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<center>Globalization and the Migration Dilemma</center>

In a constantly globalizing world, the literal and figurative lines between nation-states often become blurred. One of the most significant vehicles of globalization which drives these changes is international migration. This includes regular and irregular migration as well as refugees. However, international migration can also lead to conflict in the contemporary world, particularly in regards to border security, demographic identity changes, and political pressures from transnational institutions. Furthermore, when considering nation-states, which can be defined as a combination of a people with commonality in culture and political institutions with territory, sovereignty and a monopoly on force, one finds that such conflicts will undermine the power of nation-states. This is because territorial borders will be weakened; cultural diffusion will challenge nationalist identities; and state sovereignty will be diminished by international migration policies from transnational organizations. However, the lack of regulatory frameworks in the international refugee system is an aspect of globalization which helps nation-state's remain in control of managing human mobility. While diaspora communities are an aspect of globalization which impedes the nation-state's ability to manage human mobility.

Globalization has challenged the nation state's right to control territory through borders because of irregular migration. Irregular migration refers to the movement of what Peter Andreas calls Clandestine Transnational Actors which can be defined as " nonstate actors who operate across national borders in violation of state laws"(Andreas, 78). Examples of this can include security threats such as smugglers, drug traffikers or even terrorists. However, the vast majority of irregular migrants are people seeking employment or refuge (Andreas, 78). On the other hand,

a fundamental part of the definition of a State is the ability to define and control a certain amount of territory which will be marked by borders. Furthermore, "all states monopolize the right to determine who and what is granted legitimate territorial access"(Andreas, 78). Thus, the conflict between States and non-state actors which engage in irregular migration is one which undermines a fundamental aspect of the nation-state.

Additionally, globalization has challenged the nation-state by bringing changes in identity via cultural diffusion. People within the territory of a State being able to identify with each other based on a shared culture is a defining aspect of a nation-state. This shared culture is meant to foster a national identity for the citizens, which is why nation-states have, " historically relied on homogeneous populations," and have "clearly defined boundaries aimed at distinguishing insiders from outsiders" (Kapoor, Fuentes & Schain, 2017). However, international migration, which plays a major role in globalization, has led to people of various ethnicities, cultures and other identities to interact with one another. Such interactions create an increase in diverse transnational identities at the expense of national identities (Mann, 474). An example of this phenomena can be seen with the ethnic demography of the United States, a country which is often described as a "melting pot." The diverse identities of new immigrants from Asia and Latin America have become immersed in American society because of cultural diffusion and intermarriages. As a result of this, "many Americans have multiple identities that reflect complex ancestral origins, tribal and communal associations, and varied ideological outlooks on race and culture"(Perez & Hirschmen, 2009). The diversity brought about by international migration is in conflict with the homogenous identity that nation-states are usually defined by and thus it challenges the legitimacy of the nation-state.

Similarly, the legitimacy of a nation-state can be challenged by the transnational organizations which are products of globalization, particularly when such organizations impact migration policies. As mentioned before, State's reserve the right to determine who can and cannot come within their territory, this is part of the sovereignty of a state. State sovereignty is crucial for a nation state to exist, if the political institutions do not have the ability to make their own decisions within their own borders, then such an entity cannot manage a population of citizens. The rise of transnational political institutions have threatened this key aspect of the nation-state by becoming involved in the policy making process. Such institutions can include supranational organizations, non-governmental organizations, and even transnational corporations. For example the European Union is a supranational organization which can "make decisions and pursue policies in the name of the member states"(Brack, Roman, & Crespy, 2019). This extends to policies of human mobility and migration such as the Schengen Agreement which requires European Union member states to practically abolish their national borders. Thus, transnational political institutions challenge nation-states by making it harder for them to control their own borders and decide their own policies.

Yet not all aspects of globalization will undermine the nation-state, some may empower it to control human mobility. The international refugee system is emblematic of this, in that the existing international refugee system, which is largely based on the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention, is dependent on nation-states and their sovereign borders. Even a supposed limitation on state sovereignty that the refugee system imposes like the non-refoulement policy, which prevents states from returning a refugee to a country where they face a well founded fear of persecution, is only triggered when an asylum seeker reaches a state's border. Thus state's have the power to "erect a wide variety of institutional and legal barriers designed to keep

asylum seekers away from their borders: visa requirements, safe country of origin and safe third country rules"(Hansen, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, et al. 2014). Furthermore, a successful asylum application is one which ends in the asylum seekers receiving citizenship in their host country (Hansen, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, et al. 2014), the right to give out citizenship status is an exclusive power of sovereign nation-states. Moreover, states have the power to determine the status of international actors as asylum seekers are only considered refugees upon being recognized as such by a nation-state. Clearly the international refugee system is highly dependent on the cooperation of nation-state's. An example of this can be seen with the recent refugee crisis at the Belarus and Polish border where there are upwards of two-thousand refugees waiting to be given residence. In response to this, Poland deployed thousands of troops to enforce the nation's sovereignty over its own border (UN News, 2021).

On the contrary, an aspect of globalization which has the opposite effect is the presence of diaspora communities which are a product of international migration . Such communities can undercut the State's efforts in enforcing restrictions on immigration in several ways. For example, "ethnic groups can provide protective cover to their members and allow illegals to disappear into their midst"(Bhagwati, 103). Additionally, diaspora communities can play a significant role as political entities which can discourage restrictive migration policies. For example, to appease the Hispanic voting population, politicians in the United States may shy away from imposing harsh restrictions on Latin American migrants, including irregular migrants (Bhagwati, 103). For such reasons, one can conclude that diaspora communities, which are brought about by globalization, will impede the nation-state's ability to manage human mobility.

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