

TESI DI LAUREA MAGISTRALE

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Titolo: Tra inclusione ed esclusione: ieri e oggi, le sfide della cittadinanza europea.

Title: *Between inclusion and exclusion: yesterday and today, the challenges of European citizenship.*

ABSTRACT

Thirty years after the Maastricht Treaty establishing European citizenship, what does it mean to be a European citizen? This dissertation investigates the legal and political meaning of European citizenship from its establishment to the present day, while questioning the factual success of European integration in overcoming the exclusive dynamics typically observable when studying national citizenship.

This study is the result of both theoretical knowledge gained during my bi-national academic career between the University of Turin and Sciences Po Bordeaux and practical insights acquired through two different internship experiences at the European Parliament and at the Permanent Representation of Italy to the European Union.

Through the theoretical contributions of Italian and French exponents of citizenship studies, with the help of primary and secondary sources of European law and in the light of current events concerning migration policy and EU integration, this paper aims to analyze the major challenges that European citizenship has experienced since its institutionalization in 1992.

Using several conceptual models, including the “functional theory of citizenship” by Patricia Mindus, the dissertation addresses the issue of entitlement and the criteria for access (and exclusion) to the European citizenship (“legal model of citizenship”), as well as the problem of the political rights conferred by it (“political model of citizenship”), with the consequent questioning of the democratic nature of the European order.

In order to answer these questions, the first part of the paper is devoted to the analysis of the innovative aspects and autonomous features of European citizenship, whose historical development and content are outlined. It then focuses on the issue of the legitimacy of the European Union, considering the institutional obstacles underlying the EU's "democratic deficit" and the absence of a transnational European people, a social precondition for democratic life.

Finally, it acknowledges the existence of macro-areas of exclusion that involve migrants, who are often reduced to the status of *sans droits*. From this point of view, the dissertation wonders about the role played by the European Community in this matter, noting the proliferation of physical, institutional, and immaterial borders at the basis of the so-called "Fortress Europe".

In conclusion, this paper thus aims at both understanding the ways in which exclusion manifests itself in the European context and assessing the possibility of establishing some spaces for action that would make the institution more inclusive.