

## Citizenship, Identity and Social History

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With appropriate lags for rethinking, research, writing and publication, international events impinge strongly on the work of social scientists and social historians. The recent popularity of democratization, globalization, international institutions, ethnicity, nationalism, citizenship and identity as research themes stems largely from world affairs: civilianization of major authoritarian regimes in Latin America; dismantling of apartheid in South Africa; collapse of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact and Yugoslavia; ethnic struggles and nationalist claims in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa; extension of the European Union; rise of East Asian economic powers. Just as African decolonization spurred an enormous literature on modernization and political development, the explosion of claims to political independence on the basis of ethnic distinctness is fomenting a new literature on nationalism.

In the face of bewildering changes, social scientists and social historians look into the past for precedents, parallels, contrasts, causal insights and origins of today's processes. They share with journalists a desire to speak wisely about issues that concern the public. They differ from journalists, on the average, in being more self-revelatory about methods and evidence, integrating their investigations more carefully with previous work on the subject, considering (and combating) contrary interpretations very seriously, and therefore taking much longer to disseminate their results. If the articles in this volume necessarily fall behind today's headlines, at their best they help us anticipate tomorrow's. This introduction aims to provide serviceable synopses of the theoretical problems that motivate our papers, vivid vignettes of essential concepts and irresistible incitement to read the papers themselves.

What is the problem? Even before Eastern Europe broke into a new round of identity-based claim-making entailing new conceptions of citizenship, Western Europe had encountered important challenges to previous understandings of identity and citizenship. From the 1960s onward, many interpreters and advocates (the distinction blurred) of so-called new social movements concerning peace, environment, gender and related issues had portrayed them as turning away from power politics toward assertions of identity.<sup>1</sup> The rights and obligations of

<sup>1</sup> For examples, syntheses and critiques, see Robert D. Benford and Scott A. Hunt, "Dramaturgy and Social Movements: The Social Construction and Communication of Power", *Sociological Inquiry*, 62 (1992), pp. 35–55; Carl Boggs, *Social Movements and Political Power. Emerging Forms of Radicalism in the West* (Philadelphia, 1986); Tom Brass, "Moral Economists, Subalterns, New Social Movements, and the (Re-) Emergence of a (Post-)Modernized (Middle) Peasant", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 18 (1991), pp. 173–

citizenship had aroused new debate as politicians in France, Germany and elsewhere pressed for curtailment of immigration, and as the European Union negotiated protections for expatriates within its precincts. These political currents crossed with a postmodern sensibility featuring (1) skepticism concerning the possibility of verifiable social knowledge, (2) challenge to all assertions of systematic, cumulative social change, and (3) stress on individual consciousness, mediated by language, as the inescapable ultimate social reality.

Faced with changes, doubts and confusions, analysts of political processes have had three choices: join the postmodern juggernaut, combat it with determination, or seek a new synthesis taking into account postmodern challenges to old ideas. Although its authors generally resist postmodern epistemological blandishments, this volume reports work along the third line, work reexamining citizenship and identity in the light of changing conceptions of social history. The papers to follow ask a series of questions:

- 1 What is citizenship? Where did it come from? How does it vary and change?
- 2 What has citizenship to do with the identities people deploy in everyday life, including class, race, ethnicity, gender and other identities?
- 3 How did the strong forms of citizenship we know today come into being?

205; Craig Calhoun, "'New Social Movements' of the Early Nineteenth Century", *Social Science History*, 17 (1993), pp. 385–428; François Chazel (ed.), *Action collective et mouvements sociaux* (Paris, 1993); Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1992); Gita Deneckere, "Norm en deviantie. Een bijdrage over diagnoses van collectieve populaire actie in de Nieuwste Geschiedenis", *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, 16 (1990), pp. 105–127; Jan Willem Duyvendak, Hein-Anton van der Heijden, Ruud Koopmans and Luuk Wijnmans (eds), *Tussen Verbeelding en Macht. 25 jaar nieuwe sociale bewegingen in Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1992); Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Social Movements. A Cognitive Approach* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1991); Marco Giugni and Hanspeter Kriesi, "Nouveaux mouvements sociaux dans les années '80: Evolution et perspectives", *Annuaire suisse de science politique*, 30 (1990), pp. 79–100; Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, "Etat et nouveaux mouvements sociaux, comparaison de deux cas contrastés: la France et la Suisse", *Revue Suisse de Sociologie*, 19 (1993), pp. 545–570; Alberto Melucci, *Nomads of the Present. Social Movements and Individual Need in Contemporary Society* (Philadelphia, 1989) and "Liberation or Meaning? Social Movements, Culture and Democracy", *Development and Change*, 23 (1992), pp. 43–77; Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (eds), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* (New Haven, 1992); Thomas Ohlemacher, *Brücken der Mobilisierung. Soziale Relais und persönliche Netzwerke in Bürgerinitiativen gegen militärischen Tiefflug* (Wiesbaden, 1993); Dieter Rucht (ed.), *Research on Social Movements: The State of the Art in Western Europe and the USA* (Frankfurt and Boulder, 1991); Alain Touraine, "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements", *Social Research*, 52 (1995), pp. 749–788 and "La Crise de l'Etat-Nation", *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée*, 1 (1995), pp. 341–350; E.A. Zdravom'islova, *Paradigm'i Zapadnoi Sociologii obščestven'ich dviženii* (St Petersburg, 1993).

Repeatedly we return to T.H. Marshall's influential formulation of half a century ago, which postulated a progression from civic to political to social citizenship, the latter presumably culminating in the full welfare state.<sup>2</sup> Through no coincidence, Marshall's thesis has attracted renewed attention as throughout the West financially-pressed states have started to restrict, dismantle, or divest entitlements to welfare, health care and unemployment compensation long thought to be ineradicable perquisites of citizenship in Western countries, both capitalist and socialist. Reaction to those changes has driven social historians back to reexamining the experience that Marshall was interpreting, to see where he went wrong, to identify the origins of citizens' entitlements and to reflect on the future of citizenship. In this volume, then, social history responds both to the postmodern challenge and to the reconsideration of T.H. Marshall.

Social history gives us the means to think through how, why, and with what effects citizenship formed, and more generally how struggles over identity have occurred in the past. How so? Social history specializes in the intersection of large processes with small-scale social life; given such a preoccupation, its practitioners necessarily pay attention to changing identities and their political contexts.<sup>3</sup> True, as critics of social history

<sup>2</sup> T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (Cambridge, 1950). For explications, critiques, and extensions of Marshall, see J.M. Barbalet, *Citizenship* (Minneapolis, 1988); Margaret R. Somers, "Citizenship and the Place of the Public Sphere: Law, Community, and Political Culture in the Transition to Democracy", *American Sociological Review*, 58 (1993), pp. 587–620; Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship. Migrants and Post-national Membership in Europe* (Chicago, 1994); and Bryan S. Turner (ed.), *Citizenship and Social Theory* (Newbury Park, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> For the continued vigor of social history and closely-related enterprises in historical sociology, see Joseba Agirreazkuenaga and Mikel Urquijo (eds), *Storia Locale e Microstoria: Due Visioni in Confronto* (Bilbao, 1993); Lenard R. Berlanstein (ed.), *Rethinking Labor History* (Urbana, 1993); Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca, 1992) and *The Art of Conversation* (Ithaca, 1993); Julián Casanova, *La Historia Social y los Historiadores* (Barcelona, 1991); Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore, 1986); Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni, "The Name and the Game: Unequal Exchange and the Historiographic Marketplace", in Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (eds), *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore, 1991); Don Kalb, "Frameworks of Culture and Class in Historical Research", *Theory and Society*, 22 (1993), pp. 513–537; Christopher Lloyd, *The Structures of History* (Oxford, 1993); Erik Monkkonen, "Lessons of Social Science History", *Social Science History*, 18 (1994), pp. 161–168; Ewa Morawska and Willfried Spohn, "'Cultural Pluralism' in Historical Sociology: Recent Theoretical Directions", in Diana Crane (ed.), *The Sociology of Culture. Emerging Theoretical Perspectives* (Oxford, 1994); Bryan D. Palmer, *Descent into Discourse. The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia, 1990) and "Critical Theory, Historical Materialism, and the Ostensible End of Marxism: The Poverty of Theory Revisited", *International Review of Social History*, 38 (1993), pp. 133–162; Germán Rueda Hernanz (ed.), *Doce Estudios de Historiografía Contemporánea* (Santander, 1991); Dennis Smith, *The Rise of Historical Sociology* (Philadelphia, 1991); Olivier Zunz (ed.), *Reliving the Past. The Worlds of Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1985). For more skeptical and postmodern views of the prospects for systematic knowledge of social processes, see Malcolm Ashmore, Robin Wooffitt and Stella Harding (eds), "Humans and Others. The

have often complained, social historians (myself among them) long inclined to infer interests and identities directly from the everyday organization of production and reproduction. The challenges of idealism and postmodern skepticism have led realist social historians to investigate more seriously than before the political processes that intervene between the routine formation of social relations and interests, on the one hand, and the public articulation of identities and programs, on the other.<sup>4</sup> (The move in social history has paralleled efforts in economic sociology and institutional economics to examine the embeddedness of ostensibly

Concept of 'Agency' and Its Attribution", special issue of *American Behavioral Scientist*, 37 (1994); Jonathan Boyarin, "Space, Time, and the Politics of Memory", in Jonathan Boyarin (ed.), *Remapping Memory. The Politics of TimeSpace* (Minneapolis, 1994); David William Cohen, *The Combining of History* (Chicago, 1994); Geoffrey Hawthorn, *Plausible Worlds. Possibility and Understanding in History and the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, 1991); Patrick Joyce, "The End of Social History?", *Social History*, 20 (1995), pp. 73–92, and Jacques Rancière, *Les mots de l'histoire. Essai de poétique du savoir* (Paris, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Richard Ashcraft, "Liberal Political Theory and Working-Class Radicalism in Nineteenth-Century England", *Political Theory*, 21 (1993), pp. 249–272; John Bohstedt, "The Myth of the Feminine Food Riot: Women as Proto-Citizens in English Community Politics, 1790–1810", in Harriet B. Applegate and Darline G. Levy (eds), *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution* (Ann Arbor, 1990); Claus Bjørn, Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds), *Social and Political Identities in Western History* (Copenhagen, 1994); Craig Calhoun, "The Problem of Identity in Collective Action", in Joan Huber (ed.), *Macro-Micro Linkages in Sociology* (Newbury Park, 1991) and "Nationalism and Ethnicity", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 19 (1993), pp. 211–239; Gregory Claeys, "The Origins of the Rights of Labor: Republicanism, Commerce, and the Construction of Modern Social Theory in Britain, 1796–1805", *Journal of Modern History*, 66 (1994), pp. 249–290; Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992); Harry T. Dickinson, "Popular Loyalism in Britain in the 1790s", in Hellmuth Eckhart (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture. England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (London, 1990); James Epstein, "Understanding the Cap of Liberty: Symbolic Practice and Social Conflict in Early Nineteenth-Century England", *Past and Present*, 122 (1989), pp. 75–118 and "The Constitutional Idiom: Radical Reasoning, Rhetoric and Action in Early Nineteenth Century England", *Journal of Social History*, 23 (1990), pp. 553–574; Michael P. Hanagan, "New Perspectives on Class Formation: Culture, Reproduction, and Agency", *Social Science History*, 18 (1994), pp. 77–94; Uffe Østergard, "'Denationalizing' National History. The Comparative Study of Nation-States", *Culture and History*, 9–10 (1991), pp. 9–41 and "Peasants and Danes: The Danish National Identity and Political Culture", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34 (1992), pp. 3–27; Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries. The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, 1989); William H. Sewell, Jr., "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation", *American Journal of Sociology*, 98 (1992), pp. 1–29; Margaret R. Somers, "Narrativity, Narrative Identity, and Social Action: Rethinking English Working-Class Formation", *Social Science History*, 16 (1992), pp. 591–630; Marc W. Steinberg, "The Dialogue of Struggle: The Contest over Ideological Boundaries in the Case of London Silk Weavers in the Early Nineteenth Century", *Social Science History*, 18 (1994), pp. 505–542; Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement* (Cambridge, 1994); Charles Tilly, "Social Movements as Historically Specific Clusters of Political Performances", *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 38 (1993–1994), pp. 1–30 and *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758–1834* (Cambridge, 1995); Mark Traugott, "Barricades as Repertoire: Continuities and Discontinuities in the History of French Contention", *Social Science History*, 17 (1993), pp. 309–323.

market-dictated transactions in the complexities of culture and social relations.<sup>5</sup>) From that reconsideration has emerged an increasingly relational, cultural, historical and contingent conception of public identities, including the identity of citizenship.

The emerging view is *relational* in the sense that it locates identities in connections among individuals and groups rather than in the minds of particular persons or of whole populations. It therefore breaks with both the sorts of individualism that have dominated recent analyses of social life: both (1) methodological individualism with its independent, self-contained, self-propelling rational actors and (2) phenomenological individualism with its deep subjectivity as well as its penchant for solipsism.<sup>6</sup> The emerging view is not only relational but *cultural* in insisting that social identities rest on shared understandings and their representations. It is *historical* in calling attention to the path-dependent accretion of memories, understandings and means of action within particular identities. The emerging view, finally, is *contingent* in that it regards each

<sup>5</sup> George A. Akerlof, "Gift Exchange and Efficiency Wage Theory: Four Views", *American Economic Review Proceedings*, 74 (1984), pp. 79–83; James N. Baron and Michael T. Hannan, "The Impact of Economics on Contemporary Sociology", *Journal of Economic Literature*, 32 (1994), pp. 1111–1146; Glenn R. Carroll and J. Richard Harrison, "On the Historical Efficiency of Competition between Organizational Populations", *American Journal of Sociology*, 100 (1994), pp. 720–749; Alfred Chandler, "Organizational Capabilities and the Economic History of the Industrial Enterprise", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 6 (1992), pp. 79–100; Ronald Coase, "The Institutional Structure of Production", *American Economic Review*, 82 (1992), pp. 713–719; Mark Granovetter, "The Sociological and Economic Approaches to Labor Markets", in George Farkas and Paula England (eds), *Industries, Firms, and Jobs: Sociological and Economic Approaches* (New York, 1988); Mark Granovetter and Charles Tilly, "Inequality and Labor Processes", in Neil J. Smelser (ed.), *Handbook of Sociology* (Newbury Park, 1988); Alejandro Portes (ed.), *The Economic Sociology of Immigration* (New York, 1995); Alejandro Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner, "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action", *American Journal of Sociology*, 98 (1993), pp. 1320–1350; Barbara Reskin and Patricia A. Roos, *Job Queues, Gender Queues. Explaining Women's Inroads into Male Occupations* (Philadelphia, 1990); Herbert Simon, "Organizations and Markets", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5 (1991), pp. 25–44; Chris Tilly and Charles Tilly, "Capitalist Work and Labor Markets", in Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg (eds), *Handbook of Economic Sociology* (New York and Princeton, 1994); Harrison White, "Varieties of Markets", in Barry Wellman and Steven Berkowitz (eds), *Social Structures: A Network Approach* (Cambridge, 1988); Viviana Zelizer, "The Creation of Domestic Currencies", *American Economic Review. Papers and Proceedings*, 84 (1994), pp. 138–142 and *The Social Meaning of Money* (New York, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Rajeev Bhargava, *Individualism in Social Science. Forms and Limits of a Methodology* (Oxford, 1992); Pierre Birnbaum and Jean Leca (eds), *Sur l'individualisme* (Paris, 1987); Daniel Druckman, "Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective", *Mershon International Studies Review*, 38 (1994), pp. 43–68; Seymour Feshbach, "Individual Aggression, National Attachment, and the Search for Peace: Psychological Perspectives", *Aggressive Behavior*, 13 (1987), pp. 315–325; Michael Hechter (ed.), *The Microfoundations of Macrosociology* (Philadelphia, 1983); Charles Tilly, "Softcore Solipsism", *Labour/Le Travail*, 34 (1994), pp. 259–268.

assertion of identity as a strategic interaction liable to failure or misfiring rather than as a straightforward expression of an actor's attributes. Thus scholars have come to think of citizenship as a set of mutual, contested claims between agents of states and members of socially-constructed categories: genders, races, nationalities and others.<sup>7</sup>

Without pretending to review or synthesize that large accumulating literature, let me lay out a series of concepts that follow from it before proceeding to observations about the interplay of citizenship and identity. The concepts run as follows:

*Actor*: any set of living bodies (including a single individual) to which human observers attribute coherent consciousness and intention.

<sup>7</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991); Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Oxford, 1990); Claus Bjørn, Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds), *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen, 1994); Jonathan Boyarin (ed.), *Remapping Memory. The Politics of TimeSpace* (Minneapolis, 1994); Rogers Brubaker, "East European, Soviet, and Post-Soviet Nationalisms: A Framework for Analysis", *Research on Democracy and Society*, 1 (1993), pp. 353–378 and "Rethinking Nationhood: Nation as Institutionalized Form, Practical Category, Contingent Event", *Contention*, 4 (1994), pp. 3–14; John Comaroff, "Humanity, Ethnicity, Nationality: Conceptual and Comparative Perspectives on the U.S.S.R.", *Theory and Society*, 20 (1991), pp. 661–688; Hugh Cunningham, "The Language of Patriotism", *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), pp. 8–33; Peter Guardino, "Identity and Nationalism in Mexico: Guerrero, 1780–1840", *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 7 (1994), pp. 314–342; Kemal H. Karpat, "Gli stati balcanici e il nazionalismo: l'immagine e la realtà", *Quaderni Storici*, 84 (1993), pp. 679–718; Ludger Mees, *Entre nación y clase. El nacionalismo vasco y su base social en perspectiva comparativa* (Bilbao, 1991); Gérard Noiriel, *La tyrannie du National. Le droit d'asile en Europe 1793–1993* (Paris, 1991) and "L'identification des citoyens. Naissance de l'état civil républicain", *Genèses*, 13 (1993), pp. 3–28; Ann Shola Orloff, "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States", *American Sociological Review*, 58 (1993), pp. 303–328; Pierre Rosanvallon, *L'État en France de 1789 à nos jours* (Paris, 1990); Lawrence Rosen, "The Integrity of Cultures", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 34 (1991), pp. 594–617; Marc Shell, *Children of the Earth. Literature, Politics and Nationhood* (New York, 1993); Frída Thórarinsdóttir, "National, State and Language. An Invented Unity", Working Paper 188, Center for Studies of Social Change, New School for Social Research (1994); Christian Topalov, "Patriotismes et citoyennetés", *Genèses*, 3 (1991), pp. 162–176; Dror Wahrman, "Virtual Representation: Parliamentary Reporting and Languages of Class in the 1790s", *Past and Present*, 136 (1992), pp. 83–113; Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State", *American Political Science Review*, 88 (1994), pp. 384–398. On relational analyses more generally, see Peter S. Bearman, *Relations into Rhetorics. Local Elite Social Structure in Norfolk, England, 1540–1640* (New Brunswick, 1993); Maurice Blanc (ed.), *Pour une sociologie de la transaction sociale* (Paris, 1992); Mustafa Emirbayer and Jeff Goodwin, "Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency", *American Journal of Sociology*, 99 (1994), pp. 1411–1454; Kyriakos M. Kontopoulos, *The Logics of Social Structure* (Cambridge, 1993); Margaret R. Somers, "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach", *Theory and Society*, 23 (1994), pp. 605–650; Harrison White, *Identity and Control. A Structural Theory of Social Action* (Princeton, 1992) and "Where Do Languages Come From? – Switching Talk", Working Paper 202, Center for the Social Sciences, Columbia University, 22 March 1995.

*Category*: a set of actors distinguished by a single criterion, simple or complex.

*Transaction*: a bounded communication between one actor and another.

*Tie*: a continuing series of transactions to which participants attach shared understandings, memories, forecasts, rights and obligations.

*Role*: a bundle of ties attached to a single actor.

*Network*: a more or less homogeneous set of ties among three or more actors.

*Group*: coincidence of a category and a network.

*Organization*: group in which at least one actor has the right to speak authoritatively for the whole.

*Identity*: an actor's experience of a category, tie, role, network, group or organization, coupled with a public representation of that experience; the public representation often takes the form of a shared story, a narrative.

The concept "identity" has remained blurred but indispensable in political analysis and social history for three obvious reasons: first, the phenomenon of identity is not private and individual but public and relational; second, it spans the whole range from category to organization; third, any actor deploys multiple identities, at least one per category, tie, role, network, group and organization to which the actor is attached. That others often typify and respond to an actor by singling out one of those multiple identities – race, gender, class, job, religious affiliation, national origin, or something else – by no means establishes the unity, or even the tight connectedness, of those identities. That illness or zealotry occasionally elevates one identity to overwhelming dominance of an actor's consciousness and behavior, furthermore, does not gainsay the prevalence of multiple identities among people who are neither ill nor zealots.

Proponents of phenomenological individualism have often confused themselves with respect to identities by assuming that language entraps individuals, that preexisting presumptions and categories of language provide the filters through which all social experience passes, hence that reliable knowledge of social relations is impossible. Such a view disregards the deeply interactive character of language itself, its location in constantly-negotiated conversations rather than individual minds. Indeed, language provides a medium for the establishment and renegotiation of identities, seen as an actor's experience of a category, tie, role, network, group or organization, coupled with a public representation of that experience. The narrative offered in such a public representation ordinarily stresses the interplay of social relations and individual traits: we are Xs by virtue of experiences we share with other Xs in relation to all those (very different) Ys.

In this frame, we begin to see why the word "citizenship" causes confusion. It can refer to a category, to a tie, to a role, or to an identity

built on one of them, even on several of them. As a category, citizenship designates a set of actors – citizens – distinguished by their shared privileged position *vis-à-vis* some particular state. As a tie, citizenship identifies an enforceable mutual relation between an actor and state agents. As a role, citizenship includes all of an actor's relations to others that depend on the actor's relation to a particular state. And as an identity, citizenship can refer to the experience and public representation of category, tie or role. Thus Marshall's classic treatment of citizenship identifies it as a set of rights – that is, a special tie with enforcement built in – relating a state to a whole category of persons. Despite citing Marshall directly, Seymour Martin Lipset counters with a categorical definition of citizenship, those people who are included in a given state's circle of full political participation.<sup>8</sup> True to his usual brilliant ambivalence when confronted with the choice of individualistic and relational analyses, Stein Rokkan balances uneasily between the two views.<sup>9</sup> No standard definition of citizenship has yet gained scholarly consensus.

Today's dissensus gives us no reason to abandon the search for a useful definition. For theoretical and historical clarity, we should confine the definition of citizenship to a certain kind of tie: *a continuing series of transactions between persons and agents of a given state in which each has enforceable rights and obligations uniquely by virtue of (1) the person's membership in an exclusive category, the native-born plus the naturalized and (2) the agent's relation to the state rather than any other authority the agent may enjoy.* Citizenship thus forms a special sort of contract. The definition is, of course, ideal-typical, abstracting from particular ties connecting this citizen with that agent. We might recast it in the form “A tie qualifies as citizenship *in so far* as it entails enforceable rights and obligations based on persons' categorical membership and agents' relation to the state.” Citizenship can then range from thin to thick: *thin* where it entails few transactions, rights and obligations; *thick* where it occupies a significant share of all transactions, rights and obligations sustained by state agents and people living under their jurisdiction.

Such a definition allows for multiple categories and forms of citizenship within the jurisdiction of the same state, as in the “active” and “passive” citizens the French revolutionary regime distinguished until 1792 or the intricate hierarchy of citizenships the Venetian state established during its years of imperial glory.<sup>10</sup> Such a definition also permits us to trace

<sup>8</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics* (Garden City, 1960), pp. 55, 84–85, 92–93.

<sup>9</sup> Stein Rokkan, *Citizens, Elections, Parties. Approaches to the Comparative Study of Processes of Development* (Oslo, 1970), pp. 27–28. See Charles Tilly, “Stein Rokkan et les Identités Politiques”, *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée*, 2 (1995), pp. 27–45.

<sup>10</sup> Isser Woloch, *The New Regime. Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1820s* (New York, 1994); Frederic C. Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973);

the effects of citizenship on categories, roles and identities without conflating them. While acknowledging its connection to categories, roles and identities, we should recognize citizenship as a kind of tie because such a conceptualization centers attention on state practices and state-citizen interactions. That attention helps us see how struggle and bargaining between expanding states and their subjects created citizenship where it had not previously existed.

People generally build organizations by reshaping and piecing together chunks of existing social structure rather than inventing whole new forms; new configurations entail substantial transaction costs for their creation, implementation, articulation and learning, so simple parsimony gives the advantage to known relations and understandings. In the case of states and their citizenship, gender provides the most pervasive example: the tying of citizenship to military service and presumed economic independence built the system of male-female relations that already prevailed in households, shops and communities directly into the state's own organization. It took more than a century for feminists to mobilize effectively on behalf of redefinitions breaking the sturdily-constructed gender barrier.

States often use other previously-existing ties than gender as bases for forming ties of citizenship or as grounds for exclusion from citizenship. Imputed ethnicity and nationality provide important cases in point. Both ethnic groups and nationalities consist of social categories defined (and distinguished from other social categories) by beliefs concerning shared origins, culture and social relations. Following the old joke "a language is a dialect that has its own army", a nationality is an ethnicity bearing a favored relation to a particular state. Rogers Brubaker has popularized the venerable distinction between *jus sanguinis* and *jus solis*, between a principle of descent and a principle of residence, pointing out how the nineteenth-century German state-in-the-making emphasized nationality, descent from certifiable Germans (defined by language and culture) as qualification for citizenship, while the French state remained much more open to the naturalization of residents who had planted themselves sufficiently in French cultural soil.<sup>11</sup>

M.E. Mallett and J.R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice, c. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge, 1984); Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford, 1971).

<sup>11</sup> Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, 1992). On immigration, ethnicity and citizenship in France, the United States and elsewhere, see John Bodnar, *The Transplanted. A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, 1985); Raymond Breton, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach and Jeffrey G. Reitz, *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City* (Toronto, 1990); Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York, 1993); Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (eds), *Labor Immigration under Capitalism. Asian Workers in the United States before World War II* (Berkeley, 1984); Stanley Lieberson and Mary C. Waters, *From*

State conceptions of the relationship between ethnicity or nationality and citizenship vary along two dimensions: 1) from exclusive to inclusive definitions of ties to relevant ethnicities and nationalities, and 2) from primordial to learned conceptions of those ties. We might schematize the variation in this way:

	EXCLUSIVE	INCLUSIVE
PRIMORDIAL	Israel	Ottoman empire
LEARNED	France	USA

Israel gives priority, if not absolute exclusivity, to ties of mutual recognition with other Jews, which it regards as ancient and almost immutable. France allows all sorts of people to become French, but imposes a well-defined standard of Frenchness. While giving priority to Muslims, especially Muslim Turks, the Ottoman empire tolerated a wide variety of identities, never insisting (like its Turkish successor state) that all citizens conform to a single cultural model; nevertheless, it assumed for the most part that it was dealing with durable identities rooted in custom and history. Within the space defined by primordial-learned and exclusive-inclusive, contemporary states vary considerably in their criteria for citizenship.

But more than gender, descent and residence enters qualifications for citizenship. Until 1865, the United States effectively denied citizenship to slaves on the basis of their relationship to putative owners. Since the 1920s, the same United States has strongly emphasized kinship to existing residents as a basis for legal admission of immigrants to residence and work in the country, and therefore eventually to citizenship. During the twentieth century, however, all states have given great weight to a potential citizen's ties with firms and labor markets, greatly favoring immigrants and citizens who already occupied positions in economic organizations based within the receiving state and/or whose connections promised high wages and valuable skills. In addition to kinship, descent,

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