

Introduction to Political Theory
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Lecture – 27
Citizenship – III: Multiculturalism and Cosmopolitan Citizenship

Hello and welcome friends. Today, in this lecture, we are going to discuss about multicultural or multiculturalism, and the way, they try to renegotiate or re-theorize the liberal notion of citizenship as individual being or a self-defining subject. Therefore, they carry certain rights as a citizen to a political community.

In the multicultural or communitarian notion of citizenship, we will see that how multicultural try to re-theorize or renegotiate with the liberal conception of citizenship as individual being the right bearing citizenship and those rights are given to the individual not because he or she is a member to a particular community, but he or she is a self-defining rational subject. We will discuss it in the multicultural debates on citizenship and how, they try to negotiate with the liberal conceptualization of citizenship.

In the second part of our lecture, we will focus on the cosmopolitan notion of citizenship, where there is vagueness on the practice of citizenship which is not very much in accordance with the cosmopolitan citizenship. However, the ideals of citizenship remains a very powerful ideal and therefore, worth considering, when we discuss about the notion of citizenship. Then, we will conclude today's lecture.

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Intro

- Contemporary debates on citizenship have questioned the idea that the citizen can enjoy rights independent of their contexts. Debates over multiculturalism, differences, plurality, and diversity have significantly opened up many contestation in theories on citizenship. Multiculturalism cherishes cultural diversity and envisages a society in which different communities can form a common identity while retaining their cultural specificity.
- There are growing interests in redefining citizenship by giving due importance to cultural differences among individuals and striking a balance between the numerous identities like religious, cultural, linguistic while constructing a common political identity for the citizens of a nation.
- In the debates over citizenship in contemporary times the ideas like multiculturalism and minority rights are invoked as democratic values, whereby diverse cultural communities are granted the rights to re/negotiate their fair terms of inclusion in the national political sphere.

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To begin, with the contemporary debates on citizenship have questioned the idea that citizen can enjoy rights independent of their context. This context of individual can be social, cultural, linguistic, or economic which determines a lot of changes or scope that individual may be able to enjoy in his or her life. The multicultural or the contemporary debates on citizenship questions the premise of theory which believes that citizenship or citizenship rights can be enjoyed by the individual independent of his or her context, whether it is social, cultural, economic or linguistic.

Thus, the debates on multiculturalism differences, plurality, and diversity have significantly, opened up many contestations in theories of citizenship. They argue, that citizen as an individual is a member to a particular community. Therefore, when we guarantee and give some rights to the individual, we also, need to take into account the social, cultural, economic and linguistic backgrounds of citizenship which actually, determines the way the individual exercises his or her citizenship rights.

This new debate about individual being the member to a political community, but also, to a social, cultural, ethnic, or linguistic community which determines and saves his values, or his behaviour and opinion about politics. Therefore, while we give some rights to the individual, we need to take into account these social, cultural, linguistic backgrounds of the individual which is something, very crucial in the actual exercise of citizenship rights of the individual. If we remember, the liberal notion of citizenship, there is this

understanding of individual as an abstract, self-defining individual and his or her contexts really, do not matter in his or her, exercise of citizenship rights. Now, the multicultural theorists try to re-negotiate or re-theorize such notions of individuals and citizenship.

Basically, the multicultural discourse on rights cherishes the cultural diversity and envisages a society in which different communities can form a common identity, while retaining their cultural specificity. The multicultural argument is that we should not homogenize the cultural diversity or plurality of a society. Rather, we need to celebrate those diversity and plurality which helps in developing more enriching experiences or understanding of politics, identity, recognition, and respect.

So, it envisages the society which celebrates the cultural diversity and plurality, where different communities can come together to form a common identity or a society which has some common outlook and yet it permits, the differences or cultural specificities of different communities. In other words, one need not have to loose or forgo one's cultural, linguistic or ethnic identity in order to participate as a free and equal member in the political community.

The multicultural or communitarian argument is about the celebration of diversities and cultural specificities which helps or enriches the participation or making of a common identity for the society as a whole, where one participates in the collective affairs, as a member of his or her particular cultural, ethnic or linguistic community.

There are growing interests in redefining citizenship by giving due importance to the cultural differences. This is done by striking a balance between the numerous identities like religious, cultural, or linguistic, while constructing a common political identity for the citizens of nation. In the multicultural discourse, the idea is how to celebrate or recognize the cultural differences, even when we are inspiring or trying to create a common political identity. And how that can be done is something which we will discuss, in the later part of our lecture, particularly, when we focus on theorizations made by Iris-Marion Young and Will Kymlicka.

In the debates over citizenship in contemporary times, the ideas like multiculturalism and minority rights are invoked as democratic values, whereby, the diverse cultural communities are granted the right to negotiate or re-negotiate their fair terms of inclusion

in the national political sphere. This kind of debate in the citizenship discourse, opens up new ways of theorizing citizenship, where the different communities particularly, those who are different or minority, it gives them the scope to negotiate their terms of inclusion in the larger political society.

In order, to individuals from a minority to the marginal community or a different cultural, ethnic community to participate in a free and equal manner should not to be based on his forgoing or cultural specificities or ethnic specificities. So, the multicultural discourse on citizenship opens up those debates and discourses, where these communities tries to participate in the political sphere or the national political sphere, by renegotiating the terms of their inclusion in the larger community.

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- The idea of *differentiated citizenship* was put forth by many theorists who thought that the idea of *common rights* of citizenship could not accommodate the *specific needs* of a large number of ethnic, religious and linguistic communities who are *excluded* or *marginalized* by the mainstream society. They argue that different groups can be accommodated into *common citizenship* only by adopting what Irish Marion Young calls *differentiated citizenship*.
- The notion of differentiated citizenship means that members of certain groups should be accommodated not only as individuals but also through their group memberships and their rights would partially depend upon their group memberships.
- Young argues that a society where some groups are privileged while others are oppressed, persons should leave behind their particular affiliations and adopt a general view while insisting all as citizens.

The idea of differentiated citizenship was put forward by the many theorists who thought that the idea of common rights is universal and it is uniformly, given to every single member of the community who could not accommodate the specific or particular needs of a large number of ethnic, religious and linguistic communities who are excluded or who felt excluded or marginalized by the mainstream society.

Thus, the theorists, who argued for the differentiated citizenship believes that the idea of common rights or uniform rights should be made available to every single member of the community is not enough, because it cannot accommodate the particular or specific needs of different ethnic, religious or linguistic communities, particularly, those who are

from the marginal or minority community. And their needs or specificities required in the notion of citizenship takes into account their differences, distinctiveness and yet allow them to participate in their common affairs of the society.

They argued that different groups can be accommodated into common citizenship only by adopting what Irish Marion Young called as differentiated citizenship. This idea of differentiated citizenship is put forward by Irish Marion Young, who believed that the different communities whether linguistic, cultural or ethnic communities requires different kinds of recognition.

And in national politics such considerations needs to be taken into account, while granting citizenship rights to different individuals belonging to different communities, specificities and particularities of different communities, needs to be taken into account, and we cannot just have liberal, equal or uniform rights, that is given to everyone. Thus, the need of a particular community is something, which they have argued for.

So, the notion of differentiated citizenship means that members of certain groups should be accommodated not only as individuals, but also, through their memberships and their rights would personally, depend upon their group membership. This idea of group differentiated citizenship is based on the assumption that certain rights should be given to individuals not because he or she is an individual, independent of his socio-cultural linguistic backgrounds, but also, because he or she belongs to a particular linguistic, socio, ethnic or cultural community. The differentiated citizenship, argues, for differentiated rights depending upon individual membership to a particular group or ethnic community.

Young argues, about a society, where some groups are privileged, while others are oppressed. Person should leave behind their particular affiliations and adopt a general view, while insisting all as citizens. So, these oppressions or subordinations are something, detrimental for the developing of a common outlook or to have same sense of participation or association with the larger community. To develop that outlook, one needs to forgo or leave behind, particular affiliations and should adopt a general view. However, that adoption should not privilege one community over the other or oppressed one community by the other.

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- Seeking to redefine the principles of equality and to make it compatible with the multiculturalism, Will Kymlicka provides a framework of representation and membership that accommodates cultural and group differences in a way that a person's group membership and membership in a cultural community is not of any disadvantage to his/her.
- According to Will Kymlicka the demands of national minorities and ethnic groups can be accommodated within a framework of democratic citizenship in the following ways–
 - a. There should be protection of common rights of all citizens, that is protection of civil and political rights of individuals, freedom of association, religion, speech and mobility for protecting group differences;
 - b. There should be accommodation of cultural diversity through special legal and constitutional measures in a way that members of specific groups being guaranteed specific rights as Young would call them group-differentiated rights.

Further, from this discourse on the differentiated citizenship, we have, Will Kymlicka, where he argues about the different ways in which the cultural or ethnic diversities in the communities can be reconciled. So, seeking, to redefine the principle of equality and make it compatible with multiculturalism, Will Kymlicka, provided a framework of representation and membership which accommodated the cultural and group differences in a way that a person's group membership and membership in a cultural community is not of any disadvantage to her.

Will Kymlicka is basically, trying to provide a mechanism of representation, where the membership of one's cultural community or group membership is not seen as a kind of disadvantage to the individual.

For example, a society which is liberal and do not acknowledge any kind of privilege is associated to one's belongingness to a particular community. It may in practice, practically, speaking, still leaves scope for oppression and privilege, associated with a particular community in the nation-state. So, Will Kymlicka was trying to provide a mechanism, where there could be the possibility of making representations fair for everyone. The membership to one's cultural, linguistic or ethnic community is not seen or should not work as a detriment or disadvantage to one's scope and chances in participating in the common life of a community.

According to, Will Kymlicka, the demands of national minorities and ethnic groups can be accommodated within a framework of democratic citizenship. They are basically, extending the notion of liberal democratic citizenship by including or accommodating the demands or requirements of the specific cultural, linguistic or ethnic communities.

So, this accommodation of difference can be done within the framework of a liberal democratic citizenship by two ways. One, there should be the protection of common rights of all citizens that is the protection of civil and political rights of individuals, freedom of association, religion, speech and mobility for protecting group differences. Thus, one way of doing or accommodating such differences is by protecting the common rights of every citizen to have civil and political rights or the freedom of association, religion, speech and mobility, so that they can protect their differences or group differences.

Second, there should be the accommodation of cultural diversity. The cultural diversity is not something, seen as a kind of problem or a challenge, rather it is seen as something, which enriches the lives of citizens and it must be protected and celebrated. There should be accommodation of cultural diversity through special, legal and constitutional measures in a way that members of a specific group are being guaranteed the specific rights as Young would call them, as group differentiated rights.

So, this may require some constitutional measures, where the member of a particular community, especially, those who are marginal or excluded or in minority, some constitutional measures for them, to have special representations that overall creates the representation for everyone within a democratic set up or a democratic framework of citizenship.

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- Kymlicka identifies three forms of group differentiated rights:
 - a) Self-government rights;
 - b) Poly-ethnic rights;
 - c) and, special-representation rights.
- Self-government rights recognize some kind of political autonomy or territorial jurisdiction of national minorities, which were not relinquished by them while they were incorporated in the larger state.
- Poly-ethnic rights are about specific rights of immigrant communities. Such rights may take the form of demanding the right to express their peculiarities and differences without fear of prejudice and discrimination in the mainstream society.
- Special representation rights are meant for national and ethnic groups as well as for non-ethnic groups such as women, poor and the disabled. It basically help ensure democratization of the state institutions and structures by making them more representative.

Now, Kymlicka, argues for three kinds of group differentiated rights. They are the self-government rights, poly-ethnic rights, and special-representation rights. Now, these three kinds of constitutional measures or rights are given to three kinds of communities or groups in the society. First, is the self-representation rights, which recognize some kind of political autonomy or territorial jurisdiction of national minority. For example, within Canada, you have a province or a cubec which demands for the greater autonomy or some kind of territorial autonomy to take decisions about their collective affairs within the federal structure of Canada.

There, Will Kymlicka argued for the kind of national minorities and there has to be some kind of self-government rights which ensures their autonomy within the overall political structure in the country. These national minorities claimed that their inclusion or incorporation should be made in the larger state. While it was being done, they did not relinquish their specific cultural, social, linguistic, specificities or identities. Therefore, they demanded their self-government rights.

Basically, the self-government rights are meant for the national minorities, who claimed that while they were incorporated in the larger state, they did not relinquish some of their political or cultural linguistic identities or jurisdiction. Therefore, the state must recognize the self-government rights of these national minorities.

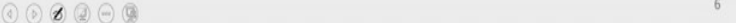
Then, there are poly-ethnic rights. These are specific rights of the immigrant communities, basically, in the large liberal democracies of Europe or US, we have a lot number of immigrant communities from different parts of the world. They carry certain culture, certain language, certain way of living, certain way of dressing and so on. So, this poly-ethnic right is meant for the specific rights of immigrant communities and such rights may take the form of demanding the right to express their peculiarities and differences without fear of prejudice and discrimination in the mainstream society.

Thus, what to wear, where to pray, whom to marry, what to eat, which language one should speak, these are some of the demands which must be protected in a liberal state especially, for those communities which are immigrant in a particular nation and they must express themselves or their way of life or language or living style without being feared or stigmatized by the large mainstream society. Poly-ethnic rights, recognize the specific rights or peculiarities or differences of immigrant communities in the larger democratic society.

Now, the special-representation rights or third kind of rights are meant for the national and ethnic groups as well as for the non-ethnic groups such as women, poor and disabled. This special representation rights are basically, to democratize the state institutional structures by making them more representative. The state structure even when it is neutral may lead to some kind of exclusion or marginalization of certain sections of the societies.

So, to ensure fair representation, Will Kymlicka, argues, for the special representation rights of national and ethnic groups, but also, for the non-ethnic groups such as women, poor and disabled to make the state institutions and structure of administration more representative in nature.

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- Multicultural theory of citizenship has altered the way in which the political communities are thought of. Far from being a homogenous group, the political community is seen as heterogeneous.
 - However, multiculturalism runs into danger of denying the individual the right of critical and creative membership in the community and overlooks the hierarchies and oppressions that communities practice and promote within.
 - Another criticism levelled against multiculturalism is that by acknowledging the community's power to apply internal restraints, it leaves little scope for individual's rights and freedoms. It appears that within minority or marginalized communities rights of individuals are somewhat dispensable with in comparison to the rights and recognition of their communities.
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The multicultural theory of citizenship has altered the way in which the political communities are thought of. Usually, the political communities are thought of as homogeneous groups. However, far from being a homogeneous group, the political community is in multicultural discourse, seen as a heterogeneous group of communities having different cultures, language, ethnicity and associated differences and peculiarity. And yet they all together enriches the experiences of individuals in the society and therefore, they must be protected and celebrated which leads to expansion or inclusiveness of the liberal democratic framework of citizenship.

However, multiculturalism runs into danger of denying the individual right of critical and creative membership in the communities and it overlooks the hierarchies and oppressions that communities practice and promote within. One of the criticisms against multiculturalism is that it denies the individual or his/her critical or creative membership by overlooking the hierarchies or oppressions that may exist or be promoted or practiced in the communities within.

So, in recognizing or accommodating the demands or requirements of different communities, it appears, multicultural theories overlook the hierarchies or some inner undemocratic practices within the communities which actually, prevents the individual, his creative or critical rights or membership. And it appears that individual is subordinated to the identity of a community and that is one of the biggest criticisms

against the multi-cultural theories of citizenship which subordinates the rights of individual to that of communities.

Another criticism leveled against multiculturalism is that by acknowledging, the communities power to apply internal restraints, it leaves little scope for individual rights and freedom. It appears that within a minority or marginalized communities, the rights of individuals are somewhat, indispensable in comparison to the rights and recognition of their communities. As I said that multicultural theorists, argued, for granting certain rights to individual and not because the individual is a self-defining or an abstract individual, but because the individual is also, embedded in his or her socio, cultural, ethnic or linguistic community. Therefore, certain rights to the individual must be given not because he is abstract or atomistic self-defining individual, but he is also, a member to a particular community.

Thereby, it appears, in recognition of the community rights or group differentiated rights, the rights of individuals and his freedom is somewhat, compromised in the multicultural discussion and overall they tried to expand the liberal democratic framework, yet they fail somewhat, to understand the inner constraints or oppressions which operates and functions within these communities. And how, to reconcile that with the liberal ideal of citizenship and rights is something, problematic in the multicultural theories.

However, they try to expand the limited or narrow understanding of individuals as self-defining individual or community as a homogeneous community in the liberal framework to an understanding of community which is heterogeneous and it includes different communities having different cultures, ethnicity, or language. And society, while developing the common outlook must recognize and protect those diversities and plurality that is something, which is a contribution of multiculturalism in the citizenship discourse.

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Cosmopolitan citizenship

- Cosmopolitanism is derived from Greek word *kosmopolites* which means citizen of the world. Diogenes is regarded as the first cosmopolitan philosopher who asserted that 'I am a citizen of the world'. With the coming of Globalization, theorists have also talked about the delinking of relationship between citizenship and the nation-state and argue for replacing it with global or cosmopolitan citizenship with universal human community as its ideal.
- According to Derek Heater, although cosmopolitan citizenship is undefinable in theory and non-existent in practice, as an ideal it is worth considering. It lacks legal and political exactness, however its understanding ranges from 'vague to precise'.
 - a. people who have a feeling of identity with the whole of humanity are regarded as world or cosmopolitan citizen.
 - b. cosmopolitan citizens accept the moral percept that the individual has some responsibility for the condition of the planet and the rest of its inhabitants.

Now, we will move on to the cosmopolitan notion of citizenship which as I said is something not practiced, as we see the membership to a particular political community or in the nation-state. In reality, cosmopolitanism or cosmopolitan citizenship is far from being practical or pragmatic and yet as an ideal or as a thought experiment, it is something, which we must consider or engage with. This idea of cosmopolitanism is derived from the Greek word *kosmopolites*, which means, the citizen of the world. And Diogenes is regarded as the first cosmopolitan philosopher who asserted that 'I am a citizen of the world'. This idea, we know that citizenship is about the membership to a political community.

The world is divided into different nation-states. This nation-state is for all practical purposes whether it is the legitimate political organization or institution and citizenship is seen in association with the membership to a particular nation-state or a particular political community. However, the cosmopolitan citizenship tries to transcend the boundaries of nation-states, to develop sensibilities, to develop the obligation towards world as a whole and not because, it is not limited to a particular nation-state or political communities. And this we can often, say as a citizen of India or Pakistan or Bangladesh, our sensibilities, loyalties and obligations are limited to the territorial boundaries of countries like India, Pakistan or Bangladesh.

But when we develop sensibilities and obligation or loyalties towards the world, our responses or our associations will not be defined or limited to the territorial boundary of any of these states. Because, we consider and imagine ourselves as not being a member of a particular political community, but to the larger community of humanity or human ideals, as such. Now, this ideal is there from the very beginning, but in modern contemporary times, with the coming of globalization, theorists have also talked about delinking of relationship between the citizenship and nation-state, and they argued for replacing it with global or cosmopolitan citizenship with the universal human community. The community to which one belongs is not thus, limited to the nation-state, but to a universal human community. That becomes the ideal for a cosmopolitan notion of citizenship.

According to Derek Heater, although, cosmopolitan citizenship is undefinable. So, when I say, India, Pakistan or Bangladesh, there is a clear cut exact imagery both in the territorial or in the political sense. But the world or the cosmopolitan citizenship leads one in the realm of vagueness, where we are not exact about the legal or political status of one's membership, as it is in the case of one's membership to a particular nation-state or the political community. According to Derek Heater, although, the cosmopolitan citizenship is undefinable in theory or non-existent in practice, as an ideal, it is worth considering. It lacks the legal and political exactness, as I have explained. However, its understanding ranges from the vague to precise. And this we will discuss through these three-four ways of cosmopolitan citizenship.

a) People who have a feeling of identity in the whole of humanity are regarded as world or cosmopolitan. So, there are individuals in the society, who feel or associate themselves with the whole humanity and not just to the members of their one particular nation-state. They are regarded as a cosmopolitan citizen.

b) Cosmopolitan citizens accept the moral percept that the individual has some responsibility for the condition of the planet and the rest of its inhabitants. So, they develop sensibilities that their obligation is not just limited to a particular nation-state and its territory, but it extends, to the whole of humanity and other inhabitants of humanity as well. They work or operate in this moral percept which transcends the boundaries of the nation-states.

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- c. a cosmopolitan citizen come to live or abide by the codes of supra or transnational laws and possibly by universal/international laws.
 - d. a cosmopolitan citizen believes in and work for supranational/universal political community and authority.
- However, there are genuine criticism levelled against the cosmopolitan notion of citizenship. There are many skeptics who argue that such notion of citizenship in the absence of exact legal and political status are merely utopia. Many view cosmopolitan citizenship as a facets of globalization which is extension of capitalism driven largely by MNCs and TNCs. Still others, associate it with privileged class who happen to cross national boundaries and aspire for creating some kind of a global community.
- Although, it is true that cosmopolitan citizenship is far from being real or pragmatic, yet even its critique would acknowledge the necessity of creation of a global society to which each one of us has obligation to. There are many challenges before humanity such as climate change and terrorism which require people and communities to come together to solve it.

c) A cosmopolitan citizen came to live or abide by the codes of supra or transnational laws and possibly, by universal and international laws. In modern world, we also, see that international regimes of institutions, laws, courts and framework through which all the nation-states operates. And there is the gradual development of supranational bodies such as European Union, ASEAN. Even in South Asia, we have SARAC, but it is not politically as successful as the European Union or ASEAN. So, the cosmopolitan citizens develop an outlook which operates and functions within the codes of these supra or transnational laws and possibly, the universal and international laws.

d) Finally, a cosmopolitan citizen believes in and works for the supranational, universal, political community and authority. They develop the concept of human rights or democracy or democratic rights of the citizens, that is the basic healthcare or universal declaration of human rights is one such examples, where every member of the planet is treated as a human. Therefore, having certain rights must be protected or guaranteed by the political authorities.

The cosmopolitan citizenship believes and works for developing these global communities or universal community of people, where understanding the codes and laws are not limited to the national boundaries. Thus, we have seen that from the vague understanding of developing a sensibility for the world or planet, to working for a more

concrete or pragmatic creation of political, authority or universal community is the evolution of cosmopolitan thinking and imagination in modern times.

However, there are genuine criticisms leveled against the cosmopolitan notion of citizenship and there are many skeptics, who argued that such notion of citizenship in the absence of exact legal and political status are merely, utopia. There are many skeptics who argued, the cosmopolitan citizenship is merely, utopia because it lacks, the exact legal or political status, as we have see, when we claim to be the citizens of India or Bangladesh or United Kingdom or USA, and there are the exact rights or obligations associated with the membership to that particular community.

But when we claim to be the members of the global community or a cosmopolitan citizen, those precise understanding of one's legal and political status is not there. Therefore, many skeptics, argued that cosmopolitan citizenship and this discourse is merely, utopia because it lacks, exact legal and political definition. And many others viewed cosmopolitan citizenship as nothing but a facet of globalization which is the extension of capitalism driven largely, by the MNCs and TNCs, that is, Multinational Corporation or Transnational Corporation because they want the free flow of capital and goods. Therefore, they want to create a global network of institutions and authority which helps in the free flow of ideas, people's, goods and capital.

Many skeptics, argued that cosmopolitan notion of citizenship is nothing but a facet of globalization which itself is an extension of capitalism and driven largely, by the multinational corporations or translational corporation. Now, others associate or cosmopolitan citizenship with a privileged class which immersed in many nation-states who happen to cross national boundaries very often, and inspire for creating some kind of global community. So, this notion of cosmopolitan citizenship is meant only for this privileged class who is beneficiary of globalization and who often, transcends the national boundaries and they inspire to create some kind of global community.

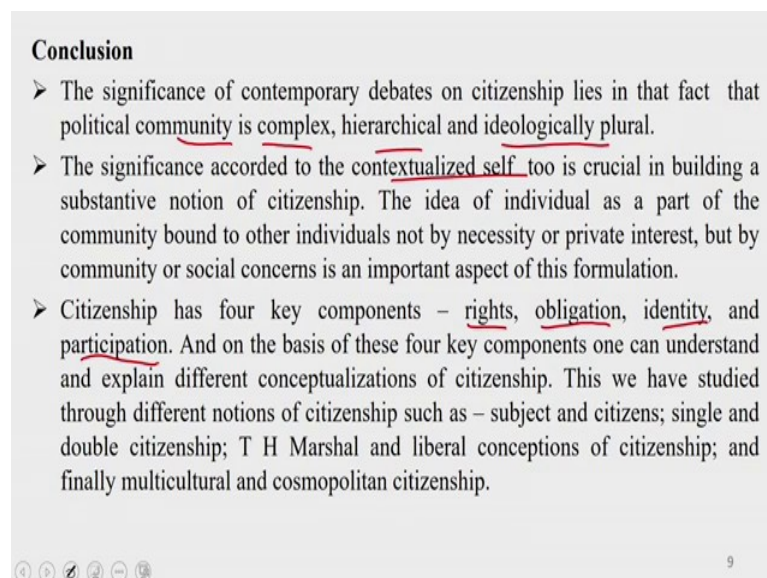
Many critics, believed that most people live or operate within the framework of nation-states, but then, there is a privilege section which often, transcend those boundaries of nation-states. Therefore, they inspire to create the global community and that is limited to them. Largely, people live and abide by the national boundary. So, there are genuine criticisms against the cosmopolitan notion of citizenship.

Although, it is true that cosmopolitan citizenship is far from being real or pragmatic or practical, yet even, its critics would argue or acknowledge the necessity, of creation of a global society to which each one of us has obligation to. So, even, the critics and skeptics would argue that there is a need to create some kinds of global society or community, to which each one of us has obligations to. And the nation-states are not ultimate or sufficient for tackling many of the challenges of the modern contemporary world.

So, there are many challenges before humanity such as the climate change or terrorism or global terrorism which requires people and communities to come together in order to solve it. These challenges of climate change or global terrorism cannot be tackled by a particular country or a single country, no matter, how much economical and military powerful that country is. The challenge of climate change or global terrorism, requires people, communities or nations to come together to solve it and that connects the individual with the local, the national to the global or vice versa.

Thus, this flow of or connection of individuals with the global or cosmopolitan is something, which is the need of the hour to tackle many of the challenges. Therefore, even, when the cosmopolitan citizenship and its notion lack a precise legal and political definition or a status, yet as an ideal, it is something, worth considering.

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Conclusion

- The significance of contemporary debates on citizenship lies in that fact that political community is complex, hierarchical and ideologically plural.
- The significance accorded to the contextualized self, too is crucial in building a substantive notion of citizenship. The idea of individual as a part of the community bound to other individuals not by necessity or private interest, but by community or social concerns is an important aspect of this formulation.
- Citizenship has four key components – rights, obligation, identity, and participation. And on the basis of these four key components one can understand and explain different conceptualizations of citizenship. This we have studied through different notions of citizenship such as – subject and citizens; single and double citizenship; T H Marshal and liberal conceptions of citizenship; and finally multicultural and cosmopolitan citizenship.

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And with that we conclude this lecture by repeating some of the points. Basically, the significance of contemporary debates on citizenship lies in the fact that the political

community is not homogenous, and not simple. But it is a complex, hierarchical and ideologically, plural. Therefore, when we develop the notion of citizenship, we need to take into account the complex, hierarchical or ideologically, plural nature of the political community and in the absence of such understanding, the notion of citizenship will always be limited or partial.

The significance, accorded to the contextualized self or which we can often, call as embedded self is crucial in building the substantive notion of citizenship, where citizen is not just an individual or as self-defining, but also, because individual is a member to a particular ethnic, cultural, or linguistic community which saves his views, values, behavior or outlook. So, the idea of individual as a part of the community want other individuals not by necessity or private interests, but by the community or social concern is an important aspect of this, as we have discussed in the multicultural notion of citizenship or differentiated citizenship, argued, by Irish Marion Young.

Citizenship, to understand it, we have four components which we need to take into account. First, it is the right, then obligation, identity and participation. So, citizenship includes all these four components. One's membership to a particular community gives oneself certain rights. It also, requires certain obligations from us. Thus, as a member of a particular nation-state, we have certain rights, but we also have certain obligations to that nation-state. It gives us an identity. So, one's we belong to a particular nation-state that belonging to a particular nation-state gives one a legal and political identity within the country and outside, where we are treated as an Indian or Pakistani or Bangladeshi or British.

Finally, it gives us the right to participate in the political process in a particular community or a nation-state. So, on the basis of these four key components, one can understand and explain the different conceptualizations of citizenship, whether it is the definition by T H Marshal or by the multiculturalists or the cosmopolitan. By these three or four components of citizenship, one can understand this conceptualization.

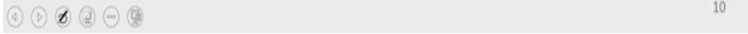
This we have studied through the different notions of citizenship such as subject and citizen, if you remember in the first lecture, where we try to understand citizenship by distinguishing it from a subject or the understanding of a subject, we had of single or

double citizenship. Then, we did T H Marshall and the liberal conception of citizenship and finally, we discussed on the multiculturalism and cosmopolitan notion of citizenship.

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This is all on today's lecture on citizenship, particularly, the multicultural or the cosmopolitan citizenship and for that you can refer to some of these books by Dryzek and Phillips, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*. The chapter by Anupama Roy, 'Citizenship' in Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya's book, will give you a better understanding of some of the topics that we have covered within citizenship.

You can also refer to John Hoffman and Paul Graham's, *Introduction to Political Theory*. Then, in Gauba and Sushila Ramaswamy, you can refer to understand some of the themes that we have discussed in our topic, citizenship. That is all for today. Thanks for listening.

Thank you all.