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# **Solidaritäten transformieren**

Transforming Solidarities (Hg.)

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**Praktiken und Infrastrukturen  
in der Migrationsgesellschaft**

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# Solidaritäten trans- formieren

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gesellschaft

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# Einleitung

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Forschungsgruppe  
*Transforming Solidarities*

Viel ist bereits über Solidarität geschrieben worden und noch viel mehr über den sozialen Zusammenhalt. Nicht ohne Grund, denn unsere Gegenwart ist geprägt von Umbrüchen und Krisen. Pandemie und Krieg fordern unsere Gesellschaften heraus. Klimawandel und Digitalisierung greifen in fundamentaler Weise in die Modi unseres Zusammenlebens ein. Die Realität der globalen Mobilität und die Faktizität der Migrationsgesellschaften verlangen von uns, Demokratie und Zugehörigkeit im 21. Jahrhundert neu zu denken und zu praktizieren. Die globale Welle der Entsolidarisierung fordert uns alle auf, die Beziehungen zueinander neu zu gestalten.

Eine gängige Antwort auf diesen Befund ist der Ruf nach einer Stärkung des gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalts. Doch dieses Konzept, so unbestimmt es auch ist, lässt keinen Zweifel an seiner Stoßrichtung: Es versteht Gesellschaft als national, geschlossen und exklusiv. Damit ist es nicht geeignet, eine nachhaltige, egalitäre und partizipative gesellschaftliche Zukunft zu entwerfen. Eine solche ist heute jedoch, angesichts globaler Fragestellungen, dringend notwendig.

Die Herausgeber\*innen dieses Bands sind Mitglieder des Forschungsprojekts *Transforming Solidarities. Praktiken und Infrastrukturen in der Migrationsgesellschaft*, einem Verbund der drei Berliner Universitäten: Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Technische Universität, Freie Universität, sowie der Charité – Universitätsmedizin. Zwischen 2021 und 2024 haben wir, finanziert von der Berlin University Alliance, untersucht, inwiefern Solidarität Antworten auf die Polykrisen und vielfältigen globalen Herausforderungen liefern kann. Wir sprechen von Solidarität in der Migrationsgesellschaft, weil wir Migration und andere Formen der Diversität nicht als Gefährdung des sozialen Zusammenhalts begreifen, sondern als soziale Realität. Solidarität ist für uns kein abstraktes Prinzip. Konkret haben wir Solidarität in Berlin als ›Labor‹ der Migrationsgesellschaft in den Feldern

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# Between Circulation and Re- production

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Rethinking Solidarity  
in an Age of  
Pandemic and War

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Sandro Mezzadra,  
Brett Neilson

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The call to transform solidarities begs the issue of how to conceptualize international solidarity at a time of increasing global fragmentation, regionalization, and centrifugal multipolarization. Perhaps because our writing collaboration spans two extremities of the world, solidarity for us has never been easily localizable. There has always been an elsewhere, which means that practical matters of social relationality, reciprocity, and commonality have had to confront the politics of translation, experiences of social discontinuity, and even incommensurability. Doubtless, the question of how solidarity works between people who do not know each other or who share little has been a perennial issue for social theory. Yet, the specter of an elsewhere introduces factors that cannot be easily grasped within the geographical frame of scale or the familiar social science binary of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. We understand these dilemmas and challenges to be implicit in the concept of migrant society, which informs many contributions to the present volume, even as we recognize that concept to provide a provisional and strategic means of negotiating the workings of solidarity within a frame of social

cohesion haunted by classical sociological expectations. In this chapter, we bring together an analysis of solidarity with a conjunctural approach to the contemporary world system, seeking to understand how geopolitical and geoeconomic turmoil inflect and condition possibilities for political alliances and struggles that stretch across the proliferating borders of a planet troubled by climate change, pandemics, and war.

Emphasizing the changing relations among processes of circulation and reproduction, the conceptual framework that informs this analysis is more fully developed in our book *The Rest and the West: Capital and Power in a Multipolar World* (Mezzadra and Neilson 2024). To understand how the workings of contemporary capitalism affect opportunities for solidarity across borders, we bring together two strands of critical work that have largely remained separate. The first emphasizes how practices of finance and logistics have made circulation more prominent in capital operations. Here the focus is on how circulatory processes have blurred with production to alter the spatial and managerial organization of capitalism (Cowen 2014; LiPuma 2017). The second engages the debate on social reproduction, which extends beyond questions of the reproduction of capital and labor respectively. Since the 1970s, dynamics of social reproduction have been largely an area of feminist inquiry split between thinkers who argue that reproductive labor involves qualities that elude capitalist measure and those who understand it as an immediate point of exploitation (Federici 2012; Bhattacharya 2017). The overlap of these two domains of critical inquiry is already registered by arguments about how finance and logistics sustain life or the organization of reproductive labor along care chains.

Debates about the changing stakes of circulation have been strongly linked to questions of globalization and the transnational mobility of capital and labor; while the politics of social reproduction have usually been articulated more locally, engaging questions of housing and health, for example, or the sustenance of the natural environment and the lifeforms that inhabit it. Yet, such a scaling of these problems is illusory, especially when considered in light of the weakened capacity of nation-states to organize production and social reproduction within their territories. Financialization, digitization, and the worldwide mobility of people have led to a logistical reorganization of production across diverse supply chains and production networks. Con-

currently, the growing inability of states to guarantee the reproduction and turnover of capital at the national level has led them to seek advantage by strengthening their control over transnational circulatory processes. Think of China's Belt and Road project, Russia's control of energy flows, or US influence asserted through the dollar-based financial system. In *The Rest and the West*, we argue that states have come into conflict over geopolitical and geoeconomic factors that organize and »contain« globalization. At the same time, we contend that the challenges faced by states in controlling the reproduction of labor, life, and capital have affected their capacity and willingness to address issues of social and climate justice. Doubtless, there is always the mediation of political process, but the nexus of circulation and reproduction is crucial for understanding transformations that at once spur conflict among states and heighten precarity and inequality within them.

Although previously present, the imbrication of circulation and reproduction became painfully evident in the pandemic. Production was largely stopped, and those jobs deemed essential were either in industries necessary for the circulation of goods and services, including logistics, energy, food distribution, and communications, or sectors that contribute to the reproduction of labor and life, such as healthcare, education, and housing. In some instances, circulatory and reproductive tasks combined in unprecedented ways. Consider the gig workers who transported food ordered on platform apps to urbanites in comfortable lockdown. Usually, such platform workers are considered to perform a logistical task, carrying out the work of last mile delivery. Under lockdown conditions, in which shut-ins come to rely on app-ordered provisions, these workers also provided a form of reproductive labor.

In contending that today circulation and reproduction tend to condition the possibilities for production, we do not deny that productive economies persist and even continue to grow in many parts of the world. Nor do we remain indifferent to how the dynamics of circulation and reproduction cross those forms of power that Foucault associated with the disciplining of bodies and governance of populations. While our approach is inflected by workerist arguments that emphasize the centrality of labor to economy and politics, we are acutely aware of how the labor theory of value is challenged by forms of financial accumulation that harness technolo-

gy to produce value not immediately through the extraction of a labor surplus but through the manipulation of risk. Moreover, in the era of the Anthropocene, we are aware that labor is all-too-human a category.

The point is not to reduce all human activity to labor or to take such a reduction as a basis for politics. Rather, it is to register how under contemporary capitalist conditions labor tends to colonize the range of human capacities and dispositions, including communicative abilities, social relatedness, etc. The question of circulation and reproduction is important in this regard, and not simply as means of tracking labor's grip on human busyness. We need a frame within which to analyze the relations among circulation and reproduction without reducing them to moments on the path to a universalizing whole. Such an approach promises not only a basis on which to gauge the possibilities for forging solidarity among different populations engaged in circulation and reproduction struggles but also the lineaments of a method that might relate such struggle to the conjunctural condition of the world at a time of heightening geopolitical and geoeconomic conflict.

Stuart Hall's reading of Marx's 1857 Introduction to the *Grundrisse* offers a means to understand how processes of circulation and reproduction exist in a »differentiated unity« — i.e., a unity in which their difference is »not subsumed into some »higher« but more »essential« synthesis involving the loss of concrete specificity« Hall 2003, 127. Although Hall works through Marx's analysis of the relations among production, distribution, exchange, and consumption, he is interested in discerning the emergence of a method (as Marx makes clear in the third section of the Introduction), and thus a similar observation can be made about the mutual interaction between circulation and reproduction. Marx employs the concept of *Wechselwirkung*, doomed to play a prominent role in classical sociology, especially in the work of Georg Simmel. Interestingly, this kind of analysis has been taken up in contemporary debates about relational comparison, for instance in the writings of geographer Gillian Hart 2018, where it provides a means for thinking through the relation among different global sites without construing them as separately constituted or as instances of some more encompassing process.

Solidarity today needs to be submitted to conjunctural analysis because it is only within the multiple determinations and relations that forge the concrete that

we can identify possibilities for alliance, coalition, or translation. For François Ewald<sup>2020</sup>, it was the accident, specifically the industrial accident that propelled liberalism to the making of civil laws that would undergird the social welfare state. These days the insurantal logic of risk has extended far beyond the realm of industry or the workplace, driving a financial system that has submitted welfare to privatization and/or marketization in many parts of the world. Solidarity is unmoored from the state in ways that are probably irreversible. In many ways, solidarity has become more of a speech act than a social bond, and one hedged with dangers of being infelicitous—dangers of being seen to speak for others, and dangers of making empty pronouncements or gestures, which are only ever a click away.

Nowhere is this emptiness more evident than in repeated calls for coalition among social movements or struggles scattered across the world. It seems evident that we live in a situation where statist visions of solidarity are tested, both in the sense that there is no easy return to the social welfare state, and in the sense that multilateral international relations are giving way to weird, if not impossible, combinations of isolationism and unilateralism. Under these circumstances, it seems that a common desire for liberation has to be articulated from heterogeneous social and geographical locations. But no such desire exists. Rather, we are confronted with a multiplication of struggles, efforts, and movements that arise from a clash with systems of domination and exploitation, open cracks in their structure, but do not foreshadow a systematic search for liberation. To reverse this situation seems a clearly difficult task, especially at a time in which geopolitical schisms proliferate.

The apparent obstacles to making such solidarity a reality are also the parameters that provide opportunities in which to work. Take the question of intersectionality, which, in focusing struggles away from a class framing, based in the figure of »free« wage worker, sweeps away the girding of an older internationalism. An important political consequence of intersectionality is the commitment to the equiprimordality of different forms of oppression (class, race, gender, sexuality, ability, etc.) in struggle, which seems a just starting point for any contemporary social movement Bohrer<sup>2019</sup>. How does such a position meet the tendency for a single axis of power to impose itself as dominant under particular social and conjunctural conditions? If, for instance, race

emerges as a primary form of oppression and exploitation in the contemporary US, does it mean that all struggles for freedom and justice in this context need to emphasize racial politics above say questions of class or gender in their modes of organization and contestation? The issue is important for political questions of strategy and tactics, especially as framed at the local or national levels. But it also has relevance for coalition building and the potentiality for struggles to scale and expand into mass movements capable of working across borders.

A related point can be made concerning the capacity for movements to build solidarity across the fractures and faultlines of the world system. Multipolarity has been an increasingly prominent feature of the world system at least since the economic crisis of 2007, rocked further by mounting China-US tensions and the wars in Ukraine and Gaza. The question of what constitutes a pole is an urgent one for political analysis. Clearly, a pole is not a territorial or state entity. Although it can certainly take on these dimensions and we tend to denominate poles with the names of states (the Chinese pole, the Russian pole, etc.), there are multifarious institutional, economic, and infrastructural factors that contribute to pole formation, including energy flows, financial operations, logistical connections, and patterns of digitization. All of these dimensions need to be accounted for when we begin to think through the relevance of multipolarity for social struggles and solidarity.

Writing over twenty years ago, Giovanni Arrighi and Beverly J. Silver<sup>2001, 279</sup> observe that »in past hegemonic transitions, dominant groups successfully took on the task of fashioning a new world order only after coming under intense pressure from movements of protest and self-protection.« They argue that this pressure from below »has widened and deepened from transition to transition,« and that therefore »we can expect social contradictions to play a far more decisive role than ever before in shaping both the unfolding transition and whatever new world order eventually emerges out of the impending systemic chaos.« *ibid.* This observation rings true if we consider the nexus of social struggles and geopolitical transformation today. Although such struggles, as evident in the 2019/20 protests in Hong Kong, can be as much about resisting geopolitical change as hastening it.

Struggles and movements need also to reckon with the continuing institutional structure of the formal state

and international system, which is ill-equipped to deal with the current concatenation of crises, not least the climate crisis. The problem is that recognizing this bankruptcy does not diminish the powers vested in states or the international world of states, which remain vital for a response even as they seem in need of reinvention and incapable of adequate action. To say that states have lost control, or don't have enough power, is part of the picture, although we are today confronted with such a diversity of states that generalizations seem unhelpful and state theory unable to come to grips with what actually existing states are doing (or not doing). Political engagement within or against state or other formal institutions needs also to come to terms with the thinning line between social institutions and material infrastructures. Financial, logistical, and digital systems have introduced forms of power that cannot be theorized within regular idioms of sovereignty and governance. We need to understand how these and other infrastructural systems connect, often unwittingly, populations and workforces across global vistas, spanning subjects diverse by space, gender, race, citizenship, occupation, employment status, and social identity. Such knowledge, if appropriately shared and diffused, might provide a basis for infrastructural solidarities with quite different political potentialities than those that align and/or oppose themselves to formal institutional systems.

Doubtless, there are other conceptual and political paths by which the potentialities and dilemmas that confront contemporary prospects for solidarity can be critically analyzed. Our emphasis on how the mutations of circulation and reproduction condition the possibilities for international solidarity is not meant to obscure other horizons of theorization or practice. We are aware that our concern with struggles, alliances, and the politics of translation emerges against the background of shifting global arrangements in which the prospects for lasting social bonds are always negotiated, never given or constituted. Yet, such is the predicament of solidarities that span the proliferating borders of the contemporary world. The precondition for these solidarities is an encounter with the untranslatable that tears established political subjectivities away from themselves and invests social relations with fluidity and contingency. To recognize this situation is not to claim that solidarities can be forged smoothly and without tension. Rather, it is to acknowledge that solidarities are crossed by fun-

damental dissymmetries and conflicts that cannot be conjured away by declarations of responsiveness, global citizenship, comradeship, and the like. With our discussion of the changing conditions of circulation and reproduction under contemporary capitalism, we hope to have sketched some parameters for an analysis that grapples with these discontinuities and offers resources for working through them in ways that broaden and sustain struggles for freedom and equality.

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