstruction to the eve of World War II. During this era the country experienced enormous social and economic changes with the abolition of slavery, rapid territorial expansion, and massive immigration, and struggled over the meaning of free labor and the essence of citizenship as people who previously had been excluded sought the promise of economic freedom and full political rights. After a lucid overview of the concepts of the free worker and the independent citizen at the national level, Glenn vividly details how race and gender issues framed the struggle over labor and citizenship rights at the local level between blacks and whites in the South, Mexicans and Anglos in the Southwest, and Asians and haoles (the white planter class) in Hawaii. She illuminates the complex interplay of local and national forces in American society and provides a dynamic view of how labor and citizenship were defined, enforced, and contested in a formative era for white-nonwhite relations in America.

The challenges for young people making the transition to adulthood are greater today than ever before. Globalization, with its power to reach across national boundaries and into

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the smallest communities, carries with it the transformative power of new markets and new technology. At the same time, globalization brings with it new ideas and lifestyles that can conflict with traditional norms and values. And while the economic benefits are potentially enormous, the actual course of globalization has not been without its critics who charge that, to date, the gains have been very unevenly distributed, generating a new set of problems associated with rising inequality and social polarization. Regardless of how the globalization debate is resolved, it is clear that as broad global forces transform the world in which the next generation will live and work, the choices that today's young people make or others make on their behalf will facilitate or constrain their success as adults. Traditional expectations regarding future employment prospects and life experiences are no longer valid. *Growing Up Global* examines how the transition to adulthood is changing in developing countries, and what the implications of these changes might be for those responsible for designing youth policies and programs, in particular, those affecting adolescent reproductive health. The report sets forth a framework that identifies criteria for successful transitions in the context of contemporary global changes for five key adult roles: adult worker, citizen and community participant, spouse, parent, and household manager.

This book provides a detailed comparative account of the development of citizenship and civil society in Hong Kong from its time as a British colony to its current status as a special autonomous region of China.

References p. 23-27.

"At the genesis of the Republic of China in 1912, many political leaders, educators, and social reformers argued that republican education should transform China's people into dynamic modern citizens—social and political agents whose

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public actions would rescue the national community. Over subsequent decades, however, they came to argue fiercely over the contents of citizenship and how it should be taught. Moreover, many of their carefully crafted policies and programs came to be transformed by textbook authors, teachers, administrators, and students. Furthermore, the idea of citizenship, once introduced, raised many troubling questions. Who belonged to the national community in China, and how was the nation constituted? What were the best modes of political action? How should modern people take responsibility for "public matters"? What morality was proper for the modern public? This book reconstructs civic education and citizenship training in secondary schools in the lower Yangzi region during the Republican era. It also analyzes how students used the tools of civic education introduced in their schools to make themselves into young citizens and explores the complex social and political effects of educated youths' civic action."

Citizenship as Foundation of Rights explores the nature and meaning of American citizenship and the rights flowing from citizenship in the context of current debates around politics, including immigration. The book explains the sources of citizenship rights in the Constitution and focuses on three key citizenship rights - the right to vote, the right to employment, and the right to travel in the US. It explains why those rights are fundamental and how national identification systems and ID requirements to vote, work and travel undermine the fundamental citizen rights. Richard Sobel analyzes how protecting citizens' rights preserves them for future generations of citizens and aspiring citizens here. No other book offers such a clarification of fundamental citizen rights and explains how ID schemes contradict and undermine the constitutional rights of American citizenship.

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In doing so, it offers an important new perspective on the changing meaning of citizenship in a world of highly porous borders and increasing transmigration."--BOOK JACKET.

How can citizenship in schools meet the needs of learners in multicultural and globalized communities? Can schools resolve the tensions between demands for effective discipline and pressures to be more inclusive? Educators, politicians and the media are using the concept of citizenship in new contexts and giving it new meanings. Citizenship can serve to unite a diverse population, or to marginalise and exclude. With the introduction of citizenship in school curricula, there is an urgent need for developing the concept of cosmopolitan and inclusive citizenship. Changing Citizenship supports educators in understanding the links between global change and the everyday realities of teachers and learners. It explores the role that schools can play in creating a new vision of citizenship for multicultural democracies. Key reading for education researchers and students on PGCE, B.Ed and Masters courses in Education, as well as citizenship teachers and co-ordinators. Changing Citizenship is of interest to all concerned about social justice and young people's participation in decision-making.

Due to heightened global migration and transnational mobility, many residents of the world's cities lack national citizenship in the places to which they have

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moved for work, refuge, or retirement. The disjuncture between citizenship and daily life has led to devolution of claims from national to urban space. Within nation-states characterized by structured inequalities, citizens have not reduced their social differences. This leads increasingly to calls for greater direct involvement of marginalized classes in reshaping the institutions and spaces directly affecting their lives. These concerns—cities without citizenship and people without political power—inform the agendas of organizations that seek to restructure urban citizenship in more democratic directions. *Remaking Urban Citizenship* focuses on the uses and limits of such political organizations and coalitions, shows the various ways they pursue expanded rights within the city, and describes the institutional changes necessary to empower global migrants and popular classes as urban citizens. Offering individual or comparative case studies of cities in the United States, Europe, and China, contributions to this volume describe the development of actual practices of organizations working to reinvigorate citizenship at the urban scale. Collectively, they locate institutional forms that help migrants lay claim to their cities, show how migrants can become politically empowered, and identify how they can expand their rights or find other ways to belong.

"Explores the changing moral and political meanings

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of citizenship as a cultural ideal in the contemporary world."--P. [4] of cover.

This book offers an examination into the meanings of citizenship in the contemporary world, and trends that are forcing a rethinking of the concept in today's nation-states. These changing meanings, in turn, give rise to new understandings of, and approaches to, citizenship education. The underlying values of participation, deliberation, and loyalty or patriotism that define different notions of citizenship are under strain in a world increasingly defined by global processes, by the rise of transnational or supranational institutions, and by interconnections that bring different cultures and value systems into closer contact with each other. What does this new citizen look like? What does this new citizen need to know, or need to be able to do? To whom, and to what, is this new citizen loyal? One way to think about this new citizen is as a "cosmopolitan," a citizen of the world more than of any particular nation-state; another way to think about it is in terms of different kinds or levels of affiliation, existing simultaneously (to nation and to regional alliance, such as the European Union, for example). These conditions of citizenship, and of citizenship education, are rapidly changing and diverse -- and in some instances they come into conflict. This collection of essays by an outstanding international group of scholars examines the tensions between

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national, transnational, and postnational conceptions of citizenship, brought back always to the grounded question of citizenship education and how to go about it. The authors illuminate the complexity and subtlety of these issues, and offer helpful guidance for rethinking the meanings and values that inform our educational endeavours.

Two assumptions prevail in the study of Chinese citizenship: one holds that citizenship is unique to the Western political culture, and China has historically lacked the necessary conditions for its development; the other implies that China is an authoritarian regime that has always been subject to autocratic power, in which citizens and citizenship play a limited role. This volume negates both assumptions. On the one hand, it shows that China has its own unique and rich experiences of the emergence, development, rights, obligations, acts, culture, education, and sites of citizenship, indicating the need to widen the scope of citizenship studies to include non-Western societies. On the other hand, it aims to show that citizenship has been a core issue running through China's political development since the modern period, urging scholars to bring 'citizenship' into consideration in the study of Chinese politics. This Handbook sets a new agenda for citizenship studies and Chinese politics. Its clear, accessible style makes it essential reading for students and scholars interested in citizenship and

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China studies.

DIVA successor to FLEXIBLE CITIZENSHIP, focusing on the meanings of citizenship to different classes of immigrants and transnational subjects./div

This thesis asks questions about the meanings and practices of citizenship, and how they change in a context of violence. Questions of citizenship are relevant because violence shifts the fundamental circumstances for citizenship. Much of the existing literature on participatory governance and democratisation assumes a certain degree of safety and security, which is a distant reality for people whose daily lives are ordered by violence and insecurity. The overarching question at its heart is: what does citizenship mean in a context of violence? In order to answer this larger question, this thesis explores the following: • How does violence shape how people perceive and practice their citizenship? • How does a spatially-specific context of violence and insecurity affect the way that the state acts and intervenes? What are different forms of authority (both legitimate and illegitimate) mediating the relationship of citizens with the state? And how do these different relationships shape the prospects for citizens claiming substantive rights? • How can participatory action research be used to investigate citizenship in a context of violence, where there are significant risks in speaking publicly about power, violence, and democracy? This thesis focuses on

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three specific dimensions of the citizen-state relationship: a) the ways that the meanings of citizenship are formed (and the processes of socialisation that lead to a sense of citizenship); b) the ways that citizens are able to act in order to make claims on the state; the way that state and other forms of authority act in relation to citizens; and, c) the types of mediators that intervene between citizens and state institutions. The starting point for this analysis is the empirical reality of favelas in Rio de Janeiro, where power and patterns of authority operate in certain ways that are shaped by violence.

Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China Harvard University Press

This collection of essays addresses the meaning and practice of political citizenship in China over the past century, raising the question of whether reform initiatives in citizenship imply movement toward increased democratization. After slow but steady moves toward a new conception of citizenship before 1949, there was a nearly complete reversal during the Mao regime, with a gradual reemergence beginning in the Deng era of concerns with the political rights as well as the duties of citizens. The distinguished contributors to this volume address how citizenship has been understood in China from the late imperial era to the present day, the processes by which citizenship has been fostered or undermined, the influence of the government, the different development of citizenship in mainland China and Taiwan, and the prospects of strengthening citizens' rights in contemporary China. Valuable for its century-long perspective and for placing the

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historical patterns of Chinese citizenship within the context of European and American experiences, *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* investigates a critical issue for contemporary Chinese society.

Volume 7 of *The Year in C-SPAN Archives Research series* focuses on the relationship between democracy and the media. Using the extensive collection of the C-SPAN Video Library, chapters cover Trump political rallies, congressional references of late-night comedy, responses of African American congresswomen to COVID-19 bills, and congressional attacks on the media through floor speeches in the House of Representatives and Senate. The C-SPAN Video Library is unique because there is no other research collection that is based on video research of contemporary politics. Methodologically distinctive, much of the research uses new techniques to analyze video, text, and spoken words of political leaders. No other book examines such a wide range of topics—from immigration to climate change to race relations—using video as the basis for research.

Political, economic, technological and cultural changes have taken place all over the globe, changes which have transformed the meanings of citizenship and citizenship education. This volume represents an effort to analyze the implications of these changes.

Citizenship presents two faces. Within a political community it stands for inclusion and universalism, but to outsiders, citizenship means exclusion. Because these aspects of citizenship appear spatially and jurisdictionally separate, they are usually regarded as complementary. In fact, the inclusionary and exclusionary dimensions of citizenship dramatically collide within the territory of the nation-state, creating multiple contradictions when it comes to the class of people the law calls aliens--transnational migrants with a status short of full citizenship. Examining alienage and

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alienage law in all of its complexities, *The Citizen and the Alien* explores the dilemmas of inclusion and exclusion inherent in the practices and institutions of citizenship in liberal democratic societies, especially the United States. In doing so, it offers an important new perspective on the changing meaning of citizenship in a world of highly porous borders and increasing transmigration. As a particular form of noncitizenship, alienage represents a powerful lens through which to examine the meaning of citizenship itself, argues Linda Bosniak. She uses alienage to examine the promises and limits of the "equal citizenship" ideal that animates many constitutional democracies. In the process, she shows how core features of globalization serve to shape the structure of legal and social relationships at the very heart of national societies.

The reforms of the Soviet and Chinese communist regimes were unparalleled—both in the radical, precedent-setting reforms attempted by the two countries and in the outcomes of these attempts. While the Soviet Union collapsed quickly in the midst of its reforms, more than a decade later China, the world's most populous country, still stands as a testament to the resilience of Communist rule. It is this phenomenon that Christopher Marsh explores in *Unparalleled Reforms*. Marsh goes beyond simply discussing the differing initial conditions, the sequencing of reform, and cultural differences to also consider the objectives and intentions of the policy makers and leaders that directed the reform processes and the interdependent nature of politics on the world stage.

*Unparalleled Reforms* offers the reader a sophisticated understanding of the nature of political reform and develops a theoretical model that can account for commonly overlooked factors that affect political processes in all types of political systems. In a class all its own, this is an important work for scholars interested in comparative politics, international

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relations, economics, Asian studies, and Russian studies. Includes bibliographical references and index.

This book investigates the changing meanings of power and politics in the Internet age and questions whether the political category of the citizen still has a meaningful role to play in the highly-mediated dynamics of an increasingly networked world. To answer such questions, the book analyses and compares the impact of the Internet on the relationship between state, citizens, and politics in three countries: the USA, Italy, and China. The book's journey starts in the mid-90s and ends in 2016. It pays particular attention to Obama 2008 and Trump 2016 presidential campaigns, the ascendance to power in Italy of the anti-establishment Five Star Movement, and to the enduring Chinese government's struggle to control the Internet public opinion. The book challenges the traditional understanding of power through which the strong typically prevails over the weak. This leads to a clearer understanding of the wider role citizens can play (and must play) in a networked political sphere, while it also warns the reader on the many risks citizens face in a post-truth world. The book challenges the traditional understanding of power through which the strong typically prevails over the weak. This leads to a clearer understanding of the wider role citizens can play (and must play) in a networked political sphere.

This book is a direct and empirical response to the mounting official interest in citizenship education, increasing dynamics between state and society, and growing citizenship awareness and practice in society in contemporary China. Placing the focus on society, the book investigates the meaning of the Chinese term gongmin – equivalent to 'citizen' – in non-official media discourses and in university students' and migrant workers' perceptions, through the constructed analytical lens of Western citizenship conception.

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By laying out the complex details of how the meaning of the term resembles and deviates in and between collective social discourses and individual citizens' understandings with reference to state discourses, the book makes clear that there is discrepancy in the meaning of gongmin between state and society and that the meaning varies in contemporary Chinese society. Cutting across multiple topics, this book is a valuable resource for students and researchers interested in Chinese citizenship, East-West citizenship, citizenship education, the media, university students and migrant workers in China.

People's understandings of what it means to be a citizen go to the heart of the various meanings of personal and national identity, political and electoral participation, and rights. The contributors to this book seek to explore the difficult questions inherent in the notion of citizenship from various angles. They look at citizenship and rights, citizenship and identity, citizenship and political struggle, and the policy implications of substantive notions of citizenship. They illustrate the various ways in which people are excluded from full citizenship; the identities that matter to people and their compatibility with dominant notions of citizenship; the tensions between individual and collective rights in definitions of citizenship; struggles to realize and expand citizens' rights; and the challenges these questions entail for development policy. This is the first volume in a new series: Claiming Citizenship: Rights, Participation and Accountability

Lays out a framework for understanding the ways in which those connected to the Russian language and culture relate to one another and to Russia. He asserts that Russia and the Russian language remain a defining influence in the lives of millions of émigrés to the West and citizens of post-Soviet countries, even where local nationalist agendas seek to downplay and underestimate the prevalence of Russian.

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These people are the members of the "Russian world." They include those who "preserve ties of culture and identity with Russia, many of whom in fact have Russian citizenship and consider themselves first and foremost Russian citizens, even if they live outside of Russia," but also include all Russian speakers whose connection to Russian language and culture remains a prominent component in their identity.

Available Open Access under CC-BY-NC licence. Citizenship is always in dispute – in practice as well as in theory – but conventional perspectives do not address why the concept of citizenship is so contentious. This unique book presents a new perspective on citizenship by treating it as a continuing focus of dispute. The authors dispute the way citizenship is normally conceived and analysed within the social sciences, developing a view of citizenship as always emerging from struggle. This view is advanced through an exploration of the entanglements of politics, culture and power that are both embodied and contested in forms and practices of citizenship. This compelling view of citizenship emerges from the international and interdisciplinary collaboration of the four authors, drawing on the diverse disputes over citizenship in their countries of origin (Brazil, France, the UK and the US). The book is essential reading for anyone interested in the field of citizenship, no matter what their geographical, political or academic location.

Globalization has given rise to new meanings of citizenship. Just as they are tied together by global production, trade and finance, citizens in every nation are linked by the institutions of global governance, bringing new dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. For some, globalization provides a sense of solidarity that inspires them to join transnational movements to claim rights from global authorities; for others, globalization has meant greater exposure to the power of global corporations, bureaucracies and scientific experts, thus

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adding new layers of exclusion to already fragile meanings of citizenship. *Globalizing Citizens* presents expert analysis from cities and villages in India, South Africa, Nigeria, the Philippines, Kenya, the Gambia and Brazil to explore how forms of global authority shape and build new meanings and practices of citizenship, across local, national and global arenas.

*Nation and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century British Novel* maps the interrelations between literary production and public debates about citizenship that shaped twentieth-century Britain.

*Inventing the national and citizen in Palestine : Great Britain, sovereignty and the legislative context, 1918-1925 -- The notion of 'rights' and the practices of nationality and citizenship from the Palestinian Arab perspective, 1918-1925 -- The diaspora and the meanings of Palestinian citizenship, 1925-1931 -- Institutionalising citizenship : creating distinctions between Arab and Jewish Palestinian citizens, 1926-1934 -- Whose rights to citizenship? Expressions and variations of Palestinian mandate citizenship, 1926-1935 -- The Palestine revolt and stalled citizenship -- Conclusion. The end of the experiment : discourses on citizenship at the close of the mandate.*

Ernest Renan was one of the leading lights of the Parisian intellectual scene in the second half of the nineteenth century. A philologist, historian, and biblical scholar, he was a prominent voice of French liberalism and secularism. Today most familiar in the English-speaking world for his 1882 lecture "What Is a Nation?" and its definition of a nation as an "everyday plebiscite," Renan was a major figure in the debates surrounding the Franco-Prussian War, the Paris Commune, and the birth of the Third Republic and had a profound influence on thinkers across the political spectrum who grappled with the problem of authority and social

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organization in the new world wrought by the forces of modernization. *What Is a Nation? and Other Political Writings* is the first English-language anthology of Renan's political thought. Offering a broad selection of Renan's writings from several periods of his public life, most previously untranslated, it restores Renan to his place as one of France's major liberal thinkers and gives vital critical context to his views on nationalism. The anthology illuminates the characteristics that distinguished nineteenth-century French liberalism from its English and American counterparts as well as the more controversial parts of Renan's legacy, including his analysis of colonial expansion, his views on Islam and Judaism, and the role of race in his thought. The volume contains a critical introduction to Renan's life and work as well as detailed annotations that assist in recovering the wealth and complexity of his thought.

*Citizenship, Europe and Change* is about the implications of the evolution of the European Union and the emergence of European supra-citizenship for the people of Europe. It addresses the way in which these implications are crucially mediated by inequalities according to social class, age- generation, race-ethnicity and sex-gender. An analytical framework is presented in terms of which European society, processes and change are decisively shaped within a hierarchy of political communities and conflicts, and driven by fundamental societal contradictions. Attention is paid to conceptual and theoretical issues, and there is a critical examination of the impact of social policy, motivated by a commitment to European integration and supra-citizenship in so far as these things benefit the people of Europe, especially the disadvantaged and excluded.

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Diversity, inclusion and citizenship are highly contested concepts. This book sheds light on how the traditionally homogeneous welfare-states of Scandinavia struggle to develop as democratic societies in the globalisation era. In Denmark, Norway and Sweden, migration from all parts of the world continues to challenge the idea of social citizenship—highly endorsed in the Scandinavian tradition. The volume brings new perspectives on immigration and integration strategies employed by the three countries, and their consequences for social and political relations. Presenting in-depth analyses, based on up-to-date empirical data, the 19 authors scrutinise a number of dilemmas related to diversity and inclusion in multicultural societies. Exploring tensions in terms of rights and obligations, participation and identity, the chapters provide new insights into the complexity of majority-minority interaction, political traditions and democratic legitimacy. Drawing on case studies as well as comparative analyses, the authors present new and original empirical findings, and they also offer important theoretical contributions to general social science discourses. Taken together the chapters provide an indispensable source, not only for those seeking to understand the current trends in Scandinavian integration policies, but also for those who are generally interested in issues of diversity, inclusion and citizenship. This volume surveys the new global landscape for democratic civic education. Rooted in qualitative research, the contributors explore the many ways that notions of democracy and citizenship have been implemented in recent education policy, curriculum, and classroom

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practice around the world. From Indonesia to the Spokane Reservation and El Salvador to Estonia, these chapters reveal a striking diversity of approaches to political socialization in varying cultural and institutional contexts. By bringing to bear the methodological, conceptual and theoretical perspectives of qualitative research, this book adds important new voices to one of education's most critical debates: how to form democratic citizens in a changing world.

*Inclusive Citizenship* seeks to go beyond the intellectual debates of recent years on democratization and participation to explore a related set of issues around changing conceptions of citizenship. People's understandings of what it means to be a citizen go to the heart of the various meanings of identity, including national identity; political and electoral participation; and rights. The researchers in this volume come from a wide variety of societies, including the industrial countries in the North, and they seek to explore these difficult questions from different angles. Themes include: Citizenship and Rights; Citizenship and Identity; Citizenship and Political Struggle and the policy implications of substantive notions of citizenship. State building is an ongoing process that first defines legitimate citizenship and then generates citizens. Political analysts and social scientists now use the concept of citizenship as a lens for considering both the evolution of states and the development of their societies. In *Citizenship as a Regime* leading political scientists from Canada, Europe, and Latin America use insights from comparative politics, institutionalism, and

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political economy to understand and analyze the dynamics of contemporary policies and politics. This book celebrates Jane Jenson's work and many of her contributions to political science and the study of Canadian politics. Featuring Jenson's concept of "citizenship regime", the collected chapters consider its theoretical and methodological underpinning and presents new applications to various empirical contexts. Contributors present original research, critically assess the idea of a citizenship regime, and suggest ways to further develop Jane Jenson's notion of a "citizenship regime" as an analytical tool. Research essays in this volume consider various social forces and dynamics such as neoliberalism, inequality, LGBTQ movements, the rise of populism amid nationalist movements in multinational societies—including Indigenous self-determination claims—and how they transform the politics of citizenship. These collected contributions—by former students, collaborators and colleagues of Jenson—highlight her lasting influence on the contemporary study of citizenship in Canada and elsewhere. Contributors include: Marcos Ancelovici (UQÀM), James Bickerton (St Francis Xavier University), Maxime Boucher (Université de Montréal), Neil Bradford (Huron University College), Alexandra Dobrowolsky (Saint Mary's University), Pascale Dufour (Université de Montreal), Jane Jenson (Université de Montréal), Rachel Laforest (Queen's University), Rianne Mahon (Wilfrid Laurier University), Bérengère Marques-Pereira (Université Libre de Bruxelles), Martin Papillon (Université de Montréal), Denis Saint-Martin (Université

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de Montréal), and Miram Smith (York University).

No Constitutional definition of citizenship existed until the 14th Amendment in 1868. Carrie Hyde looks at the period between the Revolution and the Civil War when the cultural and juridical meaning of citizenship was still up for grabs. She recovers numerous speculative traditions that made and remade citizenship's meaning in this early period.

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