

Book Reviews/Comptes rendus

ENGIN F. ISIN (ED.) *Recasting the Social in Citizenship*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, 331 p., index.

Engin Isin's edited volume, *Recasting the Social in Citizenship*, contains a breadth of scholarship across a wide range of citizenship issues. As is not always the case with edited collections, this volume is well-framed by the initial two chapters which provide an overall coherence. In the first chapter, Engin Isin, Janine Brodie, Danielle Juteau and Daiva Stasiulis argue for the importance of what they describe as "recasting" the social in citizenship. Whether, as they argue, "recasting" differs appreciably from the more familiar "reframing" or "rethinking," the opening chapter effectively sets out the issues related to contemporary struggles over social rights. Suggesting that these issues should be refracted through struggles over citizenship rather than the more traditional understanding of struggles over redistribution and/or recognition is a critical move that ruptures a false binary and encourages a different kind of engagement with contemporary conflicts. Importantly, attending to the social in citizenship also brings new controversies to light as we consider the shift in thinking from a focus on rights to a focus on obligations amidst a neoconservative political context that has dramatically reshaped the citizenship provisions of the welfare state.

Also critical to framing subsequent debates is the second chapter by Janine Brodie who sets in broad strokes a particular understanding of the "social" as it is taken up in this volume. She traces its evolution during the Enlightenment when the divisions between "man" and nature began to be emphasized. The "social" was a key enlightenment idea as "man" was en route, via progress and scientific rationality, to "the perfection of the human condition" (24) which necessitated an understanding not only of the biology and physiology of human beings but also their social relations and interactions – an understanding of society. This context is important to the overall thrust of the book which challenges a static notion of the social and hence any idea that citizenship and the issues which saw its emergence would also be unchanging. Brodie reminds us that state interventions in the social realm have always contained an element of the moral while focusing on strengthening the collective community and ensuring order.

The notion of social citizenship is, of course, central to the debates explored in *Recasting*. The same concerns noted by Brodie also led Thomas Marshall to set out his view, now more than a half century ago, that social rights followed civil and political rights. Although differentially provided in different jurisdictions, they have been seen as at least partially ameliorating class conflict and broadly enabling citizen participation in the democratic sphere. Struggles for recognition

came to parallel redistributive claims, marking a transformative shift in the nature of social movements and citizens' claims on the state.

Marshall saw this trinity of rights as being sequentially tied to the level of a state's social development. Thus the rapid erosion of social citizenship rights beginning in the 1980's caught many theorists by surprise. These rights, relating to both recognition and redistribution, were assailed during the increasing neoliberalism of the 1980's with claims that rights had overshadowed the obligations of citizens, leaving states imperilled by welfare state dependence. The views of theorists such as Lawrence Mead (1986: 12-13) held sway as he claimed in his book *Beyond Entitlement: The Social Obligations of Citizenship*: "To obligate the dependent as others are obligated is essential to equality not opposed to it. An effective welfare [policy] must include recipients in the common obligations of citizens rather than exclude them." Mead's premise is a familiar one. Those dependent on welfare could work – if they wanted to; state generosity has eroded what should be a natural desire to be self sufficient. In sweeping moves he brushes aside all of the reasons why African Americans are underemployed and unemployed, the very concrete reasons that cause mothers to leave their husbands and partners, and the compelling needs of their children that cause them to seek social assistance rather than work. In spite of these very real concerns, that citizens should face obligations matching their entitlements is a view which contributed to a sharp reshaping of social citizenship. This period entailed the individualization of many previously collectivized rights and an overall weakening in citizen entitlement.

Recasting the Social in Citizenship brings into focus the essential notions of the social in struggles related to citizenship. New concerns such as 9/11, shifting patterns of migration and immigration related to globalization and diminishing restrictions on capital, have led to what Kim Ryzgiel describes as the "internationalization of citizenship" (211). In a challenging chapter that reconsiders the role of states in governing citizenship, Ryzgiel proposes that citizenship has become instead an international regime of governance. Related to Ryzgiel's interest in the effects of securitization is Deborah Cowen's chapter on "The Soldier-Citizen" wherein she discusses militarization and its role in welfare state provisioning as benefits have been extended to encourage and reward soldier-citizens. Daiva Stasiulis, in a continuing international focus, considers global migration amidst a north/south context touching on Canada's importation of care workers, India's burgeoning medical tourism industry and other illustrations of north/south injustice, and continued disparity in the allocation of citizenship benefits. Stasiulis' chapter points to the racialization of citizenship, a theme explored in several chapters. In Canada, Danielle Juteau interrogates the meanings and implications of multiculturalism, while Xiaobei Chen examines Canadian citizenship as it privileges inter-country infant adoption.

Alex Latta explores new levels of environmental degradation and develops the concept of ecological citizenship. Paul Kershaw considers women's increased labour market participation and the resulting crisis in reproductive labour. This gendered analysis is nicely complemented by Sirma Birge in a chapter on gender and cultural equality.

Overarching themes in the volume relate to racialization and other enduring markers of social and economic injustice while pointing to new questions about social citizenship and its status as post-national or trans-national, but also deeply local. Engin Isin's chapter on the city encapsulates many of these themes. Utilising the citizenship lens to cast new light on enduring controversies or in fact to bring to light new issues enables an exploration of specific and oft interconnected contemporary socio-political problems. The book concludes with a chapter by Engin Isin that offers another set of challenging ideas as he draws together some of the themes raised in *Recasting*.

An edited volume necessarily contains disparate voices, loosely or more coherently framing the book's theme. In *Recasting*, Isin does not lose the opportunity to sift through the ideas of a range of well-respected scholars to address the question posed early in the volume: "What does such a recasting mean for the struggles of citizens both individually and as struggles for solidarity and collectivity?" He reminds us of Janine Brodie's two conceptions of the social. The first derives from the Latin *socius* and may be loosely understood as fellowship – but as fellowship encapsulates the interaction among human beings – it also includes tension and conflict. The second conception of the social is as Marshall conceived it, political and civil rights, and the security afforded all citizens of a given state. And here, the book offers an important twist, a challenge to how we have continued to conceive of citizenship. Arguing that these terms are related but distinct, the "social" conceived in this way shifts our understanding of Marshall's sequenced trinity of rights. The "idea that citizenship is social before it is civil or political rests on the idea that the social produces subjects who have the right to have rights" (282). As it is argued that political and civil rights give rise to social rights, Isin suggests that the social, in this first sense, is what leads to subjects that craft political and civil rights. Hence the volume's claim to a recasting of the social.

Recasting the Social in Citizenship will appeal to academics and students interested in questions of citizenship and struggles over the framing of our socio-political spheres and the discursive practices which legitimate selective and differential entitlements – whether related to issues of redistribution or recognition – that derive from them. Some chapters are more challenging than others as they take up and problematize topics through the citizenship lens that warrant greater attention in public discourse. However, all the chapters in the volume make a contribution. Perhaps the most critical perspective, which might have been elaborated and explicitly tied together in a final chapter, is raised by a number of authors. In the post-war welfare state, citizenship benefits accrue inequitably. Thus there remain particular groups of racialized and gendered political subjects for whom citizenship, at all levels, is conditional.

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