

'Citizenship without Community': Abstracts

Keynote address 1: **Professor Engin Isin (Open University) *Citizens without nations***

Keynote address 2: **Professor Étienne Balibar (University of California, Irvine) *The "impossible" community of the citizens: Past and present problems***

In the wake of previous reflections on the antinomies of citizenship, which derive both from the tension between an "insurrectional" logic of equal liberty and a "constitutional" project of building a community of citizens, and more recently from the conflict between (national) social citizenship and neo-liberal forms of global governance, the lecture will discuss problems of "representation" and "agency" linked to the idea of democratizing democracy itself. It will try in this sense to propose a more specific determination to the idea of an unfinished, although contingent, history of citizenship in the modern world.

Panel 1: Politics without community

Professor Joe Painter (Durham University)

The Politics of the Neighbour

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Normative theorists of both citizenship and community frequently privilege the neighbourhood as a primary political site. The allure of the neighbourhood has persisted and in some respect even increased despite globalisation. Psephologists have long argued that a 'neighbourhood effect' shapes electoral geographies, though its putative mechanism - the "garden fence conversation" - is difficult to demonstrate and seems increasingly implausible as the political environment becomes ever more mediated. Be that as it may, neighbourhoods are now regularly touted as sources of civic renewal, active citizenship and democratic revival. British politicians from all the main political parties have pledged themselves in favour of (usually unspecified) programmes of neighbourhood empowerment. On the other hand, much less attention has been paid to the politics of the underlying concept: the figure of the neighbour. This paper will address the politics of the neighbour with particular reference to its radical ambiguity. From the biblical injunction to 'love thy neighbour' to contemporary fears of the 'neighbours from hell', the neighbour has been an unsettling and under-theorised figure in political thought. Whereas the concept of community suggests a shared identity, the idea of the neighbour implies no more than proximity and thus has the potential better to accommodate otherness. The paper will reflect on the ethico-politics of the neighbour and explore its implications for citizenship without community.

Author biography

Joe Painter is Professor of Geography at Durham University, where he has taught since 1993. He has a BA degree from the University of Cambridge and a PhD from the Open University. His research interests lie in political and urban geography, particularly urban politics, geographies of citizenship and the relationship between state formation and everyday life. He has published widely on these and other topics. His latest book (written with Alex Jeffrey) is *Political Geography* (Sage, 2009).

Jonna Pettersson (Lund University)

Resisting sameness: political emancipation outside the community

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Critical discourse on citizenship often underlines how the status of the citizen has ceased to be perceived as a privilege and is instead viewed in terms of universal access to political rights and political participation. The political man is thus constituted by his citizenship and not the other way around (Arendt 1994:300ff, Balibar 2004:312, 321). As a consequence, the universal rights of man have disappeared into the particular rights of the citizen as the emancipated individual man they address has turned into a member of a people (Douzinas 2000:100ff).

This paper aims to reconsider this discourse and argue that it reasserts the division between those who are capable of doing politics and those who are not, through excluding the latter from any political sphere. The identitarian politics this discourse draws on is marked by an intense sensitivity to the Other and reproduces the hierarchy of inequalities it sets up (Prozorov 2009:27, Ranciere 2007:51f). Instead, this paper follows Ranciere's line of thought and discusses the distinction between man and citizen as an opening for political subjectivisation (Ranciere 2004:306). It argues that if politics is understood as occurring *between* law and fact, a political subject is one that defies the overlap of these categories through acts of dissensus. It is thus rather the stateless or the migrant, which challenges the borders of the community as well as its political consensus that constitute political actors.

Author biography

Jonna PetterSson is a Ph D-student in Political Science at Lund University, Sweden. Her academic work circles around statelessness, political thought, philosophy and jurisprudence. As a Ph D-student she studies political-philosophical implications of statelessness, especially the possibility of a political subject that is lacking (primarily) a national identity. Her academic background consists of an MA in History of Ideas and a BA in Political Science from Lund University. In addition to this she has studied an MA in International Law, Globalisation and Development at School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Her master dissertation in International Law is named "The Border Within" and analyses the *de facto* stateless Russian-speaking minority in Estonia as a consequence of the identification of the nation with the state in the Estonian nation-building process.

Dr Andrew Schaap (University of Exeter) and Paul Muldoon (Monash University)

The Constituent Power of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy (Canberra, Australia)

(Picture included with abstract)

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On 'Australia Day', 26 January 1972, four young men planted a beach umbrella on the lawn in front of Parliament House, Australia. With this act, they claimed to establish an embassy. While formally citizens of Australia since 1967, the ambassadors claimed that, since Aboriginal people were effectively aliens in their own land, they needed an embassy to represent their interests to the Australian state just like any other group of foreign nationals.

In contrast to the monumental architecture of the capital, the embassy is collapsible and ephemeral. As such, the embassy invokes Aboriginal sovereignty as a right while testifying to the lack of sovereignty in fact. On the one hand, it flies its own flag and claims the right to negotiate with the Australian state. On the other hand, in resembling the fringe dweller camps of rural Australian towns, it is a reminder of the dispossession of Aboriginal people.

This paper will examine the constituent power of the tent embassy to contest the communal citizenship practices of the Australian state. It will do so in terms of three aspects: 1) *spatially*, as an appropriation of public space and of what can be said and done within it; 2) *temporally*, as an event that ruptures the narrative of progressive enfranchisement of Aboriginal people, and; 3) *socially*, as an enactment of a subject position that is not available within existing practices of communal citizenship within the settler society.

Author biography

Within the broad research field of contemporary political theory, I have expertise on the work of Hannah Arendt and theories of radical democracy with substantive research interests on the politics of reconciliation and the rights of indigenous people in Australia. My first book, based on my doctoral dissertation, was called *Political Reconciliation*. I have also edited books on *Law and Agonistic Politics* and *Power, Judgment and Political Evil: In Conversation with Hannah Arendt*. I am writing a book, *Human Rights and the Political*, which examines how Arendt's influential discussion of the aporia of 'the rights to have rights' is treated by Seyla Benhabib, Jean-Francois Lyotard, Giorgio Agamben, Claude Lefort, Antonio Negri and Jacques Ranciere. I am also working on a collaborative project with Paul Muldoon (Monash, Melbourne) on the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Australia.

Dr Teresa Pullano (Sciences Po Paris and Italian National Research Council)
A Postrevolutionary and Territorial European Citizenship
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In my paper, I argue for a reading of contemporary European citizenship as postrevolutionary. By this, I mean the impossibility, for Europe, to be the foundational moment of a new political community. The term "revolution" is here intended in its modern significance (Arendt, *On Revolution*; Kojève, *Outline of a Phenomenology of Right*) as a breaking point in historical temporality. The idea of a postrevolutionary citizenship implies therefore that the link between the capacity of constituting a strong political community and the power to open up a new historical temporality is not working anymore in the present context. Nevertheless, I argue that European citizenship is postrevolutionary but not depoliticized. The redefinition of the political structuring of contemporary non-national forms of membership passes through its rearticulation with space and mobility. The analysis of the link between European citizenship and free movement policies within the EU space, as well as the analysis of the link between citizenship and territory at the microlevel - the one of the cities and their peripheries - will show how the redefinition of modern space and of national territoriality is the site of

the construction of European citizenship as a mean to structure and to differentiate political community, on the one side.

On the other side, the relationship between citizenship, territoriality and community represents the possibility of thinking about a new form of political participation which is at the same time meaningful and non-regressive. The discussion of the historical and philosophical normative link between citizenship, space and community is crucial to the proposal of an idea of political membership able to constitute and alternative to liberalism but at the same time to produce a critique of modernity which is not regressive.

Author biography

I am a political theorist working within the field of contemporary philosophy and contemporary European and globalisation studies. I just completed one year of postdoctoral research at Columbia University, New York, as a Fulbright-Schuman fellow. While in New York, I started collaborating with Professor Neil Brenner, from New York University, on issues of socio-spatial theory, more precisely the work of Henri Lefebvre and Nicos Poulantzas, and I am working on their application to the contemporary redefinition of both citizenship and territoriality in the case of the European Union. In January 2009, I defended my PhD at Sciences Po, Paris on the issue of "European Citizenship and Free Movemet of People. Political Integration and the Disentanglement of Nation-States in Europe". I have a master degree in philosophy from the University of Pavia and I am currently working as temporary research fellow at the Italian National Council in Rome and at Sciences Po Paris.

Panel 2: Mobile citizenship

Professor Cynthia Weber

Desert Designs: Design, Citizenship, and Political Acts of Citizenship With/Out Community

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As a way to unpack what it means to act politically in relation to citizenship, mobility, and communities in global politics, this paper begins with how a focus on design and citizenship might illuminate these relationships. To do this, it briefly offers a theoretical discussion of design and its relationship to citizenship, suggesting that the urgency in taking design seriously within the realm of citizenship studies is that design offers a new prism through which to address the political (in this case the political of acts of citizenship and citizenship without community in the context of mobility). To illustrate this theoretical argument, the paper explores two cases of 'desert designs' at the interface of citizenship and citizenship without community. These two designs are Robert Ransick's Casa Segura/Safe House, a small public access structure on private land in the Sonora desert in Southern Arizona that provides lifesaving food, water and shelter to migrants crossing the desert and Judi Werthein's Brinco/I Jump shoes that are specially designed and distributed free to migrants who are about to 'jump' the Mexico/US border.

Author biography

Cynthia Weber is Professor of International Politics at Lancaster University and co-Director of the media company Pato Productions. She has written widely on International Relations Theory, Gender/Sexuality/ Queer Studies and US Foreign Policy and American Studies. Her current work explores design in the contexts of security and citizenship as well as documentary filmmaking as a political practice.

Rutvica Andrijasevic and Claudia Aradau (Open University)

Unexpected citizens: sex work, mobility, Europe

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Much emphasis is placed today in Europe on citizens' participation and engagement and on strengthening the communication between citizens and the EU institutions. While European institutions are increasingly concerned with the lack of citizen participation and attempt to foster European citizenship they are paradoxically unable to see acts of citizen mobilization. Exemplary in this regard would be the actions of 17th October 2005, when a Declaration on the Rights of Sex Workers was presented in the European Parliament. The conference, the consultation process that preceded it and the presentation of the Declaration are paradigmatic forms of active citizenship. However, the organisation, mobilisation and rights claims by sex workers around Europe and beyond are not recognised as political participation. How are we to understand this inattention by European institutions and representatives to a form of citizen action and democratic participation? Why are the presentation, endorsement and signing of the Declaration of the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe in the EP not more widely recognised as significant political actions?

We suggest that the dismissal of the Declaration and of the sex workers' mobilisation is to be found in the idea of who can be a legitimate actor in the EU and what counts as a legitimate political action. This inattention derives from citizenship having received a purely normative juridical treatment (at the legislative or regulative level), or a deductive treatment which proceeds from a pre-existing concept of citizenship and of the citizen at the European level (Balibar, 1996: 355). The sex workers' actions do not fully fit the legislative and regulative institutionalization of citizenship. They self-organise as a collective subject rather than having recourse to pre-given civil society mediators. To draw out the political significance of this mobilization for European citizenship, a different conception of citizenship is required. We draw on the concepts of 'acts of citizenship' (Isin 2008) and 'sociality of mobility' (Aradau, Huysmans, Squire 2011) to show the limits of the EU's understanding of citizenship and free movement, but also its potential of being opened up and reformulated in new sites by subjects who act as citizens. The sex workers who mobilise around the Declaration and the manifesto disrupt given understandings of what counts as a citizen and political action in the EU.

In this paper (co-authored with Claudia Aradau, Jef Huysmans and Vicki Squire), we unpack the ways in which sex workers enact citizenship by politically mobilising a sociality which is created in relations of exchange. Thus, they simultaneously disrupt given conceptualisations of citizenship and free movement which also underpin the governance of human trafficking and sex work. Furthermore, we explore this act of citizenship along two dimensions: how it mobilises the 'right to hold rights' and how it

implies the creation of a new collective political subject.

Author biographies

Rutvica Andrijasevic joined the Open University following her three-year post-doctoral research at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford where she worked first as an ESRC and later as an EC/Marie Currie Research Fellow on issues of sex trafficking, gender, and EU citizenship. Dr Andrijasevic holds a PhD in Women's Studies from Utrecht University (2004); an MA in Gender and Culture from the Central European University (1998); and a BA in Modern European Languages and Literatures from the University of Trieste (1997)

Claudia Aradau was appointed to a lectureship at The Open University in 2006 after having worked as a Research Associate at King's College London. Her previous doctoral research at the OU focused on the securitisation of trafficking in women in Europe and the political implications of security practices. PhD (The Open University), MPhil (Central European University), MA (Central European University), BA (Political Science/University of Bucharest), BA (Philology/University of Bucharest)

Umut Erel (Open University)

Beyond Home – Migrant Mothers' Citizenship

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Migrant women as mothers make a home for themselves and their children. This entails constructing belonging on several levels: the locality, the nation-state of residence and the nation-states where they come from, as well as ethnic majority and minority groups in the country of residence and transnationally. This disrupts the reference of 'home' to a specific relationship between territory, state, and culture. Although migrant women's mothering is often seen as a resource for constructing ethnic identity of the minority group, it also entails transformative aspects. Migrant mothering practices reference multiple localities and communities. The intersections of mobility, community and citizenship articulated through mothering practices are also about making rights claims towards the local and national state in which they reside. As such, migrant mothering invokes the intimate relation between mother and child, yet moves beyond the private/ public boundary in constructing multiple and contradictory bases of belonging and rights claiming. Drawing on a small study of migrant mothers in London, this paper explores how migrant women's mothering practices contribute to developing new modes of political subjectivities across the public/ private boundaries. The paper looks at how these political subjectivities accommodate or challenge dominant notions of community and citizenship.

Author biography

Umut Erel is RCUK Academic Fellow at CCIG, Open University. Her research interests are on gender, ethnicity, migration and citizenship, she is currently exploring migrant women's mothering practices as citizenship practices. Her book 'Migrant Women Transforming Citizenship. Life Stories from Britain and Germany' (Ashgate 2009) explores the transformative aspects of migrant women's citizenship practices.

Michael Janoschka (Spanish National Research Council (CSIC))

Lifestyle migration and the practice of Citizenship. Conceptualizing the scales of political struggles in locations of leisure-oriented mobility

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Lifestyle-oriented mobilities such as the migration of mainly affluent and predominantly retired citizens to coastal areas in Southern Europe have recently stimulated a lively discussion in a variety of interdisciplinary fields. From a conceptual point of view, such lifestyle migrants neither should be examined as economic migrants, nor can they be considered as elite movers that for example relocate internationally within globally active companies. In consequence, it seems important to highlight that they establish fairly atypical integration and participation processes: For example, they count on powerful tools, know-how and resources to integrate and take leadership within local politics in general and within settings of informal participation in particular.

Encouraged by the active assumption of EU citizenship rights, lifestyle migrants increasingly originate political claims that challenge the established political regimes in destinations such as the coastal areas in Spain, the most important target for European retirees. Amongst others, this mobilization refers to specific political issues such as objections against local development strategies and deficiencies in the provision of public services. In consequence, new political formations, protest organizations and even grassroots movements evolved amongst elderly lifestyle migrants. The different ways political claims are articulated can be evaluated as a practical experience and embodiment of European citizenship that is permanently negotiated through a strategic reference to social constructions of identity.

In the proposed paper, we will discuss the question of how citizenship may be important to claim the rights to the city, the production of space and the participation in local politics. We will conceptualize the differential scales of empirically analysed political struggles in Spain through the perspective of citizenship practice and provide a novel theoretical insight to the relation between citizenship, mobility and political activation.

Author biography

Michael Janoschka currently works as a Marie Curie postdoctoral research fellow at the Centre of Human and Social Sciences of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) in Madrid (2008-2010). Michael Janoschka is graduate geographer from the Humboldt-University of Berlin (2002) and received his Ph.D. at the University of Frankfurt (2007).

His current research interests mainly focus on migration processes in a globalized world and the role of identity politics and citizenship practice in geographical and political conflicts. Another spotlight of his research lays on theoretical discussions of the consequences of globalization and the investigation of local and regional governance systems within fragmented urban regions. Furthermore, he works urban transformation processes and governance, identity politics in shrinking cities and strategies of private urban governance.