

## The Relevance of Contemporary Citizenship with Derek Heater's Philosophical Thinking



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**ABSTRACT:** *The concept of citizenship is important in the study of political science and will continue to develop along with world developments. Derek Heater in his work entitled "What is Citizenship" explains two concepts of citizenship that are commonly known to the public, namely including liberal and republican ideology plus 1 concept related to dual citizenship. The relevance of existing concepts of citizenship to contemporary issues is currently the focus of research. Every concept and its application in countries in the world is driven by critical thinking and great turmoil in the process of comparison and consideration of how to use this understanding for a long time. The research method used is qualitative research with a literature study approach. The literature study was carried out by reducing primary data, namely the work of Derek Heater entitled "What is Citizenship" which was juxtaposed and strengthened by secondary data according to the study topic, namely the concept of citizenship studies. Different concepts of citizenship influence views on the relationship between the individual and the state, as well as political and social rights within the ideals of statehood.*

**KEYWORDS:** Dual Citizenship, Concept of Citizenship, Liberalism, Republicans

### I. INTRODUCTION

Citizenship studies is an important concept in the study of political science in every country in the world. This concept continues to grow more complex along with developments in the era of rapid globalization. Developments that occur give birth to cultural identity identities that lead to an international community. In his work in the form of a book entitled "What is Citizenship", Derek Heater attempts to explain the traditions and meanings of various concepts of understanding related to existing citizenship. There are two major and commonly recognized concepts of citizenship. Heater's paper will discuss how the two major understandings related to the concept of citizenship have developed. In addition, citizenship is also a relevant subject to see the understanding of the political system and the interaction between the state and citizens at the global level today. The complexity of the concept of each study or understanding of citizenship demands a deep understanding of the developments that have occurred over time. As a young generation, knowing and understanding the origin of every existing notion of citizenship is also a must because every existing notion of citizenship certainly has a different basis or fundamental. The fundamental differences in each understanding of citizenship will affect our views on all matters relating to citizenship. These differences can relate to several things such as the way of looking at the relationship between individuals and the state, the rights and obligations of its citizens, as well as the ideals of statehood that are considered ideal in each understanding of citizenship.

The relevance between liberal and republican views of citizenship by highlighting contemporary issues today needs to be explored in depth. Contemporary issues here can be issues related to multiculturalism and parallel citizenship today comprehensively from both the liberal tradition and the republican tradition. Liberalism itself is the basis of thinking for western democracies that emphasize individual rights and their relationship with the state as a service provider. Whereas in republicanism, modern social complexity emphasizes the importance of the role of the state and the obligations of its citizens. Republicanism also emphasizes social obligations and active participation in a political community. According to Heater, these two notions of citizenship also discuss important elements of citizenship viewed from two different perspectives. These elements include citizenship status, political and social rights and solidarity (Heater, 1999).

An individual's citizenship status will depend on the notion of citizenship used by the country, this will also have an impact on the political and civic rights he gets so that social orientation will depend on the cultural and political traditions of the notion of citizenship adopted in the country concerned. This is in line with what Wiel and Groot said that social orientation is highly

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dependent on social cultural and political traditions, where there is collaboration and social justice (Wiel & Isolde, n.d.). In relation to citizenship status, the concepts of parallel citizenship and dual citizenship have also been born. The concept of dual citizenship is often associated with the means of liberalization because it emphasizes individual rights and sacrifices the prerogatives of the state where a citizen may live outside his own country while maintaining his citizenship status (Midtbøen, 2019). Based on the explanation of the background above, this paper aims to explore how the relevance of the concept of the concept of citizenship studies described by Derek Heater to the current issues of citizenship issues, especially citizenship issues in Indonesia.

### **II. METHODS**

This analysis uses a qualitative research method with a library research approach. According to Darmalaksana, a library study begins with searching for sources, both primary and secondary sources, followed by data classification based on the research formula. After the research formula is found, data processing is carried out in the form of quoting references which will later be presented and also concluded (Darmalaksana, 2020). Literature study is a method of collecting data by understanding and studying theories from various literatures related to the research being carried out (Adlini, 2022). The literature or reading sources used include books and journal articles that have a relationship with the problem being studied with 1 primary source, namely a book by Derek Heater entitled "What is Citizenship". Data obtained through primary sources is processed and juxtaposed with secondary data that supports explanations related to the topic of study. The data is processed systematically and clearly to be presented and described in the discussion so that it can become a comprehensive reference and reading material related to the topic of study of the concept of the concept of citizenship.

### **III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Based on the results of the research analysis, there are 3 important aspects that will be discussed and described in Derek Heater's article entitled "What is Citizenship". These 3 important aspects include the study of citizenship with a liberal tradition or understanding, the study of citizenship with a republican tradition or understanding and the study of citizenship with the concept of parallel citizenship. Parallel citizenship can also be interpreted as dual citizenship. Dual citizenship is usually obtained by a child who comes from a marriage of two people with different nationalities. Before entering into the discussion of these 3 aspects, the researcher will describe how the concept of citizenship in general and broadly. Then how is the concept of citizenship brought by Derek Heater itself and analyze the concept with the concept of citizenship that is widely used today in accordance with the title of his work, "What is Citizenship" as follows:

#### **A. Concept of Citizenship**

The law provides an authoritative framework for the state to determine the subject of citizenship in each country. There are at least three basic points that emphasize the authoritative nature of the law. First, international law recognizes that every state has the right to determine who may or may not become a citizen. Second, the law equates the definition of citizenship with nationality in the political sense. Third, citizenship can be defined in two classifications, namely *Ius Sanguinis* and *Ius Soly*. *Ius Sanguinis* is citizenship obtained based on the citizenship of the parent's origin while *Ius Soly* is citizenship obtained based on the region of birth of an individual (Heater, 1999). In Indonesia itself, the requirements to become a citizen legally have been explained in the state constitution, namely the 1945 Constitution, precisely in Article 9 of Indonesian Law No. 12 of 2006. Citizens are defined as indigenous people and foreigners who have been legalized as Indonesian citizens (WNI) by law. The principle of equality is something that cannot be separated from the nature of citizenship. There are many contradictions in theory and practice that suggest that equality is at the core of citizenship and therefore valid. For example, the use of the terms equal treatment and equal treatment can simply be interpreted as the same, but in essence these two terms have deep meanings with different interpretations. Equal treatment is interpreted as leading to the neglect of differences while equal treatment leads to the recognition of differences. Due to its relevance in many ways, equality is considered a strong characteristic of citizenship so that when individuals as human beings are essentially considered equal, then a political system that experiences disparities within it can be said to be an unjust political system (Heater, 1999).

Equality not only includes the real right to vote and hold public office for citizens, but also includes the freedom to express their opinions in public and ultimately equality will lead to how to maintain the quality and integrity of life in government by prioritizing the principle of justice (Heater, 1999). In Indonesia itself, we recognize the idea of the rule of law (Deliberative). The idea of the rule of law explains how a cultural reality, where ethnic groups are always changing so that it is not appropriate to divert ecological issues about the preservation of ethnic groups because ethnic groups are not to be conserved but transformed (Muzaqqi, 2008). Democracy in a plural society is considered to be based on the assumption that citizens including ethnic groups stand equally in political communication to make a policy. According to the Aristotelian approach in Mackinnon's work, the opposite of equality is

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inequality where the term inequality refers not to differences but to hierarchy (Mackinnon, 2020). On the other hand, equal access to citizenship rights is not always recognized as an ideal, leading to concerns about the weakening of citizenship status in modern times. Overly inclusive naturalization policies result from a country's desire to maintain national cultural homogeneity. Looking at one country, the United States, the laws in place continue to reduce the differences in rights between citizens and non-citizens so that immigrants can have almost the same rights as citizens. Thus, we can conclude that the legislation in the United States related to naturalization has weakened.

Currently, the concept and meaning of citizenship is changing along with the times. In one article, it is mentioned that globalization and rapidly developing digital technology have significantly changed the landscape of citizenship (Aulia, 2024). Citizenship is no longer limited to geographical attachment, but also involves social, political and cultural connections that cross national boundaries. Globalization has brought about changes in national identities, citizens' rights and responsibilities, and political and economic dynamics at the global level. Digital technologies are accelerating this process of globalization, changing the way people interact, communicate and engage in political affairs. However, while globalization and digitalization open up new opportunities for citizenship, they also pose new challenges, including issues of privacy, data security, and information control.

### ***B. Concept of Liberal Citizenship***

Liberal citizenship is the result of the revolutionary upheaval between France and Britain. France was the first country to establish the principles and practices of citizenship as a central feature of the modern socio-political structure of the time. Liberal citizenship places less emphasis on the individual, so the relationship between the citizen and the state is loosely bound (Heater, 1999). In fact, the terms citizen and citizenship are rarely used within the scope of liberal citizenship. Locke has profoundly drawn a picture of liberal citizenship today. Locke says that individuals remain individuals, interpreting that the acquisition of citizen status does not force us to refrain from pursuing self-interest. Citizens in the liberal tradition do not have clear responsibilities towards the state and fellow citizens. As such, the state is expected to exert a weak influence on the lives of its citizens. In the liberal citizenship tradition, there are several theories related to liberal justice, including the theory of justice as fairness. In Rawls' *A Theory of Justice* (1999), the notion of justice is organized around moral principles that are fair to the structure of society. Rawls creates a hypothetical situation to illustrate a just social order where individuals give consent to comply with policies made (Stephen, 2023). Rawls contains two main principles about this theory, it is said that every individual has the same right to an equal scheme of basic freedoms and is entitled to a fair distribution of social and economic goods and positions. Rawls' liberal theory emphasizes the protection of the right to freedom to organize the structure of society. According to Freeman (2020), Liberalism ideally protects a series of basic freedoms for individuals, freedom of conscience, freedom of thought and discussion, freedom of choice of employment and free participation (Freeman, 2020).

In liberalism, rights can be understood as relationships, moral claims and legal instruments. Membership in the liberal community provides basic protection to individuals. However, there are also some groups that are excluded from liberal politics so that these groups do not get protection in the basic human freedoms promised in liberalism. Aside from the rights afforded by liberal citizenship, of course, it has its fair share of critics. The equality discussed continuously in liberalism cannot actually be achieved by society. Marx (1978) also suspects that liberal rights only provide the final form of human emancipation within the framework of the prevailing social order so that the function of things in liberalism is actually to strengthen and protect the needs of existing liberal economic organizations. From the above we see significantly how the ideal autonomy of the liberal individual is not experienced equally by everyone. The liberal tradition originated in the seventeenth century and developed rapidly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The foundations of this liberal tradition can be found in T.H. Marshall's work written after the Second World War and summarized in a book entitled "Citizenship and Social Class". Marshall conceptualized citizenship on the basis of three rights, namely civil rights, political rights and social rights (Effendi, 2018). Civil rights include individual protections for free speech, beliefs and justice. Political rights include the right to participate in government and social rights include the right to public services such as education, health and social services. This tradition was born from the ideology of individualism which emphasizes individual freedom, especially freedom from interference from the state and society. Theories in this liberal tradition also argue that citizens are the authority to make choices and rights. This perspective is characterized by an emphasis on the individual and is rights-based.

In the context of the globalization era of liberal citizenship, the main focus is the influence on global politics and human rights. One study that explored the role of the state, citizen participation, and the protection of individual rights in the concept of liberal citizenship showed that careful regulation of technology adoption, improved law enforcement, and protection of human rights are needed to create an inclusive society that is responsive to global change (Ramadhan, 2024). From this we know that the skills to sort out a revolution that enters the country are so important for the sustainability of the concept of citizenship of the younger generation.

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### C. Concept of Republican Citizenship

In a republican country, the purpose of citizenship focuses on freedom with a citizenship style of community, friendship, harmony, brotherhood and economic issues. The quality of citizens who adhere to republicanism can be seen from the level of Virtue, patriotism and values obtained. Citizens play a role in civil and military participation and are tasked with supervising the ongoing government. The formation of the character of its citizens focuses on the education and religious sectors. (Heater, 1999). Republican political thinking emphasizes the importance of the state and citizens becoming a community in the form of a group of people. In one of Neven Leddy's writings related to republicanism, Wollstonecraft saw that the civil republican tradition contained in ancient history became an important foundation for women's education today. For her, classical education is a way to introduce women to the values contained in republicanism, political ethics and virtues needed in socio-political life (Leddy et al., nd) . In simple terms, republicanism is a concept of citizenship that emphasizes the active involvement of citizens in matters relating to the public interest. This understanding emphasizes the values of freedom, equality, justice, political participation and collective responsibility. So this understanding emphasizes 6 main principles including: common interests, active citizenship, distributed power, freedom and equality, social justice which are packaged and delivered through civic education.

Republicanism has a major role in the formation of political systems, especially in the formation of government systems in modern democratic countries. Although there are various interpretations related to this ideology, active participation of citizens, social justice, freedom and responsibility are the focus of the application of republicanism. Republicanism is an ideology rooted in the transmission of civil republicanism in the 18th century through moral philosophy and political history. Wallstone argues that teaching citizenship is limited to the male gender who is educated through liberal arts to face the civil republican tradition through the study of history related to morals and politics. In one article it is stated that republican citizenship emphasizes civil bonds rather than individual bonds that are usually found in liberal or communitarian schools of thought (Prabowo & Syahuri, 2022) . This Republican school of thought argues that the ideal form of a state is based on two supports, namely public virtue, namely the willingness of citizens to place public interests above personal interests and a republican government because this is an essential right. Republican citizenship emphasizes the importance of the concept of rule of law and civic virtue. This is based on the fact that public affairs are at least not for the sole purpose of convenience but also to prevent deviations. In addition, the public who are passionate about public virtue must be bound by legal order.

As also expressed by (Carabain et al., 2012) Citing the opinion of Carabain (2012) regarding the Republican theory, the central focus in this theory is on the obligations that citizens have towards their society (Tuasikal & Saleky, nd) . Citizens are involved in policy making or at least show a commitment to public affairs. This indicates that the legal status of citizens will be closely related to the ownership of privileges that contain rights and obligations towards the public interest, republican citizenship requires a commitment to the common good and active participation in public affairs. In other words, individual freedom is guaranteed by state law where citizenship from a republican perspective has ethical and legal dimensions (Samsuri, 2021) . One of the citizenship experts, *Joel Westheimer*, put forward a comparison of the conception of citizenship education between liberal citizenship education, diverse citizenship education, critical citizenship education and republican citizenship education which is seen from 6 aspects, namely human nature, nature of society, perception of knowledge, perception of attitudes and the role of education (Dahliyana, 2020). Based on the table put forward by *Joel Westheimer*, it can be ascertained that Indonesia is at the level of republican citizenship education. This is because the Citizenship Education policy is related to the state which aims for students to have authentic feelings towards the nation and state. As regulated in the explanation of Article 37 of the National Education System Law, namely Law Number 20 of 2003 and Law Number 12 of 2012, and Article 9 of Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense which emphasizes that Citizenship Education must be able to foster feelings of nationalism and patriotism and as one form of national defense that can be carried out by civilians. The moral meaning of the function of Civic Education, which refers to the cultural idea of "being a good citizen", has two meanings. First, there is an expectation that individuals can obey the law and fulfill the legal obligations required by being a citizen.

### D. Concept of Dual Citizenship

The concept of citizenship is often assumed as a single bilateral relationship between individuals and the state that has been ingrained for a long time. Dual citizenship is a term that is so broadly manifested, Dual or parallel citizenship is a condition where an individual has citizenship status simultaneously from two different countries. Dual citizenship also describes a condition where there is a relationship between membership of a country and membership of civil society (Heater, 1999). Dual citizenship arises from the mobility of individuals who have the need to know various identities legally (Arief, 2020) . Dual citizenship which is interpreted as citizenship status at two levels is a consequence of the existing constitutional pattern. The issue of dual citizenship has long invited the emergence of legal and political issues in the state system. Granting citizenship to foreigners can be used as a sign of honor. The status of alternate citizenship is also often obtained through the award based on the *ius sanguinis* and *ius soly*

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systems or also through the naturalization process while still maintaining the original citizenship. Affirmation of the political reality and usefulness of dual citizenship should not make us complacent about the practical difficulties that will occur later. Dual citizenship is said to be a legal inconvenience because it breaks down the provisions of statehood between countries which may be contradictory to each other, causing legal uncertainty for both the individual and the countries concerned (Heater, 1999).

In one of Korfali's writings entitled "*Debating Dual Citizenship*", Korfali sees dual citizenship as a powerful means to facilitate and encourage migrant integration, especially in the field of economic participation. Proponents of dual citizenship see effective economic participation as coming from citizenship so that integration must be achieved before obtaining citizenship (Karci & Sert, 2019). In terms of economic participation, citizenship is a requirement for migrants who plan to stay for a long period of time. Korfali gave the example of Turkey as one of the countries. In Turkey itself, the head of the directorate general of population and citizenship stated that as long as a migrant has been integrated in Turkey and has dual citizenship in the country of origin, it will not be a problem for the Turkish government. They consider immigrants who are asked to give up one of their citizenships, especially their original citizenship, to be an old political practice that should be abandoned. Looking from the perspective of other countries, one of which is Germany, before reaching an agreement on the policy related to dual citizenship, there was certainly turmoil that resulted in several improvements and changes to the constitution. In 1981, dual citizenship was allowed on condition that a report or notification was made to the German government regarding their original citizenship. Then in 2000, people who naturalized citizenship in Germany were not allowed to have other citizenship and were designated as illegal citizens (Kadirbeyoglu et al., nd).

In Indonesia itself, dual citizenship conditions are found in children born to parents of different citizenships. This is a legal weakness for the Indonesian government because it does not automatically provide citizenship status for those who have mixed marriages. Thus, it results in differences in citizenship that have an impact on the jurisdiction of children (Program et al., 2020). Thus, we can see that dual citizenship has legal regulations that regulate it in every state system in each country. Countries that allow and prohibit the practice of dual citizenship also have their own considerations based on the conditions of society and the state in each country.

## IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation of several topics related to the concept of citizenship above, it can be concluded that the concept of citizenship is an important thing in the study of political science and will continue to develop along with world developments. Derek Heater in his work entitled "What is Citizenship" explains two concepts of citizenship that are commonly known to the public, namely liberal and republican ideologies plus 1 concept related to dual citizenship. Liberal ideology simply emphasizes individual rights and their relationship with the state as a service provider, while republican ideology emphasizes more on the role of the state and the social obligations of its citizens in the political community. Differences in the concept of citizenship that are adopted affect views on the relationship between individuals and the state as well as political and social rights including state ideals that are considered ideal. The study of citizenship brought by Derek Heater has relevance to contemporary issues such as dual citizenship or parallel citizenship. Citizenship status in each ideology of citizenship needs to be understood in depth because it will affect the sustainability of state life for both the individual and the country concerned.

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