



Turkish Journal of Diaspora Studies

ISSN: 2717-7408 (Print and Online)
Journal homepage: tjds.org.tr

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To cite this article: Ayşenur Aygöl (2021) [Review of the book Limits of Citizenship Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe, by Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal], Turkish Journal of Diaspora Studies, 1(2), 165-167, DOI: 10.52241/TJDS.2021.0030

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.52241/TJDS.2021.0030>



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Published online: 30 September 2021




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Book Review

Yasemin Nuhođlu Soysal, **Limits of Citizenship Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe**, The University of Chicago Press, London, 1994, pp. xi+244, \$44.99, ISBN 9780226768427

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The emergence of the concept of citizenship's roots go back to ancient Greece and, in the modern sense, began with the French revolution. The notion of citizenship has expanded in terms of rights and liabilities and more people have been included through citizenship over time, following the developments in the political history of the world. In her book entitled *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*, Yasemin Nuhođlu Soysal (1994) covers the expansion of immigrant rights that once only belonged to citizens of certain countries. The book first published in 1994 consists of nine chapters. These chapters are, respectively, "Introduction; International Migration and the Nation-State System; Explaining Incorporation Regimes; Discourses and Instruments of Incorporation; The Organization of Incorporation; The Collective Organization of Migrants; The Membership Rights and Status of Migrants; Towards a Postnational Model of Membership; and Conclusion."

Soysal focuses on guestworkers in six Western-Europe countries, including France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom and identifies three membership models, which are corporatist, liberal, and statist. The case of guestworkers are significant because they are "empirical anomalies with regard to predominant narratives of citizenship" (p.2). Soysal submits a comparative study on the incorporation and membership of guestworkers, demonstrates how citizenship-based rights are extended, and how they become individual-based rights. She takes the situations of migrants in the early 1990s as an example to demonstrate this development.

The three membership models use different patterns and instruments for incorporation, even though those models overlap at some points. Soysal aims to "reverse one of the driving presuppositions of immigrant literature: the notion that guestworkers' situations and cultures predict how they participate in and interact with host societies" (p.5) by putting variations in incorporation regimes that effecting countries' migrant policies. She gives priority institutional means, while the dominant literature underli-

nes immigrant-based variables. Soysal, in chapters 3 through 7 gives, a comprehensive analysis of six countries' institutional and organizational structures in terms of immigrant policies, how they affect incorporation in the host countries, and collective organization among migrants. In chapter 7, she concludes that guestworkers' incorporation, with rights and privileges of citizens, creates a new type of membership model called the postnational model. In chapter 9, she analyses the new postnational model of membership that is referred to as "denizen" in the literature.

Soysal describes incorporation as a "macro-level process whereby a guestworker population becomes part of the polity of the host country" and looks at the host countries' institutions instead of focusing merely on the immigrants' cultural background (p.30). She examines the typology of membership models in six countries to see how they affect incorporation in each country. In the corporatist model of membership, present in Sweden and the Netherlands, membership is organized around corporate groups having some rights from states but states generate top-down policies for incorporation. In the liberal model in Switzerland and Britain, the individual is taken as the source of authority and the labor market is the main instrument of incorporation. In the statist model present France, in contrast to the liberal model, individuals are the main units, the state as a bureaucratic administrative unit intervenes actively in societal functions, and it operates from top to down. Germany demonstrates both corporatist and statist models and illustrates a mixed type. She states: "These distinct models of membership provide the schemes within which new entrants to the polity are incorporated" (p.40). After presenting this theoretical background, the following chapter puts forth the details of incorporation in those countries by giving immigrant organizations, official institutions in the host countries dealing with immigrants, and the finally membership rights of immigrants in these places.

Sweden and the Netherlands describe immigrants through their collective identities, as Soysal states aptly, this establishes highly organized policies for the incorporation of migrant groups, and emancipation is the key for their incorporation policies (p. 46). In Switzerland and Britain, migrants are dealt with as individuals, the key goal is integration, and the labour market is featured in the context of incorporation. France also identifies migrants as individuals while having a more centralized approach for their incorporation, and both education and the labor market are used as instruments of incorporation. Germany is a mixed case, consisting of characteristics from both corporatist and statist membership. Germany does not recognize migrants as groups, like Switzerland and the Netherlands, and the main policy for integration is through strengthening migrants in labor positions, while having a central incorporation model.


Soysal points out that the scope of noncitizens' rights has expanded over time and has crystallized around the idea of personhood, more so than nationhood. Therefore,

“legal aliens have access to a set of social services almost identical to those available to citizens” (p.124) despite the fact that citizenship is still a necessity for participation in political activity. However, it cannot prevent blurring the line between citizen and noncitizen (p.130). The postnational membership model challenges T. H. Marshall’s model of citizenship. Although Marshall argued that citizenship rights evolve over civil, political, and finally social order, in the case of guestworkers in six countries, Soysal argues the opposite of Marshall’s sequence (p. 130).

The flexible structure of social science concepts allows them to change and reverse according to the developments and needs of the time. The case of guestworkers in the countries mentioned in Soysal’s book, displays how the rights linked to citizenship have evolved to include foreigners through incorporation and then emerged postnational membership. Transnational sources of the new membership are “a transformation in the organization of the international state system” (p.144) and “the emergence of universalistic rules and conceptions regarding the rights of individual” (p.145).

Soysal’s book provides an overview the evolution of citizenship extension based on individual-based rights, through the cases of Western European countries’ guestworkers and host countries’ institutional backgrounds in the context of incorporation. Soysal’s analyses both the extension of citizenship rights and the importance of states’ institutional backgrounds over foreigner’s cultural ties, and challenges mainstream assumptions in the literature. Her challenge provides a valuable alternative to study the incorporation of migrants, and thus can be a beneficial reference for researchers of integration and citizenship. Furthermore, by reversing Marshall’s citizenship evolving model she puts forth a new approach for the study of citizenship.

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