Politics through a web: citizenship and community unbound[1]

Dr Angharad Closs Stephens
Durham University
South Road
Durham
DH1 3LE
a.c.stephens@durham.ac.uk

Dr Vicki Squire
The Open University
Walton Hall
Milton Keynes
MK7 6AA
v.j.squire@open.ac.uk
(Co-authors)

Abstract

What happens to citizenship when the nation and the state are no longer assumed to be the inevitable starting points from which politics is defined? This article considers how a refusal of the nation as political community and a questioning of the state as guarantor of rights and responsibilities reconfigure our understandings of citizenship. It does this by taking as a metaphor and analytical entry point an art installation developed by artist Tomás Saraceno titled '14 Billions (Working Title)', which was displayed at the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art in Gateshead from July-October 2010. Forming an exaggerated version of a Black Widow spider's web, this installation offers us a way of engaging politics in relational terms. Inspired by this installation, we ask: how are the categories of citizenship and community troubled, challenged or reconfigured when we address sociality and politics from a relational perspective? In which ways does '14 Billions' prompt us to address questions of spatiality, power, coexistence and contestation differently from those accounts of citizenship that remain wedded to the state as a contained geographical unit and to the nation as an imaginary of political community? And finally, how might this web installation suggest an intervention into the broader problematic of 'citizenship without community' that forms the focus of this special issue? We address these questions by way of an engagement with the 'lines', 'gaps' and 'tension points' presented by '14 Billions', and argue that an understanding of citizenship as based upon membership appears inadequate when we address politics through a web. In so doing, we contend that the provocation of 'citizenship without community' presents a challenge that does not simply demand a shift from the nation to the state or the reaffirmation of a rights-bearing subject. Rather, this provocation leads us to argue that politics involves more than a search for inclusion and recognition, whilst the web installation offers us instead a way in to thinking politics through heterogeneous sites and moments of encounter.

Openings

How might a refusal of the nation as the imagined community and a questioning of the state as guarantor of rights and responsibilities reconfigure our understanding of politics? What sort of interventions come to the fore when the spatio-temporal legacies associated with the nation-state are questioned, cast aside or challenged in ways that trouble conventional political schemas? These are questions that the pieces in this special issue raise for us and which we want to probe in this article in terms that explore the 'unbinding' of community and citizenship. We do so by turning to an art installation titled '14 Billions (Working Title)' developed by the artist Tomás Saraceno, and which was exhibited at the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art in Gateshead from July-October 2010 (see picture 1). Built in collaboration with spider researchers, astrophysicists, engineers and architects, this installation formed an exaggerated version of a Black Widow spider's web measuring 350 cubic metres. In this article we engage Saraceno's web as a metaphor and analytical entry point for considering how we might address the provocation of 'citizenship without community', specifically in terms of the ways in which it provides a means for engaging politics in *relational* terms. Our aim is not to posit citizenship as emerging progressively today in a way that 'transcends' community. Nor is it to develop a normative intervention that suggests a new form of - or scale for - politics that leaves the confinements and exclusions of community and citizenship far behind.[1] Rather, we aim to reflect politically and analytically on the legacies and assumptions (spatial and temporal, ontological and substantive) that we carry with us when we engage politics through the frameworks of 'citizenship' and 'community', and to address what remains or what might emerge when the weight of such legacies and assumptions is lightened.

Picture 1.

---

[1] The question of the relationship between citizenship and community has also been raised recently by Staeheli (2008), who similarly points to community and citizenship as sites of contestation and struggle. While Staeheli's analysis importantly draws out the complexities of the relationship between citizenship and community from an empirical angle, we want to focus more directly here on the political implications of their mutual constitution as the privileged sites of politics in conceptual terms. This does not so much mean that we 'dismiss community' (p. 18), as it does indicate that we question the political implications of engaging community as an analytical starting point for empirical investigation. See also Joe Painter's (2007) intervention in this debate.
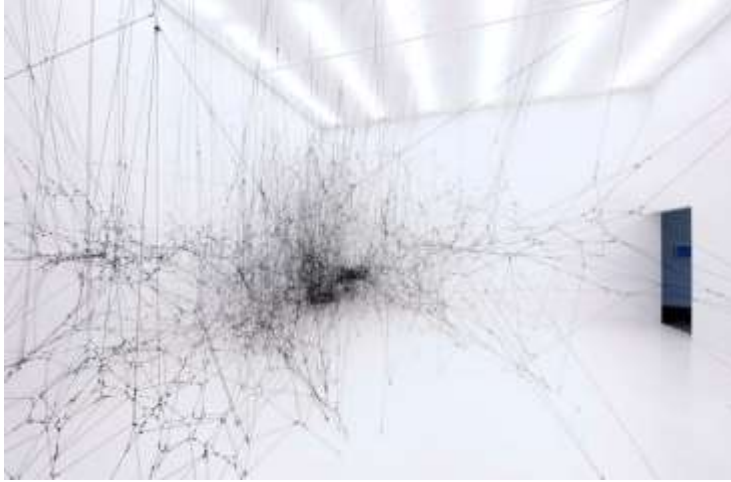
Tomás Saraceno, '14 Billions (Working Title)'

Picture taken by Colin Davison

Copyright: Tomás Saraceno and BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art

There have of course been many attempts at thinking social and political life through the form of a web. Approached as a metaphor, the web points us towards a relational ontology that resonates with other spatial-temporal formations including the assemblage and the network.[2] It is not our aim here is to posit the web as an alternative to these approaches or as a 'new solution' for thinking citizenship and community. Rather, in this intervention, we experiment with the web installation as a way *in* to thinking through 'citizenship without community', specifically in terms that trouble the bounded space and homogenous linear time implicated in nationalist and statist approaches to citizenship. The title of this art installation, '14 Billions', refers to the estimated age of the universe and was inspired by pictures of stars and distant galaxies taken by astronomers and astrophysicists from the Hubble Space Telescope as well as by the images of spider webs. In their extended filaments, nodes and clusters, these images of stars and galaxies are described as resembling a 'complex web-like structure' (Exhibition notes, 2010). Saraceno and his studio used a plane

---

[2] Broadly, what we take from the work on assemblages and networks is the emphasis on understanding (social) entities in terms of the relations through which they are forged, rather than as unified totalities or as entities with essential properties and clear-cut boundaries. More specifically, there are three aspects to this that we want to stress as important: the complex and dynamic formation of social entities as against an 'organicist' or a structuralist notion of the unified whole; the contingent and relational process of dis- and re-identification (or de- and re-territorialisation, in Deleuze's terms) in contrast to the presumption that there exist pre-constituted agents or subjects; and the heterogeneous formation of social entities as against the assumption of a 'common' dimension that is shared by all.

3

laser to recreate an image of a spider's web, which was then transformed into a three dimensional digital model and magnified sixteen times (ibid). The resulting structure was woven using black nylon thread and appears to have both density in the way it holds together as a complex formation, as well lightness in the way that it hangs delicately in the gallery space. In suggesting both *density* and *lightness*, and holding a form that appear*s* both *unyielding* and *collapsible*, this web installation can be understood as a metaphor for appreciating the contingency of all social and political formations. It can also be read as an analytical entry point or device that reminds us that those social and political formations which appear unified, homogenous and even timeless are in fact complex, heterogeneous and rely on being constantly recreated anew. Thus, the web as a metaphor is useful for us because it both allows us to set out some of the key dimensions of a relational approach to sociality and politics, while also allowing us to experiment with ways of thinking through the provocation of 'citizenship without community'.

Indeed, Saraceno's installation forms an interesting point of departure when addressing the provocation of 'citizenship without community' because of the way in which it draws our attention away from any sense of an overarching spatial 'unit'. As Bruno Latour has recently commented on another installation by the same artist, 'Galaxies Forming along Filaments' (2008), there is no sense of an 'overall container' (03/07).[3] Of course, it might be said that the exhibition room at the art gallery forms such a 'container', but we are more interested in the way in which the structure seems to float or hover, and thus encourages us to look towards the different points of connection. This sense of floating forms an important element of many of Saraceno's works, which resemble and draw inspiration from spatial formations including bubbles, spheres and clouds that also appear to be both dense and light.[4] The installation therefore provides a visual register that potentially challenges spatial and temporal conceptions of social and political life associated with the nation and with the state. Rather than begin with the assumption that politics takes place within a bounded unit or according to a unified 'whole', as with accounts that take as an entry point the sovereign state as a political entity or the nation as a 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991), this

---

[3] The full title is, 'Galaxies Forming along Filaments, Like Droplets along the Strands of a Spider's Web' (2008), and was displayed at the Venice Biennale in 2009.
[4] We find these forms in Saraceno's *Air-Port-Cities* which features flying cloud shapes hovering in the air and in 'Galaxies Forming along Filaments'. Latour found that Saraceno's 'Galaxies' offered a nod both to the spatial theory of networks and to Peter Sloterdjik's philosophy of spheres and envelopes. Arguing against the suggestion that we must choose between a theory of networks and spheres, Latour uses Saraceno's piece to show that both notions are indispensable for social theory and for a theory of globalization. We are grateful to Sean Knox for drawing our attention to Latour's intervention which was published in the course of writing this paper.

installation encourages us to think sociality and politics in relation to the multiplicity of lines and gaps that connect and disconnect at thousands of different points.

By engaging the web installation both analytically and politically in this article, we explore how its *lines*, *gaps* and *points of tension* prompt us to think more carefully about the ways in which citizenship is made, unmade and remade as a social and political formation. In the first part of the article, we consider the challenges that are posed to conventional accounts of citizenship by the provocation of 'citizenship without community'. In so doing, we indicate that addressing 'politics through a web' facilitates an understanding of social and political formations as *contingent* and *dynamic*. We then develop our relational approach further through elaborating the 'lines', 'gaps' and 'tension points' of the web in dialogue with the different articles in this special issue, as well as with a series of scholars that address our concerns. In the section on 'lines', we show how the web provides an understanding of coexistence which moves away from national and statist accounts of citizenship that bind the space-time of politics to a unified political community and to pre-constituted subjects. In the section on 'gaps', we show how concrete struggles are central to the formation (and deformation) of sociality from a relational perspective, and claim that to understand citizenship simply as a claim for inclusion or recognition would be to overlook the dynamism of politics as enacted through contestation. Finally, in the section on 'tension points' we highlight the multiple and dispersed enactment of politics and draw attention to the importance of understanding social and political formations as irregular in form and heterogeneous in content. Throughout the article, we seek to develop an approach to politics that is able to be attentive to moments of encounter – moments that take place at multiple sites and which are unpredictable. and In these ways, our intervention differs from liberal attempts to think 'citizenship without community' which, even in their 'post-statist' formations, nevertheless rely upon frameworks of recognition and/or inclusion. To conclude, we consider the limits of the web metaphor, as well as the limitations presented by the categories of 'citizenship' and 'community', in any attempt to address politics from a relational perspective.

'Citizenship without community'

The modern liberal imagination binds citizenship and community together in a distinct geographical unit, in the sense that citizenship is conventionally understood in terms of

membership of a politically community that is territorially defined. This is articulated as part of a progressive lineage, because it entails the promise of rights and protection by a sovereign nation-state (within which a citizen is conventionally located) which, in return, places an obligation on a citizen to serve the particular political community in question (such as through jury service or military service) (Isin and Turner, 2008; Weber, 2008). Any attempt to engage citizenship and community as well as the relationship between them must therefore appreciate the ways in which they are intertwined in modern and liberal understandings of politics. Indeed, as Engin Isin suggests in this volume, such an engagement must also inevitably address the way in which the 'nation has become the dominant political community in modernity' (p.1). Isin unpacks in significant detail the way in which citizenship has come to be understood as associated with a community of birth (of the self or the parent) and raises critical questions about the political implications of such a rendering of politics. In seeking to trace the 'vexed relationship between citizenship and nationality' (p.2), his contribution chimes with that of Étienne Balibar because it reminds us that this relationship is historically contingent, with the nation 'only *one of the possible institutional forms of the community of citizens'* (our emphasis Balibar, p.4). While citizenship and community have been bound together according to these terms, this is certainly not to say that such bindings are necessary or inevitable.

Nevertheless, the point about the contingency of these conceptual formulations doesn't necessarily make the task of engaging an alternative understanding of community or, indeed, citizenship any less challenging. As Isin's discussion implies, it is not enough to offer another understanding of citizenship by emphasising *the rights of the citizen* rather than notions of kinship and filiation, since there are no easy ways of escaping 'this vexed relationship between citizenship and nationality'. Despite the claims of some liberal scholars, the development of a conception of citizenship based on rights and obligations does not escape the trappings of community, since such rights and obligations are often tied to a designated legal and political space and/or to a pre-constituted conception of the political subject. As Isin puts it, the very idea of 'the pure and simple citizen is anything but that: according to the dominant account of citizenship, it is a concrete subject whose right to the community is determined by birth' (p. 12). For this reason, Isin indicates that it will not do to replace the idea of citizenship as based on birthright with one based upon a contract or choice and it would be inadequate to replace a community of the nation with a community of the state. This is partly because the 'state and nation do not have autonomous or independent trajectories' (p. 5). Isin shows that their intermingled

6

genealogies and conceptual legacies serve to co-constitute 'race, birthright citizenship and nationality' (p.5). Changing the *formula* for membership doesn't therefore necessarily mean that we get away from the assumption that political community must be inscribed 'as a territorially bounded state and the citizen as a member of that community' (p.2).

This point also suggests that we cannot either simply shift from a national to a transnational conception of citizenship. Such formulations often continue to invoke a notion of politics as tied to membership of a community that is territorially defined – albeit on a different scale from that of the nation and the state, and/or as resting on the idea of a free and autonomous subject that is able to exercise rights and obligations on multiple scales (e.g. Soysal 1994, Benhabib, 2004)[5]. Thus, whilst current attempts to develop the concept of citizenship are also largely concerned with thinking citizenship without assuming a national community, we seek to engage this provocation without falling back on the assumption of membership in a bounded political community *or* on the idea of a pre-constituted subject that carries particular rights and obligations. We also consider whether such an account of citizenship is possible, or whether this concept is too deeply intertwined in the histories and legacies of the modern nation-state. Drawing on a conception of citizenship as a mode of 'political being' (Isin 2002), we suggest that citizenship is constituted through a range of concrete political struggles. Our approach contrasts with those accounts that view citizenship as something that takes place, and is achieved, within a common unit, since we address this concept neither in terms of membership of a political community nor in terms of a body of rights and obligations. Rather, citizenship for us is conceived of as modes of political being that are enacted through encounters that can inhabit as well as exceed these delimitations.

The provocation of 'citizenship without community' originates, of course, with Étienne Balibar.[6] For Balibar, citizenship is intimately related to community because 'the principle of

---

[5] For an extended account of this critique in relation to the idea of the modern subject and a territorial community, see Walker, 1998.

[6] This is a concept that Balibar presents in chapter 4 of *We, the People of Europe?* (2004) but he presents it with a question mark (reflecting perhaps his point in this article that it is impossible to think citizenship without community). In that chapter he exposes the way in which communitarians *and* cosmopolitans tend to assume an understanding of community based around an idea of the 'common' and seeks to develop an understanding of community as something other than nationality. In so doing, Balibar turns to the contributions of Jean-Luc Nancy and Jacques Rancière. He presents a deconstruction of the notion of a *res publica* in a way that seeks to detach the reference of the 'good' from the reference to the 'common'. We may ask whether separating the 'good' from the 'commons' forms a robust enough strategy however, and whether the idea of the 'good' similarly risks collapsing into the assumption that politics must be based around the realisation of something that we hold in common.

citizenship coincides with a reciprocity of rights and duties which, as such, binds together the co-citizens' (p. 4). In his claim that a community of co-citizens will have been *invented* and *imposed*, he also draws attention to the contingency of all claims to community. But whilst Balibar has in the past encouraged us to think 'citizenship without community', he also argues in his contribution to this volume that 'citizenship as a political principle cannot exist without a community'. Although Balibar may at first appear to be offering contradictory statements, his key claim here is that a community of the *nation* doesn't necessarily have to be thought of in *nationalist* terms (i.e. as an unified community, whose essence involves the *consensus* of its members) (p. 4), and that an idea of '*the people*' mobilising does not have to understood in *negative* terms. For him, politics necessarily involves a heterogeneous, conflictual process, and the idea of the 'people' might be understood in non-nationalist terms - as deviant and insurrectional (p.12).

Whilst Balibar encourages us to think 'community without unity', Engin Isin is more wary of relying upon and reproducing the language of community. Isin's approach to the provocation of thinking 'citizenship without community' is slightly different then, in that for Isin, 'community' almost inevitably leads us towards nationalist categories. Drawing on Jacques Derrida's comments in *The Politics of Friendship,* he indicates that the problem with 'community' is that it invites 'the risks associated with naturalization, genre, race, genes, family and the nation' (Derrida, 1997, p.298 cited by Isin on p. 17). This prompts the question as to what extent the notion of 'community' necessarily or inevitably reinscribes the notion of a common essence, of fraternity and brotherhood. This was of course the subject of some dispute between Jean-Luc Nancy and Jacques Derrida (Derrida, 2003, pp. 58-61) – and it is not a question that is easily answered. We share a sense of the limitations of relying upon and reproducing the language of 'community' because of the way in which it tends to lead us towards the assumption of unity – either in the sense of 'sociocultural homogeneity' or of 'territorial boundedness' (see Baker and Bartelson, 2009, p.2). In engaging with the provocation of 'citizenship without community', we suggest that we might be better placed working with the relational concepts suggested by many of the articles in this collection, such as exchange (Andrijasevic, Aradau, Huysmans and Squire), proximity (Painter) or translation (Weber). We conceive this focus as both standing in tension with the idea of a drive towards commonality or the common good, and as departing from a notion of politics as based upon a search for membership based on inclusion and recognition. Specifically, our engagement with the web prompts us to emphasise the importance of understanding politics in terms of *encounters*. We contend that an engagement with the

8

lines, gaps and tension points of the web leads us to a different understanding of politics to an account that begins with pre-defined constituents whose 'identities' and 'differences' form a necessary and foundational element of politics. This shouldn't be interpreted as a refusal on our part to take questions of 'identity', difference and coexistence seriously. Rather, we seek to get away from an account of politics that relies on pre-constituted subject positions – whether these are understood as 'rights-bearing' subjects *or* as subjects that inhabit particular cultural identities. We want to suggest that the web enables a way of thinking coexistence in terms that neither *deny* nor *reify* affective ties and attachments.

Lines: relationality, coexistence, being-with

So how does Saraceno's installation help us to address the provocation of 'citizenship without community'? We want to argue against accounts of citizenship that rest on the assumption of *membership*, whether this is conceived in terms of cultural or biological essence (which invoke notions of citizenship based on place of birth or birthright) or in terms of legal status (which invokes a notion of citizenship in terms of territorially defined rights and obligations). This in turn implies that we need a different approach to thinking questions of coexistence – one that refuses the idea that the subjects of political life can be determined in advance and are brought together in a bounded political community. In turning to this installation, it seems to us that the *lines* of the web, and the way in which they knot, thread, and interweave, suggest a very different entry point to thinking coexistence. In deflecting against the assumption of a central, unifying force that pulls subjects towards a common point of origin or telos, the web suggests a way of raising the question of coexistence that refuses both the assumption of 'sociocultural homogeneity' and of 'territorial boundedness' (Baker and Bartelson, 2009, p.2). It does so firstly by indicating the complexity and dynamism of social and political formations, which might be conceived of as constituted through a range of connections rather than in terms of a single unified whole. And secondly, it does so by pointing towards ways of thinking 'being together' that refuse the assumption of commonality or unification.[7]

This second task is aided by Martin Coward's attempt to rethink community as *relationality* in this collection, which he develops through the site of the city but which we feel also

---

[7] For a Derridean experiment in thinking 'community without unity', see Corlett, 1989.

resonates with this metaphor of the web.[8] Coward develops an understanding of community *as* relation or exposure to others. According to this reading, community doesn't point to some common *good*, *essence,* or *value* that members share or possess – 'as something that once belonged to us and that therefore can once again belong to us' (see also Esposito, 2010, p. 2). Rather, drawing on the work of Jean-Luc Nancy (2000; 1991), being is defined by alterity and its exposure to otherness. Relations with others are, according to this understanding, constitutive and inescapable: 'existence is already a coexistence' (Coward, 2005, p. 325). This exposure to otherness is crucially, not something that beings *choose* to engage with; rather, we only become and understand who we are in the world *through* our relations with others. In thinking relationality in this way, as an 'ontologically primary dynamic' (Coward, p. 17), it becomes impossible to conceive of a subject – or a 'community' - as self-contained, bounded and autonomous.

This presents a challenge to the idea of a subject that remains constant and is fully-formed *before* her/his injection into a political sphere. Both the web and this reformulation of 'community' therefore suggest an understanding of politics that refuses to begin with pre-defined identities, constituents or political subjects that come into contact with one another, an assumption on which many conventional accounts of citizenship rest. It also rejects a conception of politics as a pre-defined sphere. We want to argue that the metaphor of the web, and in particular the criss-crossing lines that are key to its form, leads us to ask further *what happens* at those moments and in those sites of encounter through which political relations are manifest. We might say firstly that such moments and sites do not simply form points where subjects encounter each other or collide: they are also *productive* of particular subject positions. This approach marks a contrast from those that understand an encounter as involving parties that are understood to be preset and unchanging. The lines of the web point to a *range* of connections through which subjects are constituted in relational terms, which suggests that subjects are constituted in multiple ways at one and the same time (as 'citizen', 'sex worker', 'neighbour', 'migrant', 'citydweller' and/or 'Aboriginal', for example).

---

8. Whilst for the Chicago School theorists writing in the 1920s and 1930s, community was understood as antithetical to life in the city, more recently, sociologists, political and urban theorists have been keen to suggest that the city offers *another* model for thinking community (Closs Stephens, 2007, 2010; Coward, 2009; Keith, 2005): as a 'difference machine (Isin, 2002); as a form of 'throwntogetherness' (Massey, 2005); as a site where we can think being together without the compulsion to be the same (Sennett, 1971; Young, 1990); as productive of an 'ethics of indifference' (Tonkiss, 2005); or as 'coming urban communities' which cannot entirely be fixed in space (Amin and Thrift, 2002).

The constitution of subject positions or 'communities' is a process that takes place *in time*, and is therefore not only contingent but also constantly changing.

This leads us back to the point about the way in which the web appears to be both dense and light, and holds its form in terms that suggest specific types of relations with others can hold together and potentially yield at the same time. For example, whilst ties of a filial nature may *appear* to have a fixity that holds over time, in reading politics through this web installation, we are reminded that such relations are *produced* as such through their very linkage to nation-state sovereignty and/or citizenship, and are thus dynamically constituted rather than given in advance. This line of critique holds not simply in terms of juridical and naturalistic accounts of citizenship that are based on the principles of jus sanguinis and jus soli, but can also be developed in relation to an account of citizenship based on social contract theory. On the one hand, the potential yield of social and political connections might be understood as implicit to social contract theory, where an emphasis on consent is developed as means of forging unity. On the other hand, however, the approach that we develop raises questions about the fixed and unitary nature of individual or group interest that forms the basis of this approach, and thus points to the potential dissolution of citizenship even in this contractual formation.[9]

The web as a metaphor therefore prompts us to engage citizenship in terms that are both multiple and dynamic, rather than static and timeless. This brings us to the point that encounters will carry multiple possibilities and are as such, unpredictable. This is the kind of approach that Michael Shapiro unfurls in his reading of politics through moments of encounter, which he insists are *contingent,* and 'offer *both the promise and the possibility of catastrophe*' (2010, p.162, our emphasis).[10] For Shapiro, there is no way of ensuring or knowing in advance the nature of a given encounter, which will always be uncertain. The only thing we *can* know in advance is that encounters will take place. Nevertheless, the web as an installation is somewhat limited in its ability to represent the dynamism of such processes of sociality and politics. Although our gaze is drawn back and forth across the traversing lines, the installation itself is relatively static, and the image that we present here does not capture the movements of people in and through the web. Without these

---

[9] We do not go into the details of social contract theory here, which can be developed in various ways and might be interpreted in the more dynamic form that we bring to bear in this article. Our approach differs from social contract theory in its emphasis on multiplicity and contestation, which are dimensions that social contract theory seeks to circumvent through finding an alternative means of commonality based on consent.

[10] This is elaborated by Shapiro through a reading of Colin Harrison's novel, *Bodies Electric.*

interactive dimensions, the web doesn't appear to aid us in considering the politics of being together as taking place *in time* and therefore as necessarily involving *movement* and *change*. Indeed, one could argue that the web remains fixed according to the limitations of the gallery space, and thus does not do justice to the more dynamic constitution of politics as we want to understand it here. This may well be a limiting feature of the installation, but not necessarily of the web as a *metaphor*, we would suggest. Indeed, as we indicate in the next section on 'gaps' and the following section on 'tension points', the metaphor of the web does help us to raise critical questions about the *politics* of different encounters.

Gaps: power, absence, (dis)order

Where might we locate the political when engaging politics through a web? Is it primarily the lines of connection that form the site of politics, or is it the gaps that surround these interconnecting lines? Can the gaps also be interpreted as political, and if so how? The 'lines' and the 'gaps' cannot be easily separated in this installation, and we would suggest that it would be a mistake to privilege one over the other. The gaps are central to the formation of the web because they lie between or around the lines of connection and render these distinguishable. The lines and the gaps of the web are thus important in their *interrelation*, and provide a further insight into thinking politics from a relational perspective. For example, the convergence of the lines and the gaps suggest to us that it might be more productive to explore the ambiguous play between practices of inclusion and exclusion rather than assume clear-cut lines that can straightforwardly identify the 'included' and 'excluded'. Perhaps this points to the way in which people can find themselves placed inside and outside different political formations at one and the same time. Or this might point also to the way in which the very categories of 'inside' and 'outside' might not be easily distinguished or identified in the study of a political struggle. The concept of translation, which Cynthia Weber uses to develop her article in this collection, might provide a useful way forward here in further developing an understanding of the way that coexistence refuses the assumptions of bounded space and pre-constituted subjects, and therefore also refused a clear account of 'inside' and 'outside'

In this section, however, we want to raise some broader questions about relations of power, authority and control, in order to consider how these might also be addressed through the web. Questions of power in a broader structural sense are implicit to, yet at the same time

rendered invisible in the web installation. Indeed, what is notably missing from this web installation is the spider, which raises questions about how coexistence is policed, managed, controlled and regulated. How might we interpret this absence? On one hand, the absence of the authorial spider might be understood as obfuscating a centralised authority that is inherent to the very constitution of social and political formations. On the other hand, the absence of the authorial spider can be understood as implying a more dispersed mode of policing or regulation. The web thus prompts us to reconsider the very existence of a central or ultimate authority and to look instead towards a 'plurality of forces circulating through and under the positional sovereignty of the official arbitrating body' (Connolly, 2005: 145). Nevertheless, we are not only interested in exposing a *plurality* of forces of authority. We are also interested in the way that the web serves as a metaphor for thinking about power in *heterogeneous* terms. In considering the web as a metaphor for dynamic social and political formations that are woven in relation to movements that exceed control, we do not simply ask whether the authorial spider is best understood as occupying the position of a sovereign power. We also challenge the very idea that a centralised power holds, or could possibly hold, a totalising position of control. Thus the web installation prompts us to approach power relations in terms that are heterogeneous rather than centralised – a point that is reinforced by the density of the web's formation as based on a multiplicity of lines and gaps.

The gaps of the web also prompt a consideration of what is 'made absent' across a constituted social and political formation. Here, questions of power, authority and control are conceived of less in terms of policing or regulation directly, than in terms of the ways that social being is ordered through specific relationalities. We want to counterpose two approaches here in order to show how a discussion of 'absence' can lead in quite different directions. Developing an account of absence as constitutive of social and spatial order, Kevin Hetherington and Nick Lee (2000) have made the case for an approach that maintains the ontological primacy of 'absence' in understanding the on-going functioning of an order and its change over time. Specifically, they claim that the 'blank figure' plays a functional role in the ongoing production of social and spatial order, and that this blank figure of 'nonrelationality' is necessary to the ongoing maintenance of order and should not be 'made known' or 'made present' through the process of analysis. While Hetherington and Lee read absence as a means for understanding the constitution of social and spatial order from an ontological perspective, we read the article by Paul Muldoon and Andrew Schaap in this collection as doing something quite different. Muldoon and Schaap do not only consider how absence plays into order; they also undertake an analysis that challenges the terms

under which order is constituted as such in the first place. Specifically, their analysis of the protest represented by the Aboriginal Embassy against the Australian state explores the way in which state sovereignty has in that case been constituted through the 'making absent' of 'Aboriginal people'. However, their analysis does not simply problematise this colonial endeavour of 'making absent' indigenous communities. It also demonstrates how the Aboriginal Embassy forms an event that 'makes present' Aboriginal people and indigenous sovereignty in terms that raise questions about the legitimacy of the Australian state itself.

We therefore disagree with Hetherington and Lee's starting point, whereby they define 'absence' to be 'nonrelational' through an appeal to ontological categories. For us, absences are not pre-given and do not stand alone in an ontological sense, but are rather concretely produced through uneven processes of connection and disconnection that are bound up with different forms of power, authority and control. In this regard, we conceive of 'absences' as those dimensions which cannot be entirely known in and of themselves, but which are produced and partially 'knowable' in their very relation to that which is made 'present'. We specifically want to consider the *political* significance of 'gaps' or 'absence' from the relational perspective developed through our engagement with the web as a metaphor. We suggest that this entails a subtle but important analytical shift from the development of an ontological account of the constitution and ongoing transformation of 'order' to a political analysis of the struggles that emerge around concrete (failed or failing) orderings. It also entails a shift from the assumption that there exist clear-cut lines of inclusion and exclusion (or absence and presence), to an analysis that brings to bear the more ambiguous play between practices of inclusion/exclusion and absence/presence. This is precisely what Muldoon and Schaap seek to unpack when they note the way in which the Aboriginal Embassy depends on 'exploiting the ambiguous position of Aboriginal people as both inside and outside the constituted order, as citizens within *and* without the political community presupposed by the constitutional order' (p. 3).[11] Ours is thus not so much a direct argument with the ontological account of absence or nonrelationality that Hetherington and Lee develop as it is a suggestion that we shift the focus to those *political* questions that emerge when we explore the concrete production of 'absences' through struggle. Significantly, this effectively challenges the assumption that authority or order

---

[11] What Muldoon and Schaap call 'ambiguous subjects' are developed from a different angle in the article by Andrijasevic, Aradau, Huysmans and Squire in this volume, which engages an analysis of exchange relations in terms that indicate sex workers are neither included nor excluded from European citizenship in any clear-cut way. Rather, in being produced as subjects who are 'in but not of' Europe sex workers come together to challenge the limits of Euroepan citizenship through their struggle in the European Parliament.

serves as a privileged starting point and instead draws attention to the ways in which order and authority are always constituted in relation to those dimensions that exceed and contest them.

Indeed, the importance of this shift is critical when it comes to addressing *colonial* relationalities, which are touched on in very different ways in the two pieces that we engage here. In their intervention, Hetherington and Lee seem to move from an ontological to a political register by arguing that scholars who make 'absence' present undertake a 'colonising move' by writing the nonrelational back into relationality (or absence back into presence). Their argument is gauged toward a specific body of research dealing with spatial and ontological theory, which we want to extend in order to deal with political questions more explicitly. Indeed, Muldoon and Schaap's analysis of this particular political struggle as 'making present' that which is rendered absent by the colonial constitutional order (or, to put it another way, in making present the failure of the colonial constitutional order to effectively address the historical and contemporary presence of Aboriginal people) shows us that questions of absence and order are far from straightforward when we address the politics of colonial relations. Their intervention exposes the ways in which that which is constituted as an 'absent presence' is challenged in terms that seek to make present those histories that have been 'written out' of colonial relations. From this point, we can extrapolate that the very process of 'making absent' forms an exclusionary political or ideological manoeuvre that covers over or masks a (failed or failing) struggle to produce order as such (see also Squire, 2009).[12]

This is not to deny 'absence', 'the nonrelational' or, indeed '*dis*order' as ontological categories *per se*. Our intervention does not seek to affirm or deny the ontological

---

[12] We want to distinguish our position here from interventions that slip too easily between ontology and politics and, more precisely, from interventions that move between an ontology of absence to an account of the *inevitability* of exclusionary politics. To acknowledge 'absence' ontologically does not necessarily entail an acceptance of 'blank figures' as *functionally necessary* to the production of social and spatial order (Hetherington and Lee 2000). Rather, it might be to acknowledge this to be a tendency under specific historico-political conditions, and to work to expose as contingent both those conditions as well as those exclusionary processes through which absence is produced as such. While we certainly see politics and ontology as intimately related and while we conceive particular ontological frameworks as aligned with specific ways of being political, this is not the same as assuming that a particular way of understanding being *automatically* leads to a particular type of politics. This would, in our opinion, concede too much ground to ontology over politics, by presuming a particular form of politics serves as the inevitable consequence of an ontological condition. Hetherington and Lee do not go this far in their analysis, but by rendering absence functionally necessary to the production of order we would suggest that they nevertheless risk conceding too much ground to an exclusionary politics. In contrast, we want to stress the importance of understanding the political potentialities and limitations that different ontologies entail, while at the same time acknowledging the irreducibility of politics to ontology.

supposition that an 'unnameable' or 'unknowable' dimension serves both as a condition of possibility for change and as a constitutive dimension of social and spatial order (Hetherington and Lee 2000). We neither interpret Muldoon and Schaap's piece as colonising the nonrelational, nor do we want to suggest that an analysis which re-presents a constituted 'absence' is necessarily sufficient as a critical intervention in and of itself. Rather, we want to suggest with Balibar, as well as with Muldoon and Schaap, that an analysis that exposes the 'making absent' of subjects is important in bringing to light what a constitutional or representational order denies. Indeed, those 'pushed or left outside representation' (Balibar, p. 9) might be understood as 're presented' in Muldoon and Schaap's piece through an emphasis on the on-going struggle of 'Aboriginal people' to seek 'a register for the conflict beyond its constitutional mediation in order to contest the legitimacy of the state' (p 10). Paying attention to the 'gaps' of the web is therefore critical, because it indicates that politics cannot be understood only in terms of a quest for inclusion and/or recognition. As Muldoon and Schaap's argument makes clear, a reading of politics as centred around a quest to *extend the scope* of inclusion or recognition will be insufficient in this case, because it fails to understand the broader challenges that protests such as that presented by the Aboriginal Embassy pose. As Barry Hindess has argued in another discussion of indigenous struggles in the Australian context, 'citizenship' within a nation-state does not necessarily always represent a 'good thing' (Hindess, 2004) nor the end goal for political struggles that seek to question this category's history and reveal it as contested. For this reason, it seems to us important that we pay attention to those contestations that disconnect from or disidentify with, social and political formations that are wedded to the nation and the state. We will explore these political dimensions further in the next section as we address the 'tension points' of the web.

Tension points: contestations, multiplicities, encounters

Against an account of politics that assumes a central, unifying force – be that in the sense of a sovereign power or a community, our reading of the lines and the gaps of the web installation points towards an understanding of politics as both multiple and contested. Yet the question remains as to how we might make sense both of the form and substance of a relational account of citizenship. How does the web hold together 'as (if) one', even whilst it is subject to continuous de- and re-configuration? How are we to understand politics under such conditions? In which ways does this perspective on politics prompt us to engage

'citizenship without community' and what are the limits of such an engagement? It is in addressing these questions that we now turn to the 'tension points' of the web, which are critical in understanding how the web both holds together and falls apart as a 'formation'. We want to suggest that the web as a metaphor prompts us to engage politics in terms that emphasise both the dynamic and the *irregular* formation of citizenship, and the multiplicities and *heterogeneities* through which citizenship is made, unmade and remade.

When we turn to the 'tension points' of the web, namely those sites and moments that entail the folding of lines and gaps, we can see how these both come together and pull apart in terms that are constitutive of a wider social and political formation that is *irregular* in form as well as *heterogeneous* in substance. It is in the tension points of the web that the lines and gaps come together and pull apart; these might therefore be understood as privileged sites and moments of politics. But citizenship does not necessarily emerge where and when we expect: it is irregular both in its spatial and temporal manifestation. For example, the article by Rutvica Andrijasevic, Claudia Aradau, Jef Huysmans and Vicki Squire in this collection, describes the mobilisation of sex workers in Brussels during 2005 as an 'act' of European citizenship. This 'act', one might say, can be understood as disrupting any assumption that the European Union simply facilitates the progressive temporal development and spatial reach of citizenship beyond the nation-state, and in this sense does not fit within the realm of regular 'active citizenship'. Conceived of as 'irregular' in these terms, citizenship cannot be understood as a regime or formation that corresponds with pre-constituted subjects, contained geographical units, and a unified political community. Rather, citizenship is better understood in terms of dynamic social and political processes that are not simply subject to formal or juridical inscription, but that are constituted through struggle and thus subject to processes of (de/re)formation.

Irregularity is not simply critical to our account of the multiplicity of politics at the level of form, however. We can also bring an 'analytics of irregularity' to the *substance* of citizenship (see also Squire 2011). We want to hint here at processes of disconnection (or what Muldoon and Schaap call moments of 'disidentification'), which might be understood as indicative of the *heterogeneous* enactments of politics, which are quite literally 'written out' of the geography and history of nation-state citizenship. This might be understood in relation to questions of unauthorised or unwanted migration, as captured in recent discussions of 'illegal citizens' (Rigo, 2011: 202-5) and 'irregular citizenship' (Nyers 2011), which point to the heterogeneous ways in which citizenship is made, unmade and remade

by both citizens and noncitizens alike. As Cynthia Weber's discussion of design and translation across the US-Mexican borderzone in this volume indicates, the issue of irregularity is critical to the struggles of citizens as well as those of undocumented migrants (defined in a legalistic sense). For example, in her discussion of the *Transborder Immigrant Tool*, she indicates that the design of this navigational tool is enacted by US citizens as 'both an aid to migrants and as an act of 'electronic civil disobedience''. One might extrapolate from her analysis an understanding of irregularity as a *stake* by which to enact politics (see also Mezzadra 2011), since the struggles over unauthorised movement to which she points are orientated less toward a regularisation of legal status as they are orientated toward the engagement of irregularity in a context whereby regularity is denied or refused. Irregularity in a more substantive sense might thus be understood as pointing to the *limits* of citizenship and to the importance of paying attention to *heterogeneity* in the analysis of the moments and sites of politics. Engaging 'politics through a web' prompts an exploration of the multiplicity of political struggles in terms that both draws attention to the ongoing challenge of thinking 'citizenship without community', as well as the potential limitations of citizenship as an analytical or conceptual frame for grasping politics from a relational perspective.

If we take the web as a metaphor for engaging the provocation of 'citizenship without community', we see that its irregular form both holds together *and* falls apart in its multiple points of tension. We want to argue that our reading of these as heterogeneous sites and moments of contestation or struggle brings to bear the significance of an emphasis on *political encounters*. Encounters involve struggle and contestation, and in this regard might be understood in terms of the understanding of politics presented by Étienne Balibar in this volume, which emphasises the 'permanent' tension between the insurrectional and constitutional dimensions of citizenship (p.3).[13] Balibar conceives the inherently conflictual

---

[13] Struggle is conceived of as forming a necessary part of any political insurrection given that positions of privilege and power are not conceded voluntarily. In many ways Balibar's work resonates with Engin Isin's (2008) theory of 'acts' of citizenship, which focuses attention on the disruptive acts of 'activist' (rather than 'active') citizens who constitute citizenship 'anew' (Isin 2009). However, for Balibar struggle forms a necessary aspect of a *dialectical* understanding of political life, with the 'conflictual element' manifest primarily in terms of the incompleteness of the 'people' as a body politic. In this regard, he develops an account of politics as a conflict in which exclusion from recognition (or dignity, or rights, or property, or security, or speech, or decision-making), is 'negated' through a relationship of forces. Despite his leaning toward a dialectical politics of recognition, however, Balibar also hints at the heterogeneous manifestation of conflict or contestation in his discussion of 'anti-politics' (pp.8-10) and 'minoritarian' subjects (pp. 19-20). For example, he draws attention to the ways in which antipolitics is less a contestation of the 'sense conferred on illegalism' (p8) as it is a mode of 'becoming insurrectional' that challenges the very divide between legal and illegal. Balibar suggests that this occurs where those who are pushed or left outside representation

process of creating and recreating 'the people' (p12) not simply in terms of a 'majoritarian' politics of collective mobilisation, but also in terms of a more deviant mode of politics that is 'minoritarian' in form. Politics in this regard would seem to be neither uniform nor dialectical, but entails multiple and heterogeneous struggles to overcome 'divisions' and confront 'adversaries and hostile forces' (p.22). We may also suggest that politics can entail encounters that are grounded in the refusal of 'community' or a disidentification from the very enactment of citizenship itself. If citizenship can be understood as both insurrectional as well as constitutional, then this indicates that it also carries with it the potential for its own 'unmaking' (see Nyers 2011).

An emphasis on thinking sociality and politics through micro-political encounters doesn't necessarily represent a *new* move of course. As Gill Valentine has recently explicated, this has become a common theme, especially in urban geography literatures (2008).[14] But Valentine raises an important question when she asks: what might count as a distinctly *political* encounter? Valentine is concerned about the 'worrying romanticization of urban encounters' (2008, p. 325) and the way encounters have been posited as carrying a particular promise. Whilst we find Valentine's insistence on asking questions about the *politics* of encounters important, we want to engage the web installation in order to develop a different approach to the one she adopts in responding to her own question; one which may have implications for our understanding of politics. Valentine seems to begin from the assumption that encounters involve 'the crossing of a gap or a space' (Coward, p.17), which appears to assume a group-based understanding of community and to assume pre-defined constituents as coming into contact with one another.[15] In contrast, we want to highlight the way in which the web as a metaphor deflects against assuming the categories of 'identity' and 'difference' in advance by opening up a more dynamic understanding of social and political formations as constituted through multiple relations of dis/connection. These are

---

constitute their citizenship through 'an articulation with other rights claims or protests against injustice, heterogeneous among themselves' (p. 10).

[14] As Gill Valentine has explicated, this focus on encounters represents a broader move in geographical literatures on the city, offering a way in to the 'micro-scale of everyday public encounters and interactions' (Valentine, 2008, p. 324). She offers a very useful overview of the different ways in which urban geographers have engaged with the politics and possibilities of thinking through encounters and raises a number of important and thought-provoking questions on the *politics* of encounters. However, she does no't necessarily map out different ways in which we might *conceptualise* encounters.

[15] This is evident when Valentine enquires into encounters between 'majority and minority groups which has the power to produce social change' (p. 330). This seems to affirm Fran Tonkiss' point that 'ideas of group identity continue to hang around the language of community' when it comes to social theories of the city (Tonkiss, 2005, p.9).

'not necessarily calculable and rational but may also be unintentional and affective' (Isin, 2009, p.37).

The questions Valentine asks suggest a different approach to encounters to ours, since they seem to carry a normative steer. For example, she is specifically concerned with how encounters prompt change and might translate into a 'respect for difference' (p. 325).[16] Whilst we share many of Valentine's concerns about how we might resist prejudice and promote social justice, it seems to us impossible to prescribe or establish in advance some criteria for what might involve a 'meaningful' encounter. As Painter elaborates in relation to neighbourly encounters, these can be 'hostile as well as friendly, indifferent as well as interested, passive as well as active' (p. 11), and it is difficult (if not impossible) to determine what kind of encounter might provoke a particular outcome This reflects Michael Shapiro's (2010) claim, noted earlier in this article, regarding the multiple possibilities of encounters and the element of ambiguity or uncertainty that works against an understanding of encounters as carrying a normative promise. In suggesting that the metaphor of the web leads us to pay attention to political encounters, we don't aim to call for *more* or *better* encounters, such as Valentine does in her call for engagements 'between majority and minority groups' (2008 p. 330). Indeed, this would not only be to set the aims or outcomes of politics in advance. It would also represent a return to the assumption that the subjects (or 'groups') of political life are pre-constituted and that the time and space of politics is pre-defined. In contrast, an approach that engages 'politics through a web' undertakes the more modest task of facilitating an understanding of the ways in which politics, as well as its subjects and operations, are contested from multiple directions and through multiple registers. This is not to deny the relevance of the spatial and temporal registers of nations and states; rather, it is to examine their (un)making and open up our analysis to that which exceeds them.

Limits

---

[16] When Valentine asks firstly, how might micro-level encounters 'transform prejudiced values and facilitate liberal values to be put into practice' (Valentine, 2008, p.330) and secondly, how they might be 'scaled-up' to create broader social change, she suggests that there is a distinction between moments of encounter and social life more generally, or between small-scale political acts and a large scale political order. We want to suggest that the metaphor of the web challenges such a dualistic ontology, in that encounters *constitute* our understanding of the social-political. It also challenges the privileging of order over disruption, common to so much social theory (Isin, 2009, p.19).

In presenting this argument for a more intricate, knotty and multifaceted understanding of the political, we acknowledge Rob Walker's point that it would be a mistake to arrive at any 'quick conclusion' that 'our political futures will or should express a move from simple to complicated' (2010, p. 238). Not wishing to doubt the ways in which more complex topological frameworks beyond the 'elegant simplicities of scalar relations' can enhance our political imaginaries, Walker argues that we must nevertheless avoid portraying modern politics 'as the simplicity against which any possible future can be scripted as some form of complexity' (2010, p. 238). His warning serves as a reminder not to underestimate the 'enormous complexity' and force that goes into securing the unified bounds of the nation-state as the guarantor of citizenship. To engage a straightforward move from simple to complicated would risk implying that we can easily arrive at a *new* form of politics that leaves the categories of community and citizenship far behind. The diversity of engagements with citizenship and community presented in this collection concur with Walker's point that the task of engaging politics without privileging the nation-state remains a major challenge, and that it would be a mistake to treat this as the 'simplified, even simplistic, world from which we need to escape' (2010, p. 238). Nevertheless, even as we heed Walker's warning, this article has emphasised the importance of furthering attempts at thinking what 'citizenship without community' might look like, and how we might engage the political in relational terms - as something other than a quest for recognition or inclusion – an understanding that we conceive as intimately bound with accounts of politics that remain wedded to the nation and the state.

This article has not therefore sought to employ an alternative ontology as a means to engage a new politics. We are mindful of Walter Benjamin's warning that promises of newness mostly disappoint or serve to mask a 'reality that has always been present'. Rather, we have suggested that a shift towards a relational perspective potentially opens up precluded perspectives on what politics is or might be. The 'progressive' nature of this endeavour is open to question; indeed, the question of progress is only relevant insofar as we have also sought to question the idea of temporal progression in favour of an analytics that can better attend to the unpredictability of political encounters. In the course of this article, we have argued that politics emerges in unexpected sites and at moments of encounter that are potentially missed by an account of citizenship that remains wedded to the nation-state. In engaging with the question of what it might mean to think 'citizenship without community', we have argued that this provocation requires us to take seriously the idea that politics involves something other than a search for membership in a bounded community and

recognition as a pre-defined subject. The complexity of the image of the web *has* in this respect been important in suggesting that an understanding of citizenship as based around membership appears inadequate when addressing politics through a web. In contrast to an argument for progressively 'expanding' citizenship through processes of inclusion and recognition, our relational perspective has drawn attention to the ambiguity of relations of inclusion/exclusion and of relations of presence/absence. We have pointed to the importance of understanding how absences or 'irregularities' are made, unmade and remade, and in so doing are contested. We have also pointed to the importance of concrete struggles to the very formation (and de- or re-formation) of citizenship. In this sense, we have sought to develop an account of citizenship that refuses to be bound by the idea of a unified political community and/or a pre-constituted, rights-bearing subject. In asking what politics might look like when read through Tomás Saraceno's '14 Billions', we have suggested that the lines, gaps and tension points offer a series of productive starting points for considering politics as something other than a search for inclusion and recognition. Whilst the installation might not adequately capture the *dynamism* of political life, it does point us towards the *contingency* of political and social formations. In extending the web metaphor, we have argued for the importance of attending to the multiplicity, heterogeneity and unpredictability of politics – points which we feel can all be gleaned, but which are not of course exhausted, by this thought-provoking installation.

References

Agamben, G 1993, *The Coming Community* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)

Ahmed, S and Fortier, A-M 2003, 'Re-imagining Community', *International Journal of Cultural Studies,* **6**(3): 251–259

Amin, A and Thrift, N 2002, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban* (Polity, Cambridge)

Andrijasevic, R, Aradau, C, Huysmans, J and Squire, V (2011) 'Excessive citizens: sex work, mobility, Europe'

Appadurai, A 2006, *Fear of Small Numbers (*Durham: Duke University Press)

Aradau, C., Huysmans, H. and Squire, V. (2010) 'Acts of European Citizenship: A Political Sociology of Mobility', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48: 4, 945-965.

Balibar, É 2004, *We, the people of Europe? Reflections on transnational citizenship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Balibar, É 'The 'impossible' community of the citizens: Past and present problems', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*

Baker, G and Bartelson, J 2009, 'Introduction. The future of political community', in Baker, G and Bartelson, J (eds) *The Future of Political Community* (New York, London: Routledge) 1-12

Bartelson, Jens (2009) *Visions of World Community,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benhabib, Seyla (2004), *The rights of others. Aliens, residents and citizens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Bennett, J. (2010) *Vibrant Matters: A Political Ecology of Things* (Duke University Press)

Bracegirdle, E (2010) *Tomás Saraceno: BALTIC Research Trip* (Published privately by Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art). Available at the Baltic Library Archive.

Brydon, D and Coleman, WD (eds) 2008 *Renegotiating Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press)Butler, J 2004 *Precarious Life. The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London; New York: Verso)

Closs Stephens A, 2010, 'Citizenship without community: time, design and the city', *Citizenship Studies* 14(1) 31 - 46

Connolly, WE 2005 *Pluralism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press)

Corlett, W 1989, *Community without Unity. A Politics of Derrridean Extravagance* (Durham and London: Duke University Press)

Coward, M 2009 *Urbicide. The politics of urban destruction* (London; New York: Routledge)

Coward, M 2005 'Editor's Introduction', *Journal for Cultural Research*, 9: 4, 323 — 329

Coward, M 'Between us in the city: materiality, subjectivity and community in the era of global urbanization', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space special issue*

Curcio, A and Özselçuk, C 2010a 'Introduction: The Common and the Forms of the Commune', *Rethinking Marxism*, **22: 3**: 304 — 311

Curcio, A. and Özselçuk, C 2010b 'On the Common, Universality, and Communism: A Conversation between Étienne Balibar and Antonio Negri', *Rethinking Marxism*, **22: 3**: 312 — 328

Doty, RL 2009 *The Law Into Their Own Hands: Immigration and the Politics of Exceptionalism*, (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press)

Dougherty, S 2010 'Post-Deconstruction and the Rhetorics of Touch', *Journal for Cultural Research,* 15 (1), 75-92

Esposito, R 2010, *Communitas. The origin and destiny of community* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press). Translated by Timothy Campbell

Exhibition Notes, 2010 *Tomás Saraceno. 17 July-10 October 2010,* (Gateshead: Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art)

Hetherington, K and Lee, N 2000 'Social order and the blank figure', in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, **18**: 169- 184

Isin EF 2002 *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)

Isin, EF 2007 'City.State: Critique of Scalar Thought', *Citizenship Studies*, 11(2), 211–228.

Isin EF 2008 'Theorizing acts of citizenship', in Isin, EF and Nielsen, G (eds) *Acts of citizenship*, (London: Zed Books) 15–43

Isin EF and Turner BS 2008, 'Investigating Citizenship: An Agenda for Citizenship Studies', in

Isin, EF, Turner, BS and Nyers P, *Citizenship between past and future* (London; New York: Routledge)

Isin, EF 'Citizens without Nations', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space special issue*

Keith, M 2005, *After the Cosmopolitan* (London; New York: Routledge)

Latour, B 2011 'Some Experiments in Art and Politics', *e-flux journal, 23, 01/07-07/07*

Manning, E 2007, *Politics of Touch. Sense, Movement, Sovereignty* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press)

Massey, D 2005, *For Space* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE)

Massey, D 2007, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity Press)

Mezzadra, S 2011 'The gaze of autonomy: capitalism, migration and social struggles' pp. 121-142 in Squire, V (Ed) *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity* (Routledge: London)

Nancy, J-L 1991, *The Inoperative Community* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press) Edited by Peter Connor. Foreword by Christopher Fynsk

Nancy, J-L 2000, *Being Singular Plural* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press) Translated by Robert D. Richardson and Ann E. O'Byrne

Nyers, P 2011 'Forms of irregular citizenship' pp. 184-198 in Squire, V (Ed) *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity* (Routledge: London)

Painter, J 'The Politics of the Neighbour', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space special issue*

Painter, J 2007 'What kind of citizenship for what kind of community?' *Political Geography*, 26, 221-224.

Park, RE, Burgess, EW and Mackenzie, RD 1967, *The City*: University of Chicago Press: Chicago & London

Rigo, E 2011 'Citizens despite borders: challenges to the territorial order of Europe' pp. 199-215 in Squire, V (Ed) *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity* (Routledge: London)

Schaap, A and Muldoon, P 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation: The Constituent Power of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Australia', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space special issue*

Sennett R 1971, *The Uses of Disorder* (New York: Vintage Books)

Shapiro, MJ 2010, *The Time of the City: Politics, Philosophy and Genre* (New York; London, Routledge)

Shaw, Karena 2008 *Indigeneity and Political Theory* (London; New York, Routledge)

Soysal, Y. (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago University of Chicago Press).

Squire, V 2009, *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum* (Palgrave: Basingstoke)

Squire, V 2011 *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity* (Routledge: London)

Staeheli LA 2008, 'Citizenship and the problem of community', *Political Geography* 27, 5-21

Tonkiss, F 2005, *Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms* (Cambridge: Polity)

Valentine, G 2008 'Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter', *Progress in Human Geography* 32(3), 323-337

Walker, R. B. J. 1998. 'Citizenship after the Modern Subject', in K. Hutchings and R. Dannreuther (eds) *Cosmopolitan Citizenship* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press) 171-200

Walker, R. B. J. 2010, *After the Globe, Before the World* (London; New York: Routledge)

Weber, C 'Design, Translation, Citizenship: Reflections on the Virtual (De)Territorialization of the US-Mexico Border', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*

Weber C 2008, 'Designing safe citizens', *Citizenship Studies* 12:2, 125 - 142

Young, IM 1990, *Justice and the politics of difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Formatted: English (U.S.)