

The Politics of Citizenship in a Transnational Age: Theories and Key Issues

Autumn 2016

Time and location: Monday 15:00-17:00, CSS 2-1-49; Thursday 15:00-17:00, CSS 2-2-49

Instructor: Dr Chenchen Zhang (cz@ifs.ku.dk)

How do we understand the concept of citizenship in a world increasingly characterized by transnational flows and hybrid identities? From ancient empires to the modern system of nation-states, this fundamental concept in our understanding of politics has always involved puzzling contradictions such as that between inclusion and exclusion; between particularity and universality; and between 'the political' and 'the international'. The problems rooted in these contradictions have become more pronounced than ever, as the boundaries of the political community today are influenced by various processes of de-bordering and re-bordering: among them are international migration, regional integration, transnational social movement and so forth. Do these transformations bring us closer to or further away from the egalitarian and inclusive ideals of being a 'citizen'? This course will not only introduce classic theoretical accounts of citizenship, but also explore alternative approaches that challenge conventional understandings of rights, identity and boundaries. Furthermore, we will focus on some key contemporary topics that have been widely debated over in citizenship studies and beyond, including migration, EU citizenship and urban citizenship.

Requirements:

It is mandatory to read all assigned readings (those marked as 'optional' not included) before each class. You are expected to actively contribute to classroom discussions. The course has an oral exam with a written synopsis.

1. Introduction (31/10)

Readings:

- Bauböck, R., & Guiraudon, V. (2009). Introduction: realignments of citizenship: reassessing rights in the age of plural memberships and multi-level governance. *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5), 439–450.
- Isin, E., & Turner, B. (2002). Citizenship studies: An introduction. In E. Isin & B. Turner (Eds.) *Handbook of citizenship studies*. London: SAGE.

Optional:

- Steenbergen, B. (1994). The Condition of citizenship: an introduction. In B. Steenbergen (Eds.) *The condition of Citizenship*. London: SAGE.

2. Foundations I: Liberal, republican and communitarian conceptions of citizenship (3/11)

Readings:

- Pocock, J. (2009). The ideal of citizenship since classical times. In G. Shafir (Eds.) *The citizenship debates, a reader*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press.
- Schuck, P. (2002). Liberal Citizenship. In E. Isin & B. Turner (Eds.) *Handbook of citizenship studies*. London: SAGE. – Group 1
- Dagger, R. (2002). Republican Citizenship. In E. Isin & B. Turner (Eds.) *Handbook of citizenship studies*. London: SAGE. – Group 2
- Delanty, G. (2002). Communitarianism and citizenship. In E. Isin & B. Turner (Eds.) *Handbook of citizenship studies*. London: SAGE. – Group 3

Optional:

- Brett, A. S. (2003). The development of the idea of citizens' rights. In Q. Skinner & B. Stråth (Eds.), *States and citizens: history, theory, prospects* (pp. 97–115). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walzer, M. (1983). Spheres of justice: A defense of pluralism and equality. New York: Basic Books. (Chapter 2)

3. Foundations II: Citizenship and the nation-state (7/11)

Readings:

- Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press. (Introduction)
- Vink, M. P., & Bauböck, R. (2013). Citizenship configurations: Analysing the multiple purposes of citizenship regimes in Europe. *Comparative European Politics*, 11(5), 621-648.

Optional:

- Preuss, U. K., Everson, M., Koenig-Archibugi, M., & Lefebvre, E. L. (2003). Traditions of Citizenship in the European Union. *Citizenship Studies*, 7(1), 3–14.
- Diez, T., & Squire, V. (2008). Traditions of citizenship and the securitisation of migration in Germany and Britain. *Citizenship Studies*, 12(6), 565–581.

Group presentation: Analyse the 'citizenship regime' in Denmark based on Vink and Bauböck's framework

4. Alternative approaches I: Governmentality (10/11)

Readings:

- Hindess, B. (1998). Divide and Rule: the international character of modern citizenship. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 1(1), 57–70.

- Foucault, M. (2007). *Security, territory and population*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. (Chapter Four)

Optional:

- Schinkel, W. (2010). From Zoepolitics to Biopolitics: Citizenship and the Construction of "Society." *European Journal of Social Theory*, 13(2), 155–172.
- Procacci, G. (2004). Governmentality and citizenship. In K. Nash & A. Scott (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to political sociology* (pp. 342–351). Oxford; New York: Blackwell Publishing.
- Isin, E. F. (2002). *Being political: genealogies of citizenship*. Minneapolis, M.N.: University of Minnesota Press. (Chapter 1)

5. Alternative approaches II: Acts of Citizenship (14/11)

Readings:

- Isin, E. F., & Nielsen, G. M. (Eds.). (2008). *Acts of citizenship*. London; New York: Zed Books Ltd. (Introduction)
- Rancière, J. (2004). Who Is the Subject of the Rights of Man? *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103(2-3), 297–310.

Optional:

- Schaap, A. (2011). Enacting the right to have rights: Jacques Ranciere's critique of Hannah Arendt. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 10(1), 22–45.
- Andrijasevic, R. (2013). Acts of citizenship as methodology. In E. F. Isin & M. Saward (Eds.), *Enacting European Citizenship* (pp. 47–65). Cambridge.

6. Migration I: The citizen and the alien (17/11)

Readings:

- Bosniak, L. (2006). *The citizen and the alien: dilemmas of contemporary membership*. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 1)
- Cole, P. (1998). The limits of inclusion: western political theory and immigration. *Soundings*, Autumn(10), 134–144.

Optional:

- Sassen, S. (2005). The repositioning of citizenship and alienage: Emergent subjects and spaces for politics.'. *Globalizations*, 2(1), 79–94.
- Honig, B. (2001). *Democracy and the foreigner*. Princeton University Press. (Chapter 1)

7. Migration II: Border policing and neoliberal citizenship (21/11)

Reading:

- Sparke, M. B. (2006). A neoliberal nexus: Economy, security and the biopolitics of citizenship on the border. *Political Geography*, 25(2), 151–180.
- Walters, W. (2002). Deportation, expulsion, and the international police of aliens. *Citizenship Studies*, 6(3), 265–292.

Optional:

- Rajas, J. (2015). Disciplining the human rights of immigrants: market veridiction and the echoes of eugenics in contemporary EU immigration policies. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(6), 1129–1144.
- Vaughan-Williams, N. (2010). The UK border security continuum: virtual biopolitics and the simulation of the sovereign ban. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28(6), 1071–1083.
- Anderson, B. (2013). *Us and them?: The dangerous politics of immigration control*. OUP. Chapter 4.

8. Migration III: Staging the political agency of status non-citizens (24/11)

Readings:

- McNevin, A. (2012). Ambivalence and Citizenship: Theorising the Political Claims of Irregular Migrants. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 41(2), 182–200.
- Papadopoulos, D., & Tsianos, V. S. (2013). After citizenship: autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons. *Citizenship Studies*, 17(2), 178–196. – Group 1
- Ní Mhurchú, A. (2016). Unfamiliar acts of citizenship: enacting citizenship in vernacular music and language from the space of marginalised intergenerational migration. *Citizenship Studies*, 20(2), 156–172. – Group 2
- Anderson, B. (2010). Mobilizing migrants, making citizens: migrant domestic workers as political agents. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(1), 60–74. – Group 3

Optional:

- Chimienti, M., & Solomos, J. (2011). Social Movements of Irregular Migrants, Recognition, and Citizenship. *Globalizations*, 8(3), 343–360.

Group presentation (Group 2): Analyse one case of migrant mobilisation based on the readings

9. Student research seminar (28/11)

10. Beyond the nation-state I: cosmopolitanism and its critics (1/12)

- Linklater, A. (1998). Cosmopolitan citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 2(1), 23–41.
- Benhabib, S. (2007). Democratic Exclusions and Democratic Iterations: Dilemmas of “Just Membership” and Prospects of Cosmopolitan Federalism. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 6(4), 445–462.

Optional:

- Calhoun, C. J. (2002). The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travelers: Toward a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101, 4, 869-897.
- Kant, I. ([1795]2006). Toward Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch. In P. Kleingeld (Eds.), *Toward perpetual peace and other writings on politics, peace and history*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

11. Beyond the nation-state II: the debate on EU citizenship (5/12)

- Weiler, J. H. (1997). To be a European citizen-Eros and civilization. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4(4), 495-519.
- Bellamy, R. (2008). Evaluating Union citizenship: belonging, rights and participation within the EU. *Citizenship Studies*, 12(6), 597–611. – Group 1
- Hansen, P. (2009). Post-national Europe -- without cosmopolitan guarantees. *Race & Class*, 50(4), 20–37. – Group 2
- Kostakopoulou, D. (2007). European Union citizenship: writing the future. *European Law Journal*, 13(5), 623-646. – Group 3

Optional:

- El-Tayeb, F. (2008). “The Birth of a European Public”: Migration, Postnationality, and Race in the Uniting of Europe. *American Quarterly*, 60(3), 649–670.
- Balibar, É. (2009). Europe as borderland. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 27(2), 190 – 215.

12. Beyond the nation-state III: The revival of urban citizenship (8/12)

Readings:

- Bauböck, R. (2003). Reinventing Urban Citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 7(2), 139–160.
- Varsanyi, M. W. (2006). Interrogating “Urban Citizenship” vis-à-vis Undocumented Migration. *Citizenship Studies*, 10(2), 229–249.

Optional:

- Holston, J., & Appadurai, A. (1996). Cities and citizenship. *Public Culture*, 8, 187–204.
- Purcell, M. (2003). Citizenship and the right to the global city: reimagining the capitalist world order. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(3), 564–590.

Group presentations (Group 3): Urban citizenship and diversity in Copenhagen and Malmö

13. Social citizenship and the welfare state (12/12)

Readings:

- Marshall, T. H. (1992). *Citizenship and social class*. London: Pluto Press.
- Fraser, N. & Gordon, L. (2009). Contract versus charity: why is there no social citizenship in the United States?

Optional:

- Guild, E. (2014). Does European Citizenship Blur the Borders of Solidarity?. In *The Reconceptualization of European Union Citizenship* (pp. 189-208). Brill.
- Zhang, C., & Lillie, N. (2015). Industrial citizenship, cosmopolitanism and European integration. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 18(1), 93-111.

14. Wrap-up and Q&As (15/12)