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Politics of citizenship: Towards an analytical framework

Kristian Stokke

Kristian Stokke, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, P.O. Box 1096, Blindern, NO-0317 Oslo, Norway

ABSTRACT

In the theory-oriented article, the author discusses the meaning of politics of citizenship. He argues that a broad conception of citizenship may provide an integral framework for studying political contentions over cultural, legal, social and political exclusion and inclusion. He starts out from an identification of four key dimensions of citizenship and defines politics of citizenship as contentious interactions over the institutionalisation and realisation of substantive membership, legal status, rights and participation. This is followed by a review of cultural and global turns within the liberal nation-state model of citizenship, demonstrating that the form and substance of citizenship reflect contextual power relations and political contentions. Following from this observation, he discusses the issues at stake in citizenship politics, with special attention to three interrelated dimensions: politics of recognition for cultural inclusion, politics of redistribution for social justice, and politics of representation for political inclusion. This discussion points to fundamental tensions and strategic dilemmas, but also to points of convergence around affirmative and transformative remedies for injustice.



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Introduction

This is a theory-oriented article, in which I discuss the meaning of *politics of citizenship*. I argue that a broad conceptualisation of citizenship may provide an integral framework for studying political contentions over cultural, legal, social and political exclusion and inclusion. While recent decades have seen increased scholarly attention to social movements, the movements have often been examined through single movement case studies with a tendency to see recognition, redistribution and representation as separate and even opposed claims (Isin & Turner 2002; Tilly & Tarrow 2007; Fraser 2009). In this article, I argue that a broad notion of citizenship offers a conceptual basis for examining such struggles in a more integrative manner as politics of citizenship.

This agenda requires close attention to the meaning of citizenship. It can be observed that citizenship has gained increased political and scholarly interest, but also that the meaning of citizenship has been broadened and has become increasingly complex (Isin & Turner 2002; van der Heijden 2014). Vanderberg (2000) describes citizenship as an ‘essentially contested concept’ in the sense that

it contains a variety of disputed meanings, with no agreed-upon ways of settling these disagreements. The conventional understanding holds that citizenship is a legal status granted by a nation-state – commonly known as *statsborgerskap* in Norwegian (Brochmann 2002). By contrast, social science studies of citizenship have increasingly focused on questions of cultural, social and political citizenship – collectively captured by the Norwegian term *medborgerskap*. The notion of citizenship is also used in an even more comprehensive manner to refer to legal citizenship as well as cultural, social and political citizenship, which Brochmann (2002) describes as *samfunnsborgerskap*.

Responding to this contested nature of the concept of citizenship, the first section of this article identifies four key *dimensions of citizenship* – membership, legal status, rights, and participation – and provides a brief outline of the core meaning of each dimension. The four dimensions come together in general models of citizenship, which is most clearly demonstrated by the hegemonic liberal nation-state model of citizenship (Schuck 2002). However, it can also be observed that this model has

undergone structural changes. The second section thus highlights a twofold shift in citizenship and citizenship studies: a *cultural turn* that has brought increased attention to cultural differences and group-differentiated rights within the liberal citizenship model; and a *global turn* that has problematised the spatiality of the nation-state model and envisioned post-national, denationalised and transnational forms of citizenship.

These transformations demonstrate that citizenship is never a fixed model, but is always contextual and political: the form and substance of citizenship are outcomes of competing interests, strategies and capacities within diverse political spaces. Membership, legal status, rights and participation are general stakes in politics of citizenship, while their institutionalised forms are also political spaces with strategic selectivity towards different agendas, actors and strategies (Jessop 2008).

Accordingly, the third section discusses the meaning of politics of citizenship with special attention to three of the dimensions of citizenship: *politics of recognition* (the membership dimension of citizenship), *politics of redistribution* (citizenship as social rights) and *politics of representation* (citizenship as political participation). All three dimensions can be understood as struggles for realisation of substantive citizenship. This means that citizenship is 'a prism through which to address the political' (Nyers 2008, 3). The focus in the present article is on the issues that are at stake rather than the actors and their strategies and political spaces. There is a very rich literature on contextual contentious politics in democratic, semi-democratic and non-democratic political systems, but in this article I do not discuss the actors and dynamics of contention, due to space constraints (Stokke & Törnquist 2013).

Dimensions of citizenship

Although citizenship can be seen as an essentially contested concept and various authors provide different classifications of its core components, I argue, in this article, that there is a certain degree of convergence around the key elements. The common understanding is that citizenship is about membership in a community that is the basis for formal status as citizen with rights and active citizenship associated with that status (Delanty 2000; Faulks 2000; Joppke 2008). I thus propose that modern citizenship can be understood as four interconnected dimensions: *membership*, *legal status*, *rights*, and *participation* (Fig. 1). Whereas membership and legal status are about cultural and juridical inclusion in communities of citizens, both rights and participation are about the entitlements and responsibilities that follow from such inclusion.

All four dimensions are core components of citizenship, but their relative weight varies between different approaches. This is most clearly demonstrated by the emphasis on individual rights within the liberal approach, the focus on political participation in the civic republican approach, and the primacy of communal belonging and participation in the communitarian approach to citizenship (Dagger 2002; Shuck 2002). The four-dimensional scheme proposed here is an attempt to outline an open-ended integral framework for studying politics of citizenship without being wedded to any of these particular perspectives.

The following sections provide brief descriptions of each dimension as a basis for discussing contemporary transformations of citizenship and the politics of citizenship in subsequent sections. The order of this presentation follows what may be seen as a conventional logic, from membership through legal status and rights to participation. This is a pragmatic matter of convenience and does not reflect or promote any evolutionary view on citizenship. On the contrary, I argue that the four dimensions are mutually constitutive and represent different entry points and potential priorities in citizenship politics, rather than a fixed sequence or chain of causality.

Citizenship as membership

The *membership* dimension highlights that citizenship is based on a distinction between insiders and outsiders in a community, but the meaning of community and the criteria for inclusion vary over time and space. While the original Greek model of citizenship was based on membership and participation by elites at the city scale, the Roman model granted legal rights without political participation to conquered populations to maintain control throughout the imperial territory (Magnet 2005). The modern meaning of citizenship rests on membership within a nation that is assumed to be bounded, homogenous and stable (Brubaker 1992; Beckman & Erman 2012). Heater (1999) observes that citizenship and nationality have merged during the past 200 years (i.e. since the end of the French Revolution in 1799).

This merging of citizenship and nationhood means that the nation has become a universal basis for defining the political community of citizens, but the national community may be constructed in different ways. A basic distinction is often made between ethnocultural and juridical-political constructions of nationhood, namely national communities built around either a cultural essence or a territorial state formation. France and Germany have often been used as ideal typical

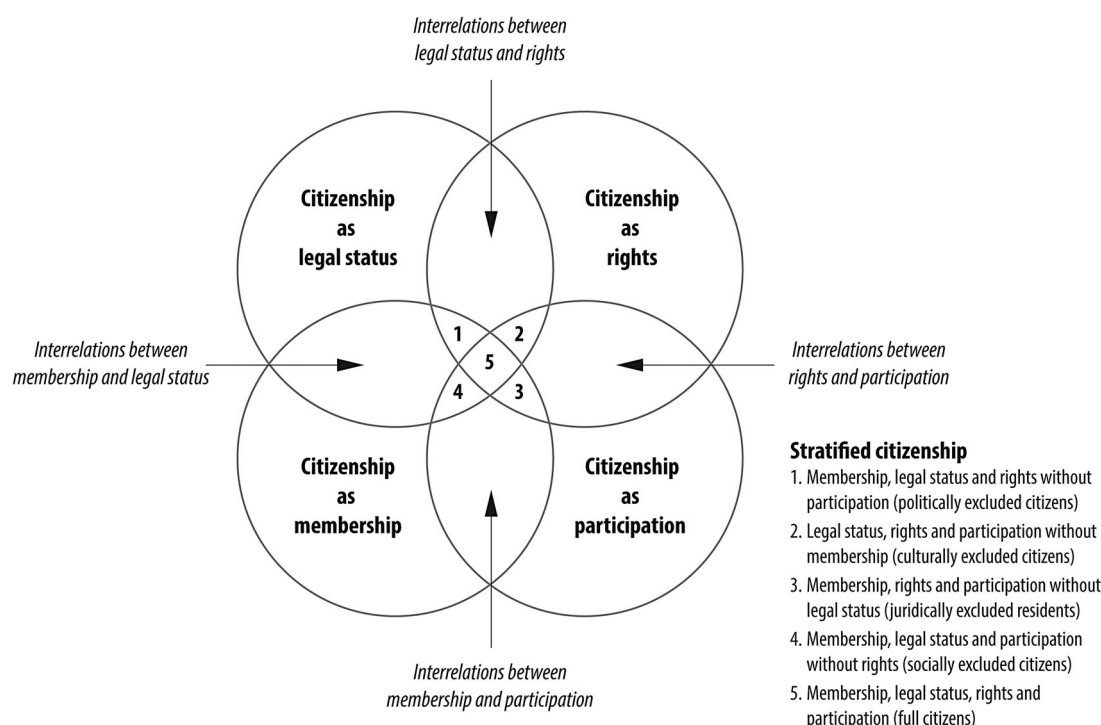


Fig. 1. Dimensions and stratification of citizenship

examples of these two models. Whereas French nationhood revolves around people living under common law and the same legislative assembly within the territorial state, German nationhood has been based on a notion of ethnic community with strong ties to a historical homeland (Brubaker 1992). The nation-state model of citizenship accommodates such contextual variations in the construction of nationhood. However, it is challenged more fundamentally by cultural diversity and identity politics within presumably homogenous nations. Citizenship and citizenship studies have been characterized by the increased importance of denationalised, transnational and post-national constructions of membership.

Citizenship as legal status

Based on membership of a national community, states ascribe citizenship as a *legal status*, which means that there is a contractual relation between an individual and the state that carries with it both rights and responsibilities. Heater (1999) notes that international law recognises the right of sovereign states to define who may be permitted to become citizens. Stemming from the distinction between ethnocultural and juridical-political constructions of national communities, citizenship is acquired on the basis of the citizenship of parents (*jus sanguinis*) or on the basis of being born within the territory of a state (*jus soli*). In addition to these core

principles, citizenship can, under certain circumstances, also be acquired by marrying a citizen (*jus matrimonii*) or through residence for a given period (*jus domicili*).

While these ideal typical principles may appear simple, the practical reality of citizenship acquisition is not simple. Most real world citizenship models are complex combinations that 'lay somewhere in between the poles of territory and blood' (Samers 2010, 245). Such hybrid systems of legal citizenship have become more prominent in the context of increased international migration. This actualises naturalisation on the basis of length of residence and acceptance of dual citizenship. However, the counterargument can also be made that the current period of international migration is actually characterised by the reassertion of ethnic notions of nationhood. Shachar (2009) thus describes citizenship as a birthright lottery in the sense that citizenship is a property that is transferred intergenerationally at birth (based on blood or place of birth), and creates a separation between winners who are born into wealth, rights and participatory opportunities, and those who are excluded from the citizenry of wealthy states. This leads to her proposal for an alternative principle for citizenship, *jus nexi*, whereby acquisition of citizenship is based on a genuine connection to a country – the social fact of membership.

This proposal for *jus nexi* is especially relevant for people who are in situations between non-citizens and full citizens, such as non-citizen residents whose

initial entry breached the law of the admitting state. Heater (1999) more generally observes that there are hierarchies of citizenship, stratified according to the rights and possibilities for political participation that are granted to different groups of citizens and residents. This notion of stratified citizenship adds more layers to the already complex principles and laws for formal citizenship. The prevalence of hybrid and stratified citizenship also blurs the idealised image of a binary distinction between citizens and non-citizens and of equality among citizens. Complexity in the principles for *becoming* a citizen is thus mirrored in diverse and stratified experiences of *being* a citizen (Castles & Davidson 2000).

Citizenship as rights

The third component of citizenship is the set of *rights* that are associated with membership and formal citizenship status. Individual civil liberties are the defining feature of citizenship according to the liberal approach (Isin & Turner 2002), but rights also come in other forms (Roche 2002; Schuck 2002). The common categorisation pioneered by Marshall (1992) revolves around a three-fold typology of civil, political and social rights. *Civil rights* are rights that protect individual security and privacy; rights to access justice and legal representation; rights to enter into contracts and ownership of private property; and, rights to freedom of conscience and choice, including, for example, free speech and press, and freedom of religion. *Political rights* are rights to participate in the public arena and political process, including, for example, rights to vote and stand for office, form political organisations and parties, and express opposition and to protest. *Social rights* include enabling welfare rights, such as health care and pensions; opportunity rights, especially in education and the labour market; and redistributive and compensation rights, such as low income, unemployment and work injury compensation (Janoski & Gran 2002).

The above-mentioned catalogue of rights is not fixed but can be both broadened and deepened. In recent years, attention has been paid to, for example, environmental citizenship, which concerns questions about rights to environmental qualities and protection against degradation, and questions about nature as a rights-bearing subject (M.J. Smith & Pangsapa 2008). There are also critical questions about the mutuality and tensions between different kinds of rights, especially between individual civil and political freedoms based on principles of universality and equality, and social and cultural group rights that aim at addressing inequalities between social groups.

Another set of questions concerns the dynamics and development of citizenship. Marshall (1992) has been criticised for presenting an evolutionary interpretation of the history of rights, and for portraying the historical development of citizenship in the UK as a universal model for expansion of rights. Some critics have pointed to examples of other sequences of rights and that social rights have at times emerged before rather than after political rights (Soysal 1994). Examples include welfare concessions under authoritarian rule (e.g. Germany in the late 19th century) and the granting of limited social rights to immigrants despite their lack of citizenship status. Marshall's (1992) evolutionary view has also been challenged by the rolling back of welfare rights under neoliberal governance in recent years.

Additionally, critics have accused Marshall (1950; 1992) for paying insufficient attention to the role of politics and struggles for citizenship. For example, Turner (1986) argues that the modern history of citizenship should 'be conceived as a series of expanding circles which are pushed forward by the momentum of conflict and struggle' (Turner 1986, xii). Giddens (1987) similarly emphasises class conflict as a driving force behind the expansion of citizenship (see also Barbalet 1988 for the same general critique). David Held supports this focus on political struggles and argues that 'the very meaning of particular rights cannot be adequately understood if the range of concerns and pressures which have given rise to them is not properly grasped' (D. Held 1989, 200). However, he is critical of the tendency to limit the analysis of citizenship politics to class conflict, arguing that this mode of analysis fails to grasp the role and strategies of diverse groups, classes and movements. The key lesson from this debate on social rights is thus about the need for close attention to the politics of rights and the diversity of actors and agendas involved. This holds true for struggles over civil and political rights in the context of authoritarian rule, as well as struggles for social rights in the context of liberal democracy.

Citizenship as participation

Citizenship involves responsibilities, for example in the form of obligatory taxes or military service. Communitarian perspectives especially emphasise *participation* at the community level, and that active citizenship has an integrative function in the sense that it draws people out of the private sphere and into public life. To be a 'good citizen' is thus 'to be a self-governing member of a self-governing community' (Dagger 2002, 149). There is also a growing body of literature that broadens the meaning of community and participation, for example

by focusing on environmental responsibilities and feminist ethics of care (Dobson & Bell 2006; V. Held 2006; M.J. Smith & Pangsapa 2008; MacGregor 2014). This emphasis on active citizenship means that the process of becoming a citizen is conceived not merely as a question of identity, legal status and rights (Joppke 2008), but also as a matter of active participation within communities of citizens.

Beyond community responsibilities, the foremost meaning of citizen participation is involvement in governance of public affairs (van der Heijden 2014). Such political responsibilities are a prominent theme within the civic republican approach to citizenship (Dagger 2002). Citizenship thus has an intrinsic link to democratic politics and theory, with a long-standing distinction between direct participation and indirect representation as means for ensuring political control by citizens. Whereas the participatory model highlights people's direct involvement in decision-making and monitoring of public affairs, mediated representation is based on the notion of a democratic chain extending from rights-bearing citizens, through elected representatives, to democratic governance of public affairs (Pateman 1970; Saward 2010). The original exemplar of citizenship in Athens involved extensive participation, but was limited to members of the elites who could devote time to the duties of citizenship (Pocock 1998; Magnette 2005). Such polity-wide assembly of citizens in deliberative democracy vanished with the rise of modern states, and political citizenship instead came to rely on some form of mediated representation. Thus, liberal democracy within territorial states has become the hegemonic framing of political citizenship, but there is much contextual diversity in the form of citizens' involvement, and in the substance of popular political control (Harriss et al. 2004; Törnquist et al. 2009).

Recent decades have also seen renewed attention paid to direct democratic participation, especially at the local scale. On the one hand, *participation in governance* has become part of mainstream theory and practice in development interventions in the Global South, but also within neoliberal governance in general (Cooke & Kothari 2001; Hickey & Mohan 2004; Cornwall 2011; Gaventa & McGee 2013). On the other hand, participation has received new attention through experiments in *participatory local democracy*, of which the most prominent example is the institutionalisation of participatory budgeting at the city and municipal scales in Brazil (Abers 2000; Fung & Wright 2003; Baiocchi 2005; Baiocchi et al. 2011). This participatory turn has yielded rich scholarship and debates at the intersection between citizenship, democracy,

development and planning studies, paying special attention to the character of participatory spaces and to the capacities and strategies of individuals and groups of citizens to use and transform such spaces (van der Heijden 2014).

In her examination of the character of local political spaces, Cornwall (2004) makes a critical distinction between participatory spaces that are *claimed* by popular movements and spaces in which targeted groups are *invited* to participate on terms that are defined from outside and above (see also Holston 2009, who makes the same argument regarding participation by invitation). The notion of claimed spaces recognises the agency of citizens as makers and shapers rather than as mere users and choosers, and hence portrays participation as means for transformation and emancipation. This notion of participation as a means of transformation is in contrast to Chatterjee's (2004) analysis of how subject populations in India are placed in a relationship to the state as subjects of governmentality. The subjects are invited to participate on terms set by the state rather than being sovereign citizens who exert political control through democratic participation (Millstein & Jordhus-Lier 2012; Agarwala 2013).

The comments presented above imply that while participation has gained new prominence, the manner in which it is conceived and constructed has important implications for the substance of political citizenship. This supports the argument that citizens are stratified, not only in terms of their membership, legal status and rights, but also through their differentiated possibilities and capacities for political participation. Janoski & Gran (2002) argue that such stratification is reflected in citizens' self-conception and propose three ideal types of citizens on the basis on their political practices: participant, non-participant, and opportunistic. *Participant citizens* are either incorporated from above as supporters of the political elite or are active participants in mobilisation for political integration from below. *Non-participant citizens* may be deferential citizens who accept political authorities and programmes without providing active support, cynical citizens who are inactive and justify this with the impossibility of achieving political results, or marginal citizens who are alienated from the political system through exclusion or lack of required resources. *Opportunistic citizens* prioritise their own interests and only participate politically if their participation will directly affect their interests. Thus, participation is a key dimension of citizenship, but also demonstrates the need to pay close analytical attention to complex and contextual interrelations between political spaces and the actors' political capacities and strategies.

Mutuality between membership, legal status, rights, and participation

The four core dimensions of citizenship are inextricably interwoven. The fact that membership of a national community is a basis for legal status, which in turn has a structuring effect on citizenship rights and participation, seems to imply an element of sequencing, but I argue that the interrelations between the four dimensions are more complex and more multidirectional than this. For example, active citizenship has decisive influence on the discursive construction of cultural identity, and political participation is central to the institutionalisation and realisation of different kinds of citizenship rights. Likewise, civil and political rights can be used as a basis for struggles over inclusive membership and legal status. Such formal status as a citizen also frames inclusion and belonging in communities of citizens. This means that the politics of citizenship should not be understood in a linear and sequential manner, but rather that the identified dimensions are interwoven entry points and stakes in open-ended political processes.

Furthermore, the four dimensions of citizenship and the substance of each of them enable us to think systematically about stratified forms of citizenship. Figure 1 shows four kinds of partial citizenship that depend on a person's status regarding each of these dimensions. Stratified citizenship may also originate within each of the four dimensions, through differentiated membership, legal status, rights and participation. This understanding of citizenship as partial and stratified, despite the emphasis on universality and equality within the liberal model, has gained increased attention in recent decades in the context of globalisation, international migration and changing forms of governance.

Contemporary transformations in citizenship

Castles & Davidson (2000) argue that citizenship has gone from being a matter of common sense to being problematic and contested. This shift is ascribed to general transformations in society, but also increased sensitivity to contradictions within the nation-state model of citizenship. Taylor (2010) more specifically observes that increased globalisation and multiculturalism have accentuated territorial and cultural tensions within the liberal model of citizenship, and thereby paved the way for 'global turns' and 'cultural turns' in citizenship studies.

The cultural turn in citizenship studies

The liberal model of citizenship rests on assumptions about cultural homogeneity in the sense that it is based

on imagined national communities with proclaimed cultural sameness. The cultural turn in citizenship refers to growing academic and political questioning of this assumed universality and demands for group recognition and rights. The core of this cultural turn can be briefly summarised with reference to the influential writings of Young (1990) and Kymlicka (1995) and the debates relating to them.

Young's (1990; 1998) criticism of liberal citizenship rests on her analysis of *universality*. The universality of citizenship means that all members of a political community are granted citizenship on equal terms. It also means that commonality of identity is privileged at the expense of particularistic group belonging, and that all people are treated equally in the sense that laws and rules apply to all in the same way. The liberal perspective holds that these three meanings of universality are mutually reinforcing and construct citizenship in a manner that transcends particularity and difference in favour of equality and justice. By contrast, Young (1990; 1998) argues that the emphasis on common identity conceals that citizenship is defined in terms of dominant identities and thus puts other identity groups at a disadvantage, even though all people are granted equal citizenship in legal terms. This means that while universal citizenship is an instrument of emancipation and justice, it simultaneously masks and accentuates group oppression in terms of, for example, gender, sexuality, class, and ethnicity (Lister 2002; 2008).

The core premise for Young's (1990; 1998) work is that every society contains group differentiation and oppression that make group belonging real to its members. She defines an oppressed group as one in which either all members or a large portion of the members experience one or more of five key mechanisms of oppression: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. In this situation, citizenship is not merely an individual status but is also shaped by group identity and shared experiences of oppression. This means that full citizenship requires group-differentiated rights in addition to universal individual rights. It is only by recognising differences and providing institutional mechanisms for group representation that pluralist societies can move towards justice for all.

Kymlicka (1995) presents a related defence for group-differentiated rights, based on the liberal perspective on citizenship. His point of departure is that modern societies are increasingly multicultural, due to both territorial incorporation of previously autonomous cultures and increased international migration. The key question that arises in this situation concerns the implications of multiculturalism for citizenship in terms of membership,

legal status, rights, and participation (Massoumi & Meer 2014).

Kymlicka (1995) is especially concerned with the question of group rights and how it relates to the liberal conception of universal citizenship. He observes that there is a convergence between left and right liberals in the sense that both groups 'reject the idea of *permanent* differentiation in the rights or status of the members of a certain group' (Kymlicka 1995, 4, italics in original). The common view is that ethnic identity, like religion, should be separated from the state and relegated to the private sphere: the state should adopt a strategy of protection against discrimination and prejudice but otherwise refrain from interference. By contrast, Kymlicka (1995) argues that group inequality, historical group rights and cultural diversity call for three different kinds of group-differentiated rights: *self-government rights* (devolution of power to minorities within the state); *polyethnic rights* (protection and support for minority identity and practices); and *special representation rights* (guaranteed representation for minorities in political institutions).

Kymlicka's typology raises critical questions about the implication of group rights for identity and belonging in multicultural societies. While universal citizenship is normally seen as the primary tool of integration, group-differentiated rights are often portrayed as a mechanism for institutionalisation of difference. Self-government rights may thus function as a precursor to secession rather than political integration. Kymlicka (1995) argues that representation rights and polyethnic rights are consistent with integrating minorities, while self-government challenges the definition of the political community and the sovereignty of the state. However, denial of self-government rights can pose a threat to unity and encourage secessionist struggles. Concerns about social unity are thus unavoidable and may arise in the context of multiculturalism as well as majoritarianism within the larger political community.

Young (1990; 1998) and Kymlicka (1995) thus provide different justifications for the shared conclusion that citizenship must acknowledge the existence of group differences and hence institutionalise group-differentiated rights. Such analyses and recommendations have been much debated among both scholars and political actors. The main point of contention revolves around the tension between universality and group rights, as indicated above. In addition to this there is a critique of how social groups are conceptualised. While both authors have been instrumental in bringing group belonging into citizenship studies, their conception of cultural groups remains essentialist in the sense that the demarcation of oppressed groups and national and/or ethnic minorities is not examined critically.

Internal group differences and multiple and changing identities are downplayed, thereby producing a static and deterministic understanding of collective and individual identity and interests (Joppke 2002).

Faulks (2000, 91) thus observes that 'in seeking to transcend what Young sees as the essentialist individualism of liberal citizenship, she merely replaces it with an equally essentialist definition of the social group'. This observation is at the core of debates between identity politics and politics of difference, as alternative approaches to cultural politics of citizenship, and further discussed in the following (Isin & Wood 1999).

The global turn in citizenship studies

The liberal model of citizenship rests on assumptions about territorially bound states and nations (Stokke 2017). This nation-state model of citizenship has come under pressure as economic globalisation has challenged the sovereignty of the state and contributed to the emergence of multiscale forms of governance and citizenship (Fraser 2009). Furthermore, neoliberal governance means that membership, rights, and participation are not only defined by the citizens' relations to the state, but also by the market and even civil society. Furthermore, increased international mobility has produced a growing number of people with dual citizenship or transnational belonging. While the state remains a pivot for citizenship, these processes mean that citizenship has come to be defined with reference to diverse domains of governance and multiple scales and territories (Fig. 2). Citizenship has thus become increasingly complex in geographic terms (Desforges et al. 2005; Ong 2006).

Sassen (2002) observes that the decentring of citizenship means that we are seeing the emergence of denationalised, transnational and post-national citizenship. Denationalisation and transnationalisation refer to geographic transformations, whereby citizenship nevertheless remains within the logic of the nation-state model. By contrast, the post-national trajectory means that citizenship becomes located outside the nation-state framework in the sense that it constructs new forms of community and transcends the state institutional framework.

Denationalisation refers to a transformation of citizenship away from the national scale, which is especially visible in the emergence of multilevel citizenship. The most obvious example of denationalisation can thus be found in federal states, in which individual citizens hold rights and responsibilities at the level of both the federation and the substates (Heater 1999). Devolution of power to semi-autonomous regions in a quasi-federal

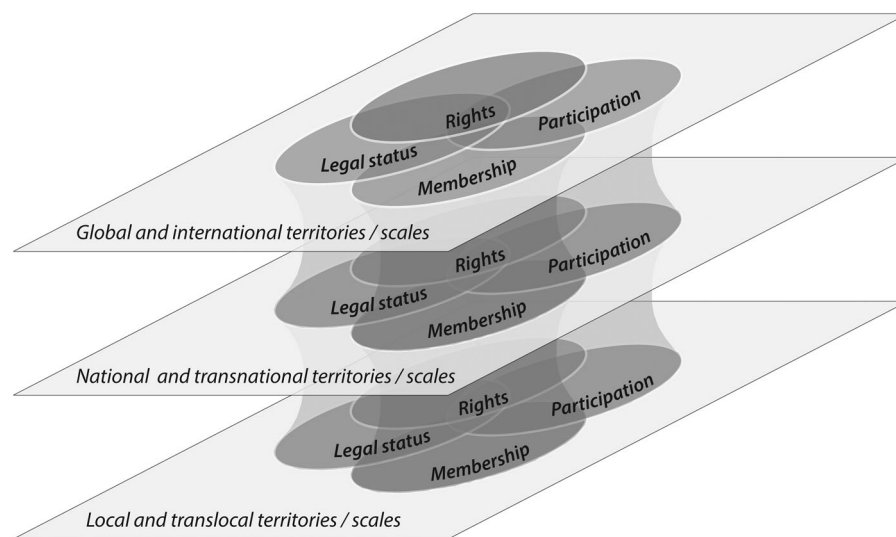


Fig. 2. Multiple and relational scales and territories of citizenship

state or to municipalities and cities within a decentralised state structure provides additional examples of multilevel citizenship (Ong 2008). At the other scalar end, there are examples of citizenship at the supranational level based on the nation-state model, such as citizenship status, rights and political participation at the scale of the European Union (Bellamy 2000; Painter 2002; Delanty 2008).

Transnational citizenship means that citizenship remains within the ordering logic of the nation-state model. However, international migration creates a situation in which formal citizenship may relate to more than one territorial state, and in which belonging and active citizenship relate to multiple political and social spaces in countries of origin and immigration, as well as in transnational fields of diasporas (Faist 2000; Al-Ali & Koser 2002; Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004; Vertovec 2009; Brubaker 2010; Tharmalingam 2011; Erdal 2012).

Post-national citizenship is a more radical departure from the nation-state model because it involves constructions of communities of citizens outside the framework of the nation. Soysal (1994) has presented a pioneer study in which she argues that there has been a shift to post-national citizenship centred on universal personhood and human rights rather than nationhood. This means that the boundaries of membership are fluid, and that the legitimising framework has shifted from the national to the global scale and from state-centric rights to human rights. However, this does not mean that the state has become irrelevant, since the realisation of international human rights conventions is still tied to states. The foremost example of post-national citizenship is found in discourses on cosmopolitan citizenship in which 'cosmopolitan community is replacing national community' (Delanty 2000, 2). Global identities, risks

and responsibilities for developing effective institutions to handle challenges such as global poverty, inequality, human rights and environmental change, are important nodal points for constructing cosmopolitan communities and active citizenship (Linklater 2002; R.M. Smith 2002; O'Byrne 2003; Benhabib 2008; Cabrera 2010; Tijsterman 2014).

The notion of post-national citizenship and Soysal's (1994) work have gained acclaim and received strong criticism. Critical questions have been asked about the substance of rights for non-citizen residents (Bhabha 1998; Kofman 2006). There has also been much debate about the extent of post-national political participation in the absence of robust democratic institutions at the global scale (Falk 1994; Linklater 2002; R.M. Smith 2002; D. Held 2010). Nevertheless, post-national citizenship draws attention to constructions of community and new forms of citizenship outside the framework of the nation-state model, including *global citizenship*, as well as *occupational citizenship* (Standing 2009), *environmental citizenship* (Dobson & Bell 2006) and *sexual citizenship* (Bell & Binnie 2000).

In the context of increasingly globalised and multicultural societies, the cultural and global turns have thus challenged the hegemony of a fixed nation-state model of citizenship. Citizenship and rights are thus 'continually developing and should not be regarded at any historical moment as having attained a final, definitive form' (Bottomore 1992, 91).

Politics of citizenship

The above discussion highlights that citizenship is always a matter of politics in the sense that the form and

substance of membership, status, rights and participation are contextual outcomes of political contentions (Clarke et al. 2014; van der Heijden 2014). In the following, I define politics of citizenship as *struggles for institutionalised and substantive membership, legal status, rights, and participation* (i.e. cultural, judicial, social and political justice). Such citizenship politics is inherently complex in terms of actors, interests, strategies and capacities. It is equally multifaceted in geographical terms, as citizenship is politicised and institutionalised within diverse territories and places, at multiple and interrelated scales, and through spatial networks across places, territories and scales.

In the following sections, I present a brief and general discussion of the principal issues that are being politicised. Due to space constraints, I pay less attention to the actors and their strategies and capacities (van der Heijden 2014). I argue that these principal issues can be understood as interrelated and at times opposed claims for cultural, judicial, social and political justice. I use Fraser's conception of justice as a heuristic analytical framework (Fraser 1995; 2009; Fraser & Olson 2008), emphasising especially the three dimensions of citizenship that can be grouped together under the Norwegian term *medborgerskap*: *politics of recognition* (the membership dimension of citizenship), *politics of redistribution* (citizenship as social rights), and *politics of representation* (political citizenship).

Different forms of injustice and struggles for justice

The point of departure for Fraser's analyses (Fraser 1995; Fraser & Olson 2008) is a differentiated analysis of injustice, and especially an analytical distinction between economic and cultural forms of injustice that give rise to different social groups and struggles for justice (Table 1). On the one hand, economic injustices are rooted in political-economic structures and involve exploitation, marginalisation and deprivation along class divisions. This forms the basis for politics of redistribution and strategies to reallocate resources or

eliminate economic barriers, thereby reducing socio-economic inequalities. On the other hand, cultural injustices are rooted in patterns of symbolic representation manifested as cultural domination, non-recognition and disrespect. Such cultural injustices yield politics of recognition with calls for affirmative action or transformation of the categorical identities that are at the core of misrecognition. Fraser's more recent work has drawn additional attention to political misrepresentation as a third form of injustice, which produces politics of representation, including at scales above the nation-state (Fraser 2005; 2009).

Fraser (1995) further identifies three ideal typical collectivities based on the analytical distinction between economic and cultural injustices. Whereas social classes are rooted in the political economy of maldistribution and tend to prioritise politics of redistribution, collectivities based on cultural misrecognition (e.g. devalued sexualities) typically emphasise politics of recognition. Between these two ideal types of collectivities, there are hybrid collectivities that combine traits of exploited classes with features of misrecognised identity groups.

Fraser (1995) argues that gender and race are prime examples of such bivalent collectivities that may pursue both redistribution and recognition. This situation creates a dilemma because it raises questions about strategic priorities between cultural and economic forms of injustice and struggles for justice. For example, it can be noted that politics of citizenship during the Cold War had a primary focus on socio-economic rights in the context of First World social democracy, Second World communism, and Third World developmentalism. By contrast, in recent decades, increased attention has been to questions of cultural inclusion, most clearly demonstrated by identity politics championed by various social movements (C. Taylor 1994; Nicholson 2008). It can thus be argued that there has been a general shift in popular struggles for justice from a primacy of redistribution to an increased emphasis on recognition. This has created polarised scholarly and political debates about the relative importance of different forms of injustice and the strategic priorities in collective struggles, especially demonstrated by different waves of feminism (Fraser 2005).

Identity politics and politics of difference

The strategic choice between redistribution and recognition has important implications for the future of the collectivities. Put simply, politics of redistribution seek to remove inequality and hence erode class categories, whereas politics of recognition aim at cultural valorisation and thus reinforce identity groups.

Table 1. Forms of injustice and politics of justice (based on Fraser & Olson 2008; Fraser 2009)

Forms of injustice	Politics of justice	Remedies for injustice	
		Affirmation	Transformation
Maldistribution	Politics of redistribution	Liberal welfare state	Socialism and/or social democracy
Misrecognition	Politics of recognition	Multiculturalism	Deconstruction
Misrepresentation	Politics of representation	Proportional representation	Substantive democracy

The key question is thus whether justice should be pursued in a manner that enhances or ‘de-differentiates’ collectivities. This issue is especially visible in a divide between *identity politics* and *politics of difference* within cultural politics of citizenship (Isin & Wood 1999). On the one hand, identity politics is based on shared experiences of injustice stemming from involuntary membership in a particular social group, yielding demands for inclusion through affirmative action (group rights) within the liberal model of citizenship (Young 1990). On the other hand, politics of difference foreground the constructed character of groups and the need to deconstruct categorical identities in order to achieve equal and substantive citizenship (Lister 2008). It has been argued that identity politics fails to capture the complexity of identification and freezes categorical identities, thereby limiting individual autonomy and replacing ‘one kind of tyranny with another’ (Appiah 1994, 163). Proponents of identity politics criticise the politics of difference for only being capable of theoretical deconstruction, not any significant political mobilisation (Hartsock 1998).

Cultural politics of citizenship have thus come to be characterised by strategy discussions that are intertwined with scholarly debates on essentialist and constructivist perspectives on identity. Isin & Wood (1999) argue that both perspectives are incomplete and that there is a need to transcend this divide. The well-known shortcoming of essentialism is that it is impossible to classify the diversity of social positions and identities in objective and discrete terms (Brubaker 2004). Laclau & Mouffe (1985) argue that there cannot be any unitary subject, only an ensemble of discursively constructed subject positions that provide spaces for subjective identification. This means that identity is ‘always contingent and precarious, temporarily fixed at the intersection of those subject positions and dependent on specific forms of identification’ (Mouffe 1995, 33). It also means that subject formation is a prime political site: ‘politics is not about defending the intrinsic interests of a political subject but about a struggle to construct subjects, making identity a primary ground for the operation of politics’ (Rasmussen & Brown 2002, 182). However, this understanding of identity as discursively constructed subject positions is challenged by the strong sense of group attachment demonstrated by identity politics. The core challenge for constructivism is thus to explain that socially constructed identities appear as real and emotionally charged.

Isin & Wood (1999) thus call for critical attention to be paid to the articulation between symbolic constructions of categorical identities and individual attachment to collectivities, and propose that Bourdieu’s (1977;

1990) theory of social practice may provide analytical tools for addressing this challenge. The foremost connecting link is the notion of *habitus*, which refers to inculcated dispositions that make actors inclined to understand the world and act in certain ways. *Habitus* is a structuring structure in the sense that it yields habitual practices, but is a structured structure because the embodied dispositions are rooted in social differentiation. This social conditioning means that *habitus* is to a certain extent collective, because individuals may share similar locations in social space and similar experiences in specific fields of practice. It is thus possible to identify collectivities, even though these must be understood as theoretical categories rather than objectively given and discrete groups (Bourdieu 1987).

Bourdieu (1991) combines this sociology of theoretical categories with analytical attention to group-making through symbolic representation (Stokke & Selboe 2009; Saward 2010). He argues that the defining practice of political representation is to constitute the social world by symbolic means (Bourdieu 1991). Political actors are involved in symbolic struggles to impose and normalise representations of the world that suit their own interests. In order to be successful in producing and mobilising a group of people, representations must resonate with the *habitus* of those they intend to mobilise (Crossley 2002). Thus, the making of identities and movements is not about a realisation or awakening of a group that is predefined by objective criteria, but rather about symbolic constructions that articulate with the *habitus* of individuals who share similar positions in social space (Brubaker 2004).

The above discussion provides the basis for a strategy for understanding group formation and attachment, yet foregrounding that they are constructions that are open for transformation and deconstruction. It also highlights that categorical identities are both tools and targets for citizenship politics. Building an effective movement against group injustice requires constructions of collectivities, yet the success of popular politics of citizenship may be measured by their ability to eradicate social differentiations and group constructions.

Affirmative and transformative remedies for injustice

Fraser’s (1995) answer to the strategic dilemmas is to observe that the two principal remedies for injustice – affirmation and transformation – cut across the divide between redistribution and recognition (Table 1). In simplified terms, affirmation refers to remedies that seek to remove inequalities without changing the underlying structures of injustice, whereas transformation implies

fundamental changes in the structures of injustice. Affirmative redistribution, which is typically associated with the liberal welfare state, seeks to redress inequitable outcomes without changing political-economic structures. By contrast, transformative strategies, such as those associated with socialism or social democracy, seek to change structural power relations in order to address unequal distributional outcomes. Likewise, affirmative recognition strategies, exemplified by homosexual identity politics, aim to revalue gay and lesbian identity, whereas transformative remedies seek to deconstruct the homo–hetero dichotomy, as argued within queer theory (Isin & Woods 1999).

The two distinctions – between redistribution and recognition, and between affirmation and transformation – create different possibilities for integrated remedies for injustice. Fraser (1995) argues that the affirmative redistribution combined with transformative recognition, and the transformative redistribution combined with affirmative recognition (see the diagonal combinations in Table 1) are contradictory because they simultaneously seek to promote and deconstruct groups. By contrast, the vertical combinations (affirmative redistribution and recognition, and transformative redistribution and recognition), avoid this built-in tension. These have potential for integrated transformative politics, for example to redress gender injustice:

Transformative redistribution to redress gender injustice in the economy consists in some form of socialist feminism or feminist social democracy. And transformative recognition to redress gender injustice in the culture consists in feminist deconstruction aimed at dismantling androcentrism by destabilizing gender dichotomies. Thus the scenario in question combines the socioeconomic politics of socialist feminism with the cultural politics of deconstructive feminism. (Fraser 1995, 89)

Both Fraser's and my own analysis support the conclusion that the dilemma is not merely about prioritising recognition or redistribution, but whether it should be pursued through affirmative or transformative remedies.

Politics of representation

Thus far, I have pointed to the political nature of citizenship and paid special attention to the relations between politics of redistribution and politics of recognition. In this section, I discuss the politics of representation as a third dimension of injustice and citizenship politics. The three ideal types – politics of recognition, redistribution, and representation – correspond to the membership, rights and participation dimensions of citizenship that I identify at the beginning of this article.

I have already discussed how people can be prevented from equal citizenship due to lack of material resources or denial of cultural status, giving rise to politics of redistribution and recognition. The same logic also applies to politics. The political field is a key site for struggles for redistribution and recognition, as well as a separate domain of injustice. Fraser (2009) thus advocates a three-dimensional conceptualisation of justice, adding misrepresentation as the principal form of political injustice and politics of representation as a third mode of struggle for justice.

The political dimension of justice is first and foremost centred on political framing and procedures. Whereas the former refers to political boundary setting (i.e. who is included in the demonstrations and allowed a political say, and what is defined as public affairs), the latter refers to the organisation of contestation and decision-making. Consequently, political injustice can originate in two principal ways: (1) political misframing, whereby groups are excluded from participation and key issues are left out from public affairs, and (2) flawed political representation that fails to establish effective mechanisms for popular control over public affairs (Törnquist et al. 2009).

It follows from this discussion that *misrepresentation* revolves around three principal components of representation: (1) the constitution of public affairs; (2) the construction of demos; and (3) the links between people and governance of public affairs (Beetham 1999; Törnquist 2009). Such problems of political procedures have gained much attention, not least in the contemporary context of minimalist democracies characterised by flawed procedures of popular representation, and by neoliberal governance whereby public affairs are handled in a technocratic manner with limited, top-down forms of participation (Harriss et al. 2004).

Fraser (2009) argues that misframing is a fundamental behind such flawed political procedures for representation. This is clearly demonstrated by the scalar mismatch between global processes that shape the character of contemporary injustice, and the continued prevalence of territorial states as the foremost domain for popular political representation. In this situation, people may find that they are denied the chance of effectively addressing injustice because of the transnational character of the structures that perpetuate injustice. Fraser (2009) argues that these forces belong to the transnational *spaces of flows* rather than to the territorial *spaces of places*; being 'not locatable within the jurisdiction of any actual or conceivable territorial state, they cannot be made answerable to claims of justice that are framed in terms of state-territorial principle' (Fraser 2009, 23). This problem of misframing is brought out clearly in

contemporary debates about scalar strategies of labour organising in the context of global economic transformations, but also in scalar relations that frame the spaces and strategies for localised popular struggles for justice (Millstein et al. 2003; Lier & Stokke 2006; Oldfield & Stokke 2006; Jordhus-Lier 2013).

If political misrepresentation is accepted as a third form of injustice, what is the core meaning of politics of representation? Based on Fraser's work, discussed earlier in this article, a distinction can be made between affirmative and transformative strategies for improved representation (Table 1). At the level of political procedures, affirmative strategies may be exemplified by demands for quotas or proportional representation within electoral systems of liberal democracy. By contrast, transformative politics of representation start out from the democratic aim of popular control over public affairs and seek to transform the delimitation of people and public affairs as well as to create substantive democratic links between people and governance (Törnquist et al. 2009; Stokke & Törnquist 2013). In the case of scalar misframing, affirmative politics seek to rescale the frame while remaining within the Westphalian logic of governance, for example by demanding state-like structures above the nation state. By contrast, transformative strategies search for post-territorial forms of popular control over public affairs, for example by insisting that all people affected by a transnational structure of injustice should have an equal say in its governance.

Conclusions

This article has been motivated by the common concern that movement politics and studies have been marked by tendencies towards fragmentation and lack of an overarching framework (Stokke & Törnquist 2013). In response, I have proposed that a broad conception of citizenship may provide an integral analytical framework for scholarship on movement politics for cultural, juridical, social and political inclusion. My aim has thus been to explore the meaning of politics of citizenship by focusing on the issues that are at stake rather than on the actors, strategies and contentious interactions involved in citizenship politics. As citizenship is itself a contested concept, I have proposed a conception that revolves around four closely interrelated core dimensions: membership, legal status, rights and participation. I have also argued that although these dimensions come together in seemingly fixed citizenship models, substantive variations and transformations demonstrate that the form and substance of citizenship reflect contextual power relations and political contentions. Following from this observation, I have proposed a working definition of

citizenship politics as contentious interactions over the institutionalisation and realisation of substantive membership, legal status, rights and participation. My brief discussion of recent debates on the politics of recognition, redistribution and representation points to fundamental tensions and strategic dilemmas, but also to points of convergence relating to cross-cutting affirmative and transformative remedies for injustice. The continued scholarly and political challenge is to examine and promote transformative democratic politics as means for realisation of substantive citizenship within and across its constitutive dimensions (Stokke & Törnquist 2013).

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