



Research Article

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND POLITICAL AGENCY: ARE THERE FACTORS ALLOWING FOR THE FORMATION OF A TRANSNATIONAL PUBLIC CULTURE?

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ABSTRACT

“We’re all migrants” was the main slogan at a recent street demonstration in Naples, Italy, against the closure of Italian ports to Middle-Eastern and North-African migrants escaping war, famine, economic poverty, and political persecution. The UN Global Compact for Migration, just approved by 152 nations, seeks to cover all dimensions of international migration holistically and comprehensively. By these factors, one may conclude that migrants—regardless of their country of origin and their economic status—are a global community, transnational and transitory in nature.

Isolated within the contested field of migration studies the Neapolitan slogan may ring as the perfunctory product of advocacy fervor rather than a reflection of reality or the emergence of a new conscience about international migration. And confronted with the plight of refugee camps and growing masses of asylum seekers pressing on the borders of western countries, one may conclude that migrants cannot be but refugees or asylum seekers. However, migrants are about 270 million worldwide. Refugees and asylum seekers account for circa 25 million of this growing mass of humans. The world population counts 7.8 billion people. That the global debate about migration should be limited to the issues of concern to such fraction of the universe not only produces the current unidimensional approach characterized by securitization but also hinders the development of a discourse where migration is no longer a marginalized condition but rather a constitutive experience of modern humans.

Basing itself on research about the constitutive effect otherness, and about the de-migrantization of the research on migration, this paper proposes that the migrants of the world are a de facto transnational culture and as such they constitute an a-geographic nation as defined by Samuel Huntington and thus have acquired agency in the international debate about the governance of international migration. **Preamble:** Does a global community of migrants exist? Does a shared dimension in the migration narrative exist, or is the debate about this facet of the human experience destined to forever be a prisoner of the dyadic representation of either refugee or asylum seeker?

Furthermore, if a de facto global community of the ‘migrants of the world’ does exist, is it rendered such by process of self-reflection or is it instead defined by the interests of the hosting country—and by the dynamics of power inherent to the current system of international relations?

Moreover, if migrants can be grouped into a global community, is this a community destined to be fragmented into national identities competing for resources or is there a commonly shared fold of the collective imaginary which they all inhabit? And if there is a shared space in which their common experience situates them, thus rendering them a community as defined by Benedict Anderson, lacking them a nation this shared space can only take form at the cultural level and be transnational. A culture, one can reasonably construe, that as much as Huntington’s western civilization, Islamic civilization, Sinic civilization, or any of the other civilizations defined by the historian in licized, is construed in the ideational dimension rather than in the mere boundaries of the state and exists among other types of a-territorial communities. Thus it not only represents a new fracture line along which different states’ visions of development can clash, but also empowers a new social subject in the political debate surrounding the formulation and application of agreements, policies, rules, and norms that are currently being discussed about the global governance of migration in the international system. And since this new subject inhabits a transnational and cross-cultural space, it comes with the territory that it makes little difference if the growing number of souls who are seeking harbor into a country other than their own migrate because of security, economic, or environmental threats.

If we adhere to segmenting migration according to the casuistry provided by international bodies and validated by the current literature, we may conclude that there is little linking a Filipino LGBTQ asylum seeker to a Colombian temporary-status grantee or an Indian H-1B visa holder in the Silicon Valley. But this is not the case. But whether modern societies are forced to mutate by the growing network of cross-border connections among people or by the social impact that diasporas and refugee flows exert both on sending and receiving communities, all these issues need to be positioned in our understanding of this new migratory context. A context which advent has been long coming and which direction is unstoppably moving toward an explosive growth of migration, legal and illegal.

This paper intends to investigate the factors that may provide a suitable platform for the transubstantiation of a different vision of migration, a vision in which a “de-migrantized” praxis about migration morphs into public culture. In that direction, this paper posits that the constitutive effect of “otherness” may provide also the opportunity to satisfy humans’ natural psychic-emotional drive to belonging and their tendency to ratify themselves through appertaining to a community.

This paper also intends to represent that the ongoing failure to connect migration research to the analytical categories of social science more broadly prevents the development of a public culture discourse on migration reflective not just the current but also of future dynamics. Some of these dynamics are already upon us, and they speak only in favor of explosive growth in the number of migrants worldwide both domestically and internationally and within core and periphery countries alike.

Additionally, this paper intends to represent that an approach that is unable to encompass all the diverse facets of migration under a unifying discourse leads to four pernicious outcomes.

- ✓ It prevents policymakers and advocates from developing an effective strategy for the normalization of the phenomenon.
- ✓ It contributes (knowingly or unknowingly) to the justification of the current international division of power in which the social majority defines otherness.
- ✓ It perpetuates a policy of division and exclusion among people who, by whatever avenue of life, happen to be living in a country other than their own.
- ✓ And finally, it prevents the expression of intellectual, economic, and creative forces that could be used to improve international relations among nations, increase world stability and security, from taking form.

The necessity to resolve the limiting outcomes of a less than a systemic approach to global migration is now reflected in the Global Compact on International Migration approved by the UN Assembly.

This paper will also attempt to discuss the unifying experience of migrants on a global level—be it economic, ecological, security, or marital reasons—and establish if from this a common thread(s) emerges which could potentially provide them agency in the current debate on the global governance of migration.

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INTRODUCTION

The work of late Amalia Signorelli, a noted Italian

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Anthropologist, and professor at the University Federico Secondo of Naples and La Sapienza of Rome may provide a suitable starting point. Writing in the *Annals of Italian History* about the semantic evolution of the memes used by historian and policymakers to name Italian migration through the

centuries, Signorelli contended that there is no such thing as “La Comunita' degli Italiani Nel Mondo”—a global community of Italians living abroad.¹ Adopting a sociological posture, Signorelli concluded that the Italians residing around the world lacked the constitutive elements of a cohesive group, which include: a high level of integration produced by cultural homogeneity, a commonality of intent, and an economic distribution along the normalized curve characteristic of a community. These elements, Signorelli affirmed, are all necessary to the sociological definition of a community.²

Even though she states afterward that a network analysis could be more appropriately applied to the understanding of migrants interrelations, Signorelli overlooked the role that identity plays in defining who is an immigrant is and who is not.³ In that direction, she seemed to ignore the fact that identity is not merely a product of self-definition, something which may be bought and worn like a coat, or attained by merely residing in a new nation. As Jonathon Whooley often remarks to those who take his course the *Fundamentals of International Relations*, “Like it or not an individual acquires an identity the moment he/she is born.” And it is not by his or her choice but by factors which besides the obvious structural determinants like geography, ethnicity, sex, and other physical characteristics, are exogenous and dictated by social conventions and communal needs.⁴

In the work of late agrarian sociologist Enrico Pugliese, identity assumes a Marxian connotation. The migrants are mainly workers as such they become class and enter into a context in which their individuality is linked to market dynamics and the global division of labor.⁵ In this context prescinding nationality and the single individual, the discourse about migration becomes supranational, leading to Leninist-like anti-imperialist form of transnational analysis.⁶

Identity is, therefore, a multifaceted affair. It does not define the person only as an individual—boy, girl—but also as belonging to a specific culture, and a member of a precise group within that socio-cultural milieu. The group (kinship network) is defined by its economic standing within the broader economic ecosystem of the nation, its religion, its politics, and progressively down to the choices that the person may end up making during his/her life. So before even being born, the society surrounding the person will come to expect that he/she will adhere to a set of beliefs, follow a specific diet, have specific aspirations, and personal limits.⁷

The current research about intentional communities and particularly about transnationalism may provide a strong basis

¹Signorelli, A.; (1995). *Movimenti di popolazioni e trasformazioniculturali*. Storiadell'ItaliaRepubblicana. Einaudi. Torino.

²Ibid

³Ibid.

⁴Whooley, Jontahan, *Fundamentals of International Relations*, In class lectures, SF S, Fall 2017

⁵ Pugliese E. and Mottura G.; (1975). *Agricoltura, Mezzogiorno e mercato del lavoro*. Il Mulino. Bologna

⁶ Pugliese, E.; (2002). *L'Italia tramigrazioni internazionali e migrazioni interne*, Il Mulino, Bologna.

⁷Whooley, J.; (2017). *International Relations*. In ClassLecture – Identity and IR. Fall 2017. SFSU.

to justify a reading of migration as an “imagined community.”⁸ This reading is departing from an intersubjective understanding of otherness which is rooted into schemata present across varied cultures, and which equate being a migrant to belonging a de facto to a virtual nation, the “Nation of Otherness,” no matter what the ethnic extraction of the migrant is or his economic and social status. Understanding otherness in this fashion is particularly true during times of scarcity and ontological instability of the international system and by its reflection also of the citizenry at large.⁹

Millsom Henry-Waring addresses this factor in her paper “Moving beyond otherness: Exploring the polyvocal subjectivities of African Caribbean women across the United Kingdom.” In her paper Henry-Waring indicates the existing meta-discourse about otherness has a negative attribution attached to foreign presences in the system, thus negating it any polyvalent expression and limiting it to the binary dimension of exclusion-inclusion.¹⁰

However, it is through Michael Skey himself that oppositional research on national identity that otherness by positive reflection generates belonging.¹¹ Though originating from a condition of exclusion, otherness on the upside provides the excluded with the appurtenance of the category of the excluded and thus allow the individual—through this shared position in the community—to make sense of, and participate in, the wider social environment. Not only that, but he is also assigned agency about the status and activities of those who are now defined as “others.” In that sense, as a member of the dominant group the individual can make judgments about “otherpeople” and, as a result, position himself as the legitimate arbiters of values, norms and social practices within the group and therefore contributes to establishing who is in and who is out.

Framed within this context, since the definition of identity becomes a multifactorial process that takes places at several different levels of gnosis and geography at the same time, transnationalism becomes a form of Public Culture.¹² As such it encompasses communication practices, technocratic practices, forms of entertainment and commercial consumption within the public sphere which allow for “distinctively modern form (s) of collective identity” to be expressed.¹³ The se characteri

stics are then inscribed in the national character, to imbue the civil society with their values and to form citizenship with similar transnational institutions. Currently, in academia, it is being used to contest prevailing conceptions about the political agency.¹³

⁸ Anderson, B.; (1983) *Imagined Communities*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

⁹ Skey, M.; (2013). Why do nations matter? *The British journal of sociology*. 64, 1.

¹⁰ Henry-Waring, M.; (2004, 31 – 41).

¹¹ (Glick Shiller et al. 1992-11 in) Vertovec, S.; (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 22:2, 450.

¹² Hariman, R.; (2016). *Public Culture Subject: Critical/Cultural Studies*. Oxford University Press USA.

¹³ Ibid

Drawing on the work of Benedict Anderson and Charles Taylor, public culture is the “social imaginary” that arises from the continuous widespread information exchange characteristic of modern societies.¹⁴ The culture is public because of how it depends on media that are addressed to an audience of strangers rather than associates, friends, or family, and because those media create a “meta-topical,” apolitical, and secular space in which information and ideas can be exchanged freely.¹⁵

Similarly sifted through the sieve of transnationalism, migration can be leveraged to take advantage of the dimension of public culture to allow actors who at times pursue divergent goals in the field of international relations, to find common ground to address system anomalies without espousing the same all-encompassing cosmogonic reading of reality.

One of the defining issues of this century, the public discourse about migration because of its transnational and transitional nature is particularly keen to become a form of public culture, a quality this which may lead to the emergence of a new level of consciousness. Within this frame of reference empowering the paradox of diasporas is not in the “here” (the country of origin) or “there” (the country of residence) but in the connection that social and state actors make between the two.¹⁶ According to Clifford, the realization of the multi-positioned nature of oneself compels the actors to connect experientially with other actors on both levels (here and there), who share the same roots and the same crossing routes across national and socio-economic boundaries.¹⁷

CASE STUDIES

Case studies in transnational communities relate mostly to diasporas construed as social forms of “globally dispersed but yet collectively self-identified ethnic groups, the territorial context where the groups reside and the state or the context where they or their forefathers came.”¹⁸ However, some recent experiences demonstrate that such an understanding no longer reflects the increased level of communication and the bandwidth of topics allowed by new forms of social media and technological tools.

Among the first forms of transnational collaboration on migration to take advantage of the new condition was “The March for Equality and Against Racism”¹⁹ organized by Sos-Racisme in 1983, to protest the skyrocketing number of racist crimes perpetrated in France against African migrants. On March 21, 1983, a hunger strike was launched by a group of young activists called Les Minguettes.²⁰ They demanded that police suspend harassing African youths. On June 21, 1983, during a police force raid, an officer injured Toumi Djaidja,

¹⁴Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. (In Hariman, 2016-13)

¹⁵Clifford 1994, -322 in Vertovec, 1999-450; Hariman, R.; (2016)..

¹⁶Clifford 1994, -322 in Vertovec, 1999-450

¹⁷Sheffer 1986 & Safran, 1991 in Vertovec, 1999-449

¹⁸Vertovec, S.; (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 22:2, 450.

¹⁹Bohen M., (2013), “The March for Equality and Against Racism)

‘The Migrants’ May 1968?’, Metropolitics.

²⁰Ibid.

the president of the association SOS Avenir Minguettes (SOS Minguettes’ Future). In response, the idea of a nonviolent march emerged with the hope that it would defuse the standing tensions between the police and the youth of Les Minguettes.²¹ The march called activists from all over Europe and served to transform SOS Minguettes from a local organization into SOS Racisme, a Europe-wide multiethnic organization fighting racism across the continent. SOS Racisme played a defying role in the ’80s and the ’90s in the effort to change the narrative about the migrants who had moved from North-Africa to Europe and to increase the level of solidarity across ethnic groups.

The second bottom-up transnational collaboration took place during the World Social Forum, which convened for the first time in Porto Alegre Brazil in 2001.²² The World Social Forum is an annual meeting of civil society organizations. It offers a self-directed attempt to construct an alternative model of development bringing together non-governmental organizations, advocacy groups, and formal and informal social movements. The Forum aims to foster international solidarity through transnational collaborations directed to achieving a more equanimous distribution of wealth, power, and a sustainable lifestyle. The World Social Forum is considered the embodiment of Kant’s civil society and an organizational model of Proudhonian anarchy.²³

Traditional “kinship systems” such as Pakistan’s *Biradari*, China’s *Guanxi*, and the *Terrasini Fishing Network of Gloucester* also play a foundational role in the formation of transnational networks of migrants.²⁴ The *Biradari*, a patrilinear relation of kinship which ties together families across Pakistani clans, continues serving both as a mutual aid society and welfare agency, providing financial assistance in the form of loans and helping its members find employment. It also absolves functions that range from contributing to the dowries of more impoverished families to the propagation the tribal culture across geographic and cultural divides.²⁵

The *Guanxi* (networks) along with *Mianzi* (face) are essential elements determining levels of exclusion.²⁷ Some of the urban residents who have *guanxi* pass such assets on to migrant relatives, which helps them to obtain *Hoku*, a unique internal passport that allows Chinese citizens to migrate within the country to pursue job opportunities and receive health and unemployment insurance, pensions, free education for their

²¹Ibid.

²²Lowy, M.; The World Social Forum, *Solidarity Newsletter*, May/June 2002

²³Kant, Immanuel. *The Metaphysics of Morals*. Ed. Mary J. Gregor. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996. Print.

²⁴Lieven, A.; (2011). A Note on Kinship Terms. *Pakistan a Hard Country*. Public Affairs. New York, ISBN: 978-1-61039-023-1; Xiaoping, L & Stone, J., Bringing the migrant back in^: mobility, conflict,

and social change in contemporary society, July 2017, Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2017; Pontoniere, P.; (2008). “In alto mare”, Film Italiano Vince a San Francisco. *La Repubblica*

²⁵Xiaoping, L & Stone, J., Bringing, July 2017, Springer Science+Business Media B.V.

children²⁶In the case of the *Terrasini Fishing Network of Gloucester*, a network of Italian migrants from a small Sicilian fishing village who emigrated to the US in the 1800s have made of this corner of Massachusetts their second house in the world. Numbering over 20,000 members and including 4th and 5th generation Italian Americans, the *Terrasini Fishing Network* has transformed itself also into an educational institution. Currently, it devotes itself to the preservation of local fisheries, indigenous culture, the propagation of their regional Italian-American cuisine, and the protection of their ancestral fishing traditions.

Traditional kinship networks also exert an impact at the state level. They sharpen the urban versus rural contradiction, as in the case of China or force the state to accept a limited sovereignty arrangement—like in the case of Pakistan, where the Federally Administered Tribal Areas defer to the authority of tribal chiefs in the North West Frontier Province.

But what kind of Institutions do Transnational Interests Generate?

On the national level migrant communities tend to form clubs, foundations, and circles within the host nation. These organizations revolve around the common shared cultural and ethnic heritage. They connect the migrant to the motherland in a point-to-point fashion, with no parallel connection among them. In a growing number of instances, and since the advent of the internet and social media, these organizations are increasingly venturing into the financial and technological realm.

On the transnational level interest groups adhere to government-initiated programs, professional organizations, and people-to-people diplomacy initiatives. They coalesce around shared economic goals. These organize in a wheel-and-spoke fashion around the motherland, which often initiates the action. These institutions are becoming increasingly self-directed and initiating cross-ethnic action. The objectives they pursue are either of econometric nature—which they seek to attain them through chambers of commerce, scientific networks, and tech hubs—or right-based.

DISCUSSION

As we examined in prior passages, the social expectations—and political needs—of the hosting country, as well as of the international system, are what define the migrant. And these expectations are not necessarily linked to the migrant's position within the Durkheimian structure of society but rather by what the host country believes their cultural, social, and behavioral proclivities may be—regardless of whether the migrant is espousing them or not.²⁷

Let's provide some examples using some commonly accepted stereotypes about ethnicity. Currently, in the global imaginary, the canons of Italianism are pizza, pasta, the family, passion outbursts, the centrality of the role of the mother (which this writer would hope that the entire world would adopt), the mafia, *bel canto*, poetry, soccer, and *dolce vita*.

This writer, being Italian himself, for one, does not recognize himself in many of these stereotypes. But his experience

teaches him that if he says to anybody in the world that he is Italian, they will reply immediately with something like: "Oh Italians—pizza, pasta, mafia, Mamma eh?" Therefore, even before saying anything, this writer says has been boxed into a culture and is expected to behave in a specific fashion.

By this token, regardless of what they may think or pursue, their economic condition, or if they like whatever Italians are supposed to like, Italians living abroad—irrespective of the country they migrated to—have turned precisely into what Signorelli excludes: a homogenous community with a commonality of intent and a well-distributed economic bell curve.²⁸ Thus, whether liberals or conservatives, religious or not, lovers of pasta or haters of pizza, in the new country they all begin from the same starting block and are supposed to follow a similar pathway to integration.

Becoming aware of the limits of Signorelli's analysis this writer also started reflecting upon the divarication that exists between the immigrant's perception of himself and the stereotypical representation of that self by the host country. "It must be an experience shared by immigrants of all nations," wondered this writer. How many other common-place beliefs may one encounter? Chinese nationals make bad drivers? Germans are supposedly very meticulous, Indians like to dance and sing, and so forth.

But if this analysis is correct, in a paradoxical way, from the aggregate reading of schemata, stereotypes, preconceptions, faulty expectations, and beliefs that most people of a country harbor toward otherness descends that the immigrant communities of the world explicitly or implicitly have agency in setting the agenda for the current debate about the global governance of migration. Explicitly because their networks connect them across national boundaries, and thus the behavior of their members can exert noticeably social effects in the countries where they live. Implicitly because just by their mere presence—as Henry-Waring reports—a black person would in the British countryside they remind most of their otherness. Even more, being a transnational community, if the migrants of the world came together, they could contribute a great deal of ingenuity and resources to the creation of a public culture discourse. A discourse which at the end through news, entertainment, the arts, advertising, social media, may subvert the dichotomous proposition of immigration yes vs. immigration not, which is now opposing economic nationalism to liberal globalization, and "could have important consequences for democratic institutions and political belonging in future."²⁹

In this direction, two issues bode to be discussed. First, does the casuistry we provided support the hypothesis that transnational communities of migrants may form around actions based on solidarity and meant to benefit one or the other regardless of what their distributive coalition may gain from it? And second, what are the factors which allow such transnational alliances to coalesce?

On the first issue let us provide some personal exegesis.

²⁸ Signorelli, A (2010), "Dall'Emigrazione agli Italiani nel Mondo," *Storia d'Italia*, Annali 24, Einaudi Editore, Torino

²⁹ Castles and Miller (1993-2014)

²⁶ Pontoniere, P.; (2008). Zhongshan, Y. (2015)

²⁷ Snyder, Q. Z.; (2013). 15, 539–561

Toward the end of the nineties, late historian Franz Schurmann, San Jose State University's Chair of African-American Studies Kwasi Cobie Harris, late founding member of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Professor Richard Pankhurst (at the time living in the UK), Development Assistance Group Ethiopia's strategic advisor Awetu Simesso (at the time living in the US), and this writer created an international committee seeking the return of the Axum Obelisk back to the people of the Tigray. The obelisk had been brought to Rome during the fascist occupation of Ethiopia of 1929.

Working together with Giovanni Russo-Spena (an Italian Senator) in Rome, the committee was able to convince Italy to return the obelisk to Axum. Noted intellectuals, like Brian Eno, Spike Lee, Walter Truett-Anderson, Sandy Close, and many more journalists, members of Congress, and political activists adhered to the initiative. We defined the action "quiet diplomacy" in support of the cultural rights of indigenous people and for the return of stolen artifacts to the country of their belonging.

At the time, the idea that colonial powers should return the works of art that they had stolen from occupied colonies to their rightful owners seemed far-fetched. We remember that even though he signed our petition to the Italian parliament, Spike Lee did it with a great deal of skepticism. "People at the top will always get it their way, I will sign the petition, but I don't believe that the Italians will return the obelisk to Ethiopia," stated Lee.³¹

Lee's statement brings us to the second issue. Lee may have been correct in many other cases, but fortunately for the Tigray people, he was wrong on that occasion. He was wrong because he did not consider the enormous power migrants of the world can leverage when they came together, not to act on ideology or politics, but to contribute a different point of view to the resolution of thorny issues. Today works of art that British, American, French, and Italian—as well as other colonial powers—have stolen from occupied countries are being regularly returned to their rightful owners. And guess who is gaining the most? Countries like Italy (to whom the Getty Museum has just recently returned several major Greek-era sculptures), France, and several Middle Eastern countries that were pillaged during past wars and occupations.

Another personal experience which may indicate a factor on which commonality can be built is advocacy for the transnationality of civil rights. At the beginning of the nineties, writing for the magazine *Frigidaire*, I called for a drive to force the Italian government to recognize the right of Italian emigrants to vote during Italy's political contests and referenda and to elect their representatives to the Italian parliament. *Frigidaire* was a fringe magazine, so the drive did not resonate widely, but my proposal nevertheless contributed to creating an opening among Italian progressive forces which until then, and long after, had been closed to the idea. They feared that the Italians living abroad were pro-right, conservative, and borderline fascist and did not see any reason to give them the

right to vote. An obvious logical fallacy, this was based on unproven stereotypes about Italians who had emigrated. Years later, when that right was finally recognized, the votes of the Italians living abroad were instrumental to the defeat of Berlusconi's government and the rise of the left to power.

CONCLUSION

Toward a Porto Alegre of International Migration?

The scope for this paper was to serve as a stimulus to develop a debate around the possibility—to say it with Dahinden (2016)—to 'de-migranticize the research on international migration. The aim was to achieve a consensus around the fact that immigration is now a defining factor of the human experience and thus should be recognized for its universality and as a condition which gives rise to a new de-facto public culture.³⁵

There is no doubt that the hypothesis offered of the international community of migrants as a transnational community rooted in otherness is a "frontier" hypothesis. The research on otherness and international relations is still fragmented and in its early stages of development. However, my initial contention about the unifying effects of otherness on transnational migration finds justification in the literature reviewed and in the casuistic analyzed. This leads me to believe that as emerging dynamics in the economy, the environment, and demographic trends affecting migration will become more evident in years to come, the development of a public conversation on the root causes of migration (seen from the migrant's point of view) and its real effect on host countries will become possible. Thus, subtracting it from the constricting dichotomy of refugee/asylum seeker in it is currently mired in, migration will be finally understood as a diffused human condition of the modern era.

Furthermore, the literature also proves that while "far-out" looking, the hypotheses formulated by this author are not an isolated allocution. Other scholars in IR and migration are also thinking along the same lines of research. They are testing new and different solutions and wondering what we can do, not only to protect ourselves from discrimination, as blaming immigration has become a convenient diversion, but also to help those who are following us (our descendants), to pursue policies of inclusiveness, solidarity, and cooperation. These initiatives are now essential more than ever, particularly today when we find ourselves at the beginning of climate patterns which could cause the displacement of up to 760 million people by 2050.

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