**Exclusion, Inequalities, Discriminations**

Balibar talks about certain persons who are in a society without being in it. He refers to the ethnic separation of an outlying district of big cities like London and Paris.

**Exclusion means** dividing the population into two clear groups. These excluded people lack in terms of rights benefits etc. however, french youth from immigrant backgrounds are considered to have social citizenship with political rights and equality before the law.

Even though it may seem like they are not excluded from citizenship, **exclusionary democracy** is what might be the key to seeing that there are still deep structural inequalities and contradictions within contemporary citizenship. Balibar uses the example of the French Revolution when women were relegated to "passive citizenship" compared to men's "active citizenship” to explain this. However, women were given equal rights formally, they were internally excluded active citizenship based on their gender. Being passive citizens they don't get to enjoy their rights fully due to others not recognizing them as equal members. Having legal rights is crucial, but it's equally important to examine how these rights are put into practice.

Class:

Even though this french population has social citizenship rights, they are being internally excluded just like women and slaves were excluded years ago.

**The Question of the "Right to Rights"**

Expanding Arendt's idea of a "right to rights" Balibar mentions **constituent power** which means having the active ability to assert one's rights in public spaces and not being excluded from fighting for their rights. Many social groups, even in democratic societies, hover between "resistance" (having minimal rights) and "exclusion" (total rightlessness).

If there is no resistance, these groups could be entirely excluded and pushed outside the territories where they once had formal rights and legal protection. This could lead to situations where even basic freedoms and survival are at risk. These groups are often found in places like refugee camps or among communities of "illegal" immigrants. Stranded Pakistanis being able to assert their rights actively is constituent power which appears to be limited.

It’s important to understand that the resistance from exclusion can be against a stronger force which may lead to making the excluded people feel even more like they don't belong.

Undertaken by youth, in case of urban riots, young people faced race and class discrimination even if they were **born in the country but had immigrant backgrounds.** They not only faced unemployment but also were treated like a thread to society.

Castel defined **negativity individualism** where individuals are encouraged to seek maximum efficiency in their personal lives being deprived of social support that would allow them to do so. On the other hand, **negative community** is when a peaceful protest of a group against exclusion takes turn into riot, which can then be dominated by the authority, resulting in a higher chance of exclusion in the form of passive citizenship. **Passive citizenshi**p is where individuals have the legal status of citizenship but lack the active ability to fully participate in the social and political life of the nation.

Class:

During the french revolution, even though women were stated as universal citizens, the way they were relegated into the domestic sphere excluding them from the political space is an example of passive citizenship that Balibar uses. Women's inability to resist their exclusion and not having the right to exist in the form of resistance was the result of their internal exclusion.

**Politics and Territoriality: Borders**

Exclusion works through rules of inclusion and exclusion. People become part of a territory either by being in the same community or by participating in commerce. Again, lack of mutual recognition within these different communities can lead to exclusion. Exclusion, like borders, pushes people out or pulls people in depending on certain criterias.

Exclusion has two aspects such as historical and symbolic that are influenced by each other. Historical aspects relate to real-world events and experiences, such as the movement of populations, migrations concerning the background of people. On the other hand, Symbolic aspects are more about differences in ideas, cultures, and social structures.

Stranded Pakistanis situation involves both real-life events like their migration and symbolic factors like their identity as Pakistanis. These conflicts make them excluded and misrecognized.

Internal exclusion is when certain people inside a country get the feeling of not belonging. It can happen when people treat certain groups as if they don't belong to the country even though they live there ((as was the case with slaves and is the case with immigrants) or it can be by expecting certain people to have their rights within certain limits.

Another dynamic aspect of exclusion can be not just physically separating a community but of a community being excluded from participation in economic activities, communication, translation, and mobility.

The existence of political communities is not just about belonging to a community but also involves how these communities interact and recognize each other.

“For "stranded Pakistanis," it's crucial not only to have a sense of belonging and identity within their own community but also to interact and engage with other communities, like Bangladeshis. This interaction can lead to different levels of freedom and recognition for individuals, depending on the relationships and interactions between these communities. It's a reminder that these communities should both work internally and interact externally for a more enriching and cooperative coexistence.”

Class:

Class: castel says legal status is enough balibar says not enough.

Balibar basic idea: french rev -women exclude, slave exclude ancient greece and internal and external exclusion in modern state: is their any philosophical feature common?

**Rules of Inclusion, Rules of Exclusion**

First thesis: There can be no institutional procedure for exclusion without a rule whether it be a political, rule of law or a practical sociological norm. Rules that define who gets to be a part of a community determines who gets excluded. However, not only exclusion but the process of including can be just as violent. For instance, individuals might be pressured or forced to change or adapt to the dominant culture or beliefs.

Minority groups within Bangladesh may feel pressure to conform to the dominant cultural or religious norms to be accepted as part of the larger community (inclusion) or face exclusion.

Even in places that officially do not recognize the categories of "reduced" or "second-class" there's a gray area where some individuals are neither fully included nor fully excluded from the community. For example,the standard Pakistanis living in Bangladesh with family ties could fall into this gray area of not being entirely included or excluded.

Even though he talks about certain rules, distinguishing between who is a citizen and who isn't, is shaped by an ongoing conflict that arises because there are people who officially belong to a community and can feel like they are part of another imagined community.

Standard Pakistanis living in Bangladesh might officially have Bangladeshi citizenship, but they might still feel closely connected to the larger group of "Standard Pakistanis" based on their shared culture, language, and history.

Eventually he comes to the second thesis stating that exclusion and inclusion in citizenship are not fixed states or rules but are rather outcomes of ongoing conflicts.

Radical exclusion is not merely a matter of being treated as an outsider; it involves being denied the benefits and rights that come with inclusion. It can lead to the demand for inclusion, which implies a process of negating the initial exclusion as Balibar mentions the positive aspect of Arendt’s formula of right to rights.

Some stranded Pakistanis have been demanding their inclusion and recognition in Bangladesh. This reflects the ongoing struggle and conflict that Balibar associates with the interplay of inclusion and exclusion.

In his third thesis he jumps into the concept of of subjects and relationships

between subjects to examine the dynamic relationship between inclusion and exclusion. Firstly, since Inclusion and exclusion involve subjects and power dynamics, raising questions about who is excluded and who is responsible for exclusion. Following this, he suggests that political history should be examined during moments when a community has been open or closed.

Balibar asserts that the community itself is responsible for exclusion where Citizens, who play a part in excluding others, create a sense of common belonging among themselves. However, this participation often happens through the delegation of power to the state. However, the legitimacy of state and law can be questioned. As they are fragile authorities as Balibar mentioned. Citizens may influence stronger exclusionary measures against immigrants out of social anxieties if they are socially disadvantaged.

local Bangladeshi citizens might have played a role in the exclusion of the stranded population, either through consensus or indirectly through institutions.

In Siddiqi's article, she discusses how the Bangladeshi government, through the Nationality Verification Program (NVP), delegated power to local authorities to determine who would be considered a Bangladeshi citizen. Many stranded Pakistanis faced challenges in proving their citizenship, and local officials played a significant role in excluding them from Bangladeshi citizenship.