

Theme;

*The Political Communities of Migrants: De-Territorialised
Diversity and Political Integration in Host Countries:*

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Plan

- Intro
- Frames
- Results
- Quelles réponses futures ?

Intro

- ESF RECODE:
 - Collective belonging beyond the Nation State
 - Not territorially bounded shared references
 - Globalization and economic volatility to be taken into account
 - New institutional arrangements as the EU

Intro

- ESF RECODE WEBSITE

„The **new transnational community**, imagined either out of a religion or an ethnicity that encapsulates linguistic and national differences, seeks **self-affirmation across national borders and without geographic limits**, as a **de-territorialized nation** in search of an inclusive (and exclusive) centre around a constructed identity or experience (immigration, dispersion, minority). It aspires to **legitimacy and recognition** by both the state and supranational or international institutions.“

Frames

- Sociology:
 - Organizations and networks that go beyond borders
 - Spaces and places for multiple identities and loyalties
 - Heavily contested field from those who see structural and functional needs in nationally organized societies

Frames

- Anthropology
 - Process of cross-cultural merging
 - Glick-Schiller et al 1992
- Economy
 - Global restructuring of mode of production
- Political Science
 - EU and its significance for practicing democracy
 - New forms of civil engagement beyond borders
 - Attack/ Migrants as avant-garde of a global civil society?

Frames

- Attractiveness of the approach
 - Reconfiguring globalization and role of nations with the figure of concrete actors
 - Post-nationalism as an (European?) aim
 - Reaction reaction to methodological nationalism

Frames

- Questions:
 - Historically new?
 - Globalization from below?
 - Immigrants as actors capable to challenge territoriality of nation-states
 - Significance of integration or social cohesion, if we are all in Pullman?

Frames of TN practices

1. Emigration & Return	2. Emigration & Assimilation
3. Diaspora (real or imagined relations to place or origin)	4. Transnationalism

Results

- ESF Project “Migrants’ Practices of Transnationalism in Western Europe” (B/D/F/I/P/CH)
- Special Issue in REMI, 2008
- Grassroot Transnationalism as an European research subject
- Need of comparative research

Results

- Maintenance of TN depending on:
 - Certain degree of integration and to social capital
 - Diversified Communities (work, politically engaged, continuity of interests)
 - Turks and Moroccans in Germany and Belgium/NL
 - Secured judicial status
 - (precarious situations paralysing)

Results

- POS
 - Situation in the Destination countries
 - Citizenship access/local voting rights/dual citizenship
 - Policies of country of origin:
 - Allegiance through citizenship
 - Structure of a collective identity among migrants

Results

- Mobilisations:
 - Rights to participate politically hardly used (10-20%)
 - Enabling conditions: disparities between country of origin and destination
 - The role of Third Countries (Germany) to be considered as harbour for different activities
 - These are not only homeland directed
 - Transnational activities can not be explained by a strategy of return migration

Results

- “I would like to help improve the living condition of everyone, both the immigrants and the Swiss, without any distinction. On the other hand, I also try to create bridges between my community of origin and the Swiss community. My objective is to develop joint projects between these two communities that constitute my reality and the source of my identity.”

(Gül, Parlament BS)

Further questions

- Which integration or cohesion for the future? Should there be any? (see Human rights agenda)
- What is the continuance of this experience? Is there an antagonism between “bonding” and “bridging”?

Further questions

- Discuss forms of political inclusion, but also gap between claim and reality on political participation (not only valid for immigrants)
 - Economic status
 - Social capital
- Tension between a human rights framework and populist mood in modern democracies (Minaret initiative in Switzerland)

Further questions

- Analysis of Social Capital generation (associations, networks) > how do they change over time? What is the relation between institutions and structures?
- Transformation of policies and political institutions in receiving and sending countries

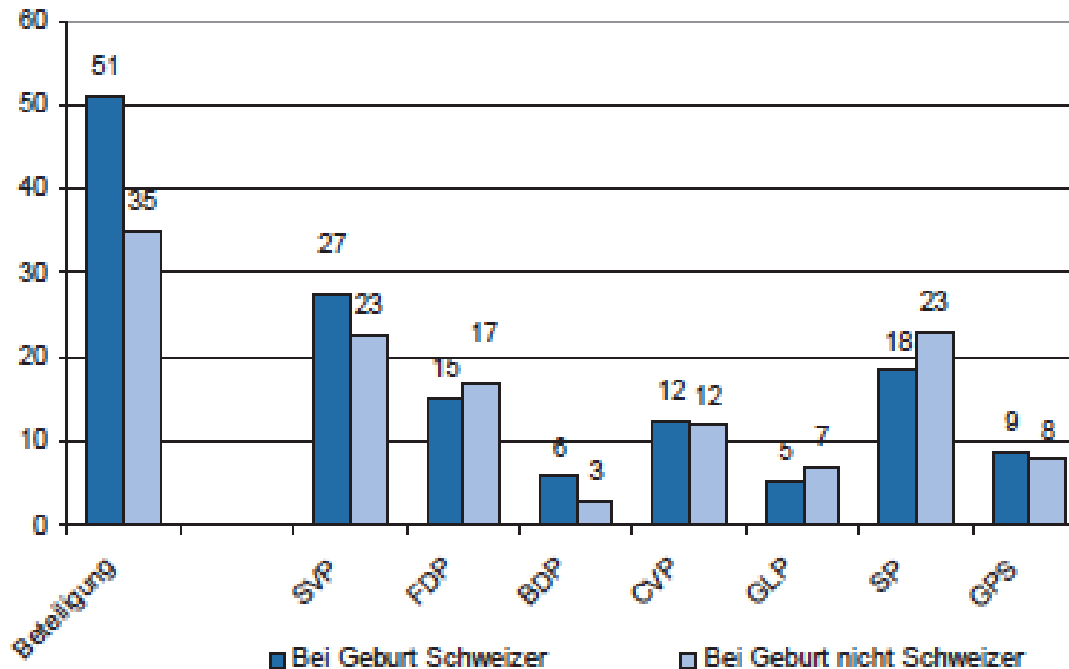
Missbehagen: Distanz

Distanz

Ausbildung	1.27	1.34	2.15
	1.39	1.41	2.21
Soz.	1.61	1.79	2.51

Auswirkungen Wahlen 2011

Grafik 5 Wahlverhalten nach Migrationshintergrund (in %).



Bei Geburt Nicht-Schweizer insgesamt N = 703; Schweizer N = 3678; unter den Wählenden Nicht-Schweizer N = 324, Schweizer N=2688.

Auswirkungen Wahlen BRD 1995-2011

Tab. B.1.9 Wahlbeteiligung bei kommunalen Wahlen 1995-2011

Wahl	Jahr	Deutsche	Unionsbürger	alle Wahlberechtigten
Berlin (Bezirksverordnetenversammlung)	1995	68,6 %	23,5 %	67,6 %
	1999	65,5 %	17,9 %	64,4 %
	2001	68,1 %	21,6 %	66,9 %
	2006	57,7 %	14,0 %	55,8 %
	2011	60,0 %	11,8 %	57,5 %
Bremen (Stadtbürgerschaft)	1999 ^{EP}	62,0 %	17,0 %	61,1 %
	2003	62,9 %	26,5 %	62,2 %
	2007	58,6 %	16,1 %	57,0 %
	2011	57,0 %	14,2 %	55,3 %
Hamburg (Bezirksversammlung)	1997	68,5 %	22,0 %	66,8 %
	2001	71,1 %	19,0 %	69,2 %
	2004 ^{vEU-O}	68,5 %	26,0 %	67,1 %
	2008	63,3 %	18,3 %	61,2 %
	2011	57,2 %	16,2 %	55,1 %
Stuttgart (Gemeinderat)	1999	50,1 %	22,5 %	47,7 %
	2004 ^{nEU-O}	52,3 %	18,0 %	48,7 %
	2009 ^{EP}	53,7 %	14,9 %	48,7 %

Anmerkung: EP: Wahlen fanden zeitgleich zu Europaparlamentswahlen statt, vEU-O: Wahlen fanden vor EU-Osterweiterung statt, nEU-O: Wahlen fanden nach EU-Osterweiterung statt.

Quelle: Diehl/Wüst 2011: 48, aktualisiert und ergänzt anhand: Abfrage der zuständigen Statistikämter (Berlin und Hamburg); Statistisches Landesamt Bremen 2011: 16 (Bremen); Haußmann 2009c: 160 (Stuttgart); eigene Darstellung