

THE SPATIALITY OF CITIZENSHIP: A GOOD CITIZEN AND THE STATE

 Ieva Strode¹, Mg.sc.soc.

¹University of Latvia, Advanced Social and Political Research Institute

Abstract. Although the concept of citizenship is usually linked to the state, societal processes (globalisation, migration, societal challenges (e.g., ecology), technological developments etc.) are forcing a reconsideration of this assumption. These new factors also affect the normative aspects of citizenship: what does it mean to be a good citizen in this new reality? This article focuses on the relationship between citizenship and space and whether and how these social processes change people's attitudes toward the role of the nation-state.

Based on in-depth interviews with Latvian citizens conducted in 2022, it can be concluded that the state is still the primary reference point for citizens when thinking about citizenship, civic duties, and virtues, but the aforementioned societal processes are changing the perception: technological developments make it possible to be a good citizen in several countries at the same time; globalisation makes it possible to get to know and accept diversity, even if global and national interests (and therefore the responsibilities of a good citizen) conflict (e.g. ecological and demographic issues). Latvia's population has also been affected by the transformation of the country's territory - the collapse of the USSR and accession to the European Union - which has had an impact on the sense of belonging and the perception of which countries are "close" and which are "distant." However, as in theoretical debates, this study shows that the nation-state continues to dominate the understanding of citizenship; rights, responsibilities, and political activities are all discussed in the context of the state.

Key words: citizenship, a good citizen, state, development of society, Latvia.

JEL code: P49

Introduction

In describing the development of society, attention must be paid to the impact of international social processes on the state, its institutions, and its citizens: how globalisation, migration, technological development, and the need to deal with environmental problems affect the understanding of political actors - citizens, their rights, duties, virtues, and activities.

It should be noted that the understanding of citizenship is a multifaceted term, but one of its essential attributes is its connection to a territory, most often a state (Walker N., 2020). However, considering the societal processes already mentioned, this connection is being reconsidered. For example, globalisation and migration are forcing a reassessment of belonging to one country, analysing how citizens see the possibility of being good citizens in several countries, how these processes are influenced by technological developments (and whether they reduce the connection to one country at all). In this context, it is reconsidered whether the territory to which they feel a sense of belonging and obligation is still a country and not a larger (or, on the contrary, a smaller) territory. The study of citizenship's relationship to the state also examines how the perception of citizens' duties is being changed by contemporary problems, which no longer can be solved by the activities of citizens of a single country.

The situation in Latvia is also influenced by political transformations that have taken place in the recent past (the collapse of the USSR leading to the restoration of Latvia's independence and accession to the European Union).

However, it is acknowledged that theoretical insights and people's views on what is going on may differ; therefore, to judge the public mood, it is necessary to know the thinking patterns of people themselves (especially as the topic is not often discussed in everyday life).

This article draws on the results of in-depth interviews conducted in 2022 with residents of Latvia, which addressed several themes related to the perception of a "good citizen" (30 persons aged 19-83 were

¹ E-mail: Ieva.Strode@lu.lv

interviewed in the first wave, 28 of them in the second wave. Several of the interviewees had migration experience themselves). In the first interview, interviewees were asked to describe their general perceptions of citizenship, being a good citizen, and their personal experiences. In the second interview, targeted questions were asked about the relationship between different societal processes and perceptions of good citizenship: globalisation (cosmopolitan citizen), migration (can migrants be good citizens, what is the relationship with the "old" and "new" state), digital citizens - is it possible to be a good citizen or a citizen at all on the internet, without being tied to a state), how people see the responsibilities of a good citizen concerning environmental and climate change.

Research results and discussion

It must be emphasised that this is qualitative research data - people's statements from in-depth interviews. To judge the situation in the country as a whole, a representative study would be needed to assess the strength of a citizen's perception of the state and how he or she sees his or her rights and obligations as a citizen.

Linking citizenship to the state

As already mentioned, in the classical understanding, citizenship refers to a formal relationship between a person and a nation-state, a notion of membership and being a member of a political community, formalised by documents (such as a passport) and most often obtained at birth (Hintz A., Dencik L., Wahl-Jorgensen K., 2019)

A brief description of citizenship is most commonly understood as a relationship between an individual and the state, where the individual shows loyalty to the state and receives its protection (Deth, Van J. W., 2008), distinguishing between behavioural, attitudinal, and normative aspects.

Delanty (1997) pointed out that citizenship implies membership in a political community and is defined by rights, responsibilities, participation, and identity. Traditionally, it has been subordinated to nationality, which determines the territorial limits of citizenship.

However, it also points to problems that arise from citizenship's close association with state divisions and exclusion (Smith W., 2019).

In the research conducted, a close connection with the state is observed: when asked to spontaneously describe what they understand by citizenship, the answers mention the state in various aspects (it should be noted here, however, that in Latvian the term "state" does not emphasize political structures, state administration - it can also be understood more broadly). Interviewees refer to both legal belonging (passport as a formal proof of citizenship) and the rights guaranteed by the state, as well as obligations towards the state and living in the state.

A citizen of a country who has obligations and some responsibility towards his country, that's the first thing that comes to mind. (Jana, 34 y.o.)

A citizen is a resident of a country and a member of a state, and someone who belongs to a particular country. By nationality or simply - living in that country or - well, yes, that's where the questions start. (Ilze, 52 y.o.)

A citizen is a resident of a country - I would say a state, because citizenship is already with the state - which has all the constitutional rights and, I would say, obligations. (Iveta, 59 y.o.)

A citizen who has been granted nationality in a certain country can enjoy the rights of a citizen. (Santa, 48 y.o.)

However, the opposite logic also emerged in the interviews - the community (people) form the state, territoriality is not mentioned at all.

A national is a person constituting a certain state. A state cannot exist without the people. A citizen is a person who participates in the creation and transformation of a state. And this, by which we can also say who is this state. (Andrejs, 24 y.o.)

In addition, in the view of what it means to be a good citizen, the connection to the state - the fulfilment of civic duties (typically, voting in elections) - appears most often, but also more broadly - not only political participation, but also attitudes towards the environment and care for the image of the country.

A good citizen is one who has an active life position, again if he considers and exercises his duty to vote, but might also want to participate in all sorts of other movements that support the state. Well, for example, sorting the rubbish, helping other people, being conscientious - buying a ticket every time you get on transport. Law-abiding. Supporting your fellow human beings. (Iveta, 59 y.o.)

There is a person who creates the image of this country in such a way that future generations of this country will be grateful to him. (Andrejs, 24 y.o.)

State and other territorial formations

In describing the link between citizenship and territory, it has been pointed out that the nation-state is by no means the only territorial formation to which citizenship can be linked. Delanty (1997) stresses that citizenship should be seen as multi-layered and can exist at regional, national, and supranational (for example, European) levels. Stokke (2017) also distinguishes between local, national, and global/international levels when analysing the territorial attachment of citizenship.

The territorial focus of citizenship changes in the processes of globalisation, internationalisation, and transnationalisation, which affect the autonomy of the nation-state and its capacity to confer rights.

Transnational and cosmopolitan forms of citizenship shift focus further away from the nation-state, responding to the role of transnational communities, global civil society, and international law. International agreements and institutions increasingly influence rights and responsibilities, leading to the emergence of transnational citizenship laws (Hintz A., Dencik L., & Wahl-Jorgensen K., 2019).

Without formal recognition, transnational citizenship remains speculative and aspirational (aspirational), but it points to a multiplicity of affiliations that interact with and potentially glue (superseding) the nation-state.

It has been pointed out that in the context of European integration, a new form of citizenship is gradually emerging since the Maastricht Treaty, but it is very unclear whether it will be an alternative to national citizenship or merely a derivative of it (Lister M. & Pia E., 2008)

Delanty (1997) also points out that supranational or transnational citizenship, such as that associated with European citizenship, is true post-national citizenship, and is therefore based on criteria different from national citizenship; for example, one of these criteria is residence rather than birth or consanguinity. It is pointed out that there is a possibility of developing a "cosmopolitan citizenship" or a "world citizenship" world citizenship' based on human rights. Such citizenship would not be territorially specific but would be based on universal personal rights.

However, it is recognised that global citizenship reduces other dimensions of citizenship (responsibility, participation, and identity) to a formal set of basic rights. Thus, Delanty (1997) stressed that European citizenship can become a formal form of citizenship.

The attitudes of the Latvian citizens interviewed for the study are not unambiguous when it comes to supranational/cosmopolitan citizens. It should be noted that the spontaneous perceptions of citizens and

good citizens do not show a connection on a global scale. In some cases, a good citizen is associated with concern for the environment and nature protection, but this concern for the whole world does not appear. There is also the view that it is age-related—as one sees the world, one's view of the reference point for citizenship - the country or the world - may change, but it may differ - some people start to feel a sense of belonging to one country, while others start to see more broadly.

When asked to comment on this topic, several viewed the term 'world citizen' with irony, and the lack of attachment to a country was seen as a disadvantage rather than an advantage or was viewed neutrally.

Many people already say, 'I am a citizen of the world.' Well, I do not know if people understand what they mean when they say. They probably think that is what he is, he is not very interested in politics. Wherever he goes, there he stays, there he does or does not do something... He buys a ticket, but there's nothing for him there - [as the poem says] "I have no homeland, no home, no heart that loves me..." (Marija, 80 y.o.)

Is it an absolute citizen of the world? This extreme, I think, is rare. A human being, by nature, must have some kind of attraction. However, now, a citizen of the world can never be a good citizen of a country. Rather, they are guests everywhere. Guests and takers everywhere. (Ina, 59 y.o.)

That is the main idea that you are American. But now globalisation—it is that citizenship remains less important too, I think, yes. Ten years ago, I did not see many Indians or black people. Today, I do not even notice them. They are just part of society, and the more globalised it seems to me, the more nobody will notice anything and you will not care what passport you have. The main thing is to be a good citizen of the world. (Georgijs, 29 y.o.)

I think that this view of a world citizen is healthy because he is much more open to the world. More understanding, looking, and empathetic in a way. He is more interested in what is going on in the world than in what is going on with himself. However, it is also important to get your own country in order at the beginning and to ensure that everything is good here. (...) A global citizen of the world, of course, he knows several languages, he already has that, so he can also communicate with other citizens of the world and keep up with other events. (Ruta, 25 y.o.)

It should be noted that the interviews also revealed different understandings of what a "global citizen" is - for example, it can be a person who upholds universal values.

(...) who is not afraid to speak out and wants to defend themselves, to fight, and some situations are utterly absurd, (...) they understand that what is happening in their country is utterly wrong. I think that a citizen of the world has fought for your country to change somehow, to make different decisions, and not to uproot some other country. (Ruta, 25 y.o.)

The interviews also suggested that duties and responsibilities to the nation-state can conflict with duties and responsibilities to the planet and all the people of the world in the areas of ecology, demography, etc.

You feel that you belong to humanity or the planet at once, not to the state. This immediately determines what you prioritise in the case of conflicting interests. (...) The easiest way to illustrate this is on ecological issues, because, let us say, as a good Latvian citizen you are more interested in all that waste not polluting the Latvian environment, but as a global citizen you understand that somewhere it all has to be utilised. And if let us say, you choose Latvia as Europe's trash. Well, then, on a global scale that will be very good for many millions of people, and I am all for that. Yes, because it is a minority, and when you weigh up how many winners and how many losers, it is a good thing. (Andrejs, 24 y.o.)

However, exceptions also emerged: the interview showed a reserved attitude towards the nation-state, suggesting that cosmopolitanism could remedy several existing problems. (The impact of the Russian invasion of Ukraine should also be noted, as well as the nervous and evasive attitude of Russian speakers

in the interviews and their reluctance to talk about political issues.) It is interesting to relate this to the "subnational" citizen, where a critical attitude towards the nation-state (Diener A. C., 2020) contributes to a willingness to talk about regional citizens (the case of Narva in Estonia, for example, should be mentioned, where the border area with Russia has a high proportion of Russian-speakers and there is a critical attitude, alienation from the state (Kaiser R. B., & Nikiforova, E. A., 2008). In this case, a similar phenomenon was observed concerning support for supranational formations and citizens.

I am in favour of a European federation. I think it would be the best option if we remained citizens of the European Union and were not just several countries, but one country with one big parliament. The smaller parliaments would have to have something in their pieces. A common budget and Latvia and Romania would also remain Afghane friendly (laughs). (Georgijs, 29 y.o.)

When asked about the possibility of regional or city-level citizenship in Latvia, interviewees associated it more with local forms of patriotism than citizenship (too few people, too small a territory, etc.)

I live here, I could not go anywhere, and if I did, I would be dragged back to Riga. [Riga exactly?] Yes, Riga exactly. (Biruta, 64 y.o.)

The growing role of global organisations (UN and EU, but also corporations and NGOs), it is argued, points to transnational forms of authority that confer rights and generate responsibilities, and link institutions and people through power networks and relations (Urry J., 1999, Hintz A., Dencik L., & Wahl-Jorgensen K., 2019).

When discussing Europe as a possible substitute for the nation-state, the interviewees' opinions differed. On one hand, it was stressed that EU citizens already exist in reality, and because of the commonality of values and culture, citizens of a European country can live in another European country without any particular discomfort. On the other hand, it was stressed that EU citizens only become EU citizens if they were citizens of a national state. Governance and activities (e.g., European Parliament elections) also occur through the nation-state.

Well, when I voted in the European Parliament elections, (...) I was still somehow reconciling all this with Latvia. (Marija, 80 y.o.)

Probably [the nation-state] is important, and that is why Brexit occurred. There was some kind of rebellion against Brussels, not there, for those old-fashioned brits. They want to keep themselves somewhere (...). However, they now need their own nationals. Everyone is benefiting in some way from globalisation and unification, but everyone is also standing guard for their nationality. (Ina, 59 y.o.)

Transformations of the national territory

Given that a large part of interviewees had experienced both the collapse of the USSR and Latvia's accession to the European Union, the study also asked them to describe the transformation of the national territory - how they perceived it. It should be noted that these transformations also influence the interpretation of migration. Several informants or their parents moved from another former republic of the USSR (Ukraine, Belarus, Russia) during the USSR period, and although they recognised this as migration, it appeared more as internal migration. It should be noted that this feeling also appears in the case of Latvians, who rather describe tourism, work trips, and visiting relatives as internal movements, albeit clearly distinguishable. Nowadays, although (due to the need for visas, etc.) the countries of the former USSR are recognised as foreign countries, several speakers, recounting their own or their friends' experiences, recognise them as psychologically closer (e.g., studying in Russia, which was justified not by language skills, but also by the fact that they knew specialists in the field and wanted to be like them).

Then, you go to the east side of the border, and then you see, let us say, this dilapidated farmhouse and houses that have been left as if.. Since they were built, nobody has done anything to them. I always thought, well, how did you teach these people? I don't want here, it's not to sound like some sort of a sense of superiority about it. (Marija, 80 y.o.)

Similar attitudes emerge towards the European Union, noting that one does not need a visa and can go to study and work, but the 'foreign feeling' is more pronounced: people recognise it as leaving the country, associating certain value judgements with it (attitudes differ as to whether one can be a good citizen at all after moving to another country).

Now everything is free, go where you want. (Jeļena, 50 y.o.)

It is so hard for me to remember what it was like before - that people could not travel so peacefully, or go wherever they wanted to study... now everything is so open - you just buy a ticket and fly away. It's hard to remember those times, it wasn't like that. (Alina, 38 y.o.)

What difference does it make, listen, and whether you were in the Soviet Union or European Union? Well, I say, the only difference is that the borders are open, and you can go all over Europe and work; I do not see any difference. (Biruta, 64 y.o.)

In this respect, we should point out the formal status of citizenship: although all Latvian citizens are citizens of the European Union, their status and identification with EU citizenship are different (Walker, 2020). People were the first and foremost citizens of the national state (passports), while in the case of the USSR, USSR citizenship took precedence.

Migration

Of course, it would be interesting to analyse the impact of migration, as people spontaneously indicate that a citizen is a resident of a country (i.e., lives in that country). Movement is not only associated with a change of environment, but often with a change of status - the possibility and/or necessity to change citizenship status, thus guaranteeing oneself access to various rights (Hintz A., Dencik L., & Wahl-Jorgensen K., 2019, Smith W., 2019).

As already mentioned, several participants in the study had migration experience: the participants included descendants of Latvians who left Latvia as refugees after WWII, descendants who returned to Latvia after independence, people who moved to Latvia during the USSR and their descendants, people who have moved to Latvia to live, although their origin is not connected to Latvia, and people who have spent more than three months abroad for work or other reasons. Several interviewees had dual citizenship or no Latvian citizenship. All the interviewees lived in Latvia at the time of the study.

It should be noted that the study shows both serial migration (experience of migration (for work or personal reasons) in different countries) and transnational migration (people stay both in Latvia and abroad, where their work is located). The impact of COVID-19, which expanded the possibilities for remote working, also emerged in the interviews, but interviewees also reported living in two countries at the same time for the period before that, noting that, thanks to technological developments, the costs and time spent commuting may not be very different from those spent travelling domestically.

However, from Berlin to Riga is a one-hour forty-minute flight and perhaps even a 30-50 euro return ticket, whereas to Rezekne it is three hours and probably costs the same in petrol. The boundaries are blurred now. (Kārlis, 39 y.o.)

The ability to fulfil the duties of a citizen (e.g., to be informed, to be involved) has been expanded by technological developments, including the exchange of information and the ability to keep in touch with

relatives, which is very different from the migration experience of the past, when keeping in touch with the country of origin was difficult, costly, and often time-delayed.

However, this transnational lifestyle is more likely to be reported by people with a fixed work situation (projects and opportunities to work remotely) and without school-age children. One interviewee described his situation in which work required him to work in different countries, migrating successively to the next country, but at some point, his wife and children were forced to stay in another country because they had to finish secondary school.

Most of them, however, move altogether, although they often retain the dual nationality of their previous country. In this case, contact and awareness of the previous country vary (depending on distance, relatives, etc.). Attitudes towards the possibility of being good citizens in both countries are also ambiguous. The situation is special for people whose parents or grandparents emigrated after WWII and who actively maintained their Latvian identity abroad, several of whom indicated that civic activities were less active in their home country. However, it should be pointed out that the interviewees may have been selected because after Latvia regained its independence, they moved to Latvia permanently - it is possible that those who stayed there were more integrated into the host country's life.

Yes, it was probably easier to maintain a more cohesive society, because there were those organisations that were exiled and let us say it was a political exile because there were refugees who found themselves in a foreign environment and wanted to maintain their identity and hoped to regain the freedom of the country and so on. (Ivars, 66 y.o.)

While emphasising that leaving Latvia after WWII was more of a forced thing, even if they acquired citizenship in the country they felt more like Latvian citizens, the attitude towards those leaving Latvia now (or not returning after independence) is not unambiguous.

Therefore, the question is whether those who have remained behind are good Latvian citizens. I would say that I do not feel like a good Latvian citizen. To still live in Australia and have your society, your juice there... That's my personal opinion. However, others feel - come to Latvia now and then. Well, if they invest, let us say some people come with the idea not just to relax, but to invest - to work-to invest here. Then, you can see that Latvian citizenship is important to them. (Ilze, 52 y.o.)

Digital citizen

Within the research, citizens' connections to the territory also emerged when discussing the perception of the digital citizen. When asked whether, given the role of technology in providing a wide range of opportunities for participation and the emergence of different communities in which people from all over the world can engage, there is a possibility of opting out of the state, the interviewees were rather negative. It was stressed that the outcomes of digital activities should also be accepted by legislators (most often the state).

I try to think of this as such. I understand that they have other lives, but they still go to their local shops and walk down their local streets. She lives well in her local environment, and they still enjoy the decisions of secular authorities. They can have that virtual group there decide something and live according to the decisions of that group, but they live in their local environment anyway; they cannot influence the decisions of that local environment and legitimise their decisions. I cannot think of the mechanism by which they can legitimise that. I can see that there can be such groups, but I do not know how they can be linked to real or local power. (Iveta, 59 y.o.)

I don't think so. If these people are, for example, from different countries and continents. For the time being, for me, the citizen could be, however, about what is on the ground, on the territory real, not some

digital things. Therefore, I would not say that this community could be like Latvian citizens. (Georgijs, 29 y.o.)

Eco-citizen

One of the areas that calls for rethinking the relationship between the rights and duties of the citizen and the nation-state and its territory is the protection of the environment (Walker N., 2020, Dobson A., 2007). As already mentioned, when it comes to ecology, the duties of a good citizen towards the state and its inhabitants and the planet and its inhabitants as a whole can come into conflict. In this context, the fairness of the measures to be implemented is sometimes questioned when comparing the situation of countries at different levels of development, as the proposals often imply the preservation of a poor quality of life and restrictions on economic development. Even a significant reduction in the ecological footprint of people in developed countries can be a blow to the well-being of people in poorer countries; for example, abandoning tourism (flights) can have a tangible impact on the well-being of a region (Karlsson R., 2012).

Although ecological problems and solutions go beyond the nation-state, the need to participate in national political life is also emphasised here, as the necessary political decisions are most often taken at the national level, and avoiding civic action at the national level can hinder the desired outcome (Karlsson R., 2012).

However, the interviewees were ambivalent about caring for the environment as a civic duty. For example, the view was expressed as a human rather than a civic duty. It should be noted that when analysing civic engagement, the overlap between personal and political is one of the themes discussed when assessing who is or is not a good citizen, what their duties are - whether responsibilities at home and in the family are linked to civic virtues (Micheletti M. & Stolle D., 2012).

However, I start to associate it more with a good person [than a citizen]. If you, well, I do not know, burn forests, peat, and I do not know what else. Others cut down forests, and so on. Then it shows you more as a bad person because you're just harming nature in general, let's say, but whether that makes you a bad citizen, I don't know, [on global impact]. (Alina, 38 y.o.)

There is also ambivalence towards climate change mitigation as an individual responsibility: accusing it of focusing more on consumption than on the damage caused by production (Karlsson R., 2012). This is also reflected in the responses of the Latvian citizens interviewed.

Let us begin by explaining why I do not separate my waste. Therefore, I think it does not make a difference on a global scale. I understand, of course, that there are 8 billion people, but a large part of the population still lives there and draws water from the well and eats what it grows. In my opinion, the biggest shit comes from huge companies, factories, and companies, and until they start thinking and moving towards some kind of green energy, towards recycling, towards, I do not know, pumping oil out of there for good. All those things. When large companies can change it globally, everyone can think and try something different. (Alina, 38 y.o.)

Others point out that a good citizen can be directly linked to activities at this level, even if the impact is small, and it is the solution of problems at a local (rather than global) level that people might find more interesting.

It's about being a good citizen and small things; it's not about being a good dictator - how can you make one person change a lot? (Andrejs, 24)

I also think that if we took care of each family and each family took care of their children well within the family, then we would not have orphanages. (...) Then, from those little things, as the English says, save

those pennies, those pounds will take care of themselves. So now, all these little, small, mundane things... You see that it often happens to people that they start talking about the melting of Arctic ice. Yes, they understand it: horror, horror, there will be some sea level rise, and so on, but I think it is in those environments that we pay very little attention to maybe educating people. Yes, it's not contemporary, 'we have to talk globally, we have to talk about the planet,' if. However, maybe we should talk about not throwing away tyres and not throwing away our manure in the forest. (Marija, 80)

Conclusions, proposals, recommendations

- 1) Similar to the theoretical findings, the interviews conducted in Latvia show that the nation-state remains the basis for the territorial attachment of citizenship; both rights, obligations, and political activities are discussed in the context of the state.
- 2) Technological developments are "shrinking" the world and may change the nature of migration (e.g. nowadays it is easier to maintain both physical and emotional contact with the country of origin after moving to another country), but they do not change the connection to a physical territory: members of internet communities also need a physical territory and a national (political) solution to various problems.
- 3) Attitudes towards global citizenship and world citizenship are ambiguous. Some participants associate it with openness, universal values (including democratic values), and tolerance, while others doubt that a good global citizen can also be a good citizen of the nation-state, a member of their community, because of the possibility of divergence between nation-state and global interests (e.g., demographics and ecology).
- 4) Membership of the European Union appears as a more or less desirable factor, but being a European citizen also depends first and foremost on being a citizen of a European nation-state. However, the interviews show that other EU countries are still perceived more as foreign (in comparison, older people perceive migration within the USSR more as internal migration).
- 5) It should be noted that the study sometimes showed a lack of interest and ignorance about different aspects of citizenship and their relation to social processes, which means that public opinion about them may be unstable, changing due to certain information campaigns (Zaller J. R., 1992).
- 6) In summarising the results of the study, it should be noted that they are based on qualitative research data, and future quantitative research, which could draw on the results of this study, is needed to draw representative conclusions about the impact of educational institutions on perceptions of good citizenship among different generations of citizens.

Acknowledgement

This article has been produced with the support of the following projects:

- Project "Ready for change? Sustainable management of common natural resources (RfC)", Reg. No. Izp-2019/1-0319, Reg. No. LZP2019/54).
- Project No 8.2.2.0/18/A/010 "To Strengthen Academic Staff of Higher Education Institutions in the Areas of Strategic Specialization"

Bibliography

1. Delanty, G. (1997). Models of citizenship: Defining European identity and citizenship, *Citizenship Studies*, 1:3, 285-303, DOI: 10.1080/13621029708420660
2. Deth, Van J. W. (2008). Norms of Citizenship. In Dalton, R.J.; Klingeman, H.D. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford University Press.

3. Diener, A.C. (2020). Re-Scaling the Geography of Citizenship in Shachar, A. et al. (ed) The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship. Oxford New York: Oxford University Press
4. Dobson, A. (2007). Environmental citizenship: towards sustainable development. *Sustainable Development*, 15(5), 276–285. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.344>
5. Hintz, A., Dencik, L., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2019). Digital Citizenship in a Datafied Society. *Polity*.
6. Lister, M., & Pia, E. (2008). Citizenship in contemporary Europe. Edinburgh University Press. <http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748633418>
7. Kaiser, R. B., & Nikiforova, E. A. (2008). The Performativity of Scale: The Social Construction of Scale Effects in Narva, Estonia. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d3307>
8. Karlsson, R. (2012). Individual Guilt or Collective Progressive Action? Challenging the Strategic Potential of Environmental Citizenship Theory. *Environmental Values*, 21(4), 459–474. <https://doi.org/10.3197/096327112x13466893628102>
9. Micheletti, M., & Stolle, D. (2012). Sustainable Citizenship and the New Politics of Consumption. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 88–120. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716212454836>
10. Smith, W. (2019). Deliberative citizenship: a critical reappraisal, *Citizenship Studies*, 23:8, 815-830, DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2019.1664404
11. Stokke, K. (2017). Politics of citizenship: Towards an analytical framework, *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 71:4, 193-207, DOI: 10.1080/00291951.2017.1369454
12. Urry, J. (1999). Globalization and Citizenship. *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 5(2), 310–324. <https://doi.org/10.5195/jwsr.1999.137>
13. Walker, N. (2020). The Place of Territory in Citizenship in Shachar, A. et al. (ed) The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship. Oxford New York: Oxford University Press
14. Zaller, J. R. (1992). *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* Cambridge University Press