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14th Annual Conference on Citizenship  
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Abstracts of Presented Papers

Krishna P Pandey: Ethnic Politics, Madheshi Uprisings and the Question of Citizenship: A Case of Nepal 

Omri Pelerman: Violent Conversations – Becoming Citizens in the New State of Israel


Sean Rost: “Peace and Quiet Prevails Here:” Intimidation and Violence in Missouri’s Cotton Belt

Anuradha Sen Mookerjee: Critical Citizenship in the India-Bangladesh Borderscape: Post LBA Transitions in the Former Bangladeshi Enclaves in Cooch Behar, India
Khani Begum: Afghanistan, Tina Fey, and Zizek: Humor, Violence, and the War on Terror in Kabul Express and Whisky Tango Foxtrot

Derived from my larger work on post 9/11 global cinematic responses and their deconstruction of national and transnational discourses, this paper explores two feature films made on the US presence in Afghanistan during the US War on Terror era. The first, Kabul Express (2006), a Bollywood road movie about two Indian journalists in Afghanistan in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 by Kabir Khan includes a critique of globalization even as it harks back to the 1947 Partition conflicts between India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The second, Whisky, Tango, Foxtrot (2016) starring Tina Fey is based on the memoir of American journalist, Kim Barker, The Taliban Shuffle: Strange Days in Afghanistan and Pakistan (2012), which humanizes the Afghan people albeit from a Western perspective. I employ Slavoj Zizek’s essays from Welcome to the Desert of the Real (2002) and Iraq: The Borrowed Kettle (2005) that articulate critiques of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, to interrogate how each film engages with issues of violence, war and national allegiances in the aftermath of 9/11. While both works explore a war torn Afghanistan and expose how its inhabitants and “guests” function with the threat of everyday violence, Barker is more interested in telling stories about how people lived through war than how they died: “I definitely covered the war, but I really liked the smaller stories about what happens in a country when the west rushes in there after being kept out for so long” (Barker).

In my presentation, I explore how both films through the use of humor in interactions between journalists and Afghan people are able to interrogate social issues and comment on current events. Their engagement with issues of violence and war lead to a re-evaluation of the discourses of nationalism, transnationalism, and globalization in a post 9/11 era. I argue that through ‘derailments’ of the discourses of nation, and globalization, each film in its own way engages in a ‘de-westernizing process,’ challenging national and transnational discourses in innovative ways to make its audience rethink national belonging and what it means to be Indian, Afghan, Pakistani, Muslim, and American in a post 9/11 world. Both films employ ‘tactics of derailment’ to disconnect notions of stable identities and re-articulate national and transnational discourses in new ways.


This developing research project investigates the political factors that led the U.S. House of Representatives, Internal Security Committee, 1970-72, to hold hearings about Black Panther chapters across the nation. The Detroit Black Panther Party congressional hearing is closely probed because there are parallels to the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities hearings held in the city in 1952, targeting black and white dissenters. The central thesis of the project is that fear of black civil disobedience that might destabilize the racial order was a central but not the only institutional decision to target the Panthers. Thinking about “electoral volatility” fear of competitive challengers, or possible defeat at the polls in midterm elections, motivated congressional members to hold hearings to signal to core voters their support for the existing racial order.

The study will analyse the emergence of a new paradigm of rule of law, so-called Transitional Rule of Law, which absorbs the essential achievements of Transitional Justice. It approaches a new perspective that takes into account not only the State and individuals, but also civil society, questioning about the very phenomenon of citizenship and the new paradigmatic shift of responsibility for actors involved in mass atrocities, incorporating to social-democratic constitutionalism new values (tolerance, consensus, truth, solidarity, and citizens’ participation).

Scientific novelty of the investigation is that it represents the first legal sciences comprehensive interdisciplinary research about the dialogue between constitutionalism, citizenship and Transitional Justice. The methodological approach is going to have a dialectical and interdisciplinary nature, correlating dogmatic and philosophical spheres of Law with various sectors of knowledge, such as Philosophy, Sociology and Political Science. Furthermore, the research will widely use comparative law, because it not only helps to determine how to address the legal issue, but also broadens the horizons of legal research, taking into account how positive and negative foreign experiences promote constitutional reasoning worldwide. The findings may be used to improve both Brazil and US legislation on transitional, violence and citizenship issues.

In sum, considering the jurisprudential maturity in Transitional Justice and doctrinal conquers in citizenship, the study will establish the contours and limits of Transitional Rule of Law, harmonizing the broad protection of minorities with the right to tolerance.

Dr. Kishor Dere: Comparing the Idea of Citizenship in India and China

This paper compares the constantly evolving legal and constitutional definitions of citizenship and policy dimensions of citizenship in modern China and India. It is essential to understand similarities and differences between the notional and practical aspects of citizenship discourse in the two nations. Moreover, although both these are Asian states, they are profoundly influenced by the Western ideas, ideologies, choices, theories, practices and systems of governance. Thus, while comparing China and India, it also becomes worthwhile to grasp the pervasiveness of intellectual and cultural influences on them emanating from Europe and America. The most authentic sources to trace this genealogy could be the definitions of citizenship stated in the laws and rules of the two nations.

Article 33 of the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) defines citizens as, “all persons holding the nationality of the PRC”. Logically, the next question will be who is a Chinese national then? Nationality Law of the PRC defines who is a Chinese national. Article 4 of the said law states, “any person born in China whose parents are both Chinese nationals”, and “one of whose parents is a Chinese national shall have Chinese nationality”. Article 5 of the same law adds, “any person born abroad whose parents are both Chinese nationals and one of whose parents is a Chinese national shall have Chinese nationality”. It however, points out that “a person whose parents are both Chinese nationals and have both settled abroad”, or “one of whose parents is a Chinese national and has settled abroad, and who has acquired foreign nationality at birth shall not have Chinese nationality”. Thus, Chinese nationality is acquired mainly through blood relations, descent or ancestry, not place of birth. Under articles 4 and 5, persons of Chinese descent, regardless of whether they were born in China are usually considered to be Chinese citizens. In Article 5 itself there, however, is an exception to this general rule of nationality and citizenship based on ancestry (jus sanguinis).
If one were to allude merely to the constitutional and legal provisions in connection with the citizenship in India, it would suffice to cite Part II (Articles 5-11) of the Constitution, and Citizenship Act 1955 (amended in 1986, 2003 and 2005). An overview of these provisions suggests that while Part II of the Indian Constitution refers to the principles of *jus soli* (domicile in India or birth in India) and *jus sanguinis* (blood, ethnic relations with India/Indians, not birth in India), the citizenship regime seems to be slowly moving in the direction of *jus sanguinis*. Indian citizenship can be had on any of the following grounds: birth, descent, registration, naturalisation, incorporation of territory by India, and registration of overseas citizens of India. This is a very narrow, limited, restricted, formal and legalistic way of looking at the issue of Indian citizenship. Policies, Judicial decisions also need to be studied for this purpose.

**Erdinc Erdem: Crisis of Citizenship or Citizenship of Crisis? Establishing a Co-Original Relationship between Citizenship and Resistance**

The main purpose of this paper is to explore contemporary debates regarding the forms of “active citizenship” which find most recent theoretical formulations in the works of Étienne Balibar, James Tully, and Engin Isin. Taking inspiration from their works, many scholars conduct grounded and ethnographic researches, which not only examine how technologies and discourses of citizenship are taken up by non-citizens in their struggle for rights, equality, and freedom; but also bring theories (of citizenship) in conversation with practices (of citizenship), and make visible the potential tensions between the two. Equally important is that these empirical studies allow us to see beyond Agambenian pessimism that depicts human condition under state sovereignty as potential *homo sacer*, whereas people in prisons and refugee camps as the actualization of this potentiality. Through a number of excellent field works in the *margins* where people allegedly become most exposed to state violence and oppression, we see various acts of resistance and political struggles that lead simultaneously to the emergence of “community feeling”, “belonging”, and thus a form of *de facto* citizenship which does not define itself as formal *status or membership*, but as resisting, fighting, and acting together.

Citizenship, therefore, is redefined in a radically different and politically active form by those who are not citizens. This process is neither an event that can be contained in its singularity (although it carries with it certain uniqueness depending on the spatiotemporality of its emergence); nor is it simply a case to explain the present condition of the “crisis of citizenship.” Following Engin Isin (2002; 2008)’s works on the genealogies of citizenship, we can see that the interaction between dominant groups who define citizenship and the outsiders and strangers is a constant relationship of negotiation, persuasion, and conflict. From a normative perspective, Balibar (2004; 2014; 2015) diagnoses a dialectical relationship (which he refers as “antinomy”) between citizenship and democracy, which, since the birth of citizenship in ancient Greece, perpetually seeks “a new configuration of citizenship outside its traditional institutions.”¹ According to Balibar, this antinomic relationship “puts citizenship in crisis.”² In this sense, democracy and citizenship constantly reshape and reconstitute each other in terms of both form and content. In the search for democratization of society, he argues that citizenship must be thought as insurrection against domination. Similar to Balibar, but with different historical and theoretical perspectives, James Tully (2008) explores an alternative form of citizenship (civic citizenship) as a challenge to the dominant understanding of modern citizenship which served for the imperial expansion of the West. In this way, he addresses a different formulation of “crisis of citizenship” by introducing his own definition.

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² Ibid.: p. 2.
In this paper, I will explore these three formulations of “active citizenship” which try to account for and go beyond the “crisis of citizenship” that is being experienced in every corner of the world in different forms. My discussion will take these thinkers’ works as its starting point. In the next part, I will propose a shift in perspective from “crisis of citizenship” towards “citizenship of crisis,” to investigate how the dominant forms of citizenship are put in question, challenged, and redefined in times of emergencies and exceptional situations. Based on a historical-theoretical discussion, I will trace two opposing definitions of citizenship: one is what I call the “Bodinian paradigm” of citizenship which defines the concept as obedience and subjection to the sovereign command; and the second is the “paradigm of resistance,” which draws from the Monarchomachs, a Huguenot contemporary of Jean Bodin. In contrast to the first paradigm, the second tradition, which has largely been forgotten today, defines citizenship exclusively with the notions of resistance, insurrection, and non-domination. By bringing these two competing definitions in conversation, I will try to explore the ways in which we can rethink and radicalize the concept of citizenship. Moreover, with this study I will also try to offer some critical insights into the debates on civil disobedience, sovereignty, and belonging.

Mitchell Fleischer: Urban Redevelopment in Detroit: The Experience of Two Centuries

In 1805 the commercial frontier town of Detroit completely burned to the ground. Within weeks, the new Michigan territorial government had devised an elaborate plan to rebuild the town, indeed to build a city. The citizens were first delighted, but they quickly grew disillusioned, when implementation of the plan led to lengthy delays that kept the town from being fully rebuilt for years and destroyed critical elements of their local culture. One hundred and thirty-five years later, beginning in 1940, the city of Detroit, by then the fourth largest city in the United States, devised a new plan to deliberately tear down major portions of the city. As in 1805, an elaborate plan was devised, which first delighted the citizens and then appalled them, as delays and division resulted in gaping holes in the heart of the city and the destruction of the heart of the African-American community in Detroit.

These two events, a century and a half apart, display remarkable parallels. In both cases, top down planning, with little input from the citizenry, led to substantial resistance and serious delays, resulting in incomplete implementation, with a consequent failure to meet objectives. In both cases, large numbers of residents went without adequate shelter for lengthy periods of time. And in both cases, the ultimate beneficiaries were well-off people who were not necessarily meant to be helped, while the ostensible targets of the plans were, in most cases, displaced.

This paper will compare the effect of the Michigan territorial government’s response to the great fire of 1805 with the Detroit local government’s actions as it proceeded with urban renewal in mid-twentieth-century Detroit. In the case of the great fire of 1805, the paper will focus on the impact of the new territorial government’s plans to wipe out any traces of the old French city and replace it with a “modern” American one that would meet the needs of the new commercial nation, regardless of the interests of the culturally-French inhabitants. The mid-century urban renewal case will focus on two of the earliest such efforts in Detroit, the Gratiot Redevelopment Project that destroyed Black Bottom and Paradise Valley, but also resulted in the current Lafayette Park neighborhood, and on the Westside Industrial Redevelopment Project that destroyed most of Corktown.
Nicholas Garlinghouse: Cultural Chameleons: Citizenship, Identity, and Violence in Colonial North America

Conditions in North America were constantly changing in the 17th and 18th centuries. Large numbers of people were migrating from Europe to territories in America to colonize and to expand their religious influence. In addition to the European colonists, millions of Africans were forcibly transported from their homes to various locations in the new world to work as slaves. Because of this large influx of new people, the native tribes that inhabited the new world were pushed out of their traditional homelands and pushed westward. This encroachment caused a great deal of conflict. Conflict occurred not only between Europeans and the natives, but also among the native tribes themselves and between rival European nations. Amidst all of this physical conflict there were also changes occurring within practically all aspects of society. Economic systems, gender roles and family dynamics, legal and political structures, and religious practices were all in a state of flux. These aspects of society varied greatly from colony to colony and even from town to town. This inconsistency and instability required citizens to be adaptable if they wanted to succeed.

The historical record has many examples of individuals and their experiences in this ever-changing world. Their experiences highlight the different ways that people tried to adapt to their new surroundings, with varying levels of success. Some proved to be quite adept at navigating complex cultural and political situations, while others failed and were ostracized or even lost their lives. This paper will examine several of these stories and discuss the ways that conceptions of citizenship, identity, and adaptability came into play in differing circumstances. Specifically, the paper will discuss the examples of a Dutch notary in New Amsterdam attempting to adapt to systemic change when his colony is taken over by the English, a mixed-race frontiersman searching for acceptance from conflicting cultures, and an apparently intersexed individual trying to fit in with a community that is confused about how to classify the gender of the person. These examples show how the colonial system created an environment that perpetuated violence on an interpersonal level and even toward identity itself. The internal conflicts faced by these individuals, based upon their conceptions of their own profession, race, and gender, resulted in physical violence in their attempts to adapt as citizens. This violence was in varying cases sanctioned and carried out by the community against the individual, happening in areas surrounding the individual, or even at times self-inflicted. Analyzing these cases can help us to understand the complex interplay between citizenship, identity, and violence in colonial North America. While the discourse on these issues has evolved and changed over time, studying these changes can help us to put current events into context and gives us insight on how issues we still face as a society have been addressed in the past.

Ricardo Juozepavicius Gonçalves: The concept of legal public sphere: Subsidies for a theory of deliberative democracy: the public hearing experiences within Brazilian Supreme Court

The concept of public sphere has great relevance on the contemporary human sciences, especially with the attention given by the critical theorist Jürgen Habermas since the 60s. With the writings of Habermas about this concept, we aim to reconstruct the public sphere concept, aiming to actualize it, confronting it with the criticisms elaborated by Axel Honneth, to delimit a specific concept of legal public sphere considering the struggle for recognition of rights that happen within it.

The concept of a legal public sphere appears to expose and delimit an open arena for social participation within the Brazilian Judiciary. We aim to expose those experiences that take turn in some paradigmatic judgments in Brazil with the legal instrument of the public hearings, which can be better understood with this actualization of the habermasian concept of public sphere.
In the public hearings that happened at the time of these judgments we aim to analyze the speeches of different social movements that talked about your inner experiences of disrespect, the injustices that they suffered due to social inequalities and the violence against your rights, one of the examples were the struggle of the black militancy for the judgment of the constitutionality of university ethnic quotas.

Those groups that participate in public hearings within the Judiciary always seems to be motivated by a sentiment of disrespect that impulses their struggle, and in the cases that we aim to expose, those struggle for recognition of rights appears to have an open space at the Courts due to the new space – legal public sphere – that needs to be maintained, worked and expanded to achieve more social participation within formal institutions traditionally closed, like the Brazilian Supreme Court.

As it seems, social movements and your experiences have a central role on those public hearings, influencing the final decision through the Ministers votes. The most important aspect of this opened space is that, if it doesn’t existed, maybe certain arguments and opinions about the disputed rights would never gain access to the highest Court in Brazil, and also would not be widely debated at national level.

Thereby, our objective is to demonstrate that, through the habermasian concept of public sphere and the author’s works about law (in the book “Between Facts and Norms”), influenced by the idea of struggle for recognition of rights of Axel Honneth, we can achieve a specifically concept of legal public sphere, and this concept can be demonstrated and explains some of the open arenas in the formal institutions, like the public hearings that take place in the Brazilian Supreme Court, processes that appears to extend the citizenship forms of excluded and minority groups by giving space to talk about inner experiences of disrespect.

Maya Hadar: Social identification and group performance: the effect of different war outcomes on national pride, the sense of belonging and the sense community among citizens

It is long been known that Identification with in-groups is motivated by the need to belong and to participate in bounded cooperative social units. Once the self is attached to a distinctive in-group, additional motives to achieve positive valuation are engaged. The context of real life conflict between groups has interesting characteristics that permit a close examination of some of the central assumptions in social identity theory, one of the most comprehensive theories of group relations.

Individuals’ aspiration to achieve a positive self-esteem may clash with their membership in a social group, when social comparisons are made with a clearly superior out-group (for example, following groups’ defeat in a war). No empirical work on the effects of group performance on individual’s social identity salience has so far been framed within social identity theory and applied in the context of Political Science. The study is therefore aimed at shedding light on the intricate relations between social identification of group members and group performance.

The Internet-based experiment and research examine variations in social identity’s saliency (including the components of national pride, sense of belonging and sense of community) of group members, generated by different war outcomes (victory, defeat, stalemate and agreement). The experiment was conducted via WEXTOR, a platform for web experiments. All participants were presented with a short passage, describing their life as citizens of a peaceful imaginary country. The participants were then confronted with a conflict between their country and a second made-up country (the conflict scenario itself was identical for all participants). Soon after, the participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions and a different war outcome was presented to each group. Following the conflict and the randomly assigned outcome, participants were presented with five statements. Using five levels Likert-type scaling, the
participants were asked to grade their agreement with the said statements on five points scale. The statements referred to national identity, national pride, sense of belonging and sense of community. Hence, the independent variable was conflict’s termination type (victory, defeat, stalemate and agreement), whereas the dependent variables were the grading of agreement with the five statements. An analysis of the effect variations in conflict outcomes had on each of the different parameters was conducted using statistical tests.

The research supports the conclusion that a positive group identity is sustained despite poor group performance, as no significant differences between groups were observed across parameters and conditions. The paper also addresses the psychological and sociological mechanisms that may account for the found effect, and discusses the importance of the findings in the realm of post conflict societies

Whitney Hardin, Michael McGinnis, Adrienne Jankens: Citizenship and Spectatorial Ethics: Violence, Mediation, Response

Acts of spectatorship and witnessing are integral parts of our reaction to violence. Ariella Azoulay makes note of our impulse to take pictures of disaster, to “collect, distribute and interpret photographs from these places” (104). The assumptions that underlie this impulse are “that what happens ‘there’ is of interest not only to those concerned with it - those who’ve been struck by disaster - but to onlookers the world over, and … that photographs produced out of what happens ‘there’ participate in constructing the event and the responses to it” (104). In this way, images become “part of the way in which citizens actualize their duty toward other citizens as photographed persons who have been struck by disaster” (104). Extending these ideas to encompass media other than photography, this suggests that citizens have a responsibility to one another that involves their use of media for reporting and responding to disastrous or violent events. This panel investigates how uses of media construct both representations of violence and responses from victims and horrified citizens. Speaker One looks at videos of citizens’ interactions with police officers to examine agency surrounding the creation and distribution of images of violence. Speaker Two examines implications for queer citizenship in the light of media coverage of the Orlando nightclub shooting. Speaker Three considers how we might support students in developing ethical practices for developing responses to violent events through social media. Together, these papers consider how the mediation of violence can both foster and erode bonds between citizens and communities.

Sam Jackson: The Oath Keepers: Patriotism, Dissent, and the Edge of Violence

Over the past several years, there have been several examples of prominent activism in America originating in the patriot/militia movement that contest the authority and legitimacy of the federal government, including the standoff at Bundy Ranch in 2014 and the occupation of the Malheur Wildlife Refuge in 2016. Participants in this activity often root their action in an interpretation of American history, American political philosophy, and American political identity. This paper considers one prominent group in this movement called the Oath Keepers, which relies on such history, philosophy, and identity to justify its political behavior and goals. In particular, it explores how the group uses history (especially American history) to justify its vigorous political dissent while simultaneously portraying its members as American patriots. It argues that the Oath Keepers uses its story of American patriotism to garner moral legitimacy and political support while expressing strong dissent and walking along the edge of violence.
In recent years, the new right has gained an increasing foothold across all European countries. Political parties that represent this new right span from Greece via France to Portugal, they extend to the British Isles, the Scandinavian countries but as well to the east of Europe. The new right-swing reflects in the renationalization of single countries – Brexit springs to mind – and while it is not uncontested within each single country, the social sphere is replete with nationalist sentiment that is often veiled in anti-foreigner sentiment.

Germany is not immune to this trend. While patriotism was eyed with suspicion, overt nationalist sentiments constituted a taboo based on the gruesome past of the country. Nationalist parties have existed since the foundation of the Federal Republic in 1949, yet they remained marginal. Nationalist slurs could lead to exclusion from parties, and usually seriously impacted on the career of a politician. Since the late 2000s a new nationalism has found expression publically, and politically. Most publically, Thilo Sarrazin, member of the centre left SPD, was not excluded from the party after voicing serious anti-foreigner, and specifically anti-Muslim sentiment from 2009 onwards. Sarrazin’s public statements found support with significant parts of the population, and one could argue that Sarrazin paved the way for the vitriolic debate concerning male circumcision for religious reasons in the summer 2012. In this respect Sarrazin can be seen as the harbinger of the anti-immigrant, and anti-EU party AfD (Alternative for Germany, founded in 2013) as well as the movement PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the Occident, founded in 2014): if one wanted, one could be right in public again without the previous, serious, social stigma and repercussions.

Contrary to the long-held assumption that the ill- and uneducated attend PEGIDA rallies, and vote for the AfD social scientists evidenced that the major catchment for both stem from the middle classes of the country (Vorländer 2015). This is to say that this strata of society, previously assumed to substantiate German democracy became ‘uninhibited’ (Decker et. al. 2016) in the expressions of their right-wing attitudes. This trend seems to continue as anti-foreigner sentiment runs high under the veil of anti-refugee resentment, and the German chancellor Angela Merkel had to revise her famous three words “Wir schaffen das!” (We will succeed) of the summer of 2015 to “Deutschland wird Deutschland bleiben” (Germany will stay Germany) a year later.

This paper seeks to understand what the ‘Germanisation’ in terms of the right-swing of the political, social, and legal spheres means for the citizenship of those who are constructed as ‘foreign’ but who hold German citizenship, or who wish to obtain it based on their permanent residence in the country. What does foreignness mean and what is Germanness based on? Preuss (2003) argued that Germanness constitutes of specific intermediate spheres such as language, ethnicity, and also religion; citizenship, he carefully outlined is an add on: one can be German without being a German citizen. I argue that the opposite can apply too: one can be a German citizen without being German. My key argument lies with understanding the construction of ‘foreign German citizens.’ Thus, this paper seeks to tweak out how violence, physical, social, legal, and structural is expressed in the current discourses of the citizenships of the ‘non-German German citizenz’, and how social, legal, political spheres interact to give shape to potential structures of violence, and how they pave ways to marginalisation.
L David Lal: Understanding Citizenship through Caste Lens in India

Independent India unfolded citizenship in a hierarchical society where individuals were differentially placed based on caste. Citizenship came with a promise of equality before law and equal rights to all citizens with no discrimination. Recent scholarship on caste and citizenship in India has demonstrated that the concept of citizenship are constructed around notions of purity and pollution which excludes those who are considered as impure or untouchables by the Brahmanical caste system. This spatial exclusion of Dalits (ex-untouchables or scheduled castes) reflects that caste based notions of citizenship is underlined by the ideas of purity. Elaborating on this idea, this paper attempts to explore the ways in which these dissidents are attempting to break the notions of public and civic spaces in their attempt to redefine this dominant notion of citizenship through challenging the denial of equal access to public space and public services. While doing so, Dalits across the country witness violent resistance in the form of caste based atrocities. These ongoing contestations for equal access to public space have invoked serious struggles challenging the terrain of contemporary citizenship in India traditionally understood as equalising and universal. The arguments are based on the analysis of evidence based fact-finding and field research conducted by the author.

Yogesh Mishra: I am a Kashmiri first: Negotiating identity and citizenship in a contested landscape

The conflict in the Kashmir Valley is one of the prolonged conflicts in the world. Once known for its extraordinary and serene beauty, the Valley has now become synonymous with violence, separatist movements, frequent curfews, and mass graves; surveillance and monitoring have become common features of an ordinary Kashmiri’s life. Violence, curtailed freedom, insecurities, and controlled participation in public spaces have continued to be essential dimensions of people’s lives in the volatile terrain of the Valley. Growing up and living in a contested place people learn to negotiate with various power structures and question the political institutions of democracy to claim the right of citizenship to face and survive the precarious nature of life.

Drawing from the research rooted in local lives, this paper emerges out of an ethnographic inquiry to analyze the dynamics of violence and people’s engagement with the state. I am interested in theoretical and methodological openings to engage with the quotidian and investigate a) salient features of identity and subtleties of the everyday life within and outside of nationalistic discourses and b) in what ways people’s activities and interests are shaped by their experiences as a citizen of a contested place. Through locating people’s perspectives, practices, and lived realities this paper reflects upon the social participation of Kashmiris upon which their citizenship depends. In this effort, I look at the routinized performances and banal geographies of violence in a conflict zone where ‘life is scattered, discontinuous, marked by the artificial and imposed arrangements of interrupted or confined space.’

Based on the people’s narratives and frameworks of understanding, this paper presents an insight into the lives of the citizens of Kashmir, their practices, and politics of participation. This paper makes an effort to contribute towards the understanding of the relationship between the state, and its citizen and the ways in which people make, politicize and challenge spaces to participate in the life of society.

Femi Omotoso and Olayide I. Oladeji: Ethnofederal Policies, Indigeneity and Citizenship Dilemmas in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

For reasons that have to do with its emergence as a postcolonial state, Nigeria is one of the most diverse and complex ethno-cultural-religious countries in the world. Instead of nurturing national unity and sameness, these complexities tend to polarise Nigeria along ethno-cultural-religious cleavages. Thus, as ways of
fostering ‘unity in diversity’ and ensuring ethno-cultural-religious balance and justice, successive
governments in Nigeria opted for ethnofederal policies, which include bifurcating Nigeria into states and local
governments along ethno-cultural cleavages, quota system, catchment areas in admitting students into federal
institutions, federal character principle, and rotating the key political offices among the country’s geopolitical
zones. But these policies have had boomerang effect in that they have not only exacerbated the problems they
meant to resolve, but have also created new ones. Paramount among the problems of ethnofederal policies in
Nigeria is the citizenship dilemma it has created. Thus relying on historical-descriptive approach, this study
examines the implications of ethnofederal institutional design and policies for citizenship and rights in a
multinational state like Nigeria, especially since 1999 when it re-democratise. The study revealed that due to
the policies, national citizenship is at best queasy in Nigeria, while effective citizenship and rights are only
operative at sub-national levels (Local Government Areas) through ethnic belonging as indigenes. As such,
there are perpetual tensions between the notions of liberal citizenship of equal opportunities and rights for all
citizens and exclusive republican citizenship rights based on indigeneity. The study further showed that the
contradictions set forth by the indigeneity-citizenship nexus are at the heart of the many crises threatening the
democratic credentials of or trying to tear Nigeria. To resolve these contradictions the paper calls for hybrid
citizenship and citizen-centred federalism in Nigeria. The former involves limiting indigeneity rights to
certain traditional rites, rituals, titles and stools. The later involve the democratization of citizenship by
making access to it and political participation based on continuous residency in any part of the federation. It
also involves good governance that will engender ‘developmental state’ and take majority of the citizens out of
excruciating poverty.

Adriana Otálora-Buitrago: Victims of Violence, Peace Building and the Role of the State in
Colombia

Following the signing of the peace agreements in Havana, Colombia prepares to end more than 50 years of
armed conflict with FARC. It has just begun the processes of weapons resign and return to civilian life of
former combatants who soon will be part of the political life of the country. In this peace process, victims
should play a central role, particularly in terms of what symbolic acts of reconciliation and forgiveness is
concerned. Various political leaders hide behind the interests of the victims both to defend and to attack the
peace process, while several guerrilla leaders have made acts of peace in which they have apologized to the
victims of their most notorious massacres, however, in this process the victims remain in a secondary role,
leaving the spotlight to the political leaders of both sides. Contrary to what the logic of peace building
dictates, victims in Colombia remain in a state of vulnerability, invisibility and marking, continuing with
a process of revictimization product of symbolic violence that society in general infringes upon those who had
some kind participation in the armed conflict. The vast majority of victims in Colombia come from the rural
sector, which for generations has been found in total isolation from urban areas, constituting two different
understandings of the relationship of citizens with the state or what it means to be a citizen; to the extent that
the concept of citizenship in the urban sector approaches a dynamic and horizontal relationship with the state,
and in rural areas the same relationship is part of a vertical and subordinate relationship, also, rural victims of
violence differentiate their concept of citizenship form the recognition of the State. Both victims and rural
population converge on a scenario in which symbolic violence overlaps with structural violence fact that
constitutes a breeding ground for the emergence of new social conflicts. This proposal aims to analyze what
kind of initiatives would promote a real peace building culture in Colombia, and what would be the role of the
State in such process, under the idea of a dynamic social contract as a requirement for democracy.
Krishna P Pandey: Ethnic Politics, Madheshi Uprisings and the Question of Citizenship: A Case of Nepal

Nepal, formerly a kingdom and now a federal republic in making, has been experiencing ethnic movements since 1990s. These movements largely have passed through two major phases. The first phase of the movements concentrated among the hill-origin ethnic groups emphasizing the right to inclusive representation in state bodies, self-rule and protect ethnic cultures. The second phase is marked by the shift in the ethnic actors and the priorities which was brought by the Madheshi uprising in 2007. The Madheshis (Indian-origin Nepalis) living in the southern plains for the first time in a mass protest demanded autonomy, inclusive representation and end of their stereotyping as the 'Indians' which was linked with the question of citizenship policy that Nepal had adopted. The problem of the citizenship for the Indian-origin Nepalis was not anew since it had been raised during 1950s for the first time after the introduction of democratic politics and is still going on. Since 1950s several efforts have made to solve the issue without compromising the national interest but many political actors in Nepal view that it has legitimized the Indian influence in Nepal and needs to be understood along with the nation's sovereignty.

The issue of citizenship in Nepal thus has been brought into the centre not independently but along with the other demands of ethnic forms. Some Madheshi political parties boycotted the voting for the draft constitution in September 2015 and went to the street claiming that the draft was discriminatory to them in terms of citizenship. The protest strike is still going on symbolically. Although the problem has not produced a overt ethnic violence it has institutionalized ethnic polarization and distrust between the Madheshis and the Non-Madheshis (hill-origin) and, simultaneously, has been impending the smooth exit from political transition. In this backdrop I intend to initiate a discussion to seek answer what trajectory has the citizenship debate gone through and why it is considered a threat to the sovereignty. Moreover, this essay discusses how their demand of changes in citizenship provisions has been fueling pro-Nepali sentiments among the non-Madheshis.

Omri Pelerman: Violent Conversations – Becoming Citizens in the New State of Israel

The topic of this paper is an analysis of a series of four violent events that occurred in one weekend in October 1952 in Emek Hefer, Israel. The first two events involved a guard of eastern european descent who was a long-time resident in Palestine, a recently immigrant from Yemen and later her soldier son. The last two involved the entire settlement of Emek Hefer and up to two-hundred armed police officers.

In the years between 1948 and 1952, the jewish population of Israel doubled in size: from 650,000 to over 1.2 million. The immigrants (called Olim) can be divided into two large groups: those who arrived from camps in Europe and those brought from Asian and north African countries (mainly Iraq and Yemen). Olim from Asia and north Africa were considered the least civilised and the most violent.

The state organised political and military operations to assist Jews from countries in which the population was becoming increasingly hostile to immigrate. Entire communities, were brought to Israel together. In some cases, like in the case of the Yemenite Olim discussed here, they were brought and settled together in temporary settlement called Ma’abarot. There, the conditions were extremely rough: hunger, disease and crime were part of the norm. The immigrants demonstrated often against the lack of food and jobs. There numbers and unity as a community made them all the more powerful and difficult for the weak, newly formed police force, to take under control.

The historiography of the great immigration (Ha’Aliyah HaGdola, 1948-1956), especially in recent years, has focused on ways in which the Olim were civilised, often claiming that Asian and north African (Mizrahi)
immigrants were discriminated against. Some researchers, such as Sami Shalom-Shitrit (2004) and Bryan Roby (2016), have placed a Mizrahi rebellion as early as 1948. Though they discuss violent cases, they do not discuss the violence itself. Others, Orit Rozin (2016), have described the process of becoming citizens in Israel, as a discussion, a continuing negotiation between the state and the olim.

In this paper I will assert that through an analysis of the violence used, the voices of the immigrants can be heard loud. Through the use of different levels of physical aggression and different assault technique, the expressed different objective rooted in different contexts. Through the events in October 1952, I will demonstrate the different uses of the ‘violent language’ in different ‘violent conversations’. One of the main accusations against what was perceived as the violent nature of the Mizrahi olim, was that they do not understand – mentally and culturally – what it takes to be citizens in a modern democracy. I would assert that the use of violence was not only a part of the process of becoming citizens, but rather showed a deep understanding of structure and boundaries of the state. The formative years of the state of Israel allow for a unique look at the process of becoming citizens, and thus of citizenship.


Cultural historian Alyosha Goldstein shows how the community action policies of the War on Poverty sought to incite the political participation of the poor while simultaneously policing such activity to comport with dominant political edicts. In so doing, these policies ineluctably tied the question of state violence to debates between liberal and radical social movements of what constitutes meaningful political participation of the poor. Within this context, the figure of the “racialized poor” became an ideologically fraught site that indexed the political struggles between Great Society liberals and social movement radicals over the meaning of violence and responsibility. The overdetermination of their meaning poses a profound set of questions whose stakes continue to resonate with us today. That is, how do we understand the relationship between responsibility and violence through the figure of the racialized poor as it mediated the contested politics of empowerment and belonging between War on Poverty and radical civil rights struggles? How did these politics converge and diverge over the meaning of responsibility and violence? What alternative conceptions of responsibility lay inchoate within the overdetermination of responsibility and violence found at the intersection of these struggles?

This presentation pursues these questions by turning to Oscar Zeta Acosta’s novel Revolt of the Cockroach People as site a where the ideological struggle between Great Society liberals in the War on Poverty and the radicalization of civil rights protest occurs over the meaning of responsibility and violence in the figure of the racialized poor. Yet, as much as these groups were politically opposed to one another, this presentation argues that, at the level of political imagination, they shared a notions of responsibility and violence that shored up the nation-state through nationalist forms of subjectivity. Drawing upon the work of ethical philosopher Emmanuelle Levinas, the presentation identifies how a specifically racial and gendered construction of the body functions as the concept-metaphor through which responsibility and violence work together to form nationalist subjectivities (whether liberal nationalist or cultural nationalist) that justify the nation-state as the necessary ethical horizon for hope and justice. However, the article also finds that within this overdetermined construction lays an inchoate articulation of responsibility and violence that pivots not on the racial and gendered body but on the concept-metaphor of racialized flesh. This racialized flesh, the presentation ultimately contends, produces an account of responsibility and violence that undermines the nation-state’s claim as the ethical arbiter of justice.
Sean Rost: “Peace and Quiet Prevails Here:” Intimidation and Violence in Missouri’s Cotton Belt

The sounds of excited children and joyful Christmas carols were gone as a bitterly cold December wind blew through the lonely streets of Charleston, Missouri. The only noise to pierce the eerily quiet night was the voices of men surrounding a large bonfire. Upon the fire lay the lifeless body of Roosevelt Grigsby, a local African American man, who only hours earlier had been accused of attacking a white teenage girl. Grigsby pleaded his innocence to the crime, but a mob of over two hundred men removed him from the county courthouse and lynched him from a tree near the town square. As he frantically tried to save his life while suspended in the air, a single shot rang out. Grigsby’s movements stopped. But the mob was not done with Roosevelt Grigsby. Tying his body to the rear bumper of a Ford touring car, mob members dragged Grigsby through town, particularly the African American section known as the “bad lands.” At the intersection of Marshall and Elm Streets, the mob, in its final act, built a large bonfire and threw Grigsby’s body into the fiery inferno. By midnight, the crowd had dispersed and the town fell quiet.

As days passed, residents of Charleston and the nearby counties of Missouri’s cotton belt attempted to understand what happened on that cold December night. Labeled as “Our Great Disgrace” by the Southeast Missourian, the lynching drew the attention of state and national officials. Despite wide condemnation of the mob’s actions, local residents defensively argued that the lynching was the culmination of a series of recent attacks on white women by black men. When pressed by state officials to conduct a more thorough investigation into the events surrounding the lynching, Charleston Mayor C.L. Joslyn told Attorney General Jesse W. Barrett to “go to hell.” Besides, as some in Charleston pointed out, Roosevelt Grigsby had a history of crimes against women, including serving time at a Boonville, Missouri reformatory for a similar charge.

To truly understand the mob mentality exhibited by Charleston residents on that December night, however, there needs to be a closer study of racial tensions and white supremacy in southeastern Missouri in the first quarter of the 20th Century. This paper examines the movement of African American laborers, as part of the larger Great Migration, into Missouri’s cotton belt, and the subsequent violence and intimidation that greeted them. My main argument is that the arrival of increasing numbers of black laborers into the district led to attempts at intimidation by local whites concerned over increasing competition for agricultural work. Additionally, I argue that the Ku Klux Klan, while experiencing considerable growth in the region, tried to quell such intimidation for fear that it would negatively impact the local economy. In the end, despite repeatedly assuring outside observers that “peace and quiet prevails here,” district officials’ inaction in the face of violence allowed racial tensions to simmer throughout the first half of the 1920s and ultimately led to the lynching of Roosevelt Grigsby.

Anuradha Sen Mookerjee: Critical Citizenship in the India-Bangladesh Borderscape: Post LBA Transitions in the Former Bangladeshi Enclaves in Cooch Behar, India

In May 2015 in a surprise historic move the Indian Parliament ratified the 1974 Land Boundary Agreement (LBA) with Bangladesh settling the long-standing border dispute between the two countries. It has led to the exchange of the border enclaves, as both territories and populations. Fifty-one Bangladeshi “enclaves” within India became Indian territory and one hundred and eleven Indian “enclaves” became Bangladeshi territory, while the 51,549 people residing in the Indian and Bangladeshi enclaves, were offered the option of choosing nationality of either state. Finally, 14,864 persons who were citizens of Bangladesh living in those enclaves which became part of Cooch Behar district of West Bengal in India acquired Indian citizenship from 1 August, 2015. Additionally, 979 people opted for Indian citizenship from Indian enclaves in Bangladesh, of whom 922 people finally came to India by the deadline of 23 November 2015. This study ethnographically and historically traces the production of marginality through the period of transition for the Chhit-Mahal people from being the ‘the non-citizen other’ to being ‘the citizen’. It addresses two questions,
firstly, how marginality was and is being produced in the former chhit-mahals and secondly, how they have provided (in the past) and continue to provide in the present, conditions for forms of political becoming. Towards this end, the study theoretically draws on critical citizenship literature and investigates the practices, experiences and legacies of marginality that (en)gender different political struggles of these people, not only producing marginality or marginal spaces but also providing conditions for being constituted as political subjects and explores the effects on their newly acquired citizenship, as it is practised and conceptualised. It is premised on the methodological landscape that addresses marginality as the process through which certain subjects and groups’ belonging is problematised, and its materialization that occurs through central norms and practices of citizenship. This study draws on the analytic of the ‘borderscape’, that allows for a study of the border, as mobile, perspectival, and relational. It enables study of practices, performances, and discourses that seek to capture, contain, and instrumentally use the border to affix a dominant spatiality, temporality, and political agency. This study is based on multi-sited ethnography undertaken between March-September 2016, across select former Bangladesh Chhit-Mahals in Dinhata and Mekhliganj subdivisons of Cooch Behar district, West Bengal, India, all the three Enclave Resettlement Camps, at Haldibari, Mekhliganj and Dinhata and urban migrant labour sites in Ghaziabad, Haryana and Rajasthan. Research methods include life histories, in-depth interviews, participant observation, focus group discussions, studying social media, Facebook and WhatsApp groups, and following print media, North Bengal editions, for six months (April-September 2016).