**Introduction:**

**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 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. 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. 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.

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.

**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.

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.

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.

**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.

In many places there's a gray area where some individuals are neither fully included or excluded from the community.

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.

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.