The Postcolonial Government of Citizenship and Migration
Monday 15th June, Bartolomé House, University of Sheffield

9:15 – Coffee

9:30 – Introductions

9:45 - Round Table: ‘Race and Postcolonial Citizenship.’ Participants: John Hobson, University of Sheffield; Lucy Mayblin, University of Sheffield; Jack Harrington, Open University; Teodora Todorova, University of Nottingham.

10:45 – Panel Session 1. Regimes of Belonging in the Shadow of Empire


Cristina Dragomir, State University of New York, ‘Nomads and Criminals: Construction of Marginality of Roma/Gypsy in Europe and India’

Joe Turner, University of Sheffield, ‘The Domopolitics of “Troubled Families”: Policing the Household, Domesticity and Home of the British Citizen’

12:00 – Coffee

12:15 - Panel Session 2. Governing Migration: Logics of Illegality, Degeneration and the Human

Lucy Mayblin, University of Sheffield, ‘Asylum Policy, Dehumanisation, and the Legacies of Colonialism in the UK.’

Ann McNevin, Monash University, ‘“Managing Migrants” in Indonesia: Towards an Account of Governing Rationalities.’ (via Skype)

Elisabetta Spano, University of Edinburgh, ‘Inclusive in Rhetoric but Exclusive in Practice: Citizenship in Botswana and the Case of South African Former Migrants.’


13:30 – Lunch

14:30 Panel Session 3. Postcolonial Citizenship: Rethinking Borders of Identity

Alexandria Innes, University of East Anglia, ‘Mobile Diasporas, Postcolonial Identities: The Green Line in Cyprus’

Teodora Todorova, University of Nottingham, ‘Crossing Colonial Borders: Internationalising the De-colonial Struggle in Palestine-Israel.’
Sarah Demart, University of Liege and University of Warwick (Visiting Fellow), ‘The Postcolonial Government of Belgo-Congolese Citizenship and the Continuity of Paradigms.’

15:45 Conclusions

16:00 Network Planning and Wine

18:00 Workshop Dinner
Nomads and Criminals: Construction of Marginality of the Roma/ Gypsy in Europe and India

Cristina Dragomir, State University of New York

The presence of the nomadic Roma in Europe brings to the fore the fragility of contemporary borders and the frailty of the nation-state concept. Their nomadic movement is often described as an unlawful act. Their border crossing, their temporary encampments, and their unorthodox employment are frequently seen as illegal. The responsibility to solve the Roma issue falls often into the hands of the local and national authorities, predominantly the police, which deem their presence as criminal. While the situation of the European nomadic Roma is highly publicized, known to fewer, a similar situation exists in today’s India. Almost mirroring the European Roma, nomadic tribes – identified as “Gypsy” - live at the margins of the Indian society; their movement is considered a social, economic and political nuisance. Just like in the European case, construction of temporary encampments is also perceived as illegal, and nomads are often persecuted by the police. Reminisce of the colonial era, Indian nomads are labelled “gypsy” and treated within the colonial-influenced legislative registrar. This paper explores these situations through a comparative study of the construction of criminality of the nomadic groups in the 17th and 18th century. It looks at the legislation created and implemented regarding nomadic groups in Europe and India, and analyzes it in conjecture with the social, scientific and literary discourses existent at the time. In doing so, it aims to unveil the discursive apparatus that lead to the creation of nomads as criminals and outline its contemporary legacy.

Cristina Dragomir is Assistant Professor for Political Science at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Oswego and was a postdoctoral fellow at the Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, the public policy research arm of State University of New York. She earned her Ph.D. at the New School for Social Research in New York. She was the recipient of several grants from the Bucerius- Zeit Foundation, Open Society, Melon, and DAAD to support her work in the field of immigration and social justice.

Differentiated rights in the British and French Empires: A history for postcolonial citizenship

Jack Harrington, LSE

This paper explores an alternative history of citizenship, shaped by the right regimes of Empire. It investigates the colonial origins of differentiated citizenship rights regimes in both Britain and France. These configurations stem from indigenous rights and migration control regimes that developed in the nineteenth century. It examines the relationship between differentiated citizenship rights regimes (which are often treated as new or with little historical precedent) - and contemporary national citizenship rights regimes. Exploring this history of postcolonial citizenship means situating rights regimes within the context of both colonialism and the process of decolonisation.

Jack Harrington, based at London School of Economics, is currently preparing his second monograph, on the history of citizenship in the British and French empires, based on
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*research conducted as part of a European Research Council project, Oecumene: Citizenship After Orientalism. He is an Assistant Editor of the journal Citizenship Studies.*

**The Domopolitics of “Troubled Families”: Policing the Household, Domesticity and Home of the British Citizen**

Joe Turner, University of Sheffield

Studies of liberal government have tended to focus on the management and production of populations (through biology, race, political economy), or have focused on the individualisation of subjecthood (‘good’/‘bad’ citizens, the ‘illegal’ or ‘criminal’ migrant). Utilising the concept of ‘Domopolitics’ this paper argues that we also need to understand how the domestic space of ‘family life’ functions as a target of liberal rule. This helps us understand the stratified production of postcolonial citizenship in liberal states and the connectivity between the domos as ‘family’ and domos as ‘nation’. Focussing on an examination of the UK’s ‘Troubled Families Programme’ (TFP) the paper argues that the familial appears as both a domestic ideal for authorities but equally a site of anxiety, fear and danger. Exploring the implementation of the TFP demands understanding how the project is situated in a longer history and drawn from heteronormative and colonial understandings of ‘home’, ‘domesticity’, ‘reproduction’. It argues that extended intervention into the site of the family in contemporary liberal government represents a re-assemblage of pastoral and disciplinary techniques, which aim to contain problematic subjectivity within the failed domestic space but equally produce pathways towards ‘civility’. By attending to how family life is managed, this explores how the interlocking character of gender, race, class and sex constitutes the borderzones of postcolonial citizen. Family life is thus presented as a space for contestation of inside/outside and the production of ‘belonging’.

Joe currently works at the University of Sheffield. His doctoral research examined the relationship between Citizenship and Security in the history of UK welfare and border practices. His latest research is an attempt to trace the relational logics that underpin postcolonial citizenship in Britain, in particular by exploring the historical production of ‘family life’. This works at the cross-section of political sociology and Foucauldian governmentality. Joe is currently editing a special issue on ‘(En)gendering the Political: Citizenship from the Margins’ for Citizenship Studies. He is a steering committee member of the ECPR standing group on Citizenship.

**Asylum policy, dehumanisation, and the legacies of colonialism in the UK**

Lucy Mayblin, University of Sheffield

The treatment of asylum seekers and failed asylum seekers in Britain (as elsewhere) is often described by critics as ‘dehumanising’. While human rights have been enshrined in international law and purportedly refer to a universalised human being, the reality is a stratified regime of rights which bears a close relation to global inequalities of the colonial era. In this paper I consider how such policies and their effects might be theorised in relation to the category of the ‘human’, and acts of ‘dehumanisation’ which are rooted in histories of colonialism. This is part of a broader project which traces the connections between histories of colonialism and the treatment of asylum seekers in the UK today. Policies around asylum seekers’ access to welfare and work will provide a case study for developing this analysis.
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Lucy is an ESRC Future Research Leader Fellow in the department of Politics at the University of Sheffield, and convener of the BSA's Diaspora, Migration and Transnationalism study group.

Inclusive in rhetoric but exclusive in practice: citizenship in Botswana and the case of South African former migrants

Elisabetta Spano, University of Edinburgh

This paper explores the complex construction of citizenship in post-colonial Botswana. Botswana became independent in 1966 and carried out its nation-building process on a non-ethnic and non-racial basis, in order to mark a difference with its white minority-ruled neighbours. In practice, however, this non-ethnic policy was an ethnic one, as ideas of national citizenship and nation-building were conceived upon Tswana identity and its model of chiefdom, to the detriment of non-Tswana minority groups. Similarly to the ethnic minorities, migrants have felt discrimination and exclusion. This paper focuses on South Africans who have migrated to Botswana during the apartheid years. They are defined as former migrants since they now hold Botswana’s citizenship. Despite having settled and integrated well in Botswana’s society, former migrants share a common feeling of discrimination and sense of devaluation of their citizenship for not being Batswana born in the country from Batswana parents. Labels, such as ‘citizens by paper’ and ‘those who jump the fence’ (namely, refugees) mark a boundary between Tswana ethnic citizens and citizens by naturalisation. By discussing the case of South Africans in Botswana, this paper argues that ethnic boundaries determine practices of exclusion and inclusion in the way citizenship has been conceived in post-colonial Botswana.

Elizabeth is a PhD student in African Studies at the University of Edinburgh. Her doctoral research looks at post-apartheid politics, identity and integration among South Africans in Botswana.

“Managing Migration” in Indonesia: Towards an Account of Governing Rationalities

Anne McNevin, University of Monash

In this presentation I discuss my current research on the Indonesia-based operations of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the broader dynamics of “Migration Management” in Indonesia. I focus on a specific example of the IOM’s project work in Indonesia: a public communication campaign designed to prevent Indonesian fishermen from smuggling asylum seekers to Australia. Funded by the Australian Government and lauded by the IOM as an overwhelming success, the campaign employed religious messaging (Islamic and Christian) to explain that people-smuggling is illegal, sinful and degrading. I draw on this example to illustrate the ways in which liberal, humanitarian and colonial modes of governance associated with “Migration Management” both succeed and fail in the Indonesian context. I contextualise the example alongside broader epistemological and geopolitical concerns with migration as a field of expertise, the humanitarianization of border control, and the vulnerabilities of sovereign power.
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Anne McNevin is Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Monash University, Melbourne. Her research interests include the transformation of citizenship and political belonging, the governance of migration, and the spatial dimensions of politics. Anne is author of Contesting Citizenship: Irregular Migrants and New Frontiers of the Political (Columbia University Press, 2011), co-editor (with Manfred Steger) of Global Ideologies and Urban Landscapes (Routledge, 2011) and Associate editor of the journal, Citizenship Studies. Anne’s recent journal articles appear in Security Dialogue, Millennium, and Globalizations.

**Eugenics and the Government of Immigration: Contemporary Echoes of Social Darwinism**

Jarmila Rajas, Loughborough University

This paper investigates the rationalities of governing immigration explicit in the regulations of immigration from the Foucauldian governmentality perspective. That is, the paper focuses on how it is thought immigration needs to be governed by examining existing immigration regulations ranging from visa policies to citizenship policies. By comparing this contemporary system of governing immigration in Finland (and the EU) to the way in which race hygienic or eugenic immigration policy—at its various levels—problematised immigration in the United States after 1860s, the paper shows how such modes of understanding of how immigration should be governed still echo these earlier discourses of defending the fitness of the nation à la social Darwinism. Historically the employment of social Darwinist socio-evolutionary discourses as discourses of power ‘enlightened’ much of colonial and intra-societal politics in various ways: social Darwinist socio-evolutionary thought was utilised to diagnose ‘degenerate’ and ‘undeveloped’ nations and people to justify colonization and various policies of ‘improvement’, for example, through exclusion, institutionalisation, sterilization or extermination. The argument here is that unexamined forms of banal social Darwinism operating through conceptualisations of fitness lie at the heart of the governmentality of immigration even today. That is, a form of ‘restrictive and highly selective’ immigration policy, as eugenicists put it, is still designed to defend contemporary society from what used to be conceptualised as ‘degeneracy’ and ‘unfitness’ in its various intersectionalities of ‘race’, nationality, culture, ethnicity, gender, ability, morality and health. Aside the contemporary vocalisation of such rationalities in anti-immigrant rhetoric, such eugenic rationalities have been a systemic part of racialised visa requirements, unequally restrictive entry and residence permit policies etc. for a long period.

Jarmilla is based at Loughborough University where she also received her doctoral thesis. Her previous research examines the history of the Eugenics movement in Scandinavia and how this relates regimes of government. She has a related article on immigration practices and Social Darwinism coming out in Third World Quarterly.

**Crossing Colonial Borders: Internationalising the De-colonial Struggle in Palestine-Israel**

Teodora Todorova, University of Nottingham
This paper critically examines the impact of inter and transnational border regimes on mobilization and inter-cultural solidarity activism in Palestine-Israel. In particular, the paper examines how ‘privileged’ post/colonial and settler colonial citizenship allows greater international mobility and access to a wider international audience for international solidarity activists and Israeli settler colonial citizens, inadvertently displacing the centrality of the occupied and besieged Palestinians whose struggle they seek to support. The paper further problematises the straightforward link between ownership of a ‘privileged’ passport and having rights to move freely across national and international borders, foregrounding the significance of ethnicity, nationality, and government policy in enabling or preventing citizens’ exercise of freedom of movement and protection from state violence. The paper draws on informal interviews with international, Palestinian, and Israeli activists, as well as fieldwork notes produced during participant observation in Palestine-Israel between 2009 and 2011, and further utilises analysis of the high profile murder cases of international activists Tom Hurndall, and Rachael Corrie.

Teodora Todorova is an Assistant Professor in Sociology at The University of Nottingham. She has a PhD in Critical Theory on the subject of 'Reframing Israel-Palestine: critical Israeli responses to the Palestinian call for Just Peace' (2014). Her work to date has focused on questions of ethico-political responsibility and praxis in the context of ethno-nationalist conflict. She has previously examined gendered violence and post-conflict reconciliation in Bosnia Herzegovina, as well as solidarity activism in Israel-Palestine. More broadly, her work is concerned with grassroots activism and transnational civil society responses to gendered and racialised power and state violence.

Mobile Diasporas, Postcolonial Identities: The Green Line in Cyprus

Alexandria J Innes, University of East Anglia

This paper considers postcolonial populations with transnational hybrid identities that have been created following a collective trauma. I examine ways in which ongoing meaning of the trauma is tied to identity through the circulation of narratives of its memory. This circulation happens amongst a deterritorialised public, through media and movement of people. It carries meaning that is formative of the identity of diaspora and transnational communities and of the identity of the home state, implicating both in a complex and relational ontological security comprising identity, memory, state and society.

The Green Line dividing North from South in Cyprus represents the bifurcation of the island, rupturing the possibility of a territorially unified Cypriot identity. The line also represents a rupturing of contiguous ethnic identities, marking the creation of refugee populations and Cypriot diasporas. The Green Line is both a physical location and circulating symbol of ontological insecurity. On one hand the Green Line marks the creation of Cypriot refugees and diasporas. On the other it marks a gateway to Europe for asylum seekers attempting to enter the Southern part of the island. I theorise the Green Line as an emblem of ontological insecurity whose meaning is (re)constituted in the lived experience of Cypriot diaspora and migrants seeking security.

Alexandria Innes is a lecturer of International Relations at the University of East Anglia. Her research focuses on the politics of international migration primarily using ethnographic methods, through the various lenses of critical and feminist security studies,

The Postcolonial Government of Belgo-Congolese Citizenship and the Continuity of Paradigms

Sarah Demart, University of Liege

There are few of the international and comparative studies relating to multiculturalism and colonial legacy that take into consideration the case of Belgium. The kingdom lies in the shadow of British and French Powers. However, these patterns do not necessarily influence the reading of other social formations such as Belgian postcoloniality. This paper aims to shed light on the Congolese presence in Belgium and in particular on the the « unthought » around this presence. Despite five decades of Congolese presence in the country, two decades of Black activism, the growing number of studies made even by public institutions, the state and its institutions still claim ignorance of the Congolese population (and by “racial extension”, of the African and Black population). The global sociology corpus on migration and public policy seems focused on the figure of the poorly-qualified immigrant worker (Moroccans, Turks, Italians, etc.). This paper will bring to light the continuity of paradigm that this “unthinkable” is underlying in order to show how this has consequences in the research agenda characterized by little consideration of the Congolese and Black situation, and few institutional development in racial issues and postcolonial studies. The paper explores how the unthinkable “governs” the Congolese presence in Belgium and is inherited from colonization.

Sarah Demart is Research fellow at the University of Liege and a Visiting Fellow, University of Warwick. Her area of expertise is the postcolonial studies in the Belgian (post) migration field. In this perspective, she questions the postcolonial dynamics in Belgium as much as the Congolese migrations reorganization towards North America. Sarah has published a series of articles in the Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales (2008, 2013), les Cahiers d’Études africaines (2013), les Cahiers de la Méditerranée (2008), African Diaspora (2013), Brussels Studies (2013).