

### **Exit: The Transnationalized Social Question.**

The opening of *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels reads: “A specter is haunting Europe—the specter of communism.” Communism and the proletariat were held to be the gravediggers of the capitalist system. About 150 years later, Branko Milanovic argued that we live in a post-Marxian world in which it is not class but location viz. citizenship that is decisive for life chances. Have we moved from the social question, the conflict between capital and labour around unsustainable inequalities, to a cultural question, with migration and migrants as the utopian agents of our time? Has exit in the form of migration trumped the voice of class-based social movements? Has politics around the social question—the politicization of social inequalities—moved from exploitation to exclusion, from class to culture, from redistribution to recognition? This lecture addresses the implications of migration for political cleavages in emigration and immigration contexts. The argument is that exit complements voice in two ways. First, the social question changed its shape over the past 200 years with the advent of welfare states, sophisticated migration controls, the growing relevance of class intersecting other heterogeneities, such as ethnicity, race (racialization), religion, gender, or citizenship, and the growing pluralization of theories guiding political action. Second, the dynamics driving migration politics can be discerned in the politics around the economic and the cultural dimensions in both immigration contexts (welfare paradox and liberal paradox) and emigration contexts (development paradox and national paradox).