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The Urdu-speaking Muslim population of Bangladesh, often referred to as "stranded Pakistanis," came to East Pakistan during the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. They came from parts of India such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Punjab to what was then East Pakistan. The stranded Pakistanis found themselves caught between the promises of a new nation and the harsh realities of exclusion in the unstable environment of post-independence Bangladesh. This community, which had left their home and migrated to help shape their dreamland of Pakistan, was now confronted with a web of challenges that restricted their social and political participation in the national discourse. The statement, "We never left Pakistan, Pakistan has gone and left us," captures the emotions of people residing in different camps across the country, highlighting the sense of dislocation and desertion felt by the Urdu-speaking migrants (Dina,2013). The notion of the territorial metaphor of inclusion and exclusion proposed by Étienne Balibar helps clarify the political and social circumstances surrounding the Pakistanis who are stranded in Bangladesh as discussed in Dina Siddiqi's article.

According to Dina Siddiqi (2013), around 699,000 Muslims migrated to East Pakistan during the partition of 1947 due to the riots against the Muslim minority that took place in India. Eventually, these populations went from victims of communal violence to citizens of newly formed Pakistan, and then to stateless Persons. Initially, they felt uncertain about their national belonging, and due to linguistic and cultural differences, they seemed unwilling to connect with the locals. As a result, Bengalis saw them as a unified community asserting superiority and cultural distance from the majority. Moreover, the Pakistani government’s favoritism towards certain Urdu speakers and their discouragement of assimilation has all together created a mindset in Bagalis that caused their exclusion.

Balibar (2020) raises questions about the concept of subjects and relationships between subjects about who is excluded and who is responsible for exclusion. He asserts that the community itself is responsible for exclusion. However, this participation often happens through the delegation of power to the state. Moreover, Citizens may influence stronger exclusionary measures against immigrants out of social anxiety if they are socially disadvantaged which is one of the key reasons for setting the mindset of exclusion of the standard Pakistanis.

Exclusion has two aspects such as historical and symbolic that are influenced by each other (Balibar, 2020). Their historical background of migration and the symbolic aspect of different linguistics and cultures was one of the key reasons for their exclusion. There can be no institutional procedure for exclusion without a rule whether it be a political, rule of law, or a practical sociological norm.The inclusive declaration made by Sheikh Mujib in 1973, which invited non-Bengalis in East Pakistan to pledge allegiance to Bangladesh, ironically led to their civil death unless they culturally conform, amending past mistakes through cultural conversion, and suppressing linguistic and ethnic differences for proof of loyalty to the nation (Siddiqi, 2013). Hence, Not only exclusion but the process of including can be just as violent as seen in this scenario. Moreover, due to civil death, they were constantly being misrecognized by different communities as well which can lead to exclusion as Balibar mentions.

After the initial wave of repatriations that affected EPCAF and military personnel, more than 150,000 people were confined in the physical borders of 116 camps where they lived in unimaginable conditions. They are also separated by an invisible border created by their linguistic and cultural differences which has always stopped them from assimilating with the mainstream society (Siddiqi, 2013).

The camps bear a striking resemblance to the “banlieues” or “ghettos” discussed by Balibar (2020). Similar to the youth in the banlieues of France, these Biharis are now considered part of the Bangladesh nation, possessing public and social citizenship, and yet they are unable to exercise their rights as a citizen (Siddiqi, 2013).

Before 2003, the Biharis lived in a stateless limbo, deemed civil dead with neither a state nor rights. While they were granted citizenship in 2008, they still face challenges in actively exercising their rights in Bangladesh, reflecting a condition akin to passive citizenship (Siddiqi, 2013). Even though it might seem that they are not externally excluded, the existence of exclusionary democracy reveals deep structural inequalities of passive citizens within contemporary citizenship (Balibar, 2020). Moreover, since there exists a universal paradox about citizenship while certain people benefit from it, others may suffer, the Biharis in this case are the sufferers of this citizenship.

Passive citizenship 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. Balibar's (2020) analogy to the French Revolution, where women were passive citizens initially, reflects a similar scenario to the stranded Pakistanis 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, and are internally excluded from enjoying their rights. Internal exclusion is when certain people inside a country get the feeling of not belonging when people treat them differently or it can be by expecting them to have their rights within certain limits (Balibar, 2020).

Expanding Arendt's idea of a "right to rights" Balibar (2020) shows the shift from “constituted power” to “constituent power” which means having the active ability to assert one's rights in public spaces and being able to fight for their rights which is an important factor for not getting excluded. While the standard Pakistanis have the constituted rights as they belong to the nation-state of Bangladesh, they do not have ‘constituent power” to actively assert their rights which is a significant reason behind their internal exclusion.

Baibar (2020) discusses that people become part of a territory either by being in the same community or by participating in commerce. Additionally, a lack of mutual recognition within these different communities can lead to exclusion. Similarly, as many of the Bihari people actively sided with the Pakistani army during the war, all Urdu speakers were identified as closely associated with them which isolated them from Bangladeshi communities (Siddiqi, 2013). Additionally, as people like Javed Hasan are still protesting for their right to go back to Pakistan, the mainstream Bangalis regard them as wartime collaborators/ razakars and reject them socially. Moreover, there are people who officially belong to a community and can feel like they are part of another imagined community which is a conflict that determines who gets to be a citizen (Balibar, 2020). This compares to the older generation of standard Pakistanis like Shoukat Ali who rejects the ruling of Bangladesh and considers themselves part of Pakistan. However, the younger generation of this community doesn’t feel this way which is an ongoing conflict within their community that excludes them from inclusion.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, Dina Siddiqi's application of Étienne Balibar's concept of the territorial metaphor of inclusion and exclusion to the Pakistanis who are stranded in Bangladesh reveals the intricate dynamics influencing their social and political situation. Similar to Balibar's framework, the historical, symbolic, and institutional dimensions of exclusion shed light on the difficulties this community faces. The conditions in the camp are similar to what Balibar discusses about banlieues; it emphasizes the difference between legal status and active participation, as well as the persistence of passive citizenship and internal exclusion. The predicament of Pakistanis who are stranded highlights the necessity of a complex conception of citizenship to address deeply ingrained systemic injustices.

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**Exclusion, Inequalities, Discriminations**

Exclusion means dividing the population into two clear groups. These excluded people lack in terms of rights benefits etc (Balibar). Even though certain groups can have social rights, so it seems that they are not excluded from the outside, exclusionary democracy shows that there are still deep structural inequalities and contradictions within contemporary citizenship. Balibar uses the example of the French Revolution when being passive citizens women didn’t get to enjoy their rights fully due to others not recognizing them as equal members. Passive citizenship 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.

The article by Dina Siddiqi explores the terrifying experiences of the Pakistanis who became stranded in Bangladesh. These Biharis who speak Urdu were formerly Pakistani citizens who actively took part in the process of constructing their country. But in 1971, when East Pakistan became Bangladesh, they became passive citizens instead of active citizens, which was a big change in their standing in the country.

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

Expanding on 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. Even though women were stated as universal citizens, the way they were relegated to the domestic sphere excluding them from the political space is an example of passive citizenship. 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.

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. On this note, Balibar mentions negative community which 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.

Standard:

**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, a 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.

Stranded

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 when people treat certain groups differently or it can be by expecting certain people to have their rights within certain limits.

The stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh faced social exclusion, marginalization, limited economic opportunities, identity complexities, discrimination, and a lack of clear legal and political provisions for their status. These challenges shaped their treatment in Bangladeshi society.

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 and mobility.

**Rules of Inclusion, Rules of Exclusion**

According to the first thesis of Balibar, there can be no institutional procedure for exclusion without a rule whether it be a political, rule of law or a practical sociological norm. However, determination of who is a citizen 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.

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.

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.

In many places there's a gray area where some individuals are neither fully included or excluded from the community. Here,the standard Pakistanis living in Bangladesh with family ties fall into this gray area of not being entirely included or excluded.

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 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 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. However, this participation often happens through the delegation of power to the state. Moreover, 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.

The Urdu-speaking population could not become citizens of Bangladesh due to issues related to their role during the 1971 conflict and the lack of recognition by the Bangladeshi government.. They also faced difficulties in becoming citizens of Pakistan due to the complex political situation and the absence of a clear legal framework. This left them in a state of exclusion, neither citizens of Bangladesh or Pakistan. The state of Bangladesh treated the stranded Pakistanis with legal and political ambiguity, resulting in their undeclared citizenship and lack of clear recognition. This had implications for their access to education, economic opportunities, and the integration of their community into Bangladeshi society.