Development, (Dual) Citizenship and Its Discontents in Africa: The Political Economy of Belonging to Liberia

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Introduction

The 'Love of Liberty' Divided Us Here?

Liberia's official seal[1] captures competing contexts colliding and co-mingling. It consists of a shield with an idyllic image of a passenger ship seen from the shore approaching new territory. An invisible, straight line connects the ship with an inviting palm tree jutting out of the earth. Its beak carrying a scroll conveying peace and freedom, a white dove hovers on the horizon. Beaming rays from a half-exposed sun appear in the background to complete the allegory of newness and discovery. In the foreground of the shield, on lush, green grass, lie a shovel dug into the earth and a plough representing the dignity of hard labour primarily from subsistence agriculture. Above the shield is a scroll proudly proclaiming Liberia's national motto: *The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here*. This pictorial symbolises Africa meeting its diasporas, yet it depicts the exploits of only a small fraction of Liberia's population at independence in the mid-nineteenth century—black transatlantic migrants[2] who championed civilisation, Christianity, and commerce as their triple heritage—and even less so now, almost 200 years later in a twenty-first century post-war period.

Figure 1: Liberia's Official Seal

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Liberia

From its inception in 1847 as Africa's first black republic, Liberia became a prime location for the convergence of a multitude of disparate actors, including repatriates from the United States, recaptives from the Congo River basin in Central Africa, emigrants from the Caribbean, and 16 ethno-linguistic groups[3] already occupying the territory. Currently, this fusion has metamorphosed to include a wide spectrum of domestic and diasporic actors including

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[1] Liberia's seal, motto, flag, anthem, awards, and Declaration of Independence were subjected to scrutiny during a National Symbols Review Project in 2014. Its purpose was to fashion an all-inclusive political identity by revamping elements of the national symbols in order to facilitate unity and reconciliation. Nevertheless, the exercise was futile as no recommended revisions were ever implemented.

[2] I refrain from using the misnomer 'Americo-Liberian' throughout this book because free blacks who migrated to Liberia from the United States were denied American citizenship and therefore could have not been considered 'American'. 'Americo-Liberian' also erroneously conflates all settlers who migrated to Liberia so instead I employ 'black settlers' or 'black migrant settlers' interchangeably because they encompass the full range of settlers, including West Indian and Congo River basin migrants.

[3] I refer to these groups subsequently as 'indigenous' or 'indigenes' because they inhabited the territory that is modern-day Liberia before nineteenth century black migrant settlement.

homeland Liberians, returnees, and former refugees. While the 'love of liberty' signalled varied encounters between settlers and indigenes and their negotiations over land ownership, political participation, identity, and belonging in the nineteenth century, twenty-first century concerns about citizenship and all its trappings were made manifest in a contested dual citizenship bill which lingered in legislative limbo from 2008 to 2018. Given that dual citizenship was the first contemporary policy mechanism specifically introduced in Liberia to address diasporic claims, this book deploys it to evaluate the country's long-standing attempts at constructing a unique brand of citizenship that is totalising, tactical, and timeless. In confronting how multiple subjectivities intersect to make or mar citizenship, *Development, (Dual) Citizenship and Its Discontents in Africa* explores what I call the political economy of belonging to Liberia. This is a transactional system in which socio-economic transformation has invariably depended on the provision of privileges/protections in exchange for the fulfilment of duties/obligations, and vice versa.

Citizenship has been tangentially mentioned in the literature on Liberian state[4] consolidation, nevertheless this is the first study to examine domestic and diasporic constructions and practices of Liberian citizenship over space and time and their myriad implications for development. By 'development' I do not mean mainstream pursuits of free-market capitalism, a singular quest for economic growth, or the privileging of Western whiteness and modernity; rather, I am referring to an alternative, emancipatory process whereby people's experiences of poverty, power, privilege, and progress are constantly mediated to effect change (Pailey, 2019b). In essence, this book considers how structural transformation is conceived and contested by local, national, and transnational actors from the so-called Global South, with an emphasis on the country (Liberia) and continent (Africa) of my birth. It blends analysis of historical policy changes on citizenship with that of contemporary public discourse on dual citizenship to investigate how struggles over Liberian citizenship in particular have impacted development policy and practice in the country.

In so doing, I make three major contributions to scholarly and policy debates about citizenship as a continuum of inclusion and exclusion, and development as a process of amelioration. First, given that identities, practices, and relations between people transform in the aftermath of violent conflict, I draw on the rich oral histories of over 200 interviewees in the capital cities of Liberia (Monrovia), Sierra Leone (Freetown), Ghana (Accra), the United Kingdom (London), and United States (Washington) to develop a new model for conceptualising citizenship in the context of post-war emigration states. Second, I use political economy analysis to frame contestations around citizenship as sites where state-building, nation-building, and peace-building processes converge. And lastly, by underscoring the citizenship practices of domestic development actors as central to socio-economic change, I offer a postcolonial critique of the neoliberal framing of diasporas and donors as *the* panacea to post-war reconstruction.

My study demonstrates that interpretations of Liberian citizenship differ according to the lived experiences and socio-economic positions of Liberians at home and abroad, and ultimately influence their development practices, or lack thereof, as well as their rejection or endorsement of dual citizenship. Using Norman Long's (2001) actor-oriented analysis framework—which argues that actors respond to development-oriented policy prescriptions and interventions

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[4] When I refer to the 'Liberian state' in this book, I specifically adopt Christian Lund's (2006) notion of the 'state' as an ensemble of individuals and institutions exercising public authority, that is, structural power that is validated and recognised at multiple levels (Pailey, 2017a). Thus, I do not conflate the 'state' with 'government' because I believe the 'state' entails more than government.

based on their 'life-worlds' (lived experiences) and 'social locations' (socio-economic positions)—I illustrate how historical and contemporary factors such as conflict, migration, and post-war recovery have simultaneously configured and reconfigured Liberian citizenship across space and time thereby influencing the introduction and postponement in the passage of dual citizenship legislation. Throughout this book, I maintain that citizenship has always been contested in Liberia, from its establishment as an experiment in black diasporic solidarity to its current status as a site of rival post-war agendas. Invoking the compelling analysis of Liberian historian Clarence E Zamba Liberty (1977: 101-202), who argued that the most accurate account of nineteenth and twentieth century national life in Liberia sits somewhere between lauding and lamenting black settler 'ethnic elitism'—what he calls 'righteousness' and 'deprivation' narratives, respectively—I contend that what lies beneath twenty-first century claims for and against dual citizenship is an evolving political economy of belonging to Liberia over the *longue durée*.

From Settler State Formation to Post-War State-building
Liberia's history has been characterised by migration, conflict, exile, and return, thus facilitating new configurations of citizenship across space and time. The country was initially established in 1822 as an outpost for free blacks and the formerly enslaved primarily by the American Colonisation Society (ACS), an association of influential whites who espoused abolitionist and deportationist ideals; yet it predates black migrant settlement (Kieh, 2012a: 168; Burrowes, 2016a: 22, 24-27; Burrowes, 2016b). Seeking increased autonomy from the ACS and fearing British and French territorial encroachment, Liberia declared itself independent in 1847 and was thus the first African state to devise legal norms around membership and belonging. Despite gradually representing an amalgam of black identities and cultures (West African, West Indian/Caribbean, Central African, and North American), it adopted a 'hegemonic' frame of citizenship with restrictive pre-requisites such as private property ownership (Liberty, 1977: 273-274; Burrowes, 2004: 69). Modelled after the United States' initial conferral of citizenship on white male landed gentry, citizenship in nineteenth century Liberia reflected a settler male ethos, ruling out all non-blacks and most indigenes, non-Christians, women of both indigenous and settler orientation. Not until a century after state formation would Liberians of 'Negro descent' generally be considered citizens, further illustrating that citizenship in Liberia has historically been a tool of exclusion in the same way that post-independence citizenship laws across Africa have been wielded to disenfranchise. The nature of Liberia's black settler state formation precluded nationalism and did not lend itself to national identity consolidation (Pailey, 2014c). Unlike African countries that underwent fierce nationalist struggles against colonial rule, Liberia was declared the first black African republic nearly a century before independence movements began in earnest in the continent.

It was ruled consecutively from 1878 to 1980 by the True Whig Party (TWP), an oligarchy of descendants of black settlers (Guannu, 1989; Dunn, 2017). Before President William Tubman, Liberia's longest serving head of state, introduced an Open Door Policy in 1947 to court foreign investors, there were demands to incorporate indigenous populations and women fully into the citizenship mainstream (Kieh, 1992: 39, 42). In an erosion of government-citizen relations, however, Open Door mortgaged Liberia's rubber, iron ore, and forest reserves without value addition to primarily large-scale Euro-American multinationals while transforming the country into 'an export enclave for raw materials' and exploited labour (Kieh, 1992: 39, 42). Tubman introduced the Unification and Integration Policy in 1946 subsequently universalising citizenship for people of 'Negro descent' for the first time in a decidedly failed attempt to construct a nation within a state (Dunn, Beyan & Burrowes, 2001: 341). Elite Liberians

travelled abroad for vacation, business ventures, and higher education during this period, but rarely did they remain outside of the country for long stints until Tubman's successor, William R Tolbert, Jr, was assassinated in a 1980 coup. Rumoured to have been an orchestrated plot by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) during the height of Cold War rivalries, the coup was led by a 25-year-old indigenous master sergeant in the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), Samuel Kanyon Doe, and it toppled TWP hegemony.

Doe's military regime lasted until elections in 1985 which were largely viewed as fraudulent, entrenching his power in an arbitrary institutional arrangement. For many, Doe signified the beginning of an indigenous political renaissance because, among other reforms, he abrogated a 'hut tax' that had effectively made indigenous hinterland inhabitants subjects of the Liberian state without granting them full citizenship rights (Dunn, Beyan & Burrowes, 2001: 170; Dunn, 2009: 173). Yet, his grip on power declined over time. When an attempted coup in November 1985 was rumoured to have been supported by Liberians abroad, a wave of emigration ensued with large numbers of Liberians leaving the country fearing reprisals (Dunn, Beyan & Burrowes, 2001: 275; Dunn, 2009: 146). This fundamentally reconfigured Liberian citizenship making it transnational for the first time in the country's history.

Liberian exiles in the United States led by future head of state Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as well as Amos Sawyer, who would later become Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) president and Governance Commission (GC) chairperson, lobbied against Doe's autocracy through the Association of Constitutional Democracy of Liberia (ACDL) but their cries for regime change fell on deaf ears. These political elites in large part would eventually support[5] Charles Taylor, a counter-revolutionary with political ambitions who trained in Libya and launched an armed rebellion in 1989 from neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire therefore prompting another wave of emigration. From 1989 to 1997, more than 200,000 Liberians were killed and between 500,000 and 750,000 internally displaced; in the first year alone as many as 700,000 fled the country primarily to Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. It is not clear how many Liberians returned after elections in 1997 brought Taylor to power. From 1997 to 2003, he ruled with authoritarian flair, involving Liberia in Sierra Leone's armed conflict thereby provoking two militias to agitate between 1999 and 2003 for his ouster. Liberians once again fled the country for safety, followed by a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in August 2003 in Accra, Ghana, with Taylor exiled at the invitation of the Nigerian government. On 26 April 2012, he was eventually convicted on 11 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity for aiding and abetting rebels during Sierra Leone's war[6].

From 2003 to 2005 an interim government was established to pave the way for elections in 2005 after which Liberia's and Africa's first female head of state, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, assumed the presidency in 2006. From 2003 onwards waves of return migration to Liberia grew in magnitude with post-war reform efforts in security, economic revitalisation, governance and the rule of law, and infrastructure and basic services eliciting renewed hope in a country once considered the 'heart of darkness' (Williams, 2006; Government of Liberia, 2008a). Despite its multi-layered post-war challenges, Liberia underwent significant transformation during Sirleaf's two successive terms from 2006 to 2017 which created an enabling environment for diasporic return and re-engagement. Nonetheless, her neoliberal economic model of development and overreliance on returnee experts deepened inequalities and fomented

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[5] In 2009, Sirleaf testified before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that the ACDL donated US$10,000 to support Taylor's insurgency against Doe.
[6] Taylor was given a 50-year jail sentence on 30 May 2012 and after losing an appeal was transported to a British prison to serve his time.

resentment (Pailey, 2017a; Pailey, 2017b). Coupled together, recovery and return migration complicated relations between Liberians of different lived experiences and socio-economic backgrounds hence replacing unresolved nineteenth century fissures between settlers and indigenes with twenty-first century rifts pitting returnees against their homeland counterparts (Pailey, 2007b). In post-war Liberia the amalgam of different identities has transformed with homeland Liberians, returnees, and diasporas all vying for a stake in development. At the centre of this convergence are questions about citizenship, essentially who belongs to the nation-state and who can legitimately participate in its reconstruction.

Dual Citizenship and Attempts to Reconstruct Liberian Citizenship

Citizenship in Liberia remained contentious even as I finalised this book in late 2019. For instance, there was a glaring contradiction[7] between Article 27 of the country's 1986 Constitution, which states, 'All persons, who, on the coming into force of this Constitution, were lawfully citizens of Liberia shall continue to be Liberian citizens', and sections 22.1 and 22.2 of its 1973 Aliens and Nationality Law, which automatically revoked the legal citizenship status of Liberian-born nationals of 'Negro descent' who naturalised in, declared formal allegiance to, entered into the armed forces of, voted in the elections of, or formally renounced Liberian citizenship in a foreign state (Government of Liberia, 1973; Government of Liberia, 1986). Modelled after the 1952 United States Immigration and Nationality Act, the Aliens and Nationality Law of Liberia was never amended up to mid-December 2019 with some arguing that it failed to contend with contemporary realities.

For example, Section 20.1 of the Law stated explicitly that only those of 'Negro descent'[8] born in Liberia could be citizens and only those born abroad whose fathers were citizens of Liberia during the time of their birth and resided in Liberia before their birth could be granted citizenship at birth. It also maintained that children born abroad to Liberian citizen fathers would lose their Liberian citizenship unless they resided in Liberia before the age of majority (18) or took an oath of allegiance to Liberia between the age of majority and 23. Many protested that the Law was anachronistic and overtly exclusionary because it defined citizenship along racial and gender lines thereby explicitly discriminating against non-blacks and women. Others reasoned that annulling the citizenship of a natural-born Liberian without due process was unconstitutional, as evidenced by a 2010 lawsuit filed in Liberia's Supreme Court and won on 23 December 2019 by US-based legal expert Alvin Teage Jalloh[9]. Responding to increased pressure from what appeared to be a strong transnational tide, Liberian lawmakers introduced a dual citizenship bill in 2008 to reconstruct markers of citizenship.

In their proposed Act to Establish Dual Citizenship for Liberians by Birth and Background, four senators from Liberia's fifty-second Legislature, namely Cletus Segbe Wotorson, Sumo

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[7] Although Liberia's revised Constitution was adopted in a July 1984 referendum following a constitutional review process and officially came into effect in January 1986, the reviewers neglected to reconcile the apparent inconsistencies between the Constitution and Aliens and Nationality Law on matters of citizenship. In 2012, Sirleaf commissioned a Constitution Review Committee to review and make recommendations for amending the 1986 Constitution based on a series of national consultations with Liberian citizens. Three years earlier, in 2009, the president had established a Law Reform Commission through Executive Order No. 20 which appears to have had overlapping functions with the Constitution Review Committee.

[8] Currently, Liberia and Sierra Leone are the only two countries in Africa that have 'Negro' clauses although Sierra Leone's 2006 Dual Citizenship Act enables non-'Negroes' to naturalise.

[9] Jalloh's case was not in pursuit of dual citizenship, per se, but rather a lawsuit interrogating sections 22.1 and 22.2 of Liberia's 1973 Aliens and Nationality Law, which, he argued, violated Article 20(a) of the 1986 Constitution guaranteeing due process. The Supreme Court decided in December 2019 that only section 22.2 of the Law contravened the Constitution.

G Kupee, Jewel Howard Taylor (ex-wife of Charles Taylor subsequently elected vice-president in 2017), and Abel Massalay, endorsed amendments to sections 20.1 and 22.1 of the Aliens and Nationality Law to conform to the Constitution by enabling Liberian citizen women to pass on citizenship to children born abroad and granting dual citizenship to Liberians by birth who naturalised abroad (or had aspirations to naturalise) as well as to those born abroad of Liberian parentage, respectively (Government of Liberia, 2008c). Two questions ultimately underpinned the proposed legislation, and, by extension, this book: why was it introduced in 2008 and why was its passage suspended for a decade? It is worth noting here that although Liberia's fifty-fourth Legislature under President George Oppong Weah endorsed referendum Proposition #1 in October 2019 based on a Dual Citizen and Nationality Act of 2019[10], thus replacing the 2008 bill, analysis in this book focuses on the latter because it was the first of its kind and had a much longer life-span of 10 years.

According to chief sponsor of the 2008 proposed legislation, then senator Wotorson, the premise of suggesting amendments to the 1973 Aliens and Nationality Law was to respond to the needs of Liberians who emigrated as a result of intermittent armed conflict:

> …a lot of them [Liberians abroad] had to change their lifestyle, accept the dictates from a strange country for survival. In some countries it meant you had to become [a] citizen of that country to enjoy the benefits…But in taking that involuntary stance it qualified them for disqualification of their citizenships in their own country [Liberia] which, I believe, is unfair[11].

Though the 2008 bill recommended broad sweeping changes with major implications for reconfiguring the meaning and practice of Liberian citizenship, its first iterations were low on substance and did not explicitly define the privileges and obligations of would-be dual citizens. This opened it up to targeted attacks because by categorically extending rights without explicitly extracting responsibilities, the bill neither 'transnationalised citizenship' fully (Gamlen, 2006: 5-6) nor conformed entirely to Liberia's political economy of belonging. Despite unequivocal support from many Liberians abroad about the potential benefits of dual citizenship—with a number of outliers here and there—for the most part those at home remained less convinced, argued then senator Taylor:

> ...Liberians here [Liberia], a lot of them are not working. They're unemployed and they feel as if Liberians coming from the diaspora who have had all of these opportunities want to come and take their space[12].

As acknowledged by Taylor, there were (and still are) concerns that dual citizenship would represent a zero-sum game for those based in Liberia, further impinging upon their already limited access to political, economic, and social opportunities. Given backlash against the postponed 2008 bill, a barrage of assertions followed about the potential positive outcomes of dual citizenship if adopted, chief among which was the claim that Liberians who naturalised in other countries would be able to retain their legal status as citizens thus contributing

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[10] The proposed constitutional amendments based on this bill were summarised as Proposition #1 for consideration in a late 2020 national referendum. Nevertheless, members of the House of Representatives swiftly rescinded in mid-October 2019 their prior approval, leaving the dual citizenship proposition in limbo.
[11] Interview in Monrovia on 6 March 2013. I would later find out through two interviewees in Monrovia that Wotorson's alleged reason for sponsoring the proposed bill was to enable his US citizen children and American grandchildren to legally inherit his accumulated wealth and property in Liberia.
[12] Interview in Monrovia on 6 March 2013.

substantially to post-war recovery. The assumption herein is that dual citizenship would facilitate political, economic, and social renewal by transnationals. The converse argument could be applied, however, that there is no direct correlation between increased economic contributions by a country's diasporas and the retention of non-resident citizenship (Whitaker, 2011; Spiro, 2012; Pailey, 2014c; Pailey, 2018). Furthermore, the supposition that transnationals are the antidote to reconstruction, as is apparent in the vast literature on diasporas and development, negates and obscures the lived experiences of homeland development actors. Therefore, the position of the Liberian government in reconciling transnational *commands* with homeland *demands* is a central feature of this book.

While the intention of *Development, (Dual) Citizenship and Its Discontents in Africa* is not to focus exclusively on the legal parameters of Liberia's 1973 Aliens and Nationality Law, 1986 Constitution, and 2008 dual citizenship bill, I underscore how a specific study on Liberian citizenship construction and practice contributes to the general literature on citizenship in Africa. Citizenship represents, for me, a more appropriate frame for explaining broader political, economic, and social transformations in the continent because it challenges primordial references to ethnicity, religion, and region, especially within the context of conflict.

Liberian Citizenship a Microcosm of African Citizenships
Although contemporary forms of citizenship originated in Europe, Africa is a fascinating region for exploring political subjectivities because the continent inherited colonial legal systems with multi-tiered citizenships based on indigeneity, race, and ethnicity that persist today. In fact, contemporary contestations in Africa, violent and otherwise, centre primarily around claims for territorial legitimacy with citizenship most contentious in countries that experienced the greatest colonial-era migration—particularly of black Africans from other parts of the continent, Southeast Asian and Middle Eastern indentured labourers, and European settlers (Mamdani, 1996; Adejumobi, 2005; Manby, 2009). Contemporarily, contested forms of exclusionary citizenship maintain salience in conflict-affected countries like Liberia, as evidenced by their centrality in peace agreements brokered for Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, Sudan, and Zimbabwe (Manby, 2019: 21). Nevertheless, while Africanist scholarship focuses increasingly on the politics of belonging, Africa remains relatively underrepresented in the general citizenship studies literature. In this book, I fill empirical gaps by interrogating the presumed symbiotic relationship between dual citizenship and development in an African post-war polity.

Since independence, large-scale emigration has compelled an overwhelming majority of African states to adopt constitutional reforms granting dual citizenship with some provisions more limited than others (Manby, 2016). Although, admittedly, struggles over dual citizenship are global in scale and scope and do not represent African exceptionalism, Africa is a particularly relevant region of analysis. While most of the continent's post-independence citizenship laws represented colonial artefacts that excluded rather than embraced multiple forms of legal national identity, violent contemporary contestations over citizenship, identity, and belonging have been prevalent in contexts as diverse as Cameroon, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Morocco, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda. Despite reputed gains, the enactment of dual citizenship across the continent has not happened at lightning speed, primarily because of concerns that increased claims for non-resident citizenship may be driven as much by selfish political interests as by concerns about national reconstruction, economic development, or security, especially with the advent of multi-party competition, the involvement of emigrants in homeland politics, and the need for African politicians to establish constituencies abroad for

support and funding (Whitaker, 2011). Given Liberia's post-war prominence in the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and Mano River Union (MRU), it remains an important case study on the challenges of consolidating transnational citizenship because of its history of migration and conflict and the mounting pressure on the country to harmonise its citizenship laws with regional institutions. For example, at the time of my finalising this monograph in mid-December 2019 Liberia was the only country in ECOWAS and one of only seven countries in the AU that had not formally adopted dual citizenship.

I suggest that while citizenship reconfiguration processes across the continent of Africa and elsewhere accelerated the introduction of Liberia's dual citizenship bill of 2008, backlash against granting non-resident citizenship subsequently decelerated its passage. Using the contested bill as an entry point and foregrounding the rise in anti-migrant sentiments worldwide, *Development, (Dual) Citizenship and Its Discontents in Africa* examines Liberian citizenship construction through a historical prism, arguing that as Liberia transformed from a country of relative immigration to one of emigration, so too did the nature of citizenship change thus influencing claims for and against dual citizenship. As evidenced by Liberia, support for dual citizenship is primarily diaspora-driven with some studies indicating how transnational communities actively engage in revising the meaning of citizenship in their countries of origin (Baranbantseva & Sutherland, 2011: 1). Consequently, transnationalism offers an important grounding for my analysis because it is concerned with how emigrants link their countries of origin and settlement, simultaneously, through interwoven activities and relationships (Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Yet, while some scholars have demanded new ways of thinking about citizenship in emigration contexts they privilege the citizenship claims of emigrants primarily (FitzGerald, 2000; Brand, 2006). I respond to this omission by juxtaposing the viewpoints of Liberians resident in Liberia and their transnational counterparts.

Just as I fill gaps in the literatures on transnationalism and citizenship by chronicling the perspectives of domestic citizens within the context of a post-war emigration state, I also build upon scholarship that examines citizenship in Africa. Although different from my study in breadth and depth, the body of literature on African citizenship construction is expanding, including Peter P Ekeh's (1975) notion of the continent's inherited 'two publics' which likely inspired Mahmood Mamdani's seminal work—*Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (1996)—evaluating how post-independence governments in Africa failed to fully transform colonial subjects into 'post'-colonial citizens. While some scholars have subsequently interrogated autochthony within Africa as a function of competing claims for political inclusion and citizenship, others have evaluated citizenship through the lens of xenophobia and exclusion (Konneh, 1996b; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Dorman, et al, 2007; Geschiere, 2009; *Bøås* & Dunn, 2013; Keller, 2014). In particular, Bronwen Manby's *Struggles for Citizenship in Africa* (2009) and *Citizenship in Africa: The Law of Belonging* (2018) are perhaps the most comprehensive in their exploration of citizenship construction processes across Africa. However, Manby examines citizenship as legal status principally, while in this book I argue, as other scholars have, that the narrow legal contours of citizenship do not adequately account for how citizens within a particular polity experience the institution differently (Sassen, 2005; O'Connell Davidson, 2013).

Development, (Dual) Citizenship and Its Discontents in Africa thus frames citizenship as a process wherein norms, meanings, and identities are constantly negotiated by individuals and social groups, placing equal emphasis on how it defines legal status with associated rights and responsibilities and on how it is conceived, embodied, experienced, and contested in practice.

I maintain that Liberian citizenship, like other forms of socio-legal identity across the globe, is 'multi-layered', differentiated by gender, age, class, race, ethnicity, etc, and that 'those who enjoy citizenship in the formal sense do not always enjoy equal access to its privileges and protections' (Yuval-Davis, 2000: 172; O'Connell Davidson, 2013: 190). This discussion is particularly relevant for some Liberians in-country who, by virtue of their subordinate socio-economic positions, do not benefit concretely from the rights of official citizenship just as Liberian diasporas who naturalised abroad were not entitled to legal Liberian citizenship up to mid-December 2019 despite engaging in citizenship practices from afar, such as sending remittances, lobbying political actors, paying property taxes, transferring knowledge and skills, and investing in key development sectors including infrastructure and agriculture. Although focused primarily on Liberia, this book draws upon previously mentioned Africa-based studies on citizenship and further contributes to the scholarly and policy literature on rebuilding states whose conflicts/crises/wars were fuelled by the politicisation of identity (ie, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Côte d'Ivoire, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Sri Lanka).

Evolution of Citizenship and Emergence of Dual Citizenship
Citizenship represents a space of contestation and convergence not only in Liberian historical and contemporary discourse but also more generally in theory and practice. Citizenship has been construed over time to inscribe an individual within a particular polity yet current forms of citizenship transcend the nation-state. What has been termed citizenship in modern times has its antecedents in the Greek city-state, which defined a citizen as a white male resident, ruling out foreigners, women, and the enslaved (Hoffman, 2004: 18). This definition further evolved from the era of feudalism to the emergence of the European nation-state dating back to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 'which launched the modern system of nation-states as the principal actors within the world system' (Kashyap, 1997: 4; Turner, 2000: 137). As modern nationality laws were formulated from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, European countries adopted a *jus sanguinis* (ancestral lineage) and/or *jus soli* (birthplace) principle thereby defining which inhabitants of a nation were citizens and non-citizens (Koslowski, 2001: 206). States in formerly colonised spaces and places followed suit during independence by adopting similar ways of delineating who belonged and who did not.

Throughout the contemporary era, citizenship has been defined generally as legal status and lived experience (Isin & Turner, 2007: 16); a system of rights, political activity, community solidarity, individual and group engagement (Joppke, 1999: 632; Bosniak, 2000: 451; Barry, 2006: 20-21); and simultaneously as identity, practice, and a set of relations (Pailey, 2014c; Pailey, 2016). Citizenship, therefore, is the process by which identity becomes anchored in law with certain trends emerging out of an increased tendency toward more cosmopolitan forms of belonging, such as dual citizenship (Barry, 2006: 25). However, scholars often disagree about whether or not dual citizenship should be an extension of the modern form of legal, political, social, cultural, and economic engagement. European bilateral treaties regarding nationality during the latter half of the nineteenth century brought about norms against dual citizenship in customary law accumulated in the 1930 Hague Convention on Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws, which affirms that all persons should only have one citizenship (Koslowski, 2001: 206). Even though historical precedents once deterred nation-states from permitting dual citizenship, 75 percent of governments worldwide now recognise it not because of increased internationalisation, per se, but due to a confluence of domestic and diasporic politics (Koslowski, 2001; Vink, et al, 2019).

Citizenship as 'Bounded' or 'Unbounded'

Rapid international migration and mobility coupled with globalisation have ruptured state-centric conceptions of citizenship, identity, and belonging, with scholars asserting that dual citizenship or multiple citizenships are becoming the rule rather than the exception in the twenty-first century (Jacobson, 1996; Spiro, 1997; Rubenstein & Adler, 2000; Sassen, 2005). Rather than an indicator of the erosion of sovereignty, efforts by countries of emigration like Liberia, for instance, to institutionally embrace their citizens abroad highlight a reassertion of nation-state autonomy based on the Westphalian doctrine of territorial dominion in which a renegotiating of the terms of the social contract enables 'citizenship a la carte' (FitzGerald, 2012: 285-286). This involves 'voluntaristic ties rather than being coercively "ruled", a menu of options for expressing membership, an emphasis on rights over obligations, and the legitimacy of plural legal and affective national affiliations' (FitzGerald, 2012: 285-286). Using Mexico as a case study, FitzGerald (2012: 292) argues that transnational citizenship *is* being transformed but that this process is a result of the strengthening not the weakening of state sovereignty. In the twenty-first century, in fact, countries have enhanced mechanisms to control movement of people within their borders 'by deploying increasingly sophisticated technologies of identification and control including citizenship, passports, visas, surveillance, integrated databases and biometric devices' (Brubaker, 2005: 9). This is certainly the case in Liberia where, as of mid- December 2019, the 1973 Aliens and Nationality Law still prohibited dual citizenship.

While scholars wrestle with the tendency to dismiss the state as a site of national identity and citizenship formation altogether, conceptions of the traditional state as an 'administrative unit' and 'spatially discreet homogenous political identity' are being called into question by social and political theorising of diasporas who unsettle the very idea that 'state' and 'nation' are inevitably entangled (Adamson & Demetriou, 2007: 490). In using the term 'diasporas' throughout this book, I am referring to transnational actors who express identity through political, economic, and social practices linking the homeland and hostland. Current debates about citizenship illustrate the processes by which diasporas affect the citizenship regimes in their host nations, yet there are emerging parallel discourses focused entirely on how diaspora communities influence citizenship regimes in their countries of origin (Baranbantseva & Sutherland, 2011: 1). This debate has situated claims for dual citizenship at the centre as in my case study of Liberia. Most legal means by which emigrants are incorporated by homeland governments maximise their individual liberty but their non-resident political participation may come at the cost of allowing members to make policies to which they are not directly subject and tilts citizenship towards claiming rights rather than fulfilling obligations (FitzGerald, 2006). In this regard, my book demonstrates that diasporas are contested as are their citizenship and development claims and this contestation comes principally from homeland actors who are supposedly recipients of their largesse.

Contrary to claims by proponents of dual citizenship, transnational forms of citizenship may not necessarily evidence a strong tie to the homeland state because in many cases little is required of non-resident citizens, neither paying taxes nor military service; essentially, there is no cost to maintaining one's original citizenship (Spiro, 2012: 311, 318). On average, non-resident citizens may have less of an interest in homeland governance than resident citizens, an argument often advanced by homeland Liberians who challenge the reputed merits of dual citizenship. There is no empirical basis, moreover, for claiming that dual citizenship necessarily enforces homeland-emigrant ties, rather dual citizenship simply enables 'external populations to secure citizenship in their places of external residence without relinquishing the material and sentimental advantages of retained original citizenship' (Spiro, 2012: 319). This is why some states such as India, Turkey, and Ethiopia have opted for a compromise by

granting quasi-citizenship to their non-resident nationals which enable certain privileges but stop short of authorising political rights (Joppke, 2005; Spiro, 2012: 324). For example, Ethiopia's Parliament passed a law in August 2019 allowing non-citizen diasporas to invest, buy shares, and set up lending businesses in the homeland thus serving as a concessionary model for the small number of countries in and outside Africa that still prohibit dual citizenship.

Some scholars position themselves in the middle of what appears to be a binary between state-centric ('bounded') and transnational ('unbounded') citizenship, maintaining that the two are not mutually exclusive. My arguments are closely aligned with this positioning because I consider Liberia's political economy of belonging to be a hybrid manifestation of both resident ('bounded') and non-resident ('unbounded') forms of identity and practice. This will become clear in Chapter 2 where I discuss the myriad ways in which Liberians in my study conceive and practice Liberian citizenship regardless of their residence or legal citizenship status. For the sake of simplicity, I use interchangeably the terms 'transnational' and 'non-resident' citizenship to demarcate what the vast literature describes as 'extraterritorial', 'deterritorial', 'unbounded', 'expatriate', or 'emigrant' forms of citizenship.

Liberian Citizenship as Identity, Practice, and a Set of Relations
Just as the meaning of citizenship across the globe is constantly shifting, I argue throughout this book that Liberian citizenship has been constructed and reconstructed because of historical and contemporary processes of conflict, migration, and post-war recovery. In my analysis, Liberian citizenship is simultaneously theorised in legal, political, and sociological terms. First, Liberian citizenship is passive, characterising an identity anchored in legal status, cultural and national affiliation. Second, Liberian citizenship is active, signifying a bundle of practices enacted by a multitude of actors. And third, Liberian citizenship is interactive, represented by a set of relations between the Liberian government and citizens in Liberia and abroad (government-citizen relations) and between Liberians across spatial landscapes (citizen-citizen relations)—similar to the manner in which Fierke (2007) frames security as a set of relations between the protector and protected, the threatener and threatened. Citizenship can be understood as active or passive depending on whether or not it was configured 'from below' or 'from above' (Kuisma, 2008: 616). For instance, whereas the French Revolution engendered citizenship 'from below' making citizenship active in France, the unification of Germany under the Treaty of Versailles produced citizenship 'from above' thereby making German citizenship more passive in orientation (Kuisma, 2000: 616). I assert that while mid-to-late nineteenth and early twentieth century Liberian citizenship was passive and fixed 'from above' by a hegemonic state, late twentieth and early twenty-first century citizenship has been largely active and reconstructed 'from below' by citizens themselves, primarily through processes of protest. This level of meta-analysis will become clear in the next chapter explaining why I adopted actor-oriented analysis as my conceptual framework as well as in subsequent empirical chapters about Liberian state formation and citizenship construction.

In the section that follows, I present in summary form an overview of this book and its constituent chapters.

Contestation and Convergence over Citizenship in Eight Chapters
Development, (Dual) Citizenship and Its Discontents in Africa is divided into eight chapters beginning with this introduction that contextualises the entire scope of my study. Chapter 1 explains why investigating Liberia's political economy of belonging required multi-sited fieldwork in three continents, a theoretical framework (actor-oriented analysis) which considers myriad responses to development interventions, and deep thinking about my positionality. In Chapter 2, I evaluate how Liberian citizenship is currently conceived and

practiced in Liberia and across transnational spaces within the context of post-war development. I argue that contemporary citizenship construction sits on a continuum between identity (passive citizenship) and practice (active citizenship). This chapter further establishes that the fluidity of conceptions of Liberian citizenship transcends the legal definition articulated, up to mid-December 2019, in the country's 1973 Aliens and Nationality Law thus subjecting the Law to critique. Chapter 3 demonstrates how the globalisation of liberal citizenship norms—including universalised notions of citizenship as a human right—and the diffusion of dual citizenship in Africa have stimulated claims for non-resident citizenship in Liberia. It also reveals that Liberians at home and abroad evaluate dual citizenship as a policy prescription and development intervention differently based on their unique life-worlds and social locations with homeland actors particularly resistant.

Chapter 4 is the first in a three-part series of chapters examining historical and contemporary factors that altered Liberian citizenship and influenced the introduction and suspension in passage of the 2008 dual citizenship bill. In it, I argue that four conflict interfaces in Liberia and across transnational spaces have fundamentally configured and reconfigured citizenship construction and practice. The chapter shows that conflict—manifested in physical and structural violence—simultaneously ruptured and sealed government-citizen and citizen-citizen relations thereby casting citizenship as a site of enduring struggle. Here, I review some of the conflict literature, exploring how the manipulation of citizenship was a driver of Liberia's armed conflicts and how it continues to be a driver of continued tensions amongst homeland, diaspora, and returnee Liberians in the post-war era.

Chapter 5 indicates that migration to and from Liberia in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries profoundly modified the meaning and practice of citizenship by creating categories of Liberians that defied the legal definition of citizen. While the introduction of the 2008 dual citizenship bill was an attempt to reconcile the (forced) migration of hundreds of thousands before, during, and after intermittent armed conflict, it was postponed because, for some, naturalisation abroad signified a rejection of the fundamental tenets of Liberian citizenship as bounded by a single, geographical territory. Because of the dearth of quantitative data on Liberian pre- and post-war migration, I include in this chapter a qualitative mapping of the migration patterns of respondents in my five urban fieldwork locations to illustrate how experiences of migration definitively impacted citizenship status choices and conditions.

In Chapter 6, I interrogate the underlying assumption that Liberian diasporas and returnees are the remedy to donor-driven reconstruction. I maintain that a disproportionate number of returnee recruits implicated in public sector graft cases justified restrictions on non-resident citizenship in the same way that a one-size-fits-all agenda for post-war recovery undermined government-citizen relations. This chapter further employs terms I coined, such as dichotomy of diasporic developmentalism, *diaspocracy*, and Taylor-Corkrum nexus, to demonstrate that although reconstruction may require the active citizenship of all Liberians, what Liberia needs is not 'all hands on deck' but rather only those hands that are truly committed to socio-economic transformation. My concluding chapter scrutinises how Liberian domestic and diasporic citizen interventions during the Ebola outbreak of 2014-2016 merged together state-, nation-, and peace-building objectives. It summarises key arguments and findings about Liberia's political economy of belonging and lists a set of policy recommendations and projections for future research, chief among which is the need to base legal citizenship reconfiguration on empirical studies rather than on the whims of political entrepreneurs. This chapter also discusses the implications of my study for other post-war countries, in Africa and beyond, currently examining the tenets of citizenship.

Conclusion

In the same way that dual citizenship signifies a central topic of twenty-first century public discourse, Liberia's official seal is subject to constant scrutiny because it reflects the exclusion that permeated the first 100 years of the country's existence as a nation-state. Having never been formally colonised and more recently emerging from a protracted armed conflict, Liberia represents a stark case study in African citizenship construction because of its idiosyncratic history of black settler state formation and historical trajectory as a country of both immigration and emigration. In this chapter, I established how Liberian citizenship—and, by extension, the political economy of belonging to Liberia—has evolved since the founding of the nation-state in 1847 with proposed dual citizenship legislation serving as a contemporary manifestation of that reconfiguration across space and time. My Introduction outlines the book's rationale, unique contributions, scope, and organisation.

In the next chapter, I provide methodological, theoretical, and biographical contexts for evaluating the factors that influenced the introduction and postponement in the passage of dual citizenship legislation in Liberia.