# Construction and Reconstruction of Subjectivity Towards Nation, Nationality, and Citizenship: Analysis of the Changes during the Last Five Generations

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## Abstract

*This paper has explored whether and how globalization, politics/power, and fields construct and reconstruct the subjectivity of people toward nation, nationality, and citizenship over the generations. I found no scholars have talked about why and how people's subjectivity was reconstructed over the generations. By analyzing data from five generations of the Karki family of Khothang and Udayapur, as a unit of analysis, to which I belong, I have found that before, 1900 AD, caste, race, religion, occupation, and cultural practices were major dominant factors for constructing and reconstructing the subjectivity of people towards nation, nationality, and citizenship but after 1900 AD, State and national politics become the most dominant factor. However, at present, the role of the nation has become weaker and shifting towards the global market because of the increasing connectivity to global society. The concepts of global citizenship, global market, and human rights have been playing a vital role in constructing and re-constructing new forms of subjectivity towards nation, nationality, and citizenship. Here, I argue that whenever state/political power becomes weak, the subjectivity of people would be formed by their fields.*

**Keywords:** Subjectivity, Nation, Nationality, Citizenship, Fields, and Capital

## Introduction

Nationality, citizenship, and subjectivity are widely discussed issues in the modern world. After the treaty of Westphalia in 1658, the nation-state remained in the triumph of all power and authority (Prasain 2010). Religion and churches that put society in the grip for centuries gradually lost their importance. Gradually, the control of religious authority declined, and rational or scientific ideas in all aspects i.e. politics, economics, and religion became dominant. Development of the National army, national language, national dress, etc. were given high priority (Tilly 1994). The feeling of nationality gradually replaced religion and people even killed each other for national sentiment which was not important a few hundred years back. As Burgart (1984) mentions the formation of Nepal as a nation-state is a very recent event. Until 1816, various

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concepts like realm (rituals), possession (proprietary), and country (ancestral authority) were in practice (Sharma 2004). The king of Kathmandu has his realm to the places where Hindu rituals are practiced. Thus, the king of Kathmandu can practice his ritual power in Kedarnath and Haridwar. Boarders of Nepal were permanently demarcated only in the 1860s. Prithivi Narayan Shah the maker of modern Nepal also admitted Nepal only as the original Hindustan state (Sharma 2004). Once, the concept of the nation-state was established, it has very powerfully shaped the citizenship and subjectivity of people. People fought and killed each other in the name of nationality. As Tilly (1994) mentions the most frequent violations after 1800 are in the name of nation and nationality. The present paper has tried to analyze how the notions of nationalism, citizenship, and globalization have constructed the subjectivity of my family members over the generations. By reviewing certain theories and empirical evidence, I have examined the construction, and reconstruction of the subjectivity of people towards nation and nationality over the five generations.

## Emergence and development of the concept of citizenship and Right

The term 'citizen' has the root of ancient origin in the Greek city-state (Prasaain 2010). The people who lived in the city were called citizens. However, in ancient Greece, there were various criteria to define citizens. For Aristotle, citizens were those who take power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any state (Richard, n.d.). Those who take part or are involved in state authority are considered citizens. Resident aliens, laborers, peasants, women, children, and slaves were not considered citizens. There were some defined virtues of citizens.

During the Enlightenment period, rationality emerged as a dominant aspect of social, economic, religious, and political life in Europe. The Enlightenment movement that started in Europe in the eighteenth century consolidated science, philosophy, and logic to develop European supremacy in the way of life, gaining knowledge, development of science, and advancement. Hegel one of the most prominent figures in popularizing rationality mentioned 'Real is Rational' (Richard n.d,). As Richard argues; in the 18th century civil rights were established as a citizenship right. In the 19th century, citizenship became a platform for racial exclusion and a foundation for national manhood. Women were excluded from the right to franchise and there was the domination of males in law-making and administration including all aspects of political, social, cultural, and economic areas (Wallestrain 1974; Marshal 1950; Prasain 2010). Marginalized people like women, children, disabled, lower caste, poor, and people from remote areas were excluded. In the 20th century, global labor forces and their alliance for the right were accepted at the national level (Richard n.d.). At the end of the twentieth century, it was associated with identity and inclusion. Various issues like special group representation and self-autonomy were raised. With the beginning of the twenty-first century, the issue of citizenship is becoming much more inclusive.

## Citizenship as a Right

Marshall (1950) argues that citizenship as the right of citizens has been a base for all types of movements including the human rights movement after the 1950s. Marshall says that citizens have three types of rights; i.e. civil rights, political rights, and social rights. The civil right covers liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought, and faith, the right to own property, conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice. The civil right and the status of freedom are connected. According to Marshal (1950), in the eighteenth-century United Kingdom, there was the principle of 'all men are free, one law for all men'. When freedom became universal, citizenship grew from a local into a national institution. The political right includes the right to participate in the exercise of political power. The social right consists of choosing an occupation for individual security, living a life of civilization as per the standard of society, and connection to institutions' health, education, and social security. Historically, the civil right developed in the eighteenth century, the political right in the nineteenth century, and the social right in the twentieth century. A new period opened at the end of the 19th century which conveniently changed the situation. It saw the first big advancement in social rights and this involved significant changes in the egalitarian principle as expressed in citizenship. However, there were other forces as well for the movement of citizenship.

## Citizenship and subjectivity as power effect

For Foucault (1982), power is the most dominant aspect in shaping subjectivity and its relations to society. For him, power is not abstract but is practiced by people in everyday life. There is no single aspect or sense of power. There are various layers of truth and much is unfolded to reach reality. As society changes the forms of power also change. In ancient and medieval periods power of sexuality and religious power were used to control the society. The pastors through confession learn everything even very private life and control them. After 1800 the state emerged as a new pastoral power seeping its control in every aspect of individual life. State implied various ways to know about people like census, survey, records, etc. Power is a transversal incident. Power is used by people to control others.

Foucault (1982) has tried to explore how power has shaped human subjectivity. He argues that while the human subject is placed in relations of production and significance, he is equally placed in very complex power relations. The important factor we need to explore is what legitimates power by exploring the relationship between rationalization and the exercise of political power. Foucault further argues that this form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his individuality, attaches him to his own identity, and impose a law of truth on him which he recognizes and which other has to recognize in him. Thus,

politics is a form of power that makes individuals subjective. "Man is an objectified subject through the power" is the version of Focoult.

## Citizenship and subjectivity as a self-reflexive process

Callero, (2003) focuses on the Sociological approach to the self, grounding this self on three emerging concepts power, reflexivity, and social constructionism. For Callero; the self is both a social product and a social force. The self consists of 'I' and 'me'. The 'I' is a more fluid and creative response as the 'me' is a bounded and structured object. A fuller understanding of self-meaning, self-images, and self-concepts requires a broad conceptualization of context that extends beyond the immediate definition of the situation to include the historical and cultural setting. The resources of self-construct are conceptually diverse and include storytelling, cultural narratives, political ideologies, roles, identities, and features of the corporal body. In the modern world non-human resources are gradually replacing human networks, interaction, and group involvement for socialization and self-construction. Non-human resources like media, the internet, and possession of electronic devices play a significant role in self-construction and socialization. The self-created media is less space-bound and much more cosmopolitan. Media have altered the backdrop against which identity is constructed. Media construct a self that is less place and situation-bound. For example, youth and people are inclined to global music and movies and take movie and music stars as their ideal.

By criticizing the Marxist approach Bourdieu (1992), has said that the perception of the individual is different and diverse according to field and capital. The field is a social structure where actors can act and feel but cannot see. We cannot understand the field in isolation, so, it must be studied in relation. For Bourdieu; everything is relational but not rational. Human behavior and self are determined by field and capital. Some of the few examples of fields are music, education, business, social service, school system, church, political system, etc. Thus, a person who has been involved in the field of education, his interest is constrained by the rules, regulations, and practices of the field of education. He/she is expected to develop his/her habitus accordingly. The field of the field is called meta-field. The state, globalization, and supra-national organizations are some examples of the meta-field that influences the field.

For Marx the only capital is wealth and everything is determined by the mode of production. However, for Bourdieu, there are multiple capitals like money, social capital, cultural/information embedded within the body, and symbolic capital and prestige. People have different prime capital based on their fields. For example, a group of young artists performs Nepali dances in tourist restaurants in Kathmandu to earn money. For them cultural capital is prime. Therefore, according to this argument field and capital are the major thing that determines the citizenship, nationality, and subjectivity of people.

# Globalization as factors of construction and re-construction of the subjectivity towards Nation and Nationality

In the view of William I Robinson, there has been a break of domination of nation-states on the shaping of citizenship and subjectivity on the verge of globalization. Robinsons defines globalization in two ways First; Globalization is an expansion of the centuries-long process of the spread of capitalist production throughout the world and the displacement of pre-capitalist relations. Second, the linkage of nations via commodity exchange and capital flows in an integrated international market. Globalization has epochal changes in the understanding of the nation-state, modes of production, relationship of people and state, and availability of resources, goods, and services. There has been a massive flow of goods and services so the individual has enlarged choices for quality goods and services as per their needs and wishes.

There is still debate about whether Nepali society is capitalistic or feudalistic which is not relevant to talk about this in the present. Mishra (2006) argues that Nepal was integrated into the global market from the half of the eighteenth century. For others, it was integrated after the Second World War. But I argue here that capitalism seeped inside Nepalese rural society after World War I through remittance and consumption culture imported by employed in the East India Company and British-Gorkha Army in India.

## The Problems and Questions

There is no agreement between the scholars on what constructs and re-constructs the subjectivity of people towards nation, nationality, and citizenship, and also no scholars have talked about why and how the subjectivity of people is reconstructed over the generations. To address this gap, this paper has tried to explore how the subjectivity of people has been constructed. Specifically, to examine how globalization, citizenship, and political power affect socio-cultural capital and field to construct, reconstruct, and change the subjectivity of people towards nation, nationality, and citizenship over the last five generations.

## Methodology

The present study has remained mini research based on the self-reflexive process. I have developed a checklist to interview my parents and seniors. I have used the oral history of my family, community, and relationship to the state including taxes that I heard while growing up from my grandmother, uncles, and other senior villagers. I have used a genealogical map of my family (Mudula Karki Bamsawali) to support the collected data. I have reviewed about 15 most relevant articles regarding this issue and the website as well. Hence, I have tried to reflect on and connect my family with the national and global context

## Case of Five generations as an Empirical Evidence of my family as a unit of Analysis

### a.    Great grandfather's generation (1950 to 1990 BS)

My great-grandfather was born and grew up during the period of Ranadip Sing and Bir Samsher and left this world caused by a great earthquake of 1990 BS. My great-grandfathers were locally confined and only used the land as a major form of capital. The land had many powerful resources (especially irrigated land) and my great-grandfather had plenty of land with slaves. He was a renowned person locally. However, his contact was limited to in periphery of walking distance of one or two days. My grand grandfather had three wives and it was normal to have many wives.

There was less impact of the state on their life. The relationship with the state was only paying taxes. No government-funded school, health service center, roads, etc Life in remote areas was self-managed by themselves by local provisions of self-support and moral value. The walking trails of villages used to be repaired during the Dashain festival generating compulsory labour from each household and treatment of people. They have to submit tax *(Kut)* to the Okhaldhunga, the purba 1 no governing units. It used to take about 2 days to reach Okhaldhunga with loads of taxes and *darshanbhet* (gift) materials.

My great-grandfather learned to read and write in the home of a guru i.e. (*Gurukul*), though there was no permission to read and write for common people including Kshetri. They studied Nepali *Varnamala*, mathematics, and a little bit of Sanskrit as well because of Bhrmin guru. Life was fully guided by religious values and practices. They used to wear hand-woven clothes that were usually bought from Okhaldhunga. They were not able to buy foreign goods. They used to receive a pair of clothes. Not fancy and many clothes.

My great-grandfather never received a citizenship card or landowner's certificate. A citizenship card was not required to work for the government and local functionaries. Similarly, without it they can enjoy membership in the community and life is going on normally. Serious cases of *Panchakhat* e.g. killing of people, killing of cow, killing of Brahamin, marrying another person's wife, etc. used to be looked at from the Okhaldhunga. My grandmother shared that the people have a strong fear of the police. Once, there were police in the village everyone remained inside locking the doors from inside. Local functionaries like *Mukhiya*, *Jimmawal*, and *Umaraun*, the main priest of local coats were highly influential in the village. They used to control the local people's lives. They even levied additional taxes higher than the government rule to make a profit. The local functionaries enjoy free labor from the villagers. Local people had to work as free labor on Mukhiyas farms which was known as *beth* and *begar* (compulsory labor). In the words of Durkheim, society was controlled, regulated, and managed by mechanical solidarity.

### b.    My grandfather's generation (1975 to 2051 BS)

Most of the system during the great-grandfather's time was similar. Thus, I will mention the additional new things only. My grandfather was the assistant of *Mukhiya/Jimmawal*. A Mukhiya is a person who collects taxes of not irrigated land (bari) and is a local administrative functionary. The Jimmawal is a person who collects taxes on paddy fields (khet). In the later part of his life democracy was established in the country and all authority and responsibilities of the local functionaries were reduced. In an open political situation, he contributed to establishing a primary school in the village in 2015. My grandfather is still remembered for his kindheartedness, social service, and contribution to the village for education. From this period, people were attached to the state for benefit. Due to the uncertainty of life, my grandmother has given birth to eight sons and eight daughters but only four sons and four daughters are alive due to lack of health facilities and awareness. The purpose of life of the period of my grandfather and forefather was to give birth to more children to cultivate much land. There was a saying that *jasko cohort uska dhan, Jasko bastu usko ban* (people having more sons can have much property (especially, irrigated land) and people having more cows can have authority to hold jungle). Therefore, it can be concluded that there was more attachment of their life with nature and super nature rather than the state. Their subjectivity was constructed and shaped by existing fields, struggle with nature, and to some extent, mode of production as well.

### c.    My parent's generation (2000 till now)

My father spent his childhood in the Rana regime, his adolescent life in the democratic system then most of his productive life during Panchayat and again multi-party democratic system, and retired life in the republic period. My parents have witnessed the biggest transition in Nepalese society and politics. It is my parent's generation who first received the citizenship card the first time in Nepal. The citizenship card provided to them was like a letter on A4 size paper with dates of birth and parent's name. As my parents recall it was compulsory to purchase and buy land and contest for a government job. Except that they never recall any event they used the privileges of a citizenship card. Even they share that they were never aware that citizenship ensures duties and rights.

My father became literate in Gurukul managed by villagers in Devithan. Due to the limited access (not only physically but also socio-culturally constructed subjectivity) to school for school-aged children, he never went to school, though education was already open for common people.  Due to social constraints, my mother never saw the school. At the age of 18, my father got married. My mother was just nine years while she got married. At the age of 15, my mother has given birth to my elder brother. During her reproductive period, she has given eight sons and three daughters but now we are only six brothers and three sisters. However, no one of us is together and with our

parents due to occupational shifts. And according to our different occupations i.e. 'field,' our subjectivity and habits are not the same though we have the same upbringing. We migrated from Khotang to Udaipur in 2046 in search of a better life as well as social capital but not an occupational shift. Now, my parents are still working in the field of agriculture at the age of 74 and 64 respectively. However, no none of us is following agriculture occupation, it is I think due to globalization and change in mode production.

### d.     My generation (2030 onward)

My generation also remained a generation that lived in the age of high political, social, and economic transition both nationally and globally. My generation was born and spent an adolescent period in a party-less Panchayat system. I studied in college during the democratic regime after 2046 BS. After growing adulthood, we have witnessed the republic regime in the country. When we were school students we used to go in processions with slogans like "We love the king and the country more than self", we love our language and dress more than self. Thus, as school students, we were deeply seeped by the notion of nationality and national identity promoted by the Panchayat system. I can recall that while playing in childhood we used to play by making Mud Bridge and house. To explain the strangeness of those bridges and houses we used to say that the bridge would not move even king walked over it. Now, I can realize how a child in such a remote area was made subject to the king's power through education, stories, and different myths. In the school curriculum, we studied big deeds of kings and martyrs written through the perspectives of the Panchayat regime which were exaggerated.

In my college life, we have realized an open political environment where we got an opportunity to take part in the open democratic political process where we could question and criticize the political system or even the king and royalties. People had various rights guaranteed by the Constitution. This political environment dismantled my old beliefs and developed subjectivity to a multi-party and open democratic system. I have gradually socialized and developed an inclusive personality in terms of caste, ethnicity, and gender in a new context. The world was open and we got the opportunity to participate in global information sharing that subjected us to global change.

I have entered the global mass media and learned computer and information technology to sustain myself in the competitive job market. When I was a student at the intermediate level, I attempted training for typing skills. As soon as I joined in the bachelor's level the computer replaced the typing. However, my typing training has supported computer typing. Similarly, I have attended English language training at a language training center and British Council. These are new instances for me than my parent did. They never realized the need to take train in English and computer or typing. But in my generation, these skills are very basic to go for job competitions.

I received a Nepali citizenship card in 2049 BS at the age of seventeen. It was compulsory to have a citizenship card to apply for a job. In the beginning, I was not aware of the entitlement to

citizenship. Gradually, I learned that citizenship as a paper ensures membership in a nation-state. Further, it has the significance of promoting inclusiveness and homogenization. How it was used to promote feelings of oneness and otherness as well as nationality.

It is my generation that has witnessed a heavy migration of Nepalese to abroad. The migration of Nepali indeed has a very long history. There has been massive migration throughout the history of Nepal. However, the migration of my generation is different from the previous one because it is a voluntary or spontaneous migration of people in search of better life options. During the First and Second World Wars, a high number of youths migrated to the Gurkha Army which seems rather organized and institutionalized. Migration has brought many upheavals in the sense of nation, nationality, citizenship, and globalization. The youth who were only confined to their locality, caste, identity, language, and culture has mixed with the global culture, different work, practices, lifestyles, beliefs, and way of life. This exposure to the multicultural world has significantly shaped the feelings of migrants on gender, religion, identity, culture, work style, etc. Thus, millions of youth are more concerned with how labor law changes in Qatar, India, and Malaysia than it changes in Nepal. I can argue that this has loosened the subjectivity to the nation-state and fostered subjectivity at a multinational and global level.

Another significant aspect of globalization citizenship and the construction of subjectivity of my generation is shaped by access to mass communication. The people of my generation have access to global news every second. Viewing news from different parts of the world we develop a common understanding, share common aspirations, and provide moral support to the events. Sometimes, the citizens of the nation oppose the decision taken by their government about other nations. Many Americans opposed the decision of President George Bush to attack Iraq on humanitarian grounds. Heightened integration of people, omni-market, and flow of information throughout the world, and use of similar types of technology developed similar types of the subjectivity of people throughout the world. Similarly, print media, the use of social network sites, internet contribute to developing similar opinions of people globally.

### e.      My children (2060 onward)

This is the age of the modernized, monetized, well-equipped, and globalized world where my son was born. The wish of the adolescent is to migrate to the US, Europe, and other prosperous parts of the world. I recall my school days, our dream used to be a doctor, engineer, and serve the nation. But, for my children, wish to study abroad after school. Serving to nation and community is not their priority.

In our childhood, we used to play *kapardi, dandiya, jhirjhir* (draw small vertical lines in secret places like walls, stone, and even in the horn of buffalo so other friends are not able to find it

cross it.), take cattle for grazing. On those occasions, we used to share stories about supernatural powers, witches, and ghosts told by grandparents. In the evening after the meal family members sit together and talk about old days, experiences of marriage at the age of nine, travel at night, and ghost prevailing areas. But my children mostly spent their time out of school on television and the Internet. They are less interested in listening and chatting with visitors at home. They have different preferences for television. They like listening to music with strong music and sound. They prefer Yo Yo Honey to sing songs. They listen to very few selected Nepali songs. In my childhood and adolescent days as Brahman/hysteria children, we were not entitled to sing, dance, or play any musical instrument. In my time we used to listen to *Nepali Dohori* and modern songs much more than any other types of songs.

My children prefer MoMo, pizza, sizzlers, and burgers whereas I first tried MoMo at the age of 20 when I was in Kathmandu to study. The other Western food I tested after having a job. We were never given neither prepared snacks nor money for it in school days. As children of Kshetri, we were instructed not to take food prepared out of home (especially Dalit and Matwali homes). This guided our lives during the adolescent period. But, my children are not aware of the caste system. We used to walk for two hours to go to school and the same hours to get back home from school. Now, children take buses even for 20 minutes walk.

When I was a student, I never attended private hospitals for treatment. We used to be in queues for health check-ups in government hospitals. Now, my children never prefer to go to government hospitals. The same is the education case. Both of my children are studying in private schools. This indicates the influence of the market in their life. The state is limiting itself from providing services and the market institutions are coming up aggressively to provide services that may create efficient, commercial profit-oriented, dynamic, homogenized folk of people.

In my life, I have never experienced celebrating a birthday. Even some times I forget my birthday. Sometimes we organize worshiping (puja) based on horoscope. But for my children, it must be celebrated with cakes and a party. For them organizing *puja* seems very orthodoxy and may conservative. For me, this indicates that the subjectivity of the new generation shifted from local culture, and tradition to global practices and procedures. The new generation learned this in school as well as from television and other social media.

Thus, my children's fields, habits, and interests are forcefully influenced by the liberal political and market ideas adopted by the state. Further, they are inclined to globalization. Self of my children is not only reflexiveness of national context it is globally mixed culture. In the words of Mishra (2007), it is called **Hybridized Culture**. The Hindu community-based belief; system and values are no more relevant for them. The overall, situation, changes in globalization, citizenship, and subjectivity of my family for five generations are summarized in the following matrix.

## Analysis with Theoretical Reflection

The notion of citizenship started in ancient Athens and Roman city-states with the meaning of city residence. "Obeyed like a free man and govern like a free man" were called citizens in ancient Athens. For them, citizenship was not just a membership or identity but a strong sense of duty and responsibility. It was also constructed by political power.  T H Marshall has popularized the concept of citizenship with a rights perspective, which has mostly advocated for the citizenship as rights of the people. So far, I found he rarely speaks about the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

Unlike another social theorists, Bourdieu emphasized that human behavior, relationship, and habitus or subjectivity are determined by their field, interest, and capital. However, Foucault has very strongly mentioned that the relationship of power in different versions shapes society, social interaction, and people's subjectivity. Michael Foucault mentions, "The individual is not the vis-à-vis of power, it is I believe one of the prime effects". I have found that my family throughout history was influenced by state power through various mechanisms. During my grand grandfather's and grandfather's generation state influence was lower. It was confined only to tax collection and security. In subsequent generation state obligation as well as influence increased significantly with programs of census, media, education, health system, land management system, postal services, agricultural, banking, roads, and infrastructural development. During my and my children's generation market and globalization emerged with unparallel strength. They influence every aspect of life. However, every aspect of life that is shaped by power is very general. There are many situations where power does not shape relations and behaviors. Let me take a group of adolescents who share similar ideas, and feelings and are on equal footing. Even though, they influence each other without holding any power to each other. The basic notion of citizenship is equalizing as well as homogenizing the people. Once people fall under citizenship, they are vulnerable to similar types of processes, laws, and practices. In this sense maintaining diversity and citizenship seems quite contradictory. Another issue is when we talk about identity the big question arises whose identity? Thus, identity politics or movement largely remained instrumental in the construction of the subjectivity of people.

Reviews of five generations of my family have revealed that the subjectivity towards nation, nationality, and citizenship is always influenced by both national and international processes. My great-grandfather's and grandfather's generations were much shaped by Hindu rules, rituals, and philosophy. They followed Hindu rituals very strictly and were tightly confined by state rules even though the state was not visible in remote areas. In My father's generation, the state became much more dominant for the creation of subjectivity. State influenced through education, planning, development, birth registration, etc. The state has given citizenship as an identity of

people first time in history. During my and my children's generation market emerged as a powerful force, though it is also caused by the state. Whenever the state adopted a liberalization policy in the state economy after 1992, markets became a powerful force for the creation of subjectivity of people. The ancient value system was replaced by the market-dominated system. Capitalism further expanded up to the grassroots level. Society became highly monetized. The market played a higher role to socialize and shape the subjectivity of people. Private education institutions, private health institutions, private banking, supermarkets, consumerism, mart culture, new food habits, etc. emerged and popularized in this generation. This generation has higher access to mass information systems through television, radio, the internet, email, and social sites. Similarly, higher access to airlines, high travel of people, promotion of global market, world trade agreement enhanced global flow of goods and services, etc. have contributed. People in this globalized world are not inclined only to their group, caste, religion; values, and nation-state rather are inclined to global processes and systems.

This global subjectivity has brought change in many aspects including field and capital. In the former generation, very, few fields were available. Agriculture was the main source of subsistence and the land was the only viable resource for people. Such land and subsistence systems were controlled, regulated, and managed by religious values. In a globalized capitalist system, various fields like education, industry, aviation, bureaucracy, security, multinational companies, and social organization are available for livelihood. Similarly, people develop multiple subjectivities. Accordingly, my family members adapted to new fields and capital available for subsistence. For example, agriculture was the only option of income for my father but in my generation, we brothers and sisters are working in diverse fields; some are teachers, some are bureaucrats, some work in private firms and some are abroad.

## Conclusion

Finally, I believe that people's subjectivity toward their country, nationality, and citizenship is constructed and reconstructed by power, which can occasionally be found in the market, occasionally in politicians or government/bureaucrats, occasionally in philosophers or intellectuals, occasionally in the mass media, and occasionally elsewhere depending on the area in which people spend the majority of their time. I am therefore quite close to both Bourdieu and Foucault.

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