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Article:

(En)gendering the Political/ Citizenship from Marginal Spaces: Editorial Introduction

Abstract

This introduction sets out the central concerns of this special issue, the relationship between marginality and the political. In doing so it makes the argument that the process of marginalisation, the sites and experiences of 'marginality' provide a different lens through which to understand citizenship. Viewing the political as the struggle over belonging it considers how recent studies of citizenship have understood political agency. It argues that marginality can help us understand multiple scales, struggles and solidarities both within and beyond citizenship. Whilst there is a radical potential in much of the existing literature in citizenship studies it is also important to consider political subjectivities and acts which are not subsumed by right claims. Exploring marginality in this way means understanding how subjects are disenfranchised by regimes of citizenship and at the same how time this also (en)genders new political possibilities which are not always orientated towards 'inclusion'. The introduction then sets out how each article contributes to this project.

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This special issue concerns the relationship between marginality and the political. It contends that an understanding of this relationship is of central importance for an exploration of contemporary citizenship. In focussing on the production of marginality, the emphasis here is on how marginality or marginal spaces are fashioned but equally how they provide conditions for forms of political becoming and the emergence of 'alternatives'. These articles thus explore how practices, experiences, legacies of marginality (en)gender different sites of political struggle, which in turn shape, contest and disrupt citizenship as it is both practiced and conceptualised. The collection offers a series of interventions into both how we understand the production of marginality across modern societies but also the way we understand how subjects become constituted as political subjects through the process of marginalisation. They provide theoretically informed but empirically rich explorations by both activists and scholars into how different struggles, acts, events, practices and conduct disrupt the hierchisation and ordering of social life. The relationship between marginality, citizenship and the political represented here is underpinned by the persistent struggle over belonging. If marginality is the process through which certain subjects and groups' belonging

is problematized, then this is often materialised through dominant norms and practices of citizenship. Following Anne McNevin, we can thus read the political as a radical questioning of what it is to belong (2007). This special issue aims to highlight how the process of marginalisation itself, and the new co-ordinates it makes possible, have (en)gendered this radical form of questioning.

Broadly conceived, citizenship studies has been at the forefront of exploring the tension between inclusion/exclusion at the heart of modern citizenship, with many studies revealing an emphasis on either inclusion or exclusion. Those scholars focussing on inclusion have tended to rely on a normative commitment to citizenship as an empirically flawed but ultimately inclusive project. Whilst granting citizenship necessitates a privileging and demarcation of rights (citizen/non-citizen) this is often treated as a problem that can be overcome with more pluralistic definitions of (active) citizenship (Grugel and Singh 2015; Lister 2007; Çakmaklı 2015), more progressive border regimes (Sandelind 2015), the detaching of national identity to right claims through multiculturalism (Joppke 2007; Kymlicka 2001, 2007; Kofman 2002) etc. The literature on exclusion works against elements of this commitment. Through interlocutors with security and border studies (Muller 2004; Nyers 2009; also see Guillaume and Huysmans 2013), critical approaches to migration (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, Tsianos 2008; Mezzadra and Nielson 2013) as well as (post)colonial (Rigo 2005), gender and queer theory (Roseneil et al 2013) there is now a relatively large body of work exploring citizenship as an inherently exclusive mode of political subjectivity (Hindess 2004). Through both legalistic and normative definitions the case is presented that the citizen has been scripted as a liberal, white, bourgeois, heterosexual, man and this inherently leads to the powerful hierachisation and securitisation of others (Basham and Vaughan-Williams 2014). In those accounts treating citizenship as a component of sovereign politics, exclusion from citizenship is linked to process of de-humanisation, exemplified in the abject figure of the 'deportable' asylum seeker or irregular migrant reduced to a form of 'bare life' (Edkins, Pin-Fat and Shapiro 2004; Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007; Rygiel 2008; Vaughan-Williams 2012; Doty 2011). Citizenship maintains its (post)colonial co-ordinates in Western states, where neoliberal ideologies persist to contain racialized and dangerous 'others' outside of the state's 'juridical and spatial confines' (DeGenova 2007, 440; Schinkel 2010). Whilst analyses of exclusion(s) are far from monolithic they tend to lean towards an account of state violence; exclusion from citizenship is imagined through a prism of inside/outside.

This focus has produced fascinating accounts of inclusion/exclusion; we now have a far more complex understanding of the assemblages of control and regulation through which certain forms of life are both made possible and denied. However, this focus tends to obscure a view of the active contestation of both practices of inclusion and exclusion. There has been a general absence of analysis of the emergence of political events, moments, or 'acts' of resistance in the literature on exclusion (see Isin 2008; Guillaume and Huysman 2013, 9; Nyers and Rygiel, 2012). Equally the focus on inclusion tends to read the political through the existing narrative of citizenship, as a territorialised regime of rights. Citizenship becomes the key site of political struggles and claims (see Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013). Arguably, in this context the divergence and heterogeneity of the political is obscured, either through a focus on the extent of the social reach of governmentalities, or because politics is reduced to those events which mobilise around formal rights claims. This special issue thus contributes to a movement in critical citizenship studies which seeks to push beyond the focus on inclusion/exclusion (McNevin 2011; Squire 2011; Bagelman 2015; Nyers and Rygiel 2012; Tyler and Marciniak 2013; Guillaume and Huysman 2013; Papadopoulos, Stephenson, Tsianos 2008). This body of work has attempted to subvert the analytical focus on the institutional practices of citizenship in favour of the contestation and refashioning of citizenship through protest and activism. Many of these studies have explored the role of migrants, those classically conceived as non-citizens, in contesting, claiming and effectively 'practising' citizenship (Nyers and Rygiel 2012, 2). In particular these studies seek to understand how global migration, the experiences and practices of mobility and forms of control provide new spaces for (re)shaping and (re)conceptualising citizenship. Exemplifying this move, Nyers and Rygiel (2012, 2) argue that we need to ask 'how, through various strategies of claims-making, non-citizen migrant groups are involved in practices and ways of engaging in citizenship even when lacking formal status.' Drawing upon Engin Isin's now seminal work on 'acts of citizenship', and a wider turn in politics, political and economic geography (Harvey 2008; Scott 2009; Ong 2006; Darling 2014) and IR (Death 2010) towards a focus on resistance, I read these studies as seeking to (re)politicise the analysis of citizenship by bringing into focus those acts which 'protest' exclusory regimes but, in doing, also help delineate the contingency of citizenship itself. This focus is subversive in that it addresses both the (im)possible agency of non-citizen (migrants), against a focus on passivity, victimhood and 'bare life', and equally accounts for changing nature of citizenship 'from below' through active 'transgressions'.

This special issue's examination of how marginality (en)genders the political, aims to extend this emerging literature. It does this in three ways. 1) By unsettling the binary of inclusion/exclusion by exploring how marginality is productive of political subjectivity. The role of (en)gendering is important here as it refers to a process of 'emergence' – emergent activism, solidarities, political being. 2) The emphasis on marginality brings into focus a more divergent set of subjects, sites, scales of struggles over citizenship, alongside and beyond the justified yet restrictive focus on the 'migrant'. To use the verb (en)gender thus alludes to feminist scholarship on gender and intersectionality (Hunt and Rygiel 2007) which provides us with unique insights into the production of marginal subjects. 3) It further examines the political as more than a claim to rights. Whilst agreeing that an analysis of rights claims is helpful in understanding contestation, this special issue also recognises the different orientation of acts, events and movements which may not always be subsumed by the existing co-ordinates of citizenship that they contest (also see Walters 2008; Tyler and Marciniak 2013, 2). This means exploring what Aoileann Ní Mhurchú refers to as 'Unfamiliar acts of Citizenship' (Ní Mhurchú 2016), 'Acts against Citizenship' (Tyler and Marciniak 2013, 8), as well as acts that are orientated towards different relations and cosmologies (See Shilliam 2016; Bird 2016).

By exploring marginality, we in this special issue follow the observation that the experience of marginalisation, restriction, social control also constitutes political subjectivities (Nyers and Rygiel 2012). However, marginality is embodied and experienced by a multiplicity of subjects and groups. This means recognising that citizenship has historically related to many different forms of marginalisation and hierarchisation, not all of which coalesce around the figure of the migrant, alien or asylum seeker (see Anderson 2013). The racialised, classed, sexualised, gendered dimensions of citizenship produce a complex assemblage of marginality; even when achieved, formal status is differentiated and does not always equate to legitimacy or belonging (see Harrington 2012). The history of the poor, women, homosexuals, the mad and 'feebleminded', colonial subjects, naturalised citizens attests to this. Whilst previous studies have arguably reconstituted the dichotomy between citizen/non-citizen, this special issue seeks to understand the treatment of subjects along a broad continuum of marginality (intergenerational migrant youth, Black minorities, 'Problem Families', Traveller groups, the 'workless') and to explore the (un)familiar processes which constitute the spatiality of the marginal. Marginality is divergent and historical and by exploring marginality as a continuum this means recognising the 'many relay points in the

weave of modern politics, which are neither exceptional or comparable, but simply relational' (Weheliye 2014, 37). Whilst different experiences of marginality are relational, this equally leads to different explorations of the politics of contestation which dispute and interrupt dominant modes of belonging. This special issue brings into focus different (yet related) strategies, practices and solidarities that intertwine between those with formal status and those without. For instance, border practices that (en)gender (temporary) solidarities between activists and irregularised migrants (Stierl 2016), or right to work protests between asylum seekers and trade unions (Mayblin 2016), Irish Travellers and 'No Border' protesters rejecting acts of 'domicide' (Turner 2016), White and Black 'Ethiopianist' in the contestation of Imperial sensibilities (Shilliam 2016).

What this emphasis on a stratified continuum helps us engage with are the different sites, scales and character of political acts. Whilst marginality encompasses a spatial dimension so does the political. Investigating the constitution of political subjectivity in liminal spaces means that we need to explore the multiplicity of such sites and the practices relating to them. The articles collected here thus work alongside and beyond the focus on mobility, borders and the bodies of non-citizens to a multitude of sites of marginality and political possibility: street art and music, unmarked graves/yards, the Traveller caravan, the African village, the Rastafari movement. As the individual articles argue, these sites provide the (partial) raw materials for the constitution of subjects and groups into political subjects who can contest the apparently settled boundaries of social life in new ways (Balibar 2012). To think of marginality in terms of different political spaces is also to contest the linear and liberal notion that inclusion 'back in to' normalised modes of belonging and equitable rights is the objective of all struggles. Such a perspective risks leading to a fixed imagination of inside/outside and replays the commonsensical boundaries of citizenship against the cultivation of an 'imaginary and a practical sensibility to what lies after citizenship' (Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013).

Acts of Citizenship/ Acts after Citizenship

Isin's work on 'acts' of citizenship has been influential in reconceptualising the political character of citizenship (Isin and Neilsen 2008). 'Acts' refer to the performances and events through which subjects constitute themselves (or are constituted) as 'those whom the right to have rights is due'. As Tyler and Marciniak (2013, 7) argue

> This redefinition has proved fruitful for thinking about ways in which populations who are disenfranchised by the states in which they reside, and are 'outside of politics' in any normative sense, are able to act in ways that allow them to (temporary) constitute themselves as political subjects under sometimes extreme conditions of subjugation.

However, it is our sense that the radical potential of Isin's formulation is often overlooked in subsequent analysis (with significant exceptions - see Tyler and Marciniak 2013; Marciniak, and Tyler 2014; McNevin 2011), this is because the 'constitution of political subjectivity' is often analysed precisely through the existing co-ordinates of (liberal) citizenship. This is in part to do with a focus on 'right claims'. Exemplary examples of 'acts of citizenship' provided in the literature are those incidents where non-citizens - irregularised migrants, asylum seekers, or the undocumented - protest or involve in activism and thus appear to mirror the expectations and actions of 'good' civic' citizens. This seemingly reveals the contingency of boundaries demarcating citizen/non-citizen (see Andrijasevic and Anderson 2009). To Andrijasevic (2013, 54) this 'accounts for those instances that citizens claim rights that they do not have and non-citizens act as if they were citizens.' This is described in relationship to terrorist policy (Jarvis and Lister 2013), sex worker protests (Andrijasevic 2013), the organisation of residents and activists in camps and detention centres. What defines the political in these circumstances (analytically) is how non-citizens claim equitable rights, through acting like citizens (also see Benhabib 2004).

Right claims are important but they do not and should not provide the horizon of the political. As contributions to this special issue examine, rights claims provide useful mechanisms to destabilise existing regimes of citizenship and open up new spaces of political possibility (see Mayblin 2016). Equally, those suffering extreme subjugation may claim the right to access state provisions such as healthcare, education, welfare benefits, the right to work and rely on the materialisation of these rights for survival (Papadapholous and Tsianos 2013). However, there remains a tension here between claiming legal rights and the reconstitution of citizenship through 'integrationist' strategies, which provide rights on the conditions of behaviour, meritocracy, 'acting' like a good citizen (see Turner 2014; Brown 1995, 121). Does the inclusion of non-citizens as (temporary) citizens not also reproduce the very distinction of legitimate membership that they equally call into question (Honig 2003)? Joe Hoover's (2015) recent work on human rights may provide a way of negotiating the citizen/integrationist bind. He suggests that rather than reproducing a liberal hegemonic project of universalism, claims over human rights have the potential to be radical in that they

provide space 'by invoke the universal but ambiguous notion of humanity' (Hoover 2015, 1093) Eschewing a reading of human rights as either a Western-centric or an entirely progressive tradition, this means recognising the possibility of rights through 'an optics of rightlessness' (Odysseos and Selmeczi 2015, 1038). Lucy Mayblin (2016) reflects on right claims in similar ways in her article, where the demand for recognition is made not to inclusive membership of citizens but to the appeal of an ambiguous 'humanity' linked together with internationalist traditions of 'worker' solidarity (also see Anderson, Sharma and Wright 2012). The emphasis here is less on 'acting as a citizen' and instead on the insurrectionist moment that a right claim generates when articulated by marginalised subjects. As Simon Critchely (2007, 91) argues: 'This reveals a novel political function for rights: they can be levers of political articulation whereby hitherto marginalised constituency enters into public visibility by raising a universal claim in relation to a situation of injustice or a wrong.'

Importantly, this special issue situates rights claims as one site for (en)gendering the political. In relating the political to a radical questioning of belonging (McNevin 2007), this also means exploring how acts, events and struggles work to rupture, break and reveal the contingencies of what Isin refers to as the 'habitus, practice, conduct, discipline and routine'(Isin 2009, 379) of ordering social life. In doing so, this destabilises the commonsensical mapping of 'belonging'. For instance, in exploring the politics of 'escape', Papadopoulos, Stephenson, Tsianos (2008) suggest that struggles over everyday life are political but specifically in the refusal to address such struggles to the redistributive power of the nation state. The autonomy of migration literature has thus broadly sought to understand dis-idenitification, de-subjectification and escape in the potential for re-imagining life: *'Escape is a creative, construc*tive move, one which radically alters the very conditions *within which struggles over existence are conducted'* (60). I also suggest that escape can be read as a distinctly political 'act', in that is far from passive, it is a refusal to align with the existing co-ordinates of contemporary order and representation. We can see this in line with a tradition of ethical anarchist practice where politics is the constant disturbance of the state (of order), 'prompting isolated moments of negation without any affirmation' (Levinas cited in Critchely 2007, 122). This rejects the scripting of the political as the joining together of the disruptive and the affirmative (Darling 2014). If escape is a mode of being political that goes beyond and actually contests the very basis of the redistributive function of rights regimes, then we have a far wider lens through which to view the emergence of the political in marginal, everyday spaces.

Marginality and the Political

To speak of marginality as (en)gendering the political is to note a certain relationship to 'conditions of possibility' (Allen 2002). The use of '(en)gender(ing)' is to recognise a process of emergence which blurs our understanding of the 'doing subject or agent'. The political 'acts' which emerge from marginal spaces and experiences are never determined but always work through the historical and social conditions which they equally contest. Nor do they rely upon the exertion of a subject's autonomy which renders them outside of history. To use the concept of (en)gender is to pay homage to emergent social and political formations and the fractured, hybrid nature of subjectivity (Kristeva 1999) but equally to recognise the role that studies of gender and feminism have played in explorations of marginality and exclusion (Hunt and Rygiel 2007). It is to recognise that the process of marginality and the political 'acts' they make possible are always (en)gendered, but that gender is always intersectional:

> Race, ethnicity, gender or class (and we should add sexuality) are the avenues of power that define the social, economic and political map. *These are the routes which 'disempowering dynamics' travel. These* avenues, or axes of power are sometimes considered distinct from each other. But in reality they overlap and cross each other, and operate in relation to each other, resulting in complex intersections at which two or more of these axes meet (George cited in Hunt and Rygiel 2007, 3).

It is these 'disempowering dynamics', wrapped around different axes of race, class, sexuality, gender, that are explored in this special issue, specifically through the contestation and politics which they also evoke. This is to say that these spaces in themselves offer up different modes of life and belonging – not only as victims which need 'inclusion' but as subjectivities which provide different accounts of what it is to be political. This is not to lapse into the fetishisation or romanticism of marginality. This is avoided by keeping a focussed eye on the governmental mechanism which foster and shape (often violently) marginality and by also understanding alternative claims as (im)possible reimaginings which will also, in part, fail.

What is important to emphasise here is the collective experience of refusal and disturbance, that is the emergent solidarities that disturbance makes possible. Perhaps, the political is always, in part, a failed project of collective experience and struggle. Speaking to this theme, Stierl's (2016) article in this issue draws upon Ranciere's notion of 'impossible identification' to reveal the complex and precarious encounters that subjects experience at the margins (in this case in the contestation of violent EU border practices). He argues that the

examples of 'grief activism' practiced by activist, migrants, grieving families constitute acts 'that can foster relationalities and communities in opposition to a politics of division, abandonment and necropolitics'. What is radical and political transformative about these acts is that they refuse the affirmation of existing rights regimes, the political identities assigned to them by the 'dominant consensual order' and are always failed projects of community making. We can reflect upon the broader implications of this. Marginal solidarities emerge and are always in a process of constant failure brought on by the heterogeneity of their composition, which is often (temporary) aligned in opposition to injustice or wrongs. This works against the traditional logic of community which relies on modalities of homogeny or cohesion (what Jean Luc-Nancy (1991) calls 'immanentism'). Stierl (2016) argues for the radical nature of these 'coalitions waiting to be formed':

> While political acts that entail a horizon of failure seem discomforting as they leave the realm of easily assumed (political/ideological) commonness and readability of one another, it is the process of identification despite impossibilities that engenders political potentiality and can point us to modalities of community that surpass traditional ideas of settled and bounded political communities.

If political is the radical questioning of belonging then the political is also the possibility of difference that can never be subsumed within a totalising social formation (see Levinas 1999).

Whilst the contributions in this special issue conceive of the political in slightly different ways, what they share is an ethic to open up the understanding of the political both through and beyond the existing parameters of the politics of citizenship. Right claims can be read as interruptions of the social order (although this is an empirical rather than philosophical question) but equally so can everyday acts of refusal. We need to be open to the orientation, direction and contingency of political acts. This can involve struggles which challenge the boundaries of 'equitable national settlement' (Shilliam 2016; Bird 2016), or that deny integration into the existing rights regimes of 'sedentary' citizenship (Turner 2016), or the precarious encounters found in 'grief activism' (Stierl 2016). Equally, the focus on the everyday, and refusal, means that we can also read collective experiences of music appreciation (Ní Mhurchú 2016), narrative and exile (Beattie 2016) as creating forms of political subjectivity. This means attuning ourselves to claims to alternatives forms of politics by exploring the hybridity and ambiguity of political identities and belonging (Ní Mhurchú 2016), global-colonial relations (Shilliam 2016) and decolonial struggles (Bird 2016), the

possibility of worker internationalism (Mayblin 2016), keeping alive forms of nomadism (Turne 2016r), impossible forms of solidarity and community (Stierl 2016). As individual contributions outline, this is less of a critique of Isin's work on acts but a reassertion of its radical potential to reveal the heterogeneity and (im)possibility of alternative claims to political life.

Marginality

As has already been suggested thus far, marginality can be analysed along a continuum of related experiences. Marginalisation refers to a social, legal, economic, normative and political process through which subjects and groups are both disempowered and constituted as not belonging. Marginality is the recognition of an injustice through which certain subjects are denied access to the 'common resources' of a political order (Tyler and Marciniak 2013, 7-8). To speak of the marginal is to invoke a spatial imaginary of the social where certain subjects are understood to inhabit the periphery – marginal spaces. It is both a geography and moral economy of hinterlands, colonies, silenced minorities, homelessness, detention centres, prison cells, (un)free labour. In this way, marginality/marginalisation invokes a relation to notions of 'exclusion' and 'abjection' (Waquant 2007).

However, this is not a retelling of the story of insiders and outsiders (Walker 1992) because that imagines a linear distinction of inclusion/exclusion, it is a recognition of the stratified and contingent way in which subjects are interpolated into stratified and hierarchical social formations. Following such a process, the contributions selected for this special issue focus on the different ways that subjects and groups are marginalised – mono-linguistic nationalism, the racist modalities of Empire, violent EU border practices, the policing of family life. And the political sites and acts this equally (en)genders. This contributes to the work on marginality by treating these experiences of injustice as productive of political subjectivity, but they equally relate to processes of marginalisation in academic knowledge production. They speak of the marginal not just by giving these experiences a 'voice' (see Squire 2015; Spivak 1988) but by articulating an exploration of marginality through drawing upon subjects and methodologies which are often side-lined (especially in mainstream political science and IR). For example: Ethnography and narration (Stierl 2016), autoreflexivism and story telling (Beattie 2016), cultural studies (Shilliam 2016), music (Ní Mhurchú 2016), Travellers and Gypsies (Turner 2016), 'Let them Work' campaigns (Mayblin 2016), African philosophy (Bird 2016). They reveal innovations in the theorisation

and representation of marginality just as they provide interventions into practices of marginalisation.

Marginality and the political

There is always a risk and tension in exploring the mechanism which produce marginality. By focussing this special issue on the (en)gendering of political acts through the process of marginalisation, there is a danger of prioritising an analyse of marginality over the political (Guillaume and Huysmans 2013, 7). By suggesting that marginality is productive of political subjectivity, this might appear to argue that disempowering processes emerge first, only to be resisted and contested by those who are subjugated or marginalised (as is the case with many accounts of resistance). We would like to contest this reading.

It is worth turning again to Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos' (2008) conception of escape here and its relationship to control. In their reading, escape and social control are co-constitutive, each defining the parameters of the other. However, whilst social control must map escape, it is escape that is prioritised within processes of control. This of course further elaborated on in their commitment to a radical, fleeing and subversive form of 'experience' (which they contrast to political subjectivity):

> Sovereignty manifests in response to escape. People do not escape their control. People escape. Control is a cultural–political device which comes afterwards to tame and eventually to appropriate *people's escape. Social struggles come* first (Papadopoulos 2008, 43).

Whilst escape leads from forms of social control, there is a 'human' or social impulse to escape which in fact defines the need for control – without escape there would be no need for control. This offers a way around the conceptual prioritisation of control over the political. And yet inverting the logic of 'resistance' so that escape is prior to control seems to: 1) miss out on the continual constitutive effect of mechanisms of social order and the historical conditions they shape; 2) re-appropriate the autonomous a priori (ahistorical) subject which is beyond social relations (in the 'human' impulse to escape). In this sense we find Robbie Shilliam's (2015) account of the global-colonial nexus of decolonial struggles a more satisfying formulation (or perhaps 'cultivation'). At the risk of simplify a complex argument, what Shilliam argues (in part) in both his contribution to this issue and in his latest book Black Pacific (2015) is that through struggles over decolonisation new solidarities and identities where formed which were 'global-colonial' in their character. Seemingly diverse

and fragmented communities subverted national co-ordinates in appropriating experiences and practices from other anti-colonial and anti-racist struggles, forging connections that both subverted and paralleled colonial relations (the 'Black pacific' relates specifically to the resonance between Maori groups in New Zealand and Black Power movements in the US). Whilst these communities where subjugated through colonial and racist rule, the global reach of colonialism also provided the conditions for new/old dynamics and solidarities to (re)form. The important lesson to be drawn from Shilliam's analysis for an analysis of marginal/political acts is that colonialism (the process of marginalisation and injustice, if we are being crude) provides some of the co-ordinates for new political, social, emotional and spiritual collectivities/connectivities to emerge. It is productive. However, decolonial struggles are never merely the resistance of colonialism in its mirror image; they draw upon knowledges, cosmologies, 'deeper relations' which both proceed and follow colonial rule (also see Bhambra 2014; Sousa Santos 2014). Colonialism, as a form of marginalisation, never works in totality, it is always in part a violent yet incomplete project which fails to produce entirely new experiences nor robs people of other ways of living, thinking or belonging. 'Decolonial science', as Shilliam presents it, is the cultivation of knowledges of alternatives and sensibilities that no longer take these co-ordinates as the horizon of truth.

So whilst Shilliam's argument relies upon a particular historical legacy, we would like to suggest that a conceptualisation of marginality and the political can work in familiar ways. Whilst disempowering practices provide the conditions for struggles, oppositional coalitions and refusal, this is mapped out through the diagram of the dominant order. However, in treating practices of ordering as always, in part, over determined and failed projects, there is always an excess to this process. There are always tools, practices and knowledges which are not subsumed by the historical order and provide methods and alternatives that open up (and can be taken up) to maintain other ways of living. This promises both affirmative transformations of citizenship as a desirable project and active refusals of citizenship as a sovereign form of politics. This is a questioning and ambiguous potential that we need to struggle to keep open.

Mapping Unfamiliar and Impossible Acts of Citizenship

The first section of the special issue focusses on events, moments and acts which disturb the co-ordinates of existing regimes of citizenship. Aoileann Ní Mhurchú's (2016) article extends and develops the questions raised in this editorial introduction concerning the existing work

on 'acts of citizenship' and the conceptualisation of the political. Arguing that 'acts' are often analysed through a central focus on the 'unfamiliarity of familiar (political) acts', such as irregularised migrants and non-citizens involvement in demonstrations, marches, occupations, she proposes the need to develop our understanding of 'unfamiliar acts'. This means a reimagining of what resistance and the political looks like. Drawing upon studies of 'indirect resistance' (Scott 2014) and the politics of language and musical performance (Maira 2008), Ní Mhurchú argues that forms of word play, vernacular language and musical styles engaged with by intergenerational migrants, can be fruitfully understood 'unfamiliar acts of citizenship'. Examples of youth engagement with Verlan and Hip-Hop in France, is read as highly political because it disturbs the status-quo of mono-linguistic and ethnic categories of national citizenship. This engagement with vernacular music and language is constituted by the precarity and marginality that many intergenerational migrants experience and this becomes a site of hybrid identification which subverts (rather than actively contests) the narrow dualistic definitions of the nation-state. To Ní Mhurchú, what designates these engagements as 'unfamiliar acts citizenship' is that whilst they are orientated away from the politics of the nation-state, this nonetheless provides for alternative forms of belonging to emerge. Recognising a tension in movements such as French Rap between both their subversive potential and its patriarchal and commercial character, Ní Mhurchú calls us to appreciate the ambivalence at the heart of citizenship. That is 'the need to think about hybridity across inclusion and exclusion within citizenship and precisely to refuse this citizenship beyond citizenship binary'.

Stierl and Mayblin's articles separately examine the potentiality of struggles over the recognition of migrants and asylum seekers; in death (Stierl 2016) and through the politics of work/labour (Mayblin (2016)). Stierl's ethnographic study of three separate protests reveals how the violent marginality induced by EU border regimes is contested within a politics of grief. Through an innovative theorisation of 'grief activism', realised through a reading of both Judith Butler and Jacque Rancière, this explores the fragile encounters and (im)possible solidarities formed around the mourning of border deaths. Responding to fatalities which are produced by the complex vacillating and deterritorialised tendencies of contemporary borders, grief activism works to protest the deaths of those detained, drowned or abused through acts of mourning and by subverting the official state-led process of memorialisation. The article pursues a rich narrative account of different sites of protest peopled by citizen activists, irregularised migrants, grieving families. This again expands our conception of the

political in its attention to a 'failed' event of grief activism in Monastir, Tunisia and through an analysis of artistic activism by the Centre for Political Beauty in Berlin. Such events, Stierl argues, (en)gender solidarity at the margins (blurring the distinctions of citizen/non-citizen). However, encounters in grief are equally temporal, precarious and fraught with tensions, 'they are always replete with the possibility of failure.' As well as collective acts that humanise the dead and contest the violent economy of EU borders, these struggles reveal unrecognisable and 'impossible' forms of identification that disturb our existing sovereign understanding of community and citizenship.

Mayblin's (2016) article likewise offers us an analysis of struggles over humanisation against the subjugating and exclusory logics of the UK's policy towards asylum seekers. She argues that the 'Let them Work' (LTW) campaign, a movement to allow asylum seekers the right to work in Britain, provided an 'insurrectional moment' in resisting the highly restrictive forms of social control used to govern asylum seekers. The LTW campaign is significant because it legally contests the hegemonic consensus on Asylum, through a divergent assemblage of Trade Unions, Refugee activists and religious groups. The important claim here is that whilst the campaign was unsuccessful in enacting institutional change it provided an opening up and a reimagining of British citizenship which is dominated by (post)colonial narratives of 'otherness'. The contestation of marginalisation through LTW strategies relied on invocations of both the asylum seeker as a potentially equal citizen, included within the social body of 'workers', but also a more radical re-imagining of the asylum seeker's right to work hinging on Marxist traditions of internationalism and 'human solidarity'. Whilst there remains a tension in the campaign between idealising the asylum seeker through the distinction of 'good'/'failed' citizen (those who contribute and work and those who don't), Mayblin argues that the significance of this movement is the 'mobile solidarities' which it (en)gendered and the potential this reveals for future disruption.

Turner's work follows on this theme of the tension between marginality and the type of oppositional politics this (en)genders. Drawing on William Walters' reading of domopolitics and Anne McClintock's work on domesticity, he argues that domestication is central to the production and regulation of marginal groups in the UK (relying on a certain raced, gendered classed, sexed assemblage). Focussing on the marginalisation of Traveller groups he argues that familial domesticity provides a site of anxiety regarding the (re)production of social difference but equally a remains a site of contestation. Turner reads these dynamics in the

exemplary example of the eviction of Irish Traveller's from the Dale Farm site in Essex in 2011. The modern push to regulate Traveller life is in part constituted by their apparent failure of domesticity, leading to state-led 'domicide'. However, this form of marginality always (en)genders forms of resistance, however violent domestication is. He argues that what we see in the protest over the Dale Farm eviction by both residents and activists is a powerful counter-narrative that offers up a different claim to family life and home. Whilst familial domesticity provides both a moral and biological diagram of British citizenship it also provides the material through which alternative ways of living are kept alive.

Reimagining Citizenship from Marginal Spaces

The acts and encounters which emerge from marginal spaces provide both disturbances of citizenship and equally provide alternative ways of accounting for and understanding the political. Recognising the radical potential of marginalised acts can open up ways of conceptualising existing regime of citizenship and new political constellations which work both within and beyond citizenship. In Amanda Beattie's (2016) contribution, she reflects upon a personal trauma (relating to the violence of securitised border regimes) which opened up her understanding of both Cosmopolitan theory and the contradictory enactment of global regimes of control. Beattie utilises Cynthia Weber's conception of 'Safe Citizenship' and Isin's 'affective' citizenship to theorise a personal experience of deportation and 'exile'. Beattie situates her experience of exile in the ethical potential it had to create unthinkable and impossible connections with 'others'. She thus reveals how an account of exile helps us (re)think the boundaries of sovereign politics, security and move towards an affective mode of political subjectivity. Exile is often an extreme form of marginalisation and is often violent, what Beattie suggests is that story telling opens up a process of politicisation within this experience which can be both personally and socially therapeutic.

Shilliam (2016) works takes up this engagement with (re)imagining citizenship and the political but through a historical and archival re-reading of anti-colonial struggles. Shilliam re-tells the history of 'Ethiopianist' movements in the 1930's as an opening up of the contradictory logics and racist underpinnings of British Empire (and identification). The outcry over Britian's inaction over the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 (by both white subjects and members of the Black diaspora in the UK) helped to reveal the racist and exclusive script of Britishness which had previous been offered as a mode of 'Imperial belonging'. Shilliam provides an interlocutor with cultural studies to understand how Afri-

Ethiopianism was orientated around global-colonial struggles over race, marginalisation and belonging. This provides a re-reading of commonsensical approaches to citizenship and the political. Shilliam argues that cultural studies (and (post)colonial studies of citizenship) have tended to read Black political movements in the UK as orientated around claims to 'equitable national settlement' i.e. a demand to be 'included' in the frame of rights and belonging offered by 'multicultural' citizenship. Contesting this both historically and politically, he reveals that the global-colonial coordinates of anti-colonial politics reach both within and beyond the narrative of citizenship. The legacies of Afri-Ethiopianism continue to resonate in Rastafari movements and campaigns demanding colonial reparations, these are not located within a national-territory struggle over rights or membership per se but rely on relational appeals to the global solidarities (en)gendered by European colonial encounters (enslavement, violence, prospective African liberation). These movements provide and practice different 'cartographies of belonging' which help us reimagine and resist contemporary citizenship.

The last article by Gemma Bird (2016) equally focuses on decolonial struggles and the lessons this has for our understanding of citizenship. Her article looks at the work of African philosopher 'statesman' as a means of rethinking 'acts' of citizenship in different historical contexts. Whilst the acts of citizenship literature has tended to focus on localised acts 'from below' (also see Mayblin 2016, Ní Mhurchú 2016) she suggests that the marginalised voices from African philosophy provide us with new ways of creatively conceptualising citizenship. What is significant in the accounts of thinkers such as Julius Nyerere and Léopold Sédar Senghor is the liberating potential they present in the cultivation of political subjectivity linked to both the 'village' and 'Pan-African' solidarities. To Bird the (failed) promise of these interventions, is found in both a reimagining of the Europeanist sovereign (white, colonial) citizen and the desire for a re-humanisation of the African self; a self which no longer has to prove anything to colonial masters and can tell its own history (and future). As with many of these explorations of the disturbances and (re)imaginings of citizenship, this remains an unfulfilled and failed project. Whilst decolonisation opened up a potentially emancipatory move in African history, the failure of (post)colonial state led projects reveals another darker story. Whilst philosopher statesman's work may still hold a radical conceptualisation of decolonial citizenship, the Authoritarian nature of their regimes and the persistence of imperial power through developmentalist capitalism, reveals the impossibility of the reimagining that it (en)genders.

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