

often take place beyond the space enclosed within national borders; the space which, vice-versa, seems to be the privileged object of narrative of the popular unprofessional literature on History, which the volume edited by Boucheron explicitly aims to compete with.

The resulting experiment is undoubtedly interesting. However, I am not entirely convinced that the formula adopted is the best, if what one really cares about is to produce lasting results. In fact, the choice of fragmenting the history of France in dozens and dozens of short articles, which are weakly connected to each other, seems, in the end, to produce the side effect of losing sight of the very object of the work: France itself, precisely. This happens despite the presence, at the bottom of each contribution, of a sequence of references to other dates included in the work.

From this point of view, after the reading of the over 1000 pages of this book, one remains with the unfulfilled desire of a more structured, selective and ambitious narration.

More than “World history of France”, the work we have here discussed about should be properly, perhaps, better entitled „World histories in France“ (or “connected with France”).

**Frederick Cooper: Citizenship, Inequality, and Difference, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2018, xii + 205 pp.**

Reviewed by  
Mike Rapport, Glasgow

We live in a world where bounded citizenries are the norm. We also live in a world where political movements offering deceptively simple solutions to the complexities of globalisation and migration have been gaining traction. Brexiters, Donald Trump, Jair Bolsonaro, Marine Le Pen, Viktor Orbán, Recep Erdoğan, among many others, have either won power or gained traction by indulging in identity politics and stoking fears of cultural ‘difference’. They have prioritised the nation-state in seeking to secure votes and support for their policies. In doing so, such modern-day populism posits a definition of citizenship that confines it strictly to national boundaries, while at the same time driving at a more exclusive definition of citizenship *within* those borders. They seek to roll back the more multi-layered concepts of the citizen that more readily accept overlaps in different forms and sources of identity and belonging. Playing to the British Conservative Party base, Prime Minister Theresa May indulged in this kind of rhetoric when she (now notoriously) opined in 2016 that ‘If you believe you are a citizen of the world, you are a citizen of nowhere’. Such language tends to reduce identity and citizenship to the simple idea that the

nation is the primary source of an individual's political identity and that citizenship can only be enjoyed within the confines of the nation-state. As Hannah Arendt once put it, the world found nothing sacred in the abstract nakedness of being human'. In his pithy, clearly-argued book, Frederick Cooper makes a similar judgment: 'Jurists and politicians seem convinced that every person belongs somewhere, and that somewhere is defined ... as citizenship in a state' (p. 93). Yet arguments that seek to align citizenship with the state run into difficulty when confronting concepts such as 'multi-cultural citizenship, multinational citizenship, multilevel citizenship, diasporic citizenship, flexible citizenship, and global citizenship' (p. 9). Cooper shows that in fact the world of citizenries bounded by national borders is almost the exception, not the rule. Citizenship has historically operated at different levels at the same time – locally, nationally and transnationally – as indeed the example first of Spain and then of the Spanish empire have demonstrated. Moreover (and the examples of the Greek polis and the Roman Empire bear this out) notions of citizenship actually pre-date the nation-state.

An historian of empire, Cooper points to multiple examples of how citizenship has operated in a rich variety of ways, with different degrees of inclusion and exclusion and at different political and social levels. In fact, Cooper suggests, the notion of citizenship originally arose in the context of empire and, as such, operated at different levels. For much of its existence, the notion of citizenship has not been democratic or inclusive. The imperial experience shows that multi-layered con-

ceptions of citizenship can reinforce the exclusion of people on the basis of race, gender and poverty – in other words, that citizenship, in itself, is not incompatible with hierarchies and oligarchies. Yet at the same, fluid a concept as it is, citizenship can also be used to break down such barriers by being the basis for claims to emancipation, equality, the suffrage, and social welfare. Cooper's analysis is an impressive sweep both through the past and across geographical space. His book takes us from the imperial citizenship of the Roman Empire (with a trenchant discussion of the Edict of Caracalla in 212 CE, giving Roman citizenship to all freemen in the provinces of the Roman Empire, possibly the biggest extension of citizenship in world history, since it affected no fewer than 30 million people) before making a well-placed leap to the globe-spanning empires of Spain, Britain and France from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Along the way, he explores such variants as operated in the United States, the Ottoman Empire and Germany. Moving into the twentieth century experience, Cooper discusses claims that sought to make the 'state' correspond with the 'nation', a process that he outlines from the collapse of the multinational empires at the end of the First World War until the 1990s. Here, his sophisticated discussion takes us through the collapse of imperial Russia, the break-up of the Soviet Union, claims to citizenship from the colonized peoples of the British and French Empires (after the Second World War, the Fourth Republic granted citizenship to the inhabitants of the French Empire – the advocates of the measure citing Caracalla's edict), the practice and theory of citizenship in the succes-

sor states to the Ottoman Empire and in the European empires in Africa.

At the bottom line, therefore, Cooper's book, originally written for the Lawrence Stone Lectures at the Princeton University, demonstrates that (p. 41) while the word 'citizenship' originates in Europe, the questions it raises about political identities is a global one. The book culminates with an assessment of the experiment in citizenship represented by the European Union – an analysis that is not uncritical, but which, at the very outset, Cooper judges to be 'one of the world's most innovative citizenship regimes' (p. 1). He is, of course right, for it combines both political and social rights in a trans-national framework, rights which are automatically attributed to citizens of member-states, which will also have their own individual laws, entitlements and duties. In this trans-national sense – and only in this sense (despite the darker fantasies of Euro-sceptics) – citizenship of the European Union recalls the practice of citizenship in the European empires, going back to Rome.

Since it is a construct through which individuals and groups can make claims to political and social rights, how citizenship is defined is contentious, particularly in the current political climate where politics are struggling to rise to the challenges posed by financial, economic and humanitarian crises. Much contemporary discourse revolves around a clash of ideas of citizenship, between more exclusive and more inclusive forms. Such debates became all the more urgent in the twentieth century because citizenship is now coupled not only with political rights, but with social rights as well. The challenge, Cooper suggests, is not to find a definitive solution

one way or another between inclusive and exclusive conceptions of citizenship, but rather to think through this challenge in a world where individuals are located within a specific geo-political space, but not necessarily contained within it. An inclusive, democratic state must confront the diversity within its own boundaries, while at the same time welcome and integrate refugees and immigrants without losing its sense of collective identity altogether. In other words, the state has to 'balance commonality and social complexity' (p. 15). In our own age, this is the very opposite of what many states are currently doing.

**Jochen Bung / Armin Engländer**  
(Hrsg): **Souveränität, Transstaatlichkeit und Weltverfassung** (= Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie, Beiheft 153), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner / Nomos Verlag 2017, 133 S.

Rezensioniert von  
Helmut Goerlich, Leipzig

Der Band publiziert die Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Vereinigung für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie (IVR) im September 2014 in Passau. Vorgetragen hatten acht Referenten, alle etablierte Vertreter ihres Fachs. Nach dem Vorwort findet man eine Übersicht der Herausgeber, Ordinarien in Hamburg bzw. München zu Souveränität Transnationalität und Weltverfassung. Sie steht noch ganz im Licht des Multilateralismus, der seither gelitten