Programme

Normative (B)Orders.
Migration and Citizenship in a Time of Crisis

Thursday, November 24th – Friday, November 25th, 2016

Goethe University Frankfurt am Main, Campus Westend, Building “Normative Ordnungen”
Registration and Programme: www.normativeorders.net/jahreskonferenz
Dear Colleagues,

Students,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We cordially welcome you to the 9th annual conference of our research cluster, entitled “Normative (B)Orders. Migration and Citizenship in a Time of Crisis.” Given the current refugee crisis, one hardly needs to explain why we chose this topic. With more than 60 million refugees and internally displaced people worldwide, migration is one of the central challenges of our times, resulting from, intensifying and/or bringing about comprehensive social changes and conflicts in a globalized world. In our research, we aim to analyze and reflect upon these changes and conflicts from an interdisciplinary perspective that is both empirical and normative.

As is customary during our annual conferences, the three panels are organized by the research areas of our Cluster, focusing on the many dimensions of the relationship between migration and citizenship – philosophical, historical, legal, political, and anthropological, to name just a few. The panels are complemented by a keynote by Prof. Ayelet Shachar (Director of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen).

The annual conferences of the Cluster of Excellence aim to foster discussions about the central themes of our research network with national and international scholars. This year we are happy to welcome a number of distinguished speakers at our conference: In addition to Prof. Ayelet Shachar, we welcome (in the order of their talks) Prof. Steffen Mau (Humboldt University of Berlin), Prof. Lea Ypi (London School of Economics and Political Science), Prof. Rainer Hofmann (Goethe University), Prof. Leo Lucassen (Leiden University) and Dr. Dominik Müller (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle). From among the members of the Cluster, we will have contributions from Prof. Jens Steffek, Dr. Eszter Kollár, Prof. Christopher Daase, Prof. Nicole Deitelhoff, Nele Kortendiek and Prof. Mamadou Diawara.

We would also like to express our sincere gratitude to the coordinators of research areas two and three, Prof. Andreas Fahrmeir, Prof. Gunther Hellmann, Prof. Stefan Kadelbach and Prof. Susanne Schröter, for organizing the panels.

Furthermore, we would like to cordially thank all those who have contributed to making this conference a reality, especially our great staff, in particular Jonathan Klein.

The following pages are intended to introduce the speakers, chairs, panels and lectures of this year’s conference. We wish you all an inspiring meeting as well as thought-provoking debates.

Rainer Forst and Klaus Günther
Thursday, November 24th, 2016

2:00 p.m. – 2:15 p.m., Ground floor Room 01+02

Opening of the Annual Conference 2016: Normative (B)Orders. Migration and Citizenship in a Time of Crisis

Opening Address
Prof. Dr. Klaus Günther & Prof. Dr. Rainer Forst (Directors of the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”)

2:15 p.m. – 4:15 p.m., Ground floor Room 01+02


Chairs: Prof. Dr. Rainer Forst & Prof. Dr. Klaus Günther (Directors of the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”)

Prof. Dr. Steffen Mau (Humboldt University of Berlin) & Prof. Dr. Jens Steffek (TU Darmstadt)

Exploring the Global Mobility Divide: the Case of Visa Waiver Policies
Dr. Eszter Kollár (Goethe University)

Fairness in Labour Migration: A Radical Liberal Egalitarian Proposal
Prof. Dr. Lea Ypi (London School of Economics)

Real Realism on Migration

4:15 p.m. – 5:00 p.m., Ground floor Lobby

Coffee and Cake

5:00 p.m. – 7:00 p.m., Ground floor Room 01+02

Keynote Address – Bordering Migration: Legal Cartographies of Membership and Mobility

Prof. Dr. Ayelet Shachar (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen)
Friday, November 25th, 2016

10:00 a.m. – 12:00 a.m., Ground floor Room 01+02
Panel II – The Institutional, Legal and Normative Challenges of Europe’s Contemporary Migration Crisis

Chair: Prof. Dr. Gunther Hellmann (Goethe University)
Prof. Dr. Rainer Hofmann (Goethe University)
Prof. Dr. Christopher Daase & Prof. Dr. Nicole Deitelhoff (Goethe University)
Current Challenges to International Refugee Law

Nele Kortendiek (TU Darmstadt)
Global Migration Governance at the European External Border – The Case of Chios

12:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m., Room 5.01 and Lounge
Lunch Snack

1:00 p.m. – 3:00 p.m., Ground floor Room 01+02
Panel III – Discourses on Migration and Citizenship in a Globalized World

Chair: Prof. Dr. Susanne Schröter (Goethe University)
Prof. Dr. Leo Lucassen (Leiden University)
Prof. Dr. Mamadou Diawara (Goethe University)
Migration and the Formation of Normative Orders in Western Europe: from the Rushdie Affair to the ‘Refugee Crisis’
“The Lose your Passport!” Migration and Citizenship in a so-called Globalized World
Economies of Attention and Selective Empathy in Times of Multiple Refugee Crises: The Case of Rohingya in Southeast Asia

3:00 p.m.
End of the Annual Conference 2016
In our research, we integrate empirical and normative analysis of social changes and conflicts that lead to the re-formation of normative orders on national and transnational scales. The current migration and refugee crisis is a case in point. In order to determine the responsibilities of states and other agents to offer solutions, guided by principles of justice or humanitarian moral considerations, we need a realistic picture of the sources and the many dimensions of the current crisis. The imperative of justice demands that we first do justice to the causes of the many problems – faced by us and, in particular, by those who are forced to migrate.

The contributors to this panel will present reflections on what “real realism” about migration means (Lea Ypi), the normative implications and social consequences of certain forms of labor migration such as “brain drain” (Eszter Kollár), and the “global mobility divide” established by certain visa policies (Steffen Mau and Jens Steffek). These different perspectives on important dimensions of the current crisis enable us to inquire into how the current and possible future migration regimes can be understood as “orders of justification” addressed to and – ideally – constituted by those who are subject to these orders.
Chair: Rainer Forst
Professor of Political Theory and Philosophy
Co-Director of the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”

Rainer Forst is Professor of Political Theory and Philosophy at the Goethe University Frankfurt. He is Co-Director of both the Research Cluster on the “Formation of Normative Orders”, and the Centre for Advanced Studies “Justitia Amplificata” and is a member of the Directorate of the Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities in Bad Homburg. He has previously taught at the Free University Berlin, the New School for Social Research in New York and Dartmouth College. His work in moral and political philosophy focuses on questions of practical reason, justice and toleration; his major publications are Contexts of Justice (Suhrkamp 1994, Univ. of California Press 2002), Toleration in Conflict (Suhrkamp 2003, Cambridge UP 2013), The Right to Justification (Suhrkamp 2007, Columbia UP 2012), Justification and Critique (Suhrkamp 2011, Polity Press 2013), The Power of Tolerance (with W. Brown, Columbia UP 2014), Justice, Democracy and the Right to Justification (with Replies by Critics; Bloomsbury 2014) and Normativität und Macht (Suhrkamp 2015, Oxford UP, forthcoming). In 2012 he received the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Prize of the German Research Foundation. He is a member of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, Associate Editor of Ethics, a member of the Executive Editorial Committee of Political Theory and serves on the boards of numerous other international journals. He is co-editor of the book series “Theorie und Gesellschaft” and “Normative Orders” (Campus).

Chair: Klaus Günther
Professor of Legal Theory, Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Procedure
Co-Director of the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”

Klaus Günther, born in 1957, is Professor of Legal Theory, Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Procedure in the Faculty of Law at the Goethe University Frankfurt. Since 2007 he has been Co-Director of the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”. He is a member of the board of directors of the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt and Permanent Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities of the Goethe University in Bad Homburg.

Klaus Günther studied philosophy and law in Frankfurt. From 1983 to 1996 he was a research assistant and university assistant in Frankfurt in, inter alia, a DFG-funded legal theory working group (Leibniz-Programme) with Jürgen Habermas, where he received his doctorate in 1987. His habilitation in 1997 was followed by appointments to professorships at the EUI Florence and at the universities of Rostock and Zurich, which he declined. Guest professor at SUNY at Buffalo (2000), Corpus Christi College Oxford (2001), École des Hautes Études en Sciences Soziales (2003), London School of Economics (2003) and Sciences Po (2016).

His most important publications include: Der Sinn für Angemessenheit (1988; English translation: The sense of Appropriateness, 1993; Portuguese translation 2004) and Schuld und kommunikative Freiheit (2005). He is co-editor of the book series “Normative Orders” (Campus).
Political theorists and practitioners alike are discussing freedom of movement extensively and controversially. At the same time, we are still lacking profound empirical knowledge on that issue. Visa policies are the major instrument for regulating and controlling the global flow of people. They represent a form of exterritorialization of political control, which allows states to exercise it far beyond their own borders. With increasing migration flows, it makes sense to assume that their function of filtering wanted and unwanted types of travellers has gained importance over time. On the basis of a large comparative data set we explore changing visa relations at the global level. We demonstrate the emergence of a global mobility divide, marked by increasing mobility for some people while others are immobilized. Moreover, we will look at the issue of reciprocity as a key principle of international relations. We seek to answer the question under which conditions reciprocity in visa relations prevails and which countries are able to establish asymmetrical visa relationships to their own advantage.
Jens Steffek …

(*1972) is Professor of Transnational Governance at Technische Universität Darmstadt and Principal Investigator in the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”. He holds an MA degree in political science from the University of Munich (1998) and a doctorate from the European University Institute (2002). Before coming to Darmstadt he worked at the University of Bremen, Jacobs University and the Robert-Schuman-Centre for Advanced Studies. He was visiting professor at the University of Pavia, LUISS Guido Carli (Rome) and the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law at Heidelberg, as well as a visiting research fellow at the University of Cambridge, the University of Montréal and the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB). His research interests include international relations (in particular the study of international organizations), international law and international political theory. Jens Steffek has published six books and some 50 journal articles and book chapters. He contributed, inter alia, to the European Journal of International Relations, Ethics & International Affairs, International Relations, International Theory, Millennium and Review of International Studies.

Steffen Mau …

... is Professor of Macrosociology at Humboldt University of Berlin. Before coming to Berlin he was Professor of Political Sociology at the University of Bremen. He received his PhD from the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence. His areas of interest are social inequality, migration, border studies and comparative social policy. Recent publications are Inequality, Marketization and the Majority Class. Why did the European Middle Classes accept Neoliberalism? Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2015); Liberal States and the Freedom of Movement. Selective Borders, Unequal Mobility. Basingstoke: Palgrave (with Heike Brabandt/Lena Laube/Christof Roos, 2012); (Un-)gerechte (Un-)gleichheiten. Berlin: edition suhrkamp (eds. with Nadine M. Schöneck, 2015).
A liberal political theory of labour migration faces a serious dilemma. It takes the inequality generating effects of international brain drain to be morally objectionable, but cannot (directly) restrict the movement or occupational choice of labour migrants as a solution. I argue that a plausible solution can be found by rethinking a basic tenet of liberal political theory. Namely, its ownership of talents thesis, according to which talents fall under self-ownership, but the benefits derived from the use of talents are legitimately owned against the background of fair cooperation. I argue for a radical liberal egalitarian view about the ownership of talents that takes the moral ownership of cultivated skills to be conditional on fair opportunity for human development for all. Rethinking fairness in labour migration on the basis of this radical view takes the following form. Labour migration is currently driven by the immigration policies of affluent states, aiming to fix their demographic and professional shortages and to gain competitive advantage in the global knowledge economy. It is yet unclear which normative ideas should guide a fair multilateral global governance of labor migration. I argue that in a globalized world of production and trade, labour migration creates an extra burden of justification across borders concerning fair conditions for cultivating skills and rightful ownership of the social benefits. I conclude that a well-designed international brain drain tax and other types of in-kind (knowledge and skills) transfer and service schemes constitute fair terms of labour migration. The function of these normative constraints is to render the gains morally justified, and thereby normatively reorder rightful ownership in the global economy.

Eszter Kollár …

… is a Researcher and Lecturer at the Chair of International Political Theory, Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”, Goethe University Frankfurt. Her research in social and political philosophy focuses on the problem of fairness in labour migration, on reconciling global equality of opportunity and collective self-determination, and on rethinking relational egalitarianism in practice. She studied sociology and political science in Budapest, and wrote her dissertation on “Global distributive justice between justification and feasibility” at the Luiss University of Rome, at the University of Pennsylvania, and at the Australian National University. She then held postdoctoral fellowships at the Hoover Chair in Economic and Social Ethics, CU Louvain, and at the Centre for Advanced Studies in Bioethics, University of Münster.

Her most recent work is published in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Journal of Applied Philosophy, Journal of Medical Ethics, Bioethics, and she is the editor of the 2016/1 issue of Moral Philosophy and Politics on “Brain Drain and Emigration”. She is an organizing member of the Global Justice Network committed to bridging the gap between the theory and practice of global justice (http://www.theglobaljusticenetwork.org).
This paper addresses some of the core claims that advocates of realism about migration tend to make when reflecting on the conflicts that the movement of people across borders poses for contemporary liberal democracies. I argue that migration poses serious questions of justice but that such questions ought to be examined in the context of a larger analysis of capitalist injustice, the historical context of its production and the agents responsible for and affected by it. If we isolate the discussion of migration related problems and ground it on an abstract analysis of human rights to freedom of movement, morality of border controls or humanitarian compassion towards vulnerable people, we end up depriving ourselves of the most effective tools for identifying a remedy to them.

Lea Ypi ...

... is Professor in Political Theory at the London School of Economics and Political Science and Adjunct Professor of Philosophy at the Australian National University. She is interested in issues of global justice (including migration and colonialism), democratic theory (with particular focus on parties) and the philosophy of the Enlightenment (especially Kant). She is the author of *Global Justice and Avant-Garde Political Agency* (OUP 2012) and, with Jonathan White, *The Meaning of Partisanship* (OUP 2016). She has edited *Migration in Political Theory* (OUP 2016, with Sarah Fine) and *Kant and Colonialism* (OUP 2015, with Katrin Flickschuh). Her articles have appeared in *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, *The American Political Science Review*, *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, *Polish Theory* and others. Last year she was the recipient of the British Academy Brian Barry Prize for Excellence in Political Science and her article “What’s wrong with colonialism” was selected by The Philosopher’s Annual as one of the ten best published in philosophy.
The recent wave of migrants desperately seeking European shores provokes some of today’s most urgent, profound, and arduous questions: Is it legitimate for states to exclude non-members? If so, on what basis? Which normative orders and sources of law can be invoked in protection-seeking claims against governments jealously guarding citizenship and immigration laws as the “last bastions of sovereignty?” Rather than rehearse the contentious binaries of familiar debates — sovereignty and human rights, security and freedom, national interests and transnational obligations — Ayelet Shachar turns to investigate the simultaneous expansion and contraction, both spatial and conceptual, of shifting borders. By contorting admission requirements, governments selectively manage migration by “stretching outward” or “bleeding inward,” making entry smoother and faster for a few, while increasingly restrictive and regulated for the many. Against this backdrop, Shachar traces the contours of *Olympic Citizenship*, the emergent regime of governing access to membership which defies the predictions of both globalists and statists. Relating to the current situation in Europe, she argues, a new paradigm through which to re-conceptualize territoriality, sovereignty, and the spatial reach of human rights protections must be adopted in order to resist the perplexing power held by the everywhere-and-nowhere logic of the shifting border of migration regulation.

Ayelet Shachar …

… is Director at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen, where she heads the Ethics, Law, and Politics Department. Previously, she held the Canada Research Chair in Citizenship and Multiculturalism at the University of Toronto Faculty Law, and was also the Leah Kaplan Visiting Professor in Human Rights at Stanford Law School and the Jeremiah Smith Jr. Visiting Professor at Harvard Law School. Her research focuses on citizenship theory, immigration law, cultural diversity, and new regimes of human mobility and inequality. Shachar is the author of *Multicultural Jurisdictions: Cultural Differences and Women’s Rights* (Cambridge); *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality* (Harvard); and *Olympic Citizenship: International Migration and the Global Race for Talent*, to be published by Oxford. She is the recipient of scholarly excellence awards in three different countries (Canada, Israel, and the United States). In 2014, Shachar was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. In 2015, she joined the Max Planck Society.
Border-crossings of large groups of people have been a constitutive phenomenon of the international system ever since the formation of political communities separating richer and poorer societies as well as peoples fighting wars or living at peace. This is especially true for Europe with its rich history of warfare. What is today taken to be the most severe migration “crisis” in Europe’s history since the end of World War II has hit the continent at a time when its historically unprecedented levels of peace and economic wellbeing have come under pressure from within and without. This panel examines the reach, limits and deficiencies of the legal underpinnings of international and European refugee law as well as the lacking institutional and procedural context of joint European decision-making. It also illustrates the dramatic lack of inter-state cooperation among EU member states with a case study of the Greek Island of Chios in 2015 where international public and private actors largely replaced failing European states in managing an escalating crisis.

Chair: Gunther Hellmann

Gunther Hellmann is Professor of Political Science in the Department of Social Sciences at Goethe University and Principal Investigator in the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”. His research interests are in the fields of social and international relations theory, foreign policy analysis, esp. German and European foreign policy, and international security, esp. transatlantic and European security. He currently serves as Executive Secretary of the World International Studies Committee (WISC). He is one of the editors of Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen (ZIB) and a Member of the Board of the Aspen Institute Berlin. He held the Steven Muller Chair in German Studies at the SAIS Bologna Center of Johns Hopkins University and was Harris Distinguished Visiting Professor at Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
The current ‘refugee crisis’ differs in a number of aspects from previous large-scale influxes of asylum-seekers: The – at least in a European context – unprecedented number of persons seeking refuge, the heterogeneity of root-causes for their trans-boundary movements and of their countries of origin, and the human hardship experienced by many during their flight to Europe and upon arrival in reception facilities constitute heavy material burdens on the receiving countries. This factual situation is aggravated by the fact that the presently applicable legal framework – neither the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention nor the applicable EU refugee law system – is not shaped so as to sufficiently accommodate the needs of the persons concerned, and of the states of refuge.

This paper seeks to provide normative answers to these challenges, ranging from the narrow scope of the refugee definition to procedural issues (“the failure of the Dublin system”) and the need for vigorously addressing root-causes of enforced migration and establishing a workable system of burden-sharing on a global and European level.

Rainer Hofmann ...

... is Professor of Public Law, Public International Law and European Law at Frankfurt University and Co-Director of its Merton Centre for European Integration and international Economic Order. He is a member of the Advisory Council on Public International Law of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and sits on the Executive and the Management Board of the EU Fundamental Rights Agency, representing the Council of Europe. He was member and President (1998-2004, 2008-2012) of the Advisory Committee on the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. He has widely published on, inter alia, human rights issues with a focus on minority rights and refugee law.
The current refugee flow into the European Union is not, or rather does not need to be a crisis. It is a challenge for the management capacity of EU member states on the one hand and a challenge for the policy capability of the European Union on the other. In principle, Member States could handle the number of refugees if they would agree to cooperate. The challenge has turned into a crisis because they refuse to do so and instead opt for national solutions. The conflictual dynamics lay bare the glaring weaknesses of the institutional design of the European Union as did the financial crisis before. Thus, addressing this crisis in a sustainable way requires institutional reforms of decision-making in the Union. Our contribution analyzes the cooperation problems underlying the current crisis and delineates possible solutions.
Nicole Deitelhoff …

… is Director of the Leibniz-Institute Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) and Professor for International Relations and Theories of Global Order in the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders” at Goethe University in Frankfurt. She obtained an MA in Political Science from State University of New York (UB Buffalo) and a PhD from University of Technology Darmstadt. Among her previous positions was a project directorship at PRIF, and a research professorship at University Bremen. She was visiting professor to Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 2010 and visiting fellow to the Center for European Studies at Harvard University in 2011, to the department of Political Science at University of Hawaii at Manoa in 2012, and to the European University Institute in Florence in 2015. Her research and teaching focuses on international institutions and norms, the foundations of political rule and its legitimation beyond the national state, and forms of international resistance, opposition, and dissidence.

Christopher Daase …

… is Professor for International Organizations at Goethe University Frankfurt and Deputy Director of the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF). Previously he held the Chair in International Relations at the University of Munich and was Senior Lecturer at the University of Kent at Canterbury as well as Director of the Programme on International Conflict Analysis at the Brussels School of International Studies. Educated at Universities in Hamburg, Freiburg and Berlin, he became SSRC-MacArthur Fellow in International Peace and Security and was Research Fellow at Harvard University and the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, CA. His research centres on theories of international relations, security issues and international institutions. As member of the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders” at the University of Frankfurt he currently works on changing patterns of legitimacy with regard to the use of force, rule and resistance in international politics, and the informalization of international relations.
The number of migrants trying to reach Europe’s shores drastically increased since the beginning of 2015. Given the high number of people crossing borders daily, the little degree of institutionalised cooperation between nation-states on the task of migration governance comes as a surprise. States largely resist giving up longstanding notions of border and population control and avoid delegating competences to global actors. However, the continuous global mobility of people challenges statist approaches to governing borders. Where national agencies are unwilling or unable to deal with the arrival of large numbers of migrants and refugees, international public and private actors step in. How do these international actors perform the task of global migration governance at the European external border? I will discuss examples from the Greek island of Chios where over 160,000 migrants entered Europe since the beginning of 2015, overwhelming the capacities of the Greek local authorities. How do international organisations like UNHCR, IOM, Frontex, EASO and humanitarian NGOs fill in the gaps in migration governance? How do they cooperate in border management practices like search and rescue missions, humanitarian assistance, registration and return in an environment of unclear competences and responsibilities?
Panel III –
Discourses on Migration and Citizenship in a Globalized World

Friday, November 25th, 2016
1:00 p.m. – 3:00 p.m.
Ground floor Room 01+02

Focusing on migration and citizenship from a historical and cultural anthropological perspective, the panel presents the empirical foundations of various discourses. Some of these are completely marginal, revealing refusal to even take notice of the issues under discussion. Others are omnipresent and rife with images of threat. While the case studies analyzed refer to local or national particularities, they are, at the same time, well suited for sharpening the eye for problems that are to some extent universal. When, and under what conditions, do migrants become projections of a negatively charged “Other”? When does the plight of refugees arouse compassion, empathy, and solidarity, and when does it fail to engender such emotions? In addition, the contributions with their focus on non-European case studies show that it may be necessary to critically reassess concepts used very matter-of-factly in academic and political discourses, as they perpetuate postcolonial asymmetries of power. Hence, even positively charged terms such as “citizenship” may not have a positive connotation in all contexts.

Chair: Susanne Schröter

Susanne Schröter holds a PhD in social anthropology. She is Professor for the Anthropology of Colonial and Postcolonial Orders at the Goethe University Frankfurt and Adjunct Professor at the Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta. In 2014 she founded the Frankfurt Research Center on Global Islam (FFGI) and operates as the director of the think tank. She is also director of the Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Principal Investigator at the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”, director at the Cornelia Goethe Center for Gender Studies, and a member of the board of the German Orient Institute.

Her research focuses on political Islam, Islamic extremism, multiple modernities, feminist Islam, transformation of gender orders, multiculturalism, secularism and post-secularism.

In this talk I will analyze and compare two different, but intertwined, turns in the political discourse on migration in Western Europe since the 1950s. First I will focus on the settlement process of guest workers and colonial migrants from the 1950s onwards and secondly I will deal with the refugees who came to Western Europe in large numbers in the 1990s and 2010s. I will argue that the discomfort with immigration and integration with regard to the earlier groups changed significantly (and suddenly) after the Rushdie affair (1988/89), whereas the ensuing growing islamophobia – reinforced by international Islamist terrorism since 2001 – created a new (and largely negative) normative order with respect to refugees in our current world.

Leo Lucassen ...

... (1959) is Research Director of the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam and part time professor of Global Labour and Migration History at the Institute of History of Leiden University. Furthermore since 2016 he is (honorary) adjunct professor at the University of Aalborg in Denmark. He received his PhD (1990) cum Laude at Leiden University. He is a former fellow of the New School for Social Research in New York and the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS) and since 2011 a member of the Academia Europaea. He specializes in migration history, urban history, state formation, eugenics and other socio-political developments in modern states.

Migration is intimately inscribed in the past of the people of the Western Sahel. Oral traditions relate such events of movement, mythical or real, as far back as the 4th century AD, and it continued in force into the colonial period and the present day. This phenomenon has yielded a large body of scholarship, with particularly brilliant analysis in the context of intensified mobility. The concept of migration is dear to scholars, yet it is not without its critics: Whose mobility are we considering, against the backdrop of whose immobility? The topic of mobility has been discussed in the context of so-called globalization. But again we may ask ourselves who is becoming globalized? In the same way, we should question the concept of citizenship. These discourses and their corollaries are products of the state. Rather than “seeing like the state” (Scott 1998), this paper explores how the affected individuals take part in migration, citizenship and globalization. How are these “products of modernity” (Macamo and Neubert 2004) experienced and put to use by actors on the ground?

Mamadou Diawara...

... is Professor for Anthropology at the Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany, Founding Director of Point Sud, Bamako. He is Principal Investigator at the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders” and deputy director of the Frobenius Institut; member of the Council of the International African Institute, London. He was fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, John G. Diefenbaker fellow at the Université Laval, Canada, fellow at the Institut d’Études Avancées de Nantes and Henry Hart Rice Professor for anthropology and history at the Yale Center for International and Area Studies, Yale University. He is author of several books and articles, among them *L’empire du verbe - L’éloquence du silence*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag; co-author of *Staging the Immaterial: Intellectual Property, Piracy and Performance in sub-Saharan Africa*. Wantage: Sean Kingston Publishing. His main research topics are popular culture, local knowledge and development anthropology, local media in Africa facing Western Media.
Lecture 3

Dominik M. Müller: Economies of Attention and Selective Empathy in Times of Multiple Refugee Crises: The Case of Rohingya in Southeast Asia

Under the present conditions of dynamics of social acceleration and ever-increasingly complex transnational entanglements, it appears to be more and more impossible to develop a well-founded overview of the countless conflicts and humanitarian crises that our “world society” is facing. While the amount of relevant information and its availability is constantly expanding, the capacities of attention remain limited. One illustrative example for this problem is the current refugee crisis in Southeast Asia, and its discursive irrelevance in Europe. My contribution does not intend to dramatize this supposed or factual injustice. Instead, referring to the example of Rohingya refugees who fled from Myanmar, I will present some considerations about selective empathy, dislike, and the (non-)perception of particular refugee groups. Finally I will argue that although selective attention in contexts of multiple refugee crises and groups is unavoidable, a reflection of the genesis of specific normalizations will enable a deeper understanding of one’s own preferences and limitations. The example of how Rohingya refugees are dealt with in Southeast Asia and its embeddedness in locally specific political and religious discursive contexts is thereby not a far distant, exotic or singular case study, but has implications that can insightfully be applied to the current situation in Germany.
The Cluster
The Frankfurt Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders” explores the development of normative orders with a focus on contemporary conflicts concerning the establishment of a “new world order”. The network is funded by the national “Excellence Initiative” and combines a series of research initiatives in Frankfurt and the surrounding area. The Cluster is based at Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main.

The Research Programme
Normative orders play a decisive role in conflicts over a just and fair economic order and the realisation of peace, human rights and democracy. These orders serve to justify a system of political rule and a specific distribution of goods and life chances. The Cluster investigates how such orders are handed down, modified, institutionalised and practised over long periods of time. In the second funding phase, researchers from the fields of philosophy, history, political science, legal studies, anthropology, economics, theology and sociology will focus greater attention on the question of how justifications assert themselves in the reality of social power relationships. The Cluster is divided into three research areas:

I. The Normativity of Normative Orders:
Origins, Vanishing Points, Performativity
With the onset of modernity, the formation of normative orders itself becomes normative – that is, it becomes reflexive and produces critical standards and procedures for examining normative orders. As a result, normative orders become exposed to persistent revision which compels them to change from within. At the same time, normative orders, viewed from a dialectical perspective, produce one-sided justifications or justifications that immunise themselves against criticism and likewise generate discursive power. This is the core idea of the first research area which examines the ‘Normativity of Normative Orders’ with regard to its reflexivity, the genesis of normativity and how it is constituted through narratives, art and the media.

II. The Dynamics of Normative Orders:
Rupture, Change, Continuity
The projects of the second research area deal with the transformation of normative orders, whether it be long-term change or change brought about by conflicts between competing orders. On the one hand, the goal here is to develop possible models of transformation; on the other hand, the focus is on the consolidation of normative orders following periods of crisis and radical change. On the programme are case studies on postrevolutionary situations in antiquity up to the transformations currently taking place in North Africa. A further focus is on historical and contemporary constellations in which revitalised religious and nonreligious discourses engage in negotiation over normative orders. A special point of interest is the broad spectrum of Islamic movements.

III. The Plurality of Normative Orders:
Competition, Overlapping, Interconnection
A variety of competing patterns of order exists at the supranational level. A possible global security order is also an inherently plural construct whose realisation is being pursued by a variety of means. Companies and international organisations are involved in this endeavour in addition to states. The aim of the third research area is to engage in empirical research and normative reflection on new types of legitimation of supranational orders. This also involves the recognition that different types of legitimation and legitimacy of supranational orders compete with each other. Thus a political order is often legitimised by recourse to democratic participation, though also with reference to public interests or social development.
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