ABSTRACTS

1. Student Organising in Pakistan: New Spaces for Political Articulation, Old Political Rivals Virinder S. Kalra

In November 2008, the President and General of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf, declared a state of emergency, effectively a coup on himself. From that time on, until the eventual restoration of democracy a sustained campaign against his rule was carried out by various groups and parties. Central to this mobilization was that of elite students in private colleges, who, hitherto had generally been in support of the status quo. Student politics in Pakistan has historically been a tussle between the right wing religious party, JIT (Jamiat-i-Talaba) and the left wing NSF (National Student Federation). However, in the mobilization against Musharraf an independent student movement, centered in the private colleges of the major cities, emerged to protest. Access to communication technologies meant that this group were also able to mobilised transnationally and organised protests in London, Manchester and New York. This class of students was not the most likely candidates for being the vanguard of the youth movement, but following the elections they were also involved in the mobilisations to reinstate the Chief Justice. Nonetheless, this new political space as it spread into Punjab University led to a violent set of confrontations with the JIT. Indeed, student activism in the private colleges seemed to diminish following the election of the PPP government, whereas the struggle for political space continues on Public sector University campuses. Drawing on interviews with some of the chief protagonists the emergence of this youth movement will be traced in the context of historical student organizing in Pakistan.

2. The Role of the Youth in the Arab Revolts

Rachad Antonius

The youth has played a determining role in Arab revolts. Some of the explanations of this role are obvious: beyond economic hardship that affects a large proportion of the population, they suffer additionally from a lack of access to adequate jobs, a sombre future, lack of freedoms, etc. The youth had, more than other social categories, reasons to protest and the energy to do it. Other factors are related to their access to social media and information technologies, with which older generations are less used to. Yet, these explanations are not quite satisfactory. Factors related to the changing political culture seem to be more important. The old regimes could count on several factors of legitimation that worked, even when the regime was repressive. These factors of legitimation were no longer operational with the youth. Their modes of mobilisation were also far from those of established opposition parties, and these modes of mobilisation managed to set free a potential of revolt that the opposition parties were not able to stimulate. Several indicators point to the fact that the generational gap plays a much greater role in political cleavages than previously thought, to the detriment of ideological cleavages. The purpose of this communication is to explore these dimensions of Arab revolts, to assess their limits and to question their potential consequences.

3. Youth, Belonging and the Burden of Past Violence and Suffering *Mark Ayyash*

This paper seeks to understand how the contemporary *Palestinian Youth Movement* (PYM) formulates the complex relationship between the diaspora, the refugees, and the Palestinians who live within Israel-Palestine. I explore this formulation as it takes shape around the temporality of violence and suffering. Specifically, I ask: when the movement recounts the violences of 1948, for example, then to what temporalities does such a movement speak, and from which temporalities does it speak? In PYM's motto of "Until Return and Liberation," does the very movement of PYM direct or orient itself towards the past, present, and/or future? In short, what can the burden of past violence and suffering tell us about the character of their very movement? I argue that even though PYM traverses space through a creative transnational standpoint, the question of differing (and perhaps competing?) temporalities remains largely unaddressed.

4. (Neo) Zones of War: Reconstructing Empire on the Bodies of Militarized Youth Anna M. Agathangelou and Kyle D. Killian

War makes detritus of the lives of children in the making of a world order. War and militarization are central technologies of neoliberal capital, and during the last decade, millions of children have been killed, injured, or turned into soldiers. This paper focuses on the making of *militancy*, *and insurgency*, from children's bodies and the psychological and material effects of such *colonial violences*, looking specifically at Cyprus. To understand how children's bodies are constituted into sites of colonial violence in neo-colonial societies, we look at the dynamic intersection of the security state and the neoliberal market. We conclude by disrupting *dominant liquidation processes* and their contingent imaginaries.

5. Narratives of Persecution and the Crisis of Youth: The Political Life of North American Hinduism *Arun Chaudhuri*

While notions of Hindutva and transnationalism have been predominantly invoked to explain the politicization of Hinduism abroad, especially since the 1980s and 1990s, this discussion looks at the emergent and multiplying directions of political Hinduism abroad in recent years that exceed conventional transnational frames. The growing emphases on abstract jurisdictional claims over representation, culture, and identity, as well the growing endorsements of a global post-9/11 war-onterror by Hindu activist groups, have placed elusive objectives of identity and security, though not necessarily a Hindu Indian state-building project, at the center of these multiplying trajectories of diasporic Hindu political interests. As youth identity, its nature and fate, becomes a flashpoint of Hindu political concern through anxious narratives of persecution envisioning diasporic Hindu youth as under siege, this discussion reflects on longstanding questions of cultural transmission commonly invoked in relation to diasporic and transnational contexts.

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6. Researching Diasporic Citizenship through Everyday Encounters *Gül Çalışkan*

This paper examines the epistemological, methodological, ethical, and analytical considerations involved in doing a research on the everyday encounters of ordinary people, who are participants in the fieldwork I conducted in Berlin. It outlines the characteristics of the narrative analysis of everyday encounters collected that contribute to my inquiry into diasporic citizenship. It explains the methodological framework of narrative analysis, and outlines the sociologic implications of the main analytical concepts which were inductively and deductively derived from the data. It also examines the significance of the analytical tools. It explains how I began the study, devised a research plan, gathered the data, and analyzed it. It also discusses the difficulties the research methods posed.

7. Human rights versus Identity: Solidarity and the Struggle for Recognition *Martin Fuchs*

Solidarity today seems to rely increasingly on transnational bonds. While many activists as well as theorists are guided by visions of a cosmopolitan civil society, the main thrust seems to be drawn from human rights and human dignity discourses. The paper wants to look at the flipside of these agendas, highlighting (inherent?) difficulties, paradoxes and dilemmas of such approaches. Not only do we have to face the threat that something crucial is being lost when translating the specificity of social struggles into the language of universalist discourses, moreover human rights discourses tend to compartmentalize, and thus tear apart, interconnected human life concerns. Finally, what is at issue is the reference to an ethical community, i.e. the gap, or lack of congruence, between human rights ideas and the actually prevailing ethics. What would be the community of reference of a universalist ethics? How to extend meaningful social recognition to those others, to whom one is not directly related, without developing face-to-face contact (being together) with them?

8. Youth Movement Under Occupation, Lebanon in the 1990s *Roschanack Shaery*

The Syrian occupation in postwar Lebanon in the 1990s was multifaceted and entailed economic, political and security domains. Lebanese university students, particularly Christians allied with General Aoun, formed the backbone of resisting the Syrian army and security services. General Aoun fled Lebanon to Paris after the final battle of 13 October 1990 when the Syrian army defeated his forces. For 15 years, he led the resistance against Syrians from abroad and a transnational network existed between Paris and Lebanon with students forming the main group of carrying out his vision of resistance in Lebanon. This paper focuses on Aoun's relation with the student movement and the types of passive resistance carried out. More generally it also discusses the triangular relation of transnationalism, resistance, and youth movement in the Arab East.

9. Publicness and the Appropriation of the "Beylick": Between Secularism and Religion *Samar Ben Romdhane*

Essential to any viable social, political and ideological transformation is the willingness of youth to participate in the negotiation of the model of society that shapes their lives. This paper provides a communicational perspective on the role played by youth in Tunisia. Indeed, their involvement constitutes one of the most complex and manifest forms of social and political bipolarities in post-Ben Ali Tunisia. Therefore, the paper focuses on the controversial debate on secularism and religion that drastically changed the nature of public sphere. The paper discusses two closely connected issues whose common denominator is the notion of polemical discourse. First, an analysis of the polemical arguments used by youth enables us to come to a better understanding of the semantic and rhetorical dimensions of their discursive practices. Then, youth orientations will be discussed in view of the political and technological transformations that have encouraged public participation and civic engagement, and influenced visibility in the public arenas.

10. Bollywood Beats / Bollywood Bhajans: Twice Migrant Youth and Adult Identities in Indo-Caribbean American Temples

Anna Schultz

During biannual performances, young members of Indo-Caribbean Hindu temples in Minneapolis dance to the latest Bollywood hits, performing youthful Indian diasporic identities through a language of flirtatious glances, hip movements, and the latest Indian fashions. Similar cultural performances, organized by student organizations and community groups, can be seen around the world wherever people of Indian origin have made their homes. Scholars have become attuned to the critical role of Hindi cinema in the creation of diasporic belonging for direct and twice migrants, and the creative activation of "filmi culture" through westernized Indian fashion, dating, and dance. "Filmi culture" in everyday parlance has become synonymous with cultural practices that flout traditional norms of respectability, but Bollywood films are moralistic tales in which heroes and heroines navigate a world of stark traditional vs. western binaries and little attention has been paid to how the films are used to fashion diasporic lives deemed "traditional." My project explores the vibrant participation of Bollywood dance performance as well as the quieter side of diasporic "filmi culture"—the side invested with tradition by Indo-Caribbeans who want a seat at the global Indian table as pious adults rather than as exuberant youth. I will trace Hindi film music into ritual contexts, where it has gone unexamined by scholars of Indo-Caribbean religion and music, I believe because it lives in the elusive realm of voice and style, or what my field consultants call "air."

11. "Let Me Tell You about 1984:" Identity and Aesthetic Renderings of Violence Amongst Sikh Youth in Toronto, Canada

Kamal Arora

Within transnational networks of diasporic identity, how are narratives of violence and suffering in the

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'homeland' rendered intelligible? How is violence framed and understood by diasporic Sikh youth, and for what purpose? Examining the extent to which historical and political violence involving Sikhs in Punjab and New Delhi in 1984 serve to inform and solidify notions of community for diasporic Sikh activist youth in Toronto, Canada through normative assumptions and frameworks of martyrdom and violence, this paper explores the generative capacities of aesthetic renderings of violence and suffering. Based on diaspora-created media content, artistic performances and works, memorial events, and interviews with second and third generation Sikhs, we contend that a 'post-1984' generation of young Sikh activists are integrated in an emerging transnational youth movement and are privy to both local and transnational social justice movements and narratives. These renderings discussed reflect the diversity of narratives and biographies by which young Sikh activists negotiate their diasporic identities.

12. Expressions of Migration: Creative Storytelling of Diasporic Young Womyn Impacted by Forced Migration

Nayani Thiyagarajah

As a second-generation Tamil womyn, my creative work focuses on articulating my own diverse experiences and documenting those of other diasporic people of colour – through film, performance theatre, and writing – recognizing and respecting the complex identities of those who belong to such communities. With reference to author Chimamanda Adichie's idea of the "The Danger of a Single Story", I will be utilizing my own work and some of which I have witnessed/documented, to discuss the crucial necessity for diasporic storytelling through the arts. Through my presentation, I will examine why this is especially vital in developing and sharing our own accounts as transnational identities, particularly for womyn of colour and those affected by forced migration.

13. Vulnerability and Strength of Young Sub-Saharan Single Mothers who are in Prolonged Transit in Morocco

Abdelwahed Mekki-Berrada

The main objective of this paper is to discuss preliminary results from an anthropological project in progress that focuses on the relationships between the securitization of Euro-Mediterranean borders, the traumatic experiences of sub-Saharan women migrants in prolonged transit in Morocco, their emotional distress, and the problem resolution strategies they use to deal with adversity. For the purpose of this workshop, we will mainly focus on the respondents who are single mothers in their twenties. Morocco has now become a "final destination" for thousands of Sub-Saharan migrants heading to Europe. These migrants can no longer reach Europe – whose borders have been considerably securitized since September 11 – just as they no longer wish to risk their lives returning south over the merciless Sahara Desert. They consequently find themselves in an extended transit in Morocco, which is now the scene of a completely new sub-Saharan migratory movement. Qualitative and quantitative data to be discussed in this paper were collected in Rabat, Morocco in 2010.

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14. Social Justice and the Practices of Belonging: Reflections on Activism and its Cosmopolitan Dimensions

Antje Linkenbach

Political struggles and protest movements are currently increasing in number and scale and spreading spatially. They include activities on a local and trans-local level as well as those which from the beginning have a global dimension. The contribution will explore constitutive elements of the current landscape of protest. It will focus on the concepts of social justice, belonging and cosmopolitanism from below. a) Social actors engaged in protest movements share a common feeling of exclusion, injustice (often more heavily sensed by the younger generation), which they experience as refutation of the possibility of a self-determined good life. They also share an *imaginary of social justice*, which is not narrowly defined in terms of equal distribution, but include the search for recognition and respect and for capabilities which enable people to live more fully functioning lives. b) The concept of *belonging* brings into focus the dialectics of inclusion and exclusion in its sociopolitical and emotional dimensions. Laying emphasis on the practices of belonging (instead of "politics of belonging") the creative constitution of new forms of interaction, togetherness, i.e. new forms of polity, come into the forefront. c) Protest struggles have a cosmopolitan dimension. They become increasingly part of global solidarity networks, with that changing the outlook of local as well as global actors (acceptance of diversity and the plurality of concepts of good life, dialogic widening of horizons).