Anth 6707 Anthropology of Citizenship and Displacement: Belonging and Exclusion in the Middle East

Spring 2014

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Course Description: This course is an anthropological exploration of experiences of and ideas about community, belonging, and exclusion. While it is a fundamental feature of communities that some people are identified as belonging and others are designated as outsiders, how these distinctions among people are made, and with what effects, varies considerably. The idea of citizenship is one of the most powerful markers of belonging in the modern world, and it has been the subject of enormous attention in a variety of disciplines. Here we will consider what an anthropological perspective on citizenship can bring to these discussions. In approaching citizenship as more than simply a legal category, anthropologists look for expressions of and contestations over it in a variety of settings – in cultural productions, in formations of space and place, in political articulations, as well as in state elaborations. We will consider each of these settings. We will also pursue related questions about what happens to people when they are uprooted from the places that have defined their community and/or their citizenship. How, that is, are these ideas reconfigured in displacement? The geographical focus of the course will be the Middle East, though materials will be drawn from other areas as well.

Required Texts:

The following texts are available for purchase at the GWU bookstore and are on reserve at Gelman library:

Joseph Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

Neha Vora, *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

Diana Allan, Refugees of the Revolution: Experiences of Palestinian Exile

Additional required readings are available through electronic reserves on blackboard.

Learning Objectives:

- To understand how anthropology and related disciplines approach the study of citizenship and displacement
- To recognize and evaluate the ways citizenship, community, belonging and exclusion shape societies and human subjects
- To critically analyze scholarly debates about citizenship and belonging in the Middle East
- To conduct independent research and writing that explores these questions

Course Requirements:

Attendance and Participation: This course is a seminar and in order for it to be successful, we all need to come to class having done the readings and prepared to discuss them. Preparation for discussion includes identifying puzzling aspects of the text, highlighting passages for analysis, and raising questions for debate. If you have to miss class, please let me know beforehand.

Reading Response: For each class, everyone is required to post – through Blackboard – 1-page reflection papers. You should also read each other's postings before class. Responses should be posted by 9 am on the day of class (to accommodate night-owls and still leave enough time for us all to read the postings). These are not formal papers, but rather are an opportunity for you to react to and reflect on the readings for the week. Given occasional glitches in blackboard, I strongly recommend that you write your response in a word processing program and then copy it into the forum. Raise questions the readings posed for you, think about how they relate to other things we have read, consider how they fit into the course as a whole. These postings are intended to help you in organizing your thoughts about the readings and to create a space for dialogue outside the classroom.

Presentation and Leading Discussion: Each week a student will be responsible for presenting the reading to the class and for helping to lead class discussions. These presentations should be brief – 10-15 minutes. In addition to discussing the readings, presenters should comment on the postings (noting themes in the responses, interesting questions raised). The presentations are not meant to be the final word on anything, but rather to open up class discussion on the texts.

Final project: You final project is something you should be thinking about and working toward throughout the semester. To this end, you will be required to submit a proposal and tentative bibliography on **February 26** and you will be required to do a presentation on your project on **April 16 or 23**, all before submitting the final project, which is due **April 30**.

<u>Project options</u>: Everyone will engage in serious and substantial scholarly research on a topic of your choosing. There are three options for the written product that will emerge from this research. You should choose the option that works best for your interests and professional trajectory. I will expect the same depth of research for each. You will write: 1) an 18-20 page seminar paper; 2) an NSF-style grant proposal; or 3) an International Crisis Group-style report.

Grading:

Attendance: 10%
Participation: 15%
Reading responses: 10%
Presentation and leading discussion: 15%
Final project:* 50%

Class Schedule

Part One: Framings

January 15: Introduction

For reference: Gershon Shafir, "The Evolving Tradition of Citizenship," in *The Citizenship Debates*, ed. Gershon Shafir (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

January 22: What is Citizenship?

- Saskia Sassen, "Foundational Subjects for Political Membership: Today's Changed Relation to the National State," in *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," (Part 1) in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, 26-46 (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1978).
- Seyla Benhabib, "Twilight of Sovereignty or the Emergence of Cosmopolitan Norms? Rethinking Citizenship in Volatile Times," *Citizenship Studies* 11, 1 (2007): 19-36.
- Susan Bibler Coutin, "Cultural logics of belonging and movement: Transnationalism, naturalization, and U.S. immigration politics," *American Ethnologist* 30, 4 (2003): 508-526.
- January 29: Boundaries of Community 1: Inclusion and exclusions from citizenship Uday Mehta, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 59-86 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
- Hannah Arendt, "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man," in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 267-302 (New York: Meridian Books, 1951).
- Hannah Arendt, "We Refugees" in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, ed. Marc Robinson, 110-119 (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1996).
- Liisa Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholars and refugees" *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1) 1992:24-44.
- Nicholas P. De Genova, "Migrant 'Illegality' and Deportability in Everyday Life," Annual Review of Anthropology, 31 (2002): 419-447.

^{*} includes proposal and presentation

- February 5: Boundaries of Community 2: Inclusion and exclusions within citizenship Veena Das, "Communities as Political Actors: The Question of Cultural Rights," in *Critical Events: An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India*. V. Das (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Anne Allison, "Ordinary Refugees: Social Precarity and Soul in 21st Century Japan," Anthropological Quarterly 85, 2 (2012):345–370.
- João Biehl, "Life of the mind: The interface of psychopharmaceuticals, domestic economies, and social abandonment" *American Ethnologist* 31, 4 (2004): 475-496.
- James Clifford, "Identity in Mashpee," in *The Predicament of Culture: twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Part Two: Inside, Outside, and on the Boundaries in/of the Middle East

- February 12 Producing belonging: citizens and states
- Joseph Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
- February 19 Diaspora and Mobility
- Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
- February 26 Included or Excluded?: Palestinian Citizens of Israel
- Dan Handelman, "Contradictions between citizenship and nationality: Their consequences for ethnicity and inequality in Israel," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 7, 3 (1994): 441-59.
- Shira Robinson, "Citizenship as a Category of Exclusion: Palestinians Arabs, Israeli Jews, and Utopian Borders," in *Citizen Strangers*, 68-112 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).
- Oren Yiftachel, "Ethnocracy' and Its Discontents: Minorities, Protests, and the Israeli Polity," *Critical Inquiry* 26, 4 (2000):725-56.
- Hassan Jabareen, 'The Future of Arab Citizenship in Israel: Jewish-Zionist Time in a Place with no Palestinian Memory"in *Challenging Ethnic Citizenship: German and Israeli Perspectives on Immigration*, ed. Daniel Levy and Yfaat Weiss, 196-220 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002).
- Rhoda Kanaaneh, "Boys or Men? Duped or "made"? Palestinian soldiers in the Israeli military" *American Ethnologist* 32, 2 (2005): 260-275.

Paper topic and tentative bibliography for seminar paper due

March 5 – Displacement, Violence, and Community

Ilana Feldman, "Home as a Refrain: Remembering and Living Displacement in Gaza" *History and Memory* 18, 2 (2006): 10-47

Ilana Feldman, "Difficult Distinctions: Refugee law, humanitarian practice, and political identification in Gaza" *Cultural Anthropology* 22, 1 (2007): 129-69.

Giorgio Agamben, "We Refugees" Symposium 49, 2 (1995):114-119.

Hayder Al-Mohammad, "A Kidnapping in Basra: The Struggles and Precariousness of Life in Post-Invasion Iraq," Cultural Anthropology 27, 4 (2012): 597–614.

Haydar Al-Mohammad, "Ordure and Disorder: the case of Basra and the anthropology of excrement" *Anthropology of the Middle East* 2, 2 (2007): 1-23.

March 12 – Spring Break

March 19 - The Camp as a Space of Belonging and Exclusion

Diana Allan, *Refugees of the Revolution: Experiences of Palestinian Exile* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013)

March 26 – No class

April 2 – Migration and Belonging

Neha Vora, *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

April 9 – The Problem of Europe

Miriam Ticktin, "Sexual Violence as the Language of Border Control: Where French Feminist and Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric Meet," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 33, 41 (2008): 863-889.

Peter van der Veer, "Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and the Politics of Tolerance in the Netherlands," *Public Culture* 18, 1 (2006): 111-124.

Joan Scott, "Symptomatic Politics: The Banning of Islamic Head Scarves in French Public Schools" *French Politics, Cultural, and Society* 23, 3 (2005):106-127.

Etienne Balibar, "Outline of a Topography of Cruelty: Citizenship and Civility in the Era of Global Violence," in *We, The People of Europe? Reflections on transnational citizenship* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004)

April 16 – presentations

April 23 – presentations

April 30 – **Papers due by 4pm**