On the Consequences of Nation State and Welfare State: The Case of International Migration[1]

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Abstract

This study analyses the structural characteristics of the political, economic and cultural outcomes caused by the welfare state policies that render the problems such as migration and identity irresolvable. With the establishment of the modern society, while communising the political decision-making processes, interests and goals to increase development dynamics, it also caused the emergence of numerous social problems. The structure of the nation state that boosts the cultural, political and economic centralisation also lays the groundwork for the establishment of the welfare state by way of communising the wealth. A society comprising of individuals with common interests and goals has a uniform and centralised structure. Such a society defines itself according to its differences from other societies and has the tendency to construct a common identity and future. Designed national identities cause racist and xenophobic political movements which are against international migration gaining in power, and hence increase conflicts, risks and crises. In this context, our study investigates the structural causes of the rapidly increasing risks, crises and social conflicts resulting from the policies of the welfare state.

Key Words: Centralised government, risk society, economic prosperity, welfare state, international migration.

Jel Codes: F22, F50, F60, H70, I30.

Introduction

This study analyses the structural properties of the nation state and welfare state that causes the emergence of the migration problem. A nation state is based on the political system that enables the contribution of the people to the political decision-making processes. The structure of the nation state that allows all the subjects to participate in the political decision-making processes also causes the rapid enhancement of centralisation. The centralisation of politics and economy paves way for the emergence of a uniform society. The centralised structure of the nation state that causes the emergence of a uniform society bolsters the objections against international migration. Thus, the significance of racist and xenophobic political movements in the decision-making processes rapidly increases. This situation causes the increase in risks and social conflict expectations. This article investigates the impact of the migration problem increasing the risks originating from the social structure caused by the welfare state. Currently, one of the most prominent fields of study in social sciences is the study of political and social problems arising due to international migration. The social impact of the international migration sets many dynamics of change in motion, both on the global and the local scale.

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Therefore, the social sciences have become increasingly more interested in the international migration problem which has impacted upon various fields, from economics to culture and politics.[3]The primary concern of the social sciences, which started its rapid development together with the rise of modernism, is to create a system of knowledge that will enable the establishment of the order. The effects of the international migration that accelerate the dynamics of change require new knowledge apparatuses in order to establish their order. However, these studies usually focus on the social and political outcomes of the international migration, rather than the structural problems that cause it in the first place (Bauder, 2006; Briggs, 1993; Castles, 2000; Collinson, 1993; Hayter, 2000; Horowitz, 1985). Hence, the structural characteristics of the nation state and modern world system which has caused the emergence of the migration problem can be overlooked.

The major effect of modernism on politics and society is that it enables centralisation to be dominant in all aspects. Thus, one has to focus on the effects of modernism that lead to centralisation in order to fully understand the emergence and properties of the migration problem. By way of centralising political decision-making processes, modernism enables all the elements constituting the society to be subjected to the definitiveness of the centralised government. Therefore, the social outcomes originating from the structural qualities of the modern decision-making processes should be focused upon in order for the modern problems to be understood. The democratisation of the decision-making processes is one of the major changes imposed by the modern political system. All modern political systems aim to reconstruct the society and the state by way of including the people in the decision-making processes via centrist democracy. For such a reconstruction attempt to take place, it is imperative for the centralist ideologies to come to power rapidly. In addition, it is vitally important for the attempts aimed at reconstructing the society that all political decisions are to be left to the will of the majority so that centralisation can take place.

Indeed, the manner in which decisions are to be made has always been a central problem in the political sciences. The way that decision-making processes are established is the primary factor determining the essential characteristics of the political regimes. For example, the main characteristic of the ideal state put forth by Plato ([380 BC.] 2000), is that all kinds of decisions, interests and goals should be communised and the necessary cooperation in order to achieve these should be established as perfectly as possible. Similarly, Aristotle ([340 BC.] 2004; [350 BC.] 1995), who thinks that the basic characteristic of humans is the "*ability to practice politics*", states that the condition for people to attain happiness is related to their ability to act in accordance with "*logos*" (λόγος). In this respect, it can be argued that all members of the society making decisions in accordance with virtue, which exists independently of humans and ensures happiness. Accordingly, the ability of individuals to make the best decision while making a choice between multiple options depends on whether they think in accordance with logos. In this respect, both Plato's and Aristotle's ways of understanding politics have the potential to inspire centralist and totalitarian ideologies. From this perspective, Aquinas ([1268] 2007) perfectly interpreted the works of Aristotle in order to legitimise the absolute power of the King.

Throughout the history of politics, both Platonism and Aristotelians have emerged in different fashions. Various Platonist and Aristotelian understandings shaping the essential discussions in political sciences have had distinctive effects on the structural characteristics of the modern politics. However, the fact that structural characteristics of modern society and politics are extremely different than those of city-states, empires and kingdoms, gives rise to various problems. The social, cultural and political changes asserted by the nation states have caused the political sciences to encounter new cases and problems that have not been experienced before.
The fact that politics is rendered dependent on centralised decision-making processes that operate with the cooperation of various individuals on the basis of "*common fate*" and "*common interests*" extends the area of influence of the mass and the majority. This, in turn, causes an increase in the choices in politics being made based not on logos, but rather attaining pleasure. In modern politics, Rousseau, one of the most prominent figures of Platonism, bases his philosophy on the belief that modern politics and nation can be established the same as the "*ideal state*" that was designed for a small city.

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[3] The fact that the problem of migration was a definitive factor in the two of the most important elections of 2016, "The United States Presidential Election" and "United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum (BREXIT)", indicates that its political and social impact is extremely high. Moreover, the fact that the globalist politicians are losing these elections is an indication of the fact that the dichotomy between the local and global in the modern world system has become significant for political decisions.

However, for France, which has experienced a rapid increasing tendency towards centralisation since the beginning of the eighteenth century, using models and understandings actually designed for city-states as guidelines would result in devastating outcomes for individual freedoms. The efforts of the modern nation state to ensure an efficient cooperation by way of integrating all the subjects under its sovereignty only strengthens centralisation. This automatically lays the ground for totalitarian ideologies being more widespread and making tyranny sovereign. Under the circumstances that all citizens are dependent on a common fate, interest and identity, it is unavoidable for centralisation to be dominant. In a society where individuals are rendered just ordinary parts of a gigantic integrity, centralised government acquires absolute power. Under these conditions, it becomes inevitable for efforts to reconstruct the society and state with centralist ideologies, paving the way for tyranny to grow stronger.

In a society where all economic, cultural and political subjects act under the organisation and control of a centralised government, it is inevitable for freedoms to be weakened. This situation affects the political decision-making processes in a negative manner. While the common interest and common fate that forces individuals to act in a coordinated manner weakens all autonomy, they also make the mass political decisions more definitive. This situation is one of the major problems that states encounter when determining migration policies. Politicians have the tendency to enable the anxieties of a society that has transformed into a mass society to be essential in the decision-making processes, ignoring the rational needs of the economy. When political decisions are being made in such manner, they weaken the competition and popularise the collectivist ideologies and centralisation and soft despotism gains more power, meaning that it becomes impossible to attain negative liberty. Therefore, currently, discussions on how to organise the political decision-making processes are increasingly more frequent (Munger, 2000).

Insight, which acts as a basis in the establishment of both nation state and welfare state, has first been proposed in Dudley's "*The Tree of Commonwealth*"([1509-1510] 1948), and has been developed in Hobbes' "*Leviathan*" ([1651] 1991). Social contract theories have been the essential reference in the construction of societies since Rousseau's "*The Social Contract*" ([1762] 1994) have become powerful and definitive to such an extent that it is impossible for the individuals (or citizens) to define themselves separately from the nation which is uniform in structure. The main reason for the current rapid increase of the power of racist and xenophobic approaches is the centralist insights that have become dominant while weakening all economic and political autonomies. While these insights force the nations states to transform rapidly into welfare states they also force the society to transform into a mass and enable politics to become influential and definitive in both the public and private space.[4] Hence, the reactionary attitude of the masses to international migration can be interpreted as an instinctive reflex that aims to protect the common national interest. Therefore, racist and xenophobic reactions to international migration are structural problems originating from the centralist and collectivist characteristics of modern politics. This study proposes that structural transformations are necessary to overcome the structural problems of modern politics causing the problems of international migration.

1. The Structural Problem of the Modern Society Model

The main structural transformation achieved by modernism in the political system is the inclusion of the people in the decision-making processes. Thus, a powerful coordination that has not been experienced before is established between the state and the society. Through this coordination established with modernity, society, state and politics started to be reconstructed with a centralist insight. With reference to Rousseau's conception of freedom, while designing the society and politics enables citizens to be more and more integrated to the state over time, it also causes the state to become increasingly stronger. Under the circumstances where all citizens constituting the society can be manipulated to attain national integrity, all actions of the subjects start to be carried out such as they strengthen the centralised government. Thus, while the state constantly increases its power and sovereignty in all areas, individuals rapidly weaken against the society that have been organised with a totalitarian insight.

The notion of a nation state that has become dominant in the nineteenth century is based on the idea that a legitimate government can only be possible through nation and state becoming identical to each other in accordance with the national self-determination principle (Axtmann, 2004, p. 260).

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[4] In this study, nation state and welfare state are addressed as the two essential stepping points in the establishment of the modern power apparatus. In this context, the welfare state can be interpreted as an inevitable outcome of the nation state.

The insights which have this notion lead the way to the implementation of decision-making processes that enable the people to determine who will operate the power. Political insights focusing on how subjects will operate the centralised government tend to overlook the structure of the political power. According to these insights, being that the approach to determining who will govern and exert power is regulated in the most correct fashion, both freedom and wealth can be attained. However, when the philosophy of politics develops the insight of the government insofar as it focuses on how to limit the individual liberties without weakening them, the social structure can be organised in a manner that allows for liberties. On the contrary, since the modern nation state is mainly focused on establishing sovereignty over its society and territory in the most effective manner, an order is established where the individual liberties are weakened and the majority is dominant. Tyrannical majority opinion thus restricts the applicability of private judgment (Allen, 1998, p. 22). Modern societies organise all the subjects such that it enables them to engage in activities that will ensure the bolstering of national collectivism. For this purpose, by eliminating all potential power alternatives, the national state restructures the society so that it can be governed from a single centre. While the increase in the coordination between all the subjects that constitute the society renders the nation state to be more advantageous with respect to other states, it also reduces the status of individuals to ordinary apparatuses. The social activity of the individual is limited to carrying out the function given by the organisation of coordination. Hence, actualising the coordination between subjects in the most efficient manner rapidly increases the power of the nation state. Thus, a new social structure is established that has not been encountered in times and places where modernism has not been dominant. In this new social structure, all activities, habits, values and culture have a uniform and centralised structure.

The notion of popular sovereignty, which has a holistic characteristic, depends on the Rousseauian concept of "*general will*" (volontégénérale), which expresses the unity of the nation, rather than the plurality of interests (Bukovansky, 1999, p. 200). Hence, the limitless exercise of power becomes possible. After deciding who will govern, individuals present their power to the exercise of centralised power and enable the social benefit to be brought up to the highest possible level by the nation state. Modern political ideologies limit in various ways the individuals acting freely under the safety and wealth conditions provided by the state in order to attain the social benefit. Hence, while ensuring the sovereignty of the nation state, power is also used in the most efficient manner in order to attain the social benefit. It is then anticipated that a rapidly strengthening centralised government increases the wealth and safety of everyone at the cost of weakening the individual liberties.

Under the conditions of modernism, limitless social power increases its development due to the activities of all individuals. Moreover, due to the fact that everyone is subject to centralised laws, culture and power, uniformity, as that which enables the individuals to act in coordination with each other, becomes the major characteristic that determines the social structure. As the nation state which extends significantly and becomes sovereign makes the society uniform, it attains absolute power and becomes the single determinant power over the society. For this purpose, the nation state primarily ensures that everyone is included in the decision-making process. The individuals whose actions are regulated according to the laws, rules and procedures established through these processes bolster the sovereignty of the national state. Thus, the individual being attains characteristics that prevent him or her from existing as a separate entity from the integrity of the social structure. The modern society, which is established as a uniform integrity, keeps functioning in a manner that integrates different individuals to the mass. Under the conditions where the lives, actions and social functions of all citizens are regulated according to a Social Contract, soft despotism becomes sovereign by itself and the majority obtains the privilege of being the determinant power in every respect.

Therefore, assimilating the groups and minorities with different culture, religion and ethnic backgrounds and forcing them to integrate to the uniform nation becomes inevitable. Modernism constantly creates new coordinated activities in economy and politics, causing the individuals and groups that are different from the uniform social structure to be forced out of the system. It should be noted that as the self-government of the people enforces the actions of all individuals to be regulated in accordance with the goals of centralised government, then individual liberties weaken. Therefore, in order not to be left outside of the social structure, all distinct minorities restructure themselves by leaving their specific characteristics in a manner that is subjected to the practices of the centralised government. According to the modern insight, while the state, being a hierarchical organisation, protects its members from outside threats, it also establishes institutions that provide services for individuals in areas such as welfare, health and education (Rosecrance, 2002, p. 445). Hence the state paves the way for the emergence of a social structure which ensures that all the subjects become mutually co-dependent.

In a modern political system, as individuals participate in the public life to establish their common interests, common goals and collective identity, they are forced to forgo their individual liberties and integrate into the uniform collectively. Modernism leaves no autonomous space for any subjects outside of the uniform collectivise where they can exist. Hence, all the minorities and Diasporas that differ from the uniform collectively become an element of threat for the system. Consequently, and particularly during the period after the Second World War, a significant increase in the social problems related to migration and identity is observed. Under the conditions that there are no autonomies where individuals can maintain their existence outside of the uniform collectively, it is inevitable for the problems related to identity and international migration to cause increase in crises and risks. Since the structure of the modern nation state that communises the wealth has caused the emergence of the welfare state, all individuals are forced to be integrated into the uniform collectively at the expense of weakening their liberties. While this situation renders the conditions of existence of the humanitarian living that can only be attained through freedom impossible, it also bolsters the sovereignty of soft despotism.

2. Common Interest and Centralisation: Reconstruction of Identities

The dream of immortality of humans is one of the key factors that affect the development process of civilisation. Human efforts in building monumental structures to attain immortality derive from this dream of eternal life (Meerloo, 1968, p. 167). Totalitarian ideologies are also in pursuit of immortality; just like building monumental structures, they try to construct society in sucha perfect way that it will need no further changes. Modernism provides centralised governments with the necessary regulation and control apparatuses that will enable them to construct the society with a collectivist approach. Modern nation states maintain their development by building highly functional coordination systems among all the subjects. Thus, the nation state rapidly increases its ability to regulate and control the region of its sovereignty. One of the key aspects of the nation state that distinguishes it from other state models is that it can determine regulations in all areas, from laws to culture and economy, from a single centre and exercise them in all the regions under its sovereignty. Hence the state obtains the opportunity to manipulate its citizens in order to achieve the goals determined by the decision-making processes. The state swiftly develops the new coordination methods required for the new goals and ensures that the change dynamics in society maintain their functionality. Thus, the nation state tries to provide opportunities for all kinds of change that can be carried out economically, politically and culturally.

The construction of the national identity is highly essential for the modern nation state. Through the national identity, the nation state obtains numerous ideological apparatus that will enable all the subjects in the society to act in coordination. As the knowledge system and culture that enable all subjects to act in devotion and efficiency for the determined national goals becomes widespread, the nation state can operate the governing system in the most efficient manner. In order to achieve this, various social factors, from culture to national identity, should be designed in a centralist fashion. Owing to the artificial and designed common identities, common interests become dominant over society, weakening the individual interests and goals. In a society where common goals and interests are the primary concern, dominant values and ideologies affect the attitudes and behaviour of individuals in various ways. A collectivist culture and system that forces individuals to identify their self-interests with the common interest will then become rapidly widespread and dominant.

In observing the processes of modernism for the US, Tocqueville ([1835–1840] 2010, p. 312) states that despite not being forced by anyone, individuals act together in order achieve a common goal. Hence, many developments would not be possible with the will of the people under normal conditions can be achieved. However, a centralised government that aims for such a social coordination should regulate and control the construction processes of knowledge, culture and identities. Therefore, the nation state requires a national identity that has been developed with the construction of common goals and interests. Through this national identity, the centralised government ensures that all the subjects in the society can act with full functionality. A society comprising of citizens who strive to achieve a common goal increases the power and sovereignty of the nation state. As long as individuals believe that they share the same fate, they start to organise all the relations among each other through the state. Thus, the idea that the increase in the power of the state causes the increase in common prosperity becomes the primary factor that determines the actions of everyone. Individuals who act in coordination and carry out the activities that increase the power of the state so try to acquire a share of the common wealth. In turn, this causes the social structure to be dominant in which the individuals are subject to the initiative of the public while planning their lives and futures.

Therefore, as private lives are regulated to increase the power of the public, so do individual liberties start to weaken. Meerloo (1961, p. 95) emphasises that every culture institutionalises certain forms of behaviour that support certain ways of acting and thinking which shape the characters of the citizens. Hence the individuals are transformed into objects of a constant mental manipulation. As the state starts to regulate and control efficiently the construction process of the knowledge that determines which actions, behaviour and attitudes are valuable or harmful, it becomes easier for the individual to become an object of mental manipulation. Moreover, since the regulation and control power of the modern nation state over the mass media and universities is significantly higher than that of the traditional states, individuals can be more effectively manipulated. As the production of knowledge and news become centralised, individuals start to adjust their attitudes and behaviour by taking the tendencies of the mass into consideration. This in turn paves the way for the emergence of a public which enables for the nation state to manipulate all of society by determining common interests and common goals. In addition, centralisation of knowledge and news production enables the so-called social engineers who use the mass communications most efficiently to manipulate society easily. Totalitarian regimes ensure that their citizens acquire certain designated behaviour patterns and want the society to be educated in accordance with the newly designed social order (Meerloo, 1954, p. 809). Totalitarian ideologies are based on the belief that through this education, the most efficient coordination among the individuals can be achieved in order for the construction of the ideal society and state that they have been designed perfectly. The increase in the capability of the state to regulate and control the society through modernism causing totalitarian practices become more powerful. In particular, nation states which keep the knowledge construction process under control through media and educational institutions have the privilege to be influential over all the behaviour patterns, ideas and attitudes of the citizens.

Under conditions of modernism while, on the one hand, the centralised government ensures the centralisation of politics, it also gains the opportunity to manipulate individuals effectively by way of constructing common interests and common goals. Centralised government achieves this by ensuring that the individuals acquire certain customs, so designing a social order where all the subjects are obligated to act in coordination. In this designed and artificial social order, the situation which is defined by Meerloo (1961, p. 106) as the "*robotization of man*" takes place. As the individuals feel themselves as useless and confused in a political and economic system that is rapidly becoming more complex, they fall under the influence of the visions and discourses presented by centralised political power (Meerloo, 1961, p. 106). On the other hand, a welfare state motivates society by encouraging collectivist attitudes and behaviour, with the promise of increasing wealth and elevating the living conditions of individuals to the most ideal level. Thus, the individual tries to overcome the uncertainties caused by political and economic complexity with the insights provided by the national identity. All the knowledge, customs and attitudes acquired through this common identity enable the individual to act in coordination with the rest of the society. However, the rapid increase in international migration, especially after the Second World War, has changed the demographic structure of the migration receiving countries and rendered the common identities, common interests and common goals to be ambiguous and questionable.

3. *Economic Prosperity and Migration*

The complex nature of the international migration problem causes the researchers to focus on specific theoretical and empirical studies. However, the fact that the migration studies are confined to extremely limited areas makes it harder to develop more extensive insights about the problems. The criticisms of Collinson (1993) towards approaches which reduce the international migration problem to just an integration problem and emphasis on the increase in xenophobia has led the way for new pursuits. In this respect, the efforts for developing comprehensive approaches by Faist (2000) through emphasising the totality of the migration problem are especially noteworthy. Moreover, work by Lucas (2005), which may pioneer the studies on the international migration problem that is already quite widespread, is also an important step towards putting forth an extensive approach to migration.

The social and political impacts of the rapid increase in the international migration are indeed shocking. International migration renders inevitable the emergence of social and political change in numerous areas because international migration has effects that leave the maintenance of the uniform social structure, so enabling the welfare state to establish sovereignty over the society impossible. Increase in the cultural, religious and ethnic diversity through international migration where the nation state is sovereign makes the risks and uncertainties more widespread. Thus, the nation becomes more deprived of the common interests and goals, and the national identity which enables the coordination swiftly weakens.

This situation increases the risk of social conflicts, causing all projects related to the planning of the future to become functionless and increase uncertainty in life. Therefore, in the eyes of the public opinion, minorities and Diasporas come to be regarded as elements that weaken the national integrity and increase the potential for risk.

One thesis proposed by Solimano (2010) states that the international migration problem would persist unless the inequalities in the global economy are addressed. It is founded on the concern that the social and political effects of international migration would have an impact on the world system as a whole. The tendency of the world system to render all the subjects that are engaged in the economic and political activities to be mutually co-dependent causes all kinds of problems with a global nature. The problems that have become global are impossible to solve with the apparatuses of the nation state and welfare state, all of which that have extremely strong local characteristics. Although requiring international migration to maintain their developed economies, welfare states encounter various legitimacy problems in determining the subjects that will participate in the sharing of wealth. The reality of natives being unwilling to share the wealth of the nation with the diasporas makes xenophobic discourse more popular. This is the natural outcome of the fact that the nation state constructs society and national identity around common interests and a common fate.

It is possible to define the twentieth and twenty first centuries as the ages of migration. A rapid increase in international migration has been observed throughout the twentieth century. It is also highly plausible that in the twenty first century, migrants and refugees to be the primary factors that impact the socio-economic developments. Therefore, with reference to the prediction that international migration would weaken the established world order, Castles and Miller (1993, p. 265) point out that governments need to provide conditions in which there is no relation between citizen's ethnic background and their being socio-economically disadvantaged. This warning is highly important because in the societies where the individuals are faced with economic and social problems due to their ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds, risks and conflict expectations become dominant over the general fare of the public life. However, for a society which is comprised of individuals who believe that they share a common interest and fate to start sharing its economical wealth with the migrants and Diasporas without conflict needs structural changes in the cultural, social and political areas.

While, on one hand, the structure of the modern politics enables the people to be active in the decision-making processes to develop a centrist democracy, it also leads the way for centralisation and bureaucracy to become more powerful. During its establishment, the modern nation state constructed numerous institutions that enable the individuals constituting the nation to act in coordination within a notion of a common future. These institutions, which cause increased coordination within the society, have also become dominant in the establishment of the modern society. Through these institutions, nation states could establish absolute sovereignty over their nations and territories.

However, the collective decision-making methods of the international institutions such as League of Nations, NATO and the European Union, weakens the sovereignty of national states (Thomson, 1995, p. 229). On the other hand, under the circumstances where the economy has quickly become globalised in the twentieth century, the nation states which prioritise their national interests and national common fate show resistance to the definitive power of the supranational organizations. The economic prosperity attained due to increase in the international migration does not prevent the individuals constituting the nation becoming more anxious against the increasing risks. Modern societies are established through national identity and political centralisation which are constructed as uniform with a totalitarian insight. Thus, it is not possible for nation state to solve the problems encountered by the minorities and Diasporas which, in the eyes of the xenophobic critics, cause the collective integrity to deteriorate. It is inevitable that the crises and conflicts postponed because of economic prosperity will emerge in time as larger and unsolvable problems.

Concluding Thoughts

A totalitarian state constantly tries to manipulate the personal choices and opinions of individuals (Meerloo, 1961, p. 294). The nation state, which includes totalitarian characteristics, has the means to manipulate both the choices and opinions of the individuals and the society, both through the cultural and health institutions it establishes as well as the mass media. The nation state possesses apparatuses that enable the regulation and control of the structures of knowledge and information, which had not previously been possible to this extent. Through the established national identity and national interest, the nation state ensures national integrity and makes it possible for all the subjects to act in coordination.

Hence the individuals show the tendency to alter their personal choices and opinions to conform to the masses. A society comprising of individuals who have been socialised by performing their functions within the hierarchy constructed by the nation state acquires a uniform structure. However, the fact that the modern world-system has constructed economic and political co-dependence networks which render the international migration of labour inevitable has caused social outcomes weakening national integrity and national identity. Nation states attain and consolidate their legitimacy through a common interest, national integrity and national identity. Deterioration in these aspects damages the foundation on which the nation state has constructed all of its the political and social structure. Social scientists studying the concept of identity, indirectly or openly accept its social contractedness (Gerson, 2001, p.180). This means that the identities have no existence outside the existence of individuals and their social activities. Hence, social and political changes also cause changes in the knowledge, beliefs and ideas regarding how and with what the individuals identify them. Through identity, the individuals position themselves within the life world in which they live. Accordingly, the social and political changes in the life world where the individuals exist both influence and change the characteristics of their identity, as well as how they position themselves. Therefore, the weakening of the sovereignty and decisiveness in the knowledge and identity construction processes of the nation state causes extensive changes in how the individuals identify themselves. While the nationalism movements, which have quickly become widespread since the beginning of the nineteenth century, have provided the opportunity for the nation states to be established as the most effective governing mechanism in the history, they have also played a key role in the establishment of the modern world-system by enabling the nation states to draw absolute boundaries confining the areas of their sovereignty.

During this period, while the economic, social and political co-dependence relations emerged among nations and territories, the supranational structures that have weakened the sovereignty of the nation state have become increasingly dominant. This situation has had a serious impact on the social and political structure of the welfare states which depend on the common interests, common identities and common fate of its citizens. In particular, the increasing international migration weakens all the political structures that have been established based on social uniformity and coordination. The nation state continues its development by ensuring that all the political and social structure is centralised. On the other hand, the welfare state ensures that the economic prosperity is also centralised and causes national integrity, uniformity and common fate to be the absolute determinant factors over the social structure. As stated by Hillmann (2008, p. 287), the relation between the centralisation of the state and the interests and identities of local communities is highly decisive in the establishment of the state.

The welfare state, which claims to provide safety and prosperity of all of society based on the common interest and identity despite all the opposition from the local communities, thus encounters difficulties in regulating and controlling the territory under its sovereignty. This situation is an automatic outcome of the impact of globalisation that increases the risk, as well as the effects, of the supranational power that weakens the social and political power of the welfare state. It seems impossible for the welfare state, which regards providing economic and social prosperity of its citizens as its major priority, to produce permanent solutions for the problems caused by international migration. The decision of who shares the common wealth and common fate of the nation is a process that requires various social, political and structural changes. Individuals who have established their identities, economic choices and future plans according to the common interest and common fate determined by the nation state have the tendency to show resistance to the social and political changes required due to international migration. In turn, this tendency causes the risks caused by the inevitable conflicts between the natives (or the majority) and the diasporas to be inevitably determinant over the social and political life.

Meerloo (1961, p.302) emphasises that liberty and planning are not essentially contradictory; they are states in which we have to perform all kinds of necessary planning and control against a mechanical world design that restricts liberties. The welfare state, which claims to establish order and security by becoming the absolute determinant over the identities, wealth, knowledge and future of its citizens, is a result of attempts at establishing a uniform society deprived of all personalities. The welfare state actualises the designed, uniform society in the name of common interest and national identities, so limiting the liberties of the individuals. Increasing racist reactions to international migration are political attempts carried out in order to protect the common prosperity. On the other hand, there are numerous resources that enable the establishment of a social and political structure where the liberties of individuals are not restricted. This can only be made possible by restricting the social and political impact of the state in such a manner that it will enable the individuals to increase their prosperity levels while, at the same time, having their own autonomy.

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