Unit D 40: Transnationality and nation states

1.   Summary

This text deals with some specific aspects of transnationality that can be understood as consequences or concomitants of globalization (for a detailed discussion of political globalization, cf. ► Unit D 22: "Political Aspects of Globalization").

2.   Transnationalization

The terms "transnational" and "transnationalization" have been booming since the 1990s. While some authors use them to mean a kind of "globalization from below" and to refer to everything that transcends the borders of nation states, other researchers use "transnational" as an umbrella category for "international" or "supranational" (cf. Pries 2010:11).

Definition
"The terms transnational and transnationalization are used here to refer to **cross-border phenomena** that **- locally anchored in different national societies - constitute relatively durable and dense social relations, social networks, or social spaces."**
Source: Pries 2010:13.

In her now classic article "Transnationalizing the Public Sphere," Nancy Fraser (2007) formulated four central critiques of the traditional nation-state understanding of the state:

- First, nation-states no longer have a monopoly on representing citizens.

- Second, the idea of the state-nation is outdated because, on the one hand, many non-citizens also live on the territory of each state and, on the other hand, many of its own citizens live, work and reside in other countries.

- Third, economic processes are increasingly beyond the reach of nation states.

- And fourth, national communication structures are increasingly competing with global media or being privatized.

However, these are only tendencies that can partially and occasionally turn into their opposite.

Ludger Pries (2008:43) has put forward the thesis that it is precisely the transnationalization of the social world that has enabled and continues to enable the integration of diversity. In this context, the term tansnationalization expresses the dynamics of socialization, that is, something processual. By this, Pries means a widening and deepening "process of the formation of relatively durable and dense pluri-local and nation-state transcending relations of social practices, symbol systems, and artifacts" (Pries 2008:44). Thus, according to Pries (2008:45), "durable and dense socio-spatial interconnections emerge that span multiple nation-state spaces or territories." Transnationalization is thus more than economic or cultural globalization, but less than a "transnational body of states." Rather, something like a macrosocial continuum of cross-territorial relations is emerging.

In contrast, "transnationalism" refers more to the structural side or precisely to the entity emerging from transnationalization (cf. Pries 2008:44).

2.1   Borders of the nation states

The system of sovereign, i.e. self-determined and independent, nation states dates back to the so-called Peace of Westphalia of 1648. The Treaty of Westphalia put an end to the chaos of the Thirty Years' War and established a system of sovereign states that successively developed into nation states (cf. D'Anieri 2014:29).

Jean L. Cohen (2012:81) has quite rightly pointed out that today many transnational problem areas and risks also require supranational responses, such as migration, environmental problems, global economic issues, international criminal networks, and terrorism (on the question of terrorism, see ► Unit C 19: "Terrorism").

The concept of transnationalism has a strong social and political science orientation (see Pries 2008 and 2010 and Vertovec 2009). In it, "the fact comes to bear that the domestic and foreign policies of states today usually no longer take place in a delimited national context, but rather proceed within the framework of a 'postnational constellation' ..." (Hidalgo 2014:467). This transnationality does not necessarily involve global interactions, but "fundamentally all social and political interactions beyond the borders of states" (Hidalgo 2014:467).

Hidalgo (2014:467) has pointed out that transnationality is closely related to the concept of global governance: "As a new form of 'world governance,' which, according to theory, represents multilateral cooperation that takes place largely beyond formal-institutional hierarchies, this concept is the inspiration for the political shaping and governance of globalization. As 'governance without governance' ... established preferentially in the policy fields of environment, development, economy, migration, and security, the concept of global governance can be thought of as both complementary and overarching to traditional nation-state modes of governance" (Hidalgo 2014:468). For a detailed discussion of "global governance," cf. ► Unit D42: "Global Governance."

2.2   Migration as a Transnational Classic

The physical expression of increasing transnationalization is the rise in international migration. More and more people live in countries where they were not born or where they do not (yet) have nationality. The following brief report shows that it is no longer only highly developed industrialized countries that are the target of immigration, but also many emerging states:

Transnational Migration in Moscow

Tatiana Nikolaevna Yuina has analyzed the growth of foreign areits in the Russian economy, which is interpreted as a consequence of the country's entry into an international labor market. The author shows that Russia has become attractive for many foreigners in terms of living conditions and the possibility to receive higher incomes. In addition, the Russian labor market is attractive to foreign workers in the formal and informal sectors of the economy. Yudina points out that today in Moscow there are many immigrants from nearby countries (Iran, Iraq, Poland, the former Yugoslavia) and from more distant countries (China, Vietnam, North Korea, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Sudan). Russia's compliance with international refugee conventions caused an influx of thousands of illegal migrants who were hoping to legalize their status or who were on their way to Western countries. The author shows that the criminality rate among these groups is significantly higher than among residents of Moscow and that these people work in the grey sector of the Russian economy. Her article suggests that foreigners work mainly in construction, trade and catering. The demand for unskilled labor is high (two-thirds of all vacancies). Yudina notes that international migrants fill open positions in production spheres where Muscovites are not willing to work. Even though the professional status of immigrants is quite varied, their professional situation in Moscow often does not correspond to their high level of education. T. Yudina shows that most of the immigrants in Moscow have a low socioeconomic status and a considerable part of them is not able to buy such items as TV sets, radios, refrigerators or furniture.

When Muscovites express their opinions about international migrants in their city, most show little tolerance: 60% had a negative opinion, 27% were neutral, and only 1.3% reported a positive attitude.

Source: Tatiana N. Yudina (2005): Labor Migration into Russia. The Response of State and Society. I: Current Sociology 53 (2005): 583ff. Quoted from Schuerkens 2014:108/109.

Thus, not only labor relations are "transnationalized," so to speak, but also living spaces and everyday life.

2.3   The Anarchism of Inter- and Transnational Politics.

If one understands - as Willke 2014:52 does - government and governance less as operational control and more in terms of systems theory as "structural coupling" (cf. ► Unit I8: "Systems Theory"), then handling international conflicts or concerns becomes very difficult - significantly more difficult than with linear understandings of politics. At the

international level, the already high complexity of national politics and administration increases many times over.

Schimmelfennig (2013:169) has argued that when opposing cultures, whose experiential knowledge, values, and norms differ greatly, come together, the chances of cooperation decrease. In international politics, he argued, conflicts over knowledge, values, and norms are particularly hostile to cooperation because they create oppositions between "true/right" and "false" or "good" and "evil."

This often results in "friendship" or "enmity". It is true that for "purposive" actors there are neither friends nor enemies, but only partners and competitors (Schimmelfennig 2013:169). Actors who refer to common convictions, values and norms are basically "sympathetic and well-meaning" to each other (Schimmelfennig 2013:169), and "collective identities" could develop from this.

However, from the perspective of intercultural communication, it would be objected here that, first, "cultures" as well as "religions" are never monolithic, self-contained entities - for example, there is not "Islam" but only Islamic communities, and not "Christianity" but Christian communities and groups or churches, etc. - but rather represent a kind of continuum based on certain ethical values and social norms. Second, all cultures and religions are changeable, so I prefer to speak of "socio-cultural contexts" or "religious communities." And third, dialogue and exchange is possible from between very different, pointedly different basic attitudes, if representatives are anchored in one of the two traditions and have a self-reflective attitude towards it, and if common bridging terms or key concepts can be found.

As can be seen from ► Unit D 30: "Introduction to Political Science," even the constructivist current of modern political science does not deny that the international political system functions in a partially anarchistic way. However, it must be kept in mind that "anarchic" is

not (necessarily) synonymous with "chaotic." It only means that there is no overarching ruler who stands above all state and private actors (cf. D'Anieri 2014:32).

In this context, "international anarchy, which constructivism does not deny any more than the other theories of international politics, ... represents not the absence but a particular form of normative or institutional social order" (Schimmelfennig 2013:166). Seen in this light, instability can also be an expression of a particular social system-or in systems theory terms: From this perspective, the international system in these areas is characterized by an unstable steady state, rather than stability. This means that it can react more quickly and easily to changes than a fixed and stably anchored political system, which is much more difficult to change. The problem, however, is that people living in such an unstable region are subject to much greater pressure to suffer (violence, wars, political upheavals and the associated great pressure to migrate, high mortality, poor health care and - usually - greater poverty and little education.

In any case, the Political Instability Index shows that the most unstable and risky states are in central Africa and Central Asia (cf. D'Anieri 2014:11).

For example, Hedley Bull (1977), a representative of the so-called "English School" of international relations, speaks of the "state system as an 'anarchic society'" (Schimmelfennig 2013:166).

Sovereignty and Anarchy in the State System

"The sovereignty of states does not derive simply from their autonomy or their de facto power over a territory, but is a basic norm of this anarchic society. We see this, among other things, in the fact that this sovereignty is also granted by the anarchic society to weak, internally fractured states that have little autonomy and only precarious control over their state territory and whose governments have illegitimately come to power. Such 'quasi-states' (Jackson 1990) are internationally recognized, have seats and votes in international organizations, and receive international aid. In this perspective, war is also not the negation or breakdown of law and order, but an institution of anarchic international society subject to

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certain rules and constraints. Understood in this way, war is distinct from other forms of violence and is a legitimate means of international politics."
Source: Schimmelfennig 2013:166.

In this context, constructivists see the core problems of international politics not so much as a consequence of an anarchic world order, but rather as a consequence of a "culture of anarchy" (cf. Schimmelfennig 2013:184). Accordingly, it was necessary to create a culture of shared ideas and positive identification in international organizations in order to build a "culture of friendship" (cf. Schimmelfennig 2013:185). In this context, the core thesis of constructivism was: "The greater the agreement between the ideas of international actors and the stronger the community between them, the higher the probability of peace and international cooperation" (Schimmelfennig 2013:185).

The representatives of the "Standford School" describe the international political situation - also from a constructivist perspective - as a global political system. For them, its order is an expression of a specific, "Western" world culture. Forms of organization such as territorial states or markets have not only emerged in the West, but also elsewhere. What is essential is that the international anarchic system is not understood as an absence, but as a special form of political order. In this context, consciousness determines being (cf. Schimmelfennig 2013:167). Or, to put it differently, the international political system is the way it is because that is how we imagine it today. This means that the international political system can be changed exactly when a large part of the people start to think differently about it.

2.4   On the Transnationality of Religious Movements

Especially in the context of migration, the importance of transnational religious communities, first and foremost Islam and the Roman Catholic Church, has regained importance. For example, most immigrants today come from Muslim and Catholic countries. Cherry (2014:15) has pointed out that "global religious movements across borders" influence civil societies across national boundaries. These religious communities are strongly aligned

with a global understanding of civil society(ies) and "translate their actions into symbolic challenges to the dominant code in the societies in question" (Cherry 2014:16). This may or may not necessarily lead to political conflict. Cherry (2014:16) counts among these transnational religious movements not only Islam and Christianity (e.g., Pentecostal missions), but also Bahá'í or Buddhist currents. Some of these movements have become notable political and ideological forces in different countries and even in different continents, such as the originally Nigerian charismatic Pentecostal Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), which today is active and present in a number of African countries, such as Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Zambia, Malawi, Zaire, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Gambia, Cameroon and South Africa. In Europe, this church is now firmly established in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, Germany, Greece, France, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden and Norway. Since the 1990s, it has also had many followers in various states in the USA (cf. Adogame 2014:38/39). The church has made a name for itself by addressing AIDS in Africa and through its religious-spiritual healing methods (cf. Cherry 2014:53). The RCCG is also involved in the fight against drugs.

Another example of transnational religious movements is the Islamic Gülem movement, which originated in Turkey and now has thousands of schools in many countries in the Middle East and beyond. Branches and schools of the Gülem movement exist in Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, as well as in the European countries of Denmark, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, and Ireland - and even, for some time, in Australia. It became known when it was targeted by the Islamic government under Erdogan in Turkey in 2013/2014 and its members and supporters were massively persecuted following the coup attempt in 2016. Previously, the Gülem movement had been among the supporters of the Islamist government for years-and had also been promoted by it (see Ebaugh 2014:69).

Other examples of transnational religious movements are the New Buddhist Soka Gakkai from Japan (cf. Metraux 2014) or the Bahá'í religion that emerged in Persia (cf. McMullen 2014 and Jäggi 1987).

What interests us here is not so much the religious content that is disseminated and popularized by such movements, but the fact that such globalized religious movements have become a new kind of "global player" far beyond the old-established internationally active religions. Here also a kind of "reverse globalization from the South" - and perhaps also a new form of "missionization" - seems to be taking place, and one will do well to take such movements seriously. In the long run, it will be inevitable to develop some kind of international regime in the form of rules of the game for transnationally active religious organizations. Not all of these movements operate exclusively within the framework of national legality, as the examples of the Scientologists and the Moonies have shown. Moreover, transnational religious movements can exploit and abuse gray areas at the international level - and on the Internet! - and abuse them, for example, to recruit young people for extremist or terrorist movements, as the recent example of the Islamic State (IS) has shown.

It is interesting that Roy (2015:213), for example, speaks of a downright "de-ethnicization" of religion in connection with transnational activities of religions - and perhaps one should add: under simultaneous political instrumentalization of religious ideas.

2.5   Civil Rights and Transnationality

In a study of four EU countries, Olivier Vonk came to the conclusion that dual or multiple nationality must be seen in close connection with questions of national identity and transnationality. In this context - at least in the EU area - dual nationality has long since ceased to be understood as a legal anomaly (cf. Vonk 2012:112). Rather, more and more states see dual nationality as a means not only to strengthen ties with emigrant groups abroad, but also as a means of integrating immigrants (cf. Vonk 2012:112). However, the view was somewhat different when it came to immigrants from third countries who had a

completely different culture. Thus, the idea of national identity as a single and inseparable bond with one, namely the country of origin, still has many supporters.

3.   Control Questions

1.   What is meant by "transnationalization"?

2.   What four trends did Nancy Fraser identify in relation to the role of nation-states?

3.   What was Pries' thesis on the connection between integration and transnationalization?

4.   What is meant by the Westphalian order?

5.   According to Hidalgo, what is the connection between transnationality and global governance?

6.   What does migration have to do with transnationality?

7.   According to Schimmelfennig, why does the willingness to cooperate decrease when opposing cultures meet?

8.   What are the objections to this position from an intercultural point of view?

9.   Why does the international state system function anarchically, but not chaotically - and what is the difference?

10.   What does the Political Instability Index show?

11.   What is the constructivists' core thesis on international peace?

12.   What are transnational religious movements and what questions arise in this context?

13.   To what extent has the view of dual or multiple nationality shifted?

4.   Links

Was ist Transnationalität?
https://www.google.ch/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&cad=rja&uact=8&ve
d=0CCUQFjAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ekm.admin.ch%2Fekm%2Fde%2Fhome%2Fidenti
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zusammenhalt%2Ftransnat.html&ei=jxrFVN2qBI7bas_DgfAC&usg=AFQjCNHZFXKzLdVVQtSw
GLkIVW4zs6tsjg&bvm=bv.84349003,d.d2s

Transnationalisierung und nationale Verfassungsordnung
Text von Gertrude Lübbe Wolff
https://www.openstarts.units.it/dspace/bitstream/10077/8190/1/wolff.pdf

Transnationale Migration
http://www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/ABC/ABC_der_Alternativen_Transnationale_Migration_Spindler.pdf

Transnationale Migration und sozio-kulturelle Transformation: Die Kosmopolitisierung der Gesellschaft
http://heimatkunde.boell.de/2011/05/18/transnationale-migration-und-soziokulturelle-transformation-die-kosmopolitisierung-der

Die Transnationalisierung von Öffentlichkeit
und der Wandel von Staatlichkeit in Deutschland, Frankreich, Großbritannien, Österreich und Dänemark
Text von Andreas Wimmel und Katharina Kleinen-v.Königslöw
http://www.academia.edu/1015623/Die_Transnationalisierung_von_%C3%96ffentlichkeit

5.   Cited literature and further readings

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