The public is cordially invited to: The 2010 Gensler Endowment/CCSRE Symposium



"Interrogating Citizenship: Sex, Race, Class and Regimes of Power"

This forum attempts to interrogate the concept of citizenship by looking at the ways it has been and is deployed by regimes of power, as well as in reaction to these regimes. In particular, we will focus on the interaction between constructions of citizenship and those of race, sexuality, gender and class. How has the concept of citizenship been used in projects of nation building, war, empire and labor mobilization? How have categories of race and sexuality entered into this? Have there been significant cases of counter representations, alternative constructions of citizenship that question received categories in the cases under consideration?

"Deconstructing Citizenships: Expanding Rights or Impeding Freedoms?"

> Keynote Event Friday, April 2nd 7:30 PM

Bicentennial Hall Room 216 Saskia Sassen, Professor; Sociology, Columbia University

Sponsored by the Gensler Family Fund, the Women's and Gender Studies Program, the Center for the Comparative Study of Race and Ethnicity, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, the Department of American Studies, the Rohatyn Center for International Affairs, Atwater Commons, Ross Commons and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation

Program on Saturday, April 3rd Robert A. Jones '59 House conference room

9:00 AM & on: Coffee, Tea and Light Refreshments available

<u>9:30-11:30 AM: Panel 1: The Other Among "Us:" Gendering</u> <u>Diaspora and Citizenship</u>

Kamakshi Murti (German, Middlebury College) "To Veil or not to Veil? Shakespeare's Dane misspeaks!"

Cem Özdemir, a member of the Green Party, became the first person of Turkish descent to be elected to the Bundestag in October, 1994. One need only listen to the extremely contentious debate about the presence of Islam not just in Germany, but in the countries of the EU, to comprehend why Özdemir's election to the German Parliament made headlines. 'German Citizenship' and the 'Turkish Community' –these two terms are seen as mutually exclusive. My paper will attempt to unravel the palimpsest of discourses that underlie this debate in order to understand what anxieties surround the increasingly visible Muslim presence in Germany in particular.

Martin Manalansan (Anthropology, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

"Emotional Regimes, Care Labor and Citizenship in the Filipino Queer Diaspora"

This presentation is a critical reading of the Israeli documentary "Paper Dolls" which is about Filipino gay and transgendered (male to female) paraprofessional care workers who look after elderly Orthodox Jewish men in Tel Aviv. Like other Filipino migrant laborers, these queer workers are faced with the dilemma of engaging with Philippine state mandated emotional regimes around care labor (e.g. Filipinos are a "loving people" hence are suited for care work), navigating Israel's tough immigration controls and being immersed in the contradictory realm of family life in a foreign land. Therefore, this presentation explores the intersections of gender, sexuality, race and emotions with citizenship as these nodes relate to the labor of nation building and national survival.

Anore Horton (History, University of Vermont) "Second-Class Nationalism vs. Second-Class Citizenship: Puerto Rican Women's Status within the U.S. Cold War Empire"

Puerto Rican scholars and pro-independence politicians have often portrayed Puerto Ricans as dupes for consistently voting to maintain Puerto Rico's colonial relationship with the United States. This presentation uses the ways Puerto Rican women were gendered in the debates over the island's political status in the 1930s-1950s, along with their actual experiences of labor and migration, to examine and reconsider this claim.

Noon: Lunch in RAJ Conference Room

<u>1:30-3:30 PM: Panel 2: Invisible Exclusions? Citizenship and</u> <u>the Everyday</u>

Ritty Lukose (Anthropology, New York University) "Anthropologizing Citizenship: The 'Everyday' as a Standpoint of Critique"

This presentation will explore the possibilities and limits of a specifically anthropological approach to the study of citizenship by interrogating the ways in which the category and lens of the "everyday" gets deployed to examine citizenship and the politics of belonging. It will chart the ways in which the everyday is a particularly useful and productive lens for understanding the intersectional dynamics and complexities of gender, class and caste (using an Indian context) while also pointing to some of the difficulties of this approach for articulating a vigorous politics of citizenship.

Rebecca Tiger (Sociology, Middlebury College) "Just Say No: Criminalized Exclusion and Marginalized Citizenship in the U.S."

Over 2.2 million people are incarcerated in the U.S. with another 5.1 million supervised by probation and parole. These 7.3 million people, the majority of whom are African American and Latino, are in a state of legal limbo in the US. Having been convicted of a crime and, in many instances, having served their sentence for this crime, they are monitored in extraordinary ways, often denied the right to vote, housing and education and permanently marked as an "outsider" because of their criminal conviction. In this presentation, I'll provide an overview of the expansion of the criminal justice system in the US, consider the overt and subtle ways people labeled criminal are excluded from full participation in society, and link these exclusionary mechanisms to enduring regimes of racial control. Overall, I'll consider how our "culture of control" creates a permanent class of citizen-outsiders.

Felicia Kornbluh (History, University of Vermont) "A Right to Welfare? Post-World War Two U.S. Social Movements and Citizenship Claims for Economic Justice"

This paper will discuss the role of claims for economic justice in the agendas of major social movements in the post-World War Two United States. Such claims were most evident in the movement for welfare rights, which emerged in the early 1960s and collapsed at the national level in the middle 1970s. However, they were also present more generally in the African American freedom movement, north and south, from the end of World War Two until at least the 1970s, the postwar women's movement, and the early movement for disability rights. Kornbluh will speak based upon three case studies-welfare rights, northern civil rights, and disability rights-as well as recent scholarship on "trade-union" or "working-class" feminism.

3:30-4:00 PM: Coffee Break in RAJ Conference Room

4:00-5:30 PM: Panel 3: Citizen/Soldier: The Violence of Citizenship

Holly Allen (American Studies, Middlebury College)"Sex, Citizenship, and the U.S. Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq"

Feminists have long sought women's full inclusion in the military, including combat roles. At the same time, GLBT activists have worked to overturn antihomosexual exclusions in the military, including the current "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" rule. This paper examines the current status of such civil rights claims in light of the following questions: What are the sexual dimensions of U.S. warfare in Iraq and Afghanistan? How essential are sexual violence and intimidation – against female and homosexual troops and against Iraqi and Afghani civilians -- to U.S. military strategy in those contexts? Finally, how might recent feminist and queer theories about the sexual dimensions of citizenship duties, rights, and obligations prompt us to reframe our thinking about military inclusion?

Deb Cowen (Geography, University of Toronto)

"The Security of the Barracks': Welfare, Warfare and the Soldier Citizen"

In 1944 Friedrich Von Hayek asserted that the army offered the only possible model for guaranteeing social security for the 'whole of society'. For Hayek, the 'security of the barracks' was inseparable from the unfreedom of military life. And indeed, from Bismarck's social insurance to the American GI Bill, key social technologies of the welfare state were initially engineered to support the battlefield, even as they came to transform relations in factories and households. The connections between soldiers and social citizenship remain profound today even as they are dramatically recast. While 'military welfare' was once the basis for civilian social citizenship, today we witness the expansion of the former alongside the erosion of the latter. With a focus on the gendered and racialized geographies of war work and national identity, this paper places organized violence at the centre of the social.

Keynote Speaker:

Saskia Sassen (Sociology, Columbia University) Saskia Sassen's research and writing focuses on globalization (including social, economic and political dimensions), immigration, global cities (including cities and terrorism), the new networked technologies, and changes within the liberal state that result from current transnational conditions. Much of her research, as seen in books such as *The Mobility of Labor and Capital, The Global City,* and *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages,* has focused on the unexpected and the counterintuitive as a way to cut through established "truths." Her latest book is *A Sociology of Globalization* (Norton 2007). She has just completed for UNESCO a five-year project on sustainable human settlement for which she set up a network of researchers and activists in over 30 countries; it is published as one of the volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems.*

She has received a variety of awards and prizes, most recently, a Doctor honoris causa from Delft University (Netherlands), the first Distinguished Graduate School Alumnus Award of the University of Notre Dame, and was one of the four winners of the first University of Chicago Future Mentor Award covering all doctoral programs. She has written for *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *Newsweek International*, *Vanguardia*, *Clarin*, and the *Financial Times*, among others.

Panelists:

Holly Allen (American Studies, Middlebury College) specializes in U.S. cultural history and cultural studies, political culture and theories of citizenship, women's and gender studies, the history of sexuality, and digital history. Allen's manuscript, *Fallen Women and Forgotten Men: Gender, Sex, and* U.S. Public Culture, 1932-1945, examines the interplay between widelycirculating gendered narratives and broader civic developments during the Great Depression and World War II. She has published additional essays on the gender and sexual dimensions of U.S. military culture.

Deborah Cowen (Geography, University of Toronto) explores the role of organized violence in shaping intimacy, space, and citizenship. Deborah is the author of *Military* Workfare: *The Soldier and Social Citizenship in Canada* (UTP 2008) which places the soldier at the centre of the modern social, examining how military models of work, discipline, domestic and urban space, and the social self shape 20th century welfarist and post-welfarist citizenship. She is currently investigating the transformation of logistics from military art to business science, and the implications of the rise of 'supply chain security' for space and citizenship. Deborah is co-editor with Emily Gilbert, of *War, Citizenship, Territory* (Rutledge 2007), and a co-editor of *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space.*

Anore Horton (History, University of Vermont) specializes in the history of United States foreign policy, the history of migration, immigration, and citizenship in the U.S., and the history of Central America and the Caribbean. Among Horton's current projects is a history of the forging of a Puerto Rican national citizenship identity, and the struggle for greater autonomy within the U.S., by the Puerto Rican government and Puerto Rican migrants during the Cold War era.

Felicia Kornbluh (History and Women's and Gender Studies,

University of Vermont) Felicia Kornbluh is the Director of the Women's and Gender Studies Program and an Associate Professor of History. She is the author of the book, *The Battle for Welfare Rights: Poverty and Politics in Modern America* (University of Pennsylvania Press, series in modern American politics and culture, 2007). An expert on social welfare and long-time advocate and activist on social justice issues, Kornbluh has written for academic and non-academic journals, including *Feminist Studies, Radical History Review*, the *Journal of American History, The Nation, In These Times*, the *Women's Review of Books*, and the *Los Angeles Times* op-ed page.

Ritty Lukose (Anthropology, Gallatin School of Individualized Study, New York University) Professor Lukose's teaching and research interests lie in the areas of anthropology, gender, globalization, and colonial, postcolonial, and diasporic modernities as they impact South Asia. She is particularly interested in issues of development, consumption, citizenship, politics, and gender and feminist issues. Professor Lukose's research has been funded by the American Institute of Indian Studies, the Fulbright Program, the Spencer Foundation, and the National Academy of Education, and she has published articles on this research in Cultural Anthropology, Social History, Social Analysis, and Anthropology and Education Quarterly. Her book, *Liberalization's Children: Gender, Youth and Consumer Citizenship in Globalizing India*, is published by Duke University Press (2009). She teaches courses on globalization, nationalism and colonialism, diasporic studies, gender and feminism, and South Asia.

Martin Manalansan (Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign) Martin F. Manalansan IV is Associate Professor of

Anthropology and Asian American Studies at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. He is currently Social Science Review Editor of *GLQ: A Quarterly of Gay and Lesbian Studies.* His research interests include the Filipino global diaspora, queer studies, embodiment and the senses, food and culinary cultures, Asian American cultural studies and urban anthropology. He is the author of *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora* which won the 2003 Ruth Benedict Prize. His current book projects include contemporary LGBT cultural politics, Asian American immigrant culinary cultures, smell technologies and Filipino return migration.

Kamakshi Murti (German, Middlebury College) is Professor

emerita of German, Middlebury College. She has published on German Orientalism and minorities discourses, including two books: *Die Reinkarnation des Lesers als Autor: ein rezeptionsgeschichtlicher Versuch über den Einfluß der altindischen Literatur auf deutsche Schriftsteller um 1900* (de Gruyter, 1990) (The reincarnation of the reader as author: a reception-historical investigation of the influence of Indic literature on German writers around 1900) and India: The *Seductive and Seduced Other' of German Orientalism* (Greenwood, 2000). Currently, she is working on a book-length manuscript about the Muslim headscarf entitled "Turkey, Germany, and the Shifting Boundaries of Identity."

Rebecca Tiger (Sociology, Middlebury College) Rebecca's research and teaching interests lie at the intersection of deviance, punishment, medicalization and drugs. Her recently completed manuscript *Force is the Best Medicine: Drug Courts and the Logic of Coerced Treatment* examines the reemergence of rehabilitation in the criminal justice system focusing on the medicalized theories of addiction that are used to bolster criminal justice oversight of defendants. Her current research focuses on the social control of young people and the theories of their unique susceptibility to "deviance" that underpin the hybrid therapeutic and punitive interventions designed to cure them. She is also examining how ideas about addiction, treatment and coercion filter through popular culture media such as celebrity gossip blogs and reality television shows.

