CONTESTED CONCEPTS IN MIGRATION STUDIES

Edited by RICARD ZAPATA-BARRERO, DIRK JACOBS, AND RIVA KASTORYANO

'Written by leading scholars and researchers, the various chapters in this bold and challenging book are full of insights into key issues that are at the heart of ongoing conversations in many societies. It is a must-read for all those working on this important social and political issue.'

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CONTESTED CONCEPTS IN MIGRATION STUDIES

This volume demonstrates that migration- and diversity-related concepts are always contested, and provides a reflexive critical awareness and better comprehension of the complex questions driving migration studies. The main purpose of this volume is to enhance conceptual thinking on migration studies.

Examining interaction between concepts in the public domain, the academic disciplines, and the policy field, this book helps to avoid simplification or even trivialization of complex issues. Recent political events question established ways of looking at issues of migration and diversity and require a clarification or reinvention of political concepts to match the changing world. Applying five basic dimensions, each expert chapter contribution reflects on the role concepts play and demonstrates that concepts are ideology dependent, policy/politics dependent, context dependent, discipline dependent, and language dependent, and are influenced by how research is done, how policies are formulated, and how political debates extend and distort them.

This book will be essential reading for students, scholars, and practitioners in migration studies/politics, migrant integration, citizenship studies, racism studies, and more broadly of key interest to sociology, political science, and political theory.

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INTRODUCTION

Conceptual thinking in migration studies

Ricard Zapata-Barrero, Dirk Jacobs,
and Riva Kastoryano

1 The main rationale of this edited book

Concepts in the social sciences have always been controversial, debated, and contested. Often, they lead to semantic confusion. Concepts are loaded with ideology and raise the question of adaptability in different contexts and in different languages (everyday language, political, media, academic languages, etc.), each using a symbolic weight in order to interpret social reality and seek legitimacy. Social science scholars have developed conceptual tools to understand the distinct facets of migration in moving social and political landscapes. Most concepts are used to freeze changing realities and may even intervene in reframing migration-related issues. Most interact and are interrelated in a conceptual system that is also often a matter of debate. The main purpose of this volume is to enhance conceptual thinking on migration studies and clarify the political significance of the fading of old and the advent of new concepts.

This is particularly so in migration studies, where concepts become agents of persuasion and influence, create public opinion, and are used to justify political strategies. Policy decisions and practices are shaped by concepts, and often discussions turn to be more nominalist than evidence based. Behind concepts there are not only principles, practices, and indicators, but also ideologies, perspectives, and strategies. The multiple terms connected with immigration and their use with different definitions at different times/places often produce a semantic confusion that puts the subject of immigration beyond partisan disputes. Political controversies and social debates often challenge the interpretation of core concepts, and they also have an impact on scholarly debates. One of the objectives of this edited book is to discuss the relation of scientific concepts to the concepts used (and abused) in political and social debates and everyday language, and how these realms interrelate.

Given the complex nature of migration and diversity, social scientists call for awareness in the use of concepts in different areas and debates: research, policies and politics, society and media. This requires more reflexivity and positionality on how concepts shape politics and policies, especially in obvious multidisciplinary domains as it is the case with migration studies. This conceptual ecology is most often discipline dependent. These may also reflect 'methodological nationalism', political traditions or specific ideologies, theoretical social and political normative approaches. It often seems that disorientation and complexity are the result of political upheaval at a time of societal transformation.

Reflexive conceptual knowledge basically means gaining awareness on how old concepts take new meanings and how new concepts begin to shape migration research agendas, often coming from other disciplinary contexts, such as transnationalism, and even from physics, such as cohesion. The conceptual reflexivity is also an invitation to fuel a critical reflection on the concepts used by migration scholars. Reflexivity should contribute to a better comprehension of the core questions and conceptual systems driving migration studies, and prevent scholars from using concepts that excessively simplify, and even generalize and trivialize complex migration issues.

In the current context, the Trump presidency in the United States (from 2017 to 2021), the Brexit in the United Kingdom (January 2020), the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States (2013 onward) and its postcolonial understanding in the West, as well as the rise of radical right populist parties all over Europe and beyond, with neo-nationalistic and/or religious supremacists ideologies, have certainly challenged established ways of addressing issues related to migration and diversity. To paraphrase Alexis de Tocqueville ('A whole new world needs a new political science'): Is there a need for a new set of concepts to match a world that has changed? Or do we rather need to update and recontextualize our existing concepts?

The analysis of mobility of individuals went through different phases of reflection, where methodological and conceptual considerations crossed, various entangled paradigms and disciplines competed, so that they may all cohabit within the field of migration studies. Are concepts a normative reflection on empirical observations? To a certain extent, one can claim that converging social realities have led liberal democratic states to develop similar political strategies. Comparisons show that there have been converging institutional and policy reorientations in several western countries when it comes to dealing with migration. These changes have been accompanied by cross-national diffusion of rhetorical justifications often, including conceptual contagion. In other words, imported concepts have been very instrumental to justify policy change. At the same time, this diffusion and contagion does not always make total sense. While often stemming from local sensitivities, particular contextual visions are transformed into concepts that are gradually or implicitly presented as being universal, while this is not necessarily the case. Inversely, normative theories that refer to general principles of liberal democracy get reformulated

in accordance to specific national dominant discourses. In the process, one becomes careless in seeing that local use is very much influenced by particular social realities and institutional logics, while the concepts suggest universality.

In this volume, leading contributors known in migration and diversity research by the key concepts they dissect, offer readers a concrete opportunity to open their mental zoom through a 'multilayered conceptual reflexive approach'. It addresses questions such as what role the concepts play in every day language, research, media and policy realms? If there is a mutual influence system behind: how the concepts shape policies and even drive a narrative of politics?; how the same concept is discussed and contested according to contexts?; and how public and political debates extend and distort this same concept.

The core premise of this volume is that migration- and diversity-related concepts are not neutral. In fact, the selection of concepts has followed this core criterion. They are cross-concepts, abused concepts, often *passe-partout* concepts, used with a multiplicity of meanings, multilayered concepts, which can serve several (and often contradictory) ideological and normative positions. We can even say that all the concepts we have selected in this volume belong to the crowded club of 'essentially contested concepts' – namely, they are not value-free, but they are always context dependent, even if its imaginary meaning is often assumed and unquestioned. Taking the following five basic dimensions, we can argue that concepts are ideology dependent, policy/politics dependent, context dependent, discipline dependent, and language/media dependent. In other words, the same concept can be used differently in different languages (related to political tradition and ideology too), following different normative approaches on how to govern migration and diversity. For instance, we know the importance of the use of concepts in the media when speaking about migration and diversity issues. Sometimes, the language game, to use Wittgenstein's expression, matters if we want to delimit its meanings and senses, and its uses in different spheres such as the media, the politics, and the academia. There are also key questions and dimensions that we would like to deal with and that will cluster all the contributions.

Today, the selected concepts are shaping the migration and diversity research agenda. They force social scientists to take a necessary position, often a critical one. In doing so, migration scholars need arguments and to position themselves toward some normative approaches; they even find themselves trapped within a complex conceptual galaxy and taken-for-granted notions that shape the different (ab)uses and meanings often by neglecting of without taking consideration empirical evidences. There are concepts that act as power plants since they help to give light to a whole series of related concepts.

The main purpose is to collect and discuss the most relevant core concepts, but without neglecting other ones that are subsumed. It is also true that, objectively speaking, most related concepts could become core in a system of interrelations. We have requested that the contributors take this into account. This interaction among concepts also means that some rely on others in order to have a meaning

or to be defined, which generates a complex conceptual map of migration and diversity studies as a field. Without claiming to be comprehensive, but rather to exemplify what we are arguing (the reader will find more related concepts in the same chapter), the concept of Border has security, control, and stability as related concepts; Citizenship is related to rights, belonging, and civism; Cohesion to trust, social capital, solidarity, and conviviality; Cosmopolitanism to post-nationalism and human values; Discrimination to racism, xenophobia, inequality, prejudice, and exclusion; Diversity to difference, social class, and representation; Identity to ethnicity, nationalism, and race; Integration to inclusion, accommodation, and acculturation; Interculturalism to contact, interaction, and living together; Mobility to freedom of movement and cross-border flows; Nationalism to political identity, citizenship, statism, and tradition; Multiculturalism to difference, identity, and specific policies; Secularism to laicism and religion; Tolerance to recognition and minority rights; transnationalism to territoriality, globalization, diaspora, and multiple loyalties. We can even affirm that each chapter connects its conceptual analysis to other concepts in this book. To many, each of the core concepts is linked with other three or more related concepts to generate a broader conceptual field.

Going through the contents of the different chapters, we can also identify some clusters that may deserve an epistemological conceptual reflection. In enumerating them, we obviously do not aim to be exhaustive or make a hierarchy.

First, to what extent does the use of concepts such as 'cohesion', 'diversity', and 'transnationalism', to take just three of the 15 core concepts selected, reproduce, for instance, a nation-state perspective, or liberal tradition, or limit opportunities for a more open and autonomous reflection. The premise is that how concepts are used by everyday language reflects a general view on the issue and affects public opinion.

Second, debates on migration and diversity have become so polarized and polarizing that being unable to speak a common language on migration and diversity even has a bearing on the stability and cohesion of our traditions. This shows us that behind concepts there are always power relations, inequalities, values and principles, visions, and constructions, in definitive interpretations of realities.

Third, disputes about meanings and practices related to concepts also have a scholarly face. Behind concepts there are traditions, theories, and academic historical discussions, exposing tensions between society and politics, structures and agency. This allows us to argue that the complexity of concepts is embedded in many and often at odds with scholarly traditions and debates.

Fourth, migration- and diversity-related concepts cannot have meaning and cannot be interpreted if there is not a site, a place, or a context. To contextualize is to place an issue within a process. Thus, concepts do not have static meanings but are always in the process of changing their meanings in accordance with social and political changes, in a particular location, and in a specific context. When working on the semantics of a concept, the relationship between context and semantics becomes prominent. Here the premise is that common concepts may entail different approaches and meanings according to different uses in

different places, cities, and countries, something that extends across regions and even continents.

Fifth, and related to the particular distinctive nature of migration and diversity, most of the concepts hold different meanings in different braches of social sciences and beyond, and take place across national societal borders. Some key concepts even extend beyond the social sciences, such as cohesion and diversity. These disciplines, moreover, could conduct research using different methodologies usually segregated between quantitative and qualitative analysis. Some quantitativists will think of concepts in terms of variables and indicators, and qualitativists will define concepts in terms of practices and even principles and values if they are normativily oriented, for instance. But there are also disciplinary divergent uses. A sociologist and political scientist, and an economist and a lawyer, probably share concepts but not the same meanings, because they still interpret the reality from their own vantage point. In other words, behind concepts there are also social, political, and even ethical categories that sometimes depend on disciplines or methods.

Sixth, there is also an epistemological dimension we need to highlight, since concepts are at the core of how knowledge is constructed in migration studies. Most of the time in migration and diversity debates, we see that on many occasions disputes are not about facts but about interpretations of facts, and these interpretations are always expressed through concepts. Epistemologically, it can be contrasted to monism and atomism – namely and respectively, the credo that there is just one truth and principle of a given concept and the credo that there is just one indivisible component as a unit of analysis, the individual, the nation, the religion, of a concept. Whereas one can argue that there is no such thing as a 'true meaning' of a concept, we can confirm that the variety of meanings does need to be elucidated in identifying the vantage point. Citizens and social scientists need clear references to engage in a fruitful debate.

This volume also reflects on how difficult it is to draw a line between normative and empirical concepts shaping migration studies today, and on how social realities redefine concepts. In fact, this has also been an additional criterion for selecting these 15 core concepts. What impact do concepts have on how we deal with discourses, ideologies, and policies in migration studies? How do changing realities give a new meaning to old concepts such as nation and nationalism? The volume aims to explore whether old concepts need a review and whether new concepts are emerging. How do concepts reflect social realities, or to what extent do changing social realities redefine the existing concepts? What does this tell us about current scholarly migration debates, and what new interpretations and policy orientations have popped out or need to be addressed?

Finally, we think that this book fills a gap in migration studies since a comprehensive edited volume directly addressing conceptual issues following the five dimensions, and connecting political/policy/public/media debates with scholarly debates is still needed, despite the fact that most scholars share the same concern of clarifying concepts when doing migration research.

We hope that this volume would be of interest to academic debates, for teaching purposes, and for public erudites on migration and related concerns. We also hope that decisions makers, journalists, and the vast majority of professionals who need to address such challenging issues related to migration and diversity will find interest in deepening the multifaceted characteristic of these 15 core concepts. The geographical scope of the book is transatlantic, and it also includes Australia. Most of the authors are context-sensitive and present their empirical contextual environment from the very beginning, but they all engage in a global critical assessment of the concept that they study.

2 Concepts selected and overview of the chapters

The selection of prominent outstanding authors, has been done following the criteria of their research in relation with the core concept, as well as to ensure a variety of disciplines, countries, and genders. All authors are also known for the importance they have given in the past to critical reflection on conceptual frameworks.

Bastian A. Vollmer begins by recognizing that to engage in tracing back the *concept of Border* to its origins in various languages and cultures would be an encyclopedic undertaking in itself. This is due to the fact that it appears in most contexts and fields across the world, and its meaning therefore varies greatly. However, he attempts to collect some of the meanings, fields and understandings, and the practices of bordering in relation to migration, since this relationship is unprecedentedly dominated by dynamism and change, especially in the past few decades. Similarly, he explores not only how the concept of Border is central to philosophy, political and sociological theory, and various other academic disciplines but also how it has become increasingly significant to wider public arenas and politics. His contribution aims at providing some facets and developments, which shall stimulate further studies in borders and its related academic as well as policy areas of migration, security, and statehood.

Christian Joppke states that more than other key concepts in migration studies, the *concept of Citizenship* is primarily a practical category, used in the real world to denote full and formally equal membership in the modern democratic state; only secondarily is it a social science category. His comprehensive chapter traces a recent institutional and discursive transformation of citizenship, from 'liberal right' to 'neoliberally earned'.

Ricard Zapata-Barrero develops the concept with the *concept of Cohesion* and its relation to the diversity debate. He argues that nowadays there is an assumed view that diversity erodes cohesion and that we need to go beyond this 'threatening hypothesis'. He examines the multistranded concept of cohesion and its relation to the liberal nationalistic tradition that tends to assume that cohesion is only possible in homogeneous societies. After digging into its conceptual agenda, Zapata-Barrero goes into the policy domain of cohesion, and particularly to the three normative frames that share the effort of bridging cohesion and diversity: multiculturalism,

civic nationalism, and interculturalism. At the end, he leaves open the question about the benefits of considering cohesion and diversity as friends rather than foes.

John Erik Fossum and *Espen D.H. Olsen* start their contribution on the *concept of Cosmopolitanism* by providing a summary overview of the literature on different traditions and meanings with emphasis on the central role of moral universalism, cosmopolitanism as a distinct way of life, democracy and its relationship to patriotism, nationalism, and constitutionalism. Their chapter outlines how different analysts and traditions of thought understand cosmopolitanism and their proposals for shaping the world in accordance with cosmopolitan principles. The authors also propose to reverse the line of inquiry by outlining key issues in migration studies and examine where and in what sense cosmopolitanism can and should figure in this context. They finally offer a more grounded perspective in contrast with the more prescriptive rendition of cosmopolitanism.

Patrick Simon's chapter on the *concept of Discrimination* begins by highlighting that it is commonplace to say that the intensification of migrations since the 1950s has increased the ethno-racial diversity of most societies across the world. He then outlines that this diversity has not only deeply transformed the structures and the imaginaries of these societies but it has fostered pervasive ethno-racial inequalities in different domains of social life. The turn from blatant racism to subtler forms of selection and preferences based on ethnicity and race has fostered new theoretical and conceptual developments. New forms of racism have been coined as systemic and institutional racism, color-blind racism, aversive racism, racism without race, and racism without racists; these have been identified and call for different approaches in research and policies. Simon argues that it is against the background of this retreat of blatant racism that the emergence of the notion of discrimination should be understood. Discrimination refers to unfair treatment or decisions producing a disadvantage for individuals or groups grounded on ascribed categories. The paradigm of discrimination helps to uncover the structure of disadvantage in formally equalitarian societies: It offers a powerful conceptual and operational frame to evaluate, monitor, and eventually revise apparently merit-based and neutral processes of access to power, privilege, goods, and services. This chapter addresses the changes in the understanding of racism related to the use of the concept of discrimination. Simon focuses on three sites of scholarly and political debates: the importance given to the systemic dimension of discrimination and its consequences; the empirical assessment of discrimination through its measurement; the categories by which ethnic and racial discrimination can be outspoken and measured.

Dirk Jacobs' contribution discusses how the *concept of Diversity* is used in the social sciences, with particular attention to the field of ethnic and migration studies. The focus is on how the notion of diversity is used in policy settings and in public debates, including in academia in a mutually reinforcing manner. Diversity is not just an empirical phenomenon to be observed and measured in a sociopolitical vacuum. D. Jacobs states that the notion of diversity itself is both a technical and a political construct. It is linked to the salience of particular social categorizations, as it has become quite apparent in so-called identity politics and its surrounding

controversies. Neologisms such as superdiversity and hyperdiversity are also discussed, the conceptual importance of intersectionality is highlighted, and the issue of to what extent diversity is used as a notion to avoid having to talk about discrimination is addressed. As a particular case, the author focuses on the analysis of descriptive and substantive representation, illustrating that the normative and technical debates with regard to diversity are highly entangled.

Edward Telles focuses on *the concept of Identity,* particularly in the context of migration and demographic diversity. His basic question is: 'How does migration shape identities, particularly ethnic and related identities?' The author centers his chapter in identities around ethnicity and race and asks how migration processes affect these identities and how the polity and social structures manage and shape migration and diversity. Identity, diversity, and migration are ripe with semantic confusion, especially today when facts are increasingly disputed and irrelevant. Thus, E. Telles proposes that we be attentive to the dissonance, overlaps, and interrelations between scholarly/scientific concepts and those used in political and popular discourse. Moreover, he focuses on the concept of boundaries, in geographically, politically, and socially interactive dimensions, and how their interaction create and shape identities. By understanding these elements, the author seeks to generate a conceptual map of migration and identity.

The concept of Integration is analyzed by *Adrian Favell*. Despite its centrality to debates on migration policy, he begins by stating that the concept is rarely scrutinized. Among policy makers it generally stands as a progressive conception of how receiving societies process, benefit from, and are changed by those migration/mobilities it classifies as wanted 'im-migration', usually as part of nation-building narratives. It is how a nation-state sees new members of its 'society', with its back turned to (assumed) borders established by 'sovereign' immigration policy and control. For A. Favell, this implies a methodological nationalism in all uses of the term, which rests in a functionalist vision of bounded (national) societies producing morally and politically emancipated individual 'citizens'. The chapter lays out the concept in advanced liberal democracies, how it has been used (comparatively), and how it relates to, and encompasses, synonymous terms such as 'assimilation', 'inclusion', 'incorporation', 'participation', and 'acculturation'. The ubiquity of 'integration' and its problematic relations with 'multiculturalism' and 'transnationalism' point to how it reinforces colonial and (usually) racialized views on immigration. The author finally argues that migration studies may be reconceived as the study of *political demography*: How a world of territorialized populations, borders, and categories of migration/mobilities, citizens/aliens, and majorities/minorities is sustained to uphold a global system of nation-states founded on massive global inequalities.

Fethi Mansouri invites us to consider *the concept of Interculturalism*. He *contextualizes* heightened social anxieties about terrorism and other forms of political violence and states that these have coincided with the emergence of interculturalism as a contact-based approach to diversity management that promises to strengthen social integration and cultural rapprochement within culturally and religiously

plural societies. His chapter focuses on interculturalism in its own right, with an attempt to map its global manifestations, core conceptual underpinnings, and the requisite empirical conditions for its practice. The chapter draws on multidisciplinary literature to establish the key features of an intercultural framework that is built around foundational notions of contact, dialogue, exchange, and transformation, all of which emphasize integrative orientations and mainstreaming tendencies. In doing so, the chapter highlights the critical importance of accounting for the specificities of the local sociopolitical context for understanding the extent to which intercultural approaches can be successfully pursued within super-diverse sociopolitical settings. F. Mansouri also highlights the foundational features of interculturalism. He states that in meeting the challenges of super-diversity, globalization, and hyper-connectivity, interculturalism exhibits a methodological concern at the micro level, particularly at the level of cross-cultural exchange, interpersonal contact, and transformative change.

Rainer Bauböck proposes a reflection on the *concept of Mobility*. Instead of thinking of migration and mobility merely as different terms for the same phenomenon, the author distinguishes them in three ways. First, patterns of human movement can be classified as either migration or mobility depending on their spatial and temporal properties. Second, in the international state system migration is defined as the crossing of borders. In this context mobility becomes associated with free movement within or across international borders. Third, the two concepts can be used as lenses through which we see the same phenomena in different ways. R. Bauböck calls these the physical, the contextual, and the perspectival distinctions between migration and mobility. The author also argues that the second and third interpretations do not contradict the first but correct it in important ways: The contextual distinction warns against using overly abstract models for explaining human movement that ignore its historically ever changing social contexts; the perspectival interpretation asks scholars to switch between a migration view that looks at people on the move from the perspective of territorially bounded societies and a mobility view that adopts the perspective of these people's biographical experiences.

Keith G. Banting addresses the *concept of Multiculturalism*. The author begins by stating that for its defenders, multiculturalism is a distinct approach to integration, which assumes that immigrants and ethnic minorities have a legitimate interest in their culture and traditions, and that public institutions should seek to accommodate this diversity in their rules and practices. Critics, however, have worried that multiculturalism policies lead to social segmentation and parallel societies within the state and the nation. Others have insisted that the multicultural approach weakens cohesion in society as a whole, dissolving the ties that bind a society together and allow it to accomplish great collective projects. This chapter draws on recent social science evidence in order to contribute to these debates. In the end, two conclusions stand out. First, multiculturalism policies have not declined but have proven highly resilient and compatible with the goals of civic integration and interculturalism. Second, the social science evidence is clear that multiculturalism

policies do not generate social segmentation and do not erode social cohesion. Rather, multiculturalism policies emerge as a distinctive form of immigrant integration with important advantages in the context of contemporary diversity.

Anna Triandaffyllidou scrutinizes within the *concept of Nationalism* and its varieties. For her, nations and nationalism today remain core concepts for making sense of our societies, their internal and international politics, and a number of other contemporary challenges such as migration, governance, and overall socioeconomic transformation. Today, nations are faced with a new set of social and economic challenges: Economic globalization has intensified, bringing with it a more intense phase of cultural interconnectedness and political interdependence. Nation-states see their sovereign powers eroded. Nonetheless, she concludes, the nation continues to be a powerful source of identity and legitimacy. We are witnessing in Europe and worldwide a comeback of nationalism, oftentimes in an aggressive, nativist, and populist guise. This chapter reviews the classical approaches to nationalism, including the distinction between ethnic and civic nationalism and also the discussion on the origins of nations: notably the perennialist, primordialist, modernist, and ethnosymbolist schools. The chapter argues that these may be valid and complementary but risk being no longer fit for purpose in explaining where nations and nationalism come from and where they are headed to. The chapter concludes by proposing a new analytical concept of plural versus neo-tribal nationalism.

Tariq Modood takes the *concept of Secularism* and places it within post-immigration religious communities, especially Muslims in Western Europe. He states that this context has made what seemed like a settled issue, namely political secularism, reemerge with a new vitality. While for some it is about a hardening of political secularism (most notably in France), for others it is about how to make secularism more religion-friendly, especially in relation to the newly present non-Christian groups. Either way, Tariq Modood argues that it is crucially to do with the reality of multiculturalism. The chapter offers its own conception of political secularism, distinguishing it from more prevalent views. It then explains the concept of 'moderate secularism' to analyze the current form of political secularism in Western Europe and a concept of multiculturalism. The author concludes by considering what West European moderate secularism might look like if it was to be multiculturalized. The presentation of such a prospect is the normative purpose of this chapter.

Patrick Loobuyck says that the *concept of Tolerance* has a long history both as a personal and as a political virtue. In the context of the postwar multicultural immigration society, it once again became central to the public, political, academic, and philosophical debates. Tolerance has become again a common but still controversial concept. His contribution takes political philosophy as an initial framework, through which it clarifies how the contemporary liberal concept of tolerance differs from previous views and practices of toleration. The author then describes why and how thinking about toleration has been supplemented in the past decades with the notions of 'recognition', 'reasonable accommodation', and 'polyethnic minority rights'.

Riva Kastoryano places territory and belonging at the core of the *concept of Transnationalism*. The flourishing literature in social sciences with regard to the settlement and organization of the postcolonial immigrants emphasizes their involvement in structuring transnational networks based on economic interests, cultural exchanges, and political mobilizations beyond national borders. Various networks linking the country of origin to the country of residence and promoting participation in both spaces challenge the single allegiance required by membership to a political community. It generates multiple memberships and loyalties leading to confusion between rights and identity, culture and politics, states and nations, in short questioning the very concept of citizenship in a single territorially bounded political community. Such an evolution places territory at the core of the analysis of citizenship and nationhood, for communities as well as states. Cultural, ethnic, and religious communities recognized as such by states of settlement and that increasingly draw support from transnational solidarities are guided mainly by a de-territorialized and 'imagined geography'. What becomes the relationship between territory and the nation-state, citizenship and identity, states and nations? An important question pertains to whether transnationalism will engender a distinct sense of nationhood – that is, not territorial.

Border

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