Dear Readers,

as you will see and read, we have revised our quarterly newsletter. The twofold aim is not only to share with you the work at the Centre and the resulting fruits in more detail (see e.g. our list of new publications on the diverse issues of the field), but also to shed more light on day-to-day political debates from the perspective of cooperation research. This is all the more necessary because the fundamental assumptions on which our research was based have been shaken. There are more and more reports testifying to the fact that known cooperation patterns are no longer progressing and regressing according to familiar patterns, but are dissolving.

The assumption that unilateral actions under the label ‘our nation first’ actually serve the good of the state acting in this way will be refuted, but at the expense of everyone. Brexit, the European asylum dispute and the threat of trade war are and will be warning examples. In all cases, key words were used at the beginning, which became internalized, shaped the discourse and developed into narratives hostile to cooperation. The contribution by Katja Freistein, Frank Gadinger and Christine Unrau presents a project in which a research group at the Centre is investigating the mechanisms of such narratives in more detail.

I wish you an exciting read.

Markus Böckenförde
Executive Director (acad)
Centre for Global Cooperation Research
The Populist Lure
Towards a Research Agenda around Narratives, Emotions, and Images
by Katja Freistein, Frank Gadinger and Christine Unrau

The global rise of populism has provoked controversial debates on the risks it brings for the Western model of liberal democracy. While many observers interpret it as a fundamental danger for democracy, others emphasize that this phenomenon can be also a means for reviving democracy, as left-wing groups and new political movements (like Macron’s En Marche) demonstrate. With regard to issues of global cooperation, the growing group of populist leaders challenges established routines and cooperative practices, often also formal and informal institutions (G7, Global climate regime, or the Transatlantic partnership). While populists claiming ‘our country first’ are not per se unable to cooperate, as new alliances between right-wing leaders in Europe illustrate, it remains puzzling that (mainly) populist forces are able to erode the normative consensus of core liberal values and globalized norms. The current dispute on migration politics in the EU reveals that liberal democracy does not automatically lead to ‘progress’ and cooperative behaviour. On the contrary, we are currently witnessing a growing backlash movement against cultural, economic and political interconnectedness, which, in many cases, projects frustration resulting from uncertainty and complexity on scapegoats like immigrants.

These recent political developments have baffled many observers. Evidenced by such political phenomena as UKIP’s Brexit campaign or Trump’s ‘fake news’ (i.e. lies) spread on Twitter, it becomes increasingly obvious that political narratives and practices of storytelling structure people’s perception of politics at least as much as official party programmes. The ‘crisis’ mode of German politics, for instance, is not backed by actual data about a decline in citizens’ well-being, but has become a very potent motif in political debates. Therefore, the analysis of political storytelling can be crucial to understanding how politics are being shaped by narratives, the use of images and metaphors, and attempts to evoke emotions, which seem to provide the basis for the populist lure.

The populist lure, in our understanding, accounts for the recent success not only of right-wing (and left-wing) populist parties in latest elections, but also the way political discourses are being conducted. One lesson from the US election, when Trump mobilized the ‘forgotten’ masses, is how important catering to (perceived) worries, feelings of anger and fear, and projecting a positive, yet vague identity (‘Make America Great Again’) turned out to be. Populists know very well the need for ‘good’ stories to reach a wider public audience and the benefit of mobilizing collective emotions. Emotions, in general, serve to anchor political projects of all political convictions in people’s identities. Offering affective triggers that enable immediate emotional responses – like using metaphors of danger or future greatness – are one part of this. Strong metaphors such as ‘waves’, ‘floods’ or even ‘avalanches’ that are
Centre’s Co-Director Dirk Messner to head United Nations University’s UNU-EHS

The United Nations University (UNU) has appointed Professor Dirk Messner as the next Director of its Bonn-based UNU Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS), effective from 1 October 2018. Professor Messner, a founding director of the Centre for Global Cooperation Research in 2012, currently serves as its Co-Director and convener for ‘Climate Change’.

‘I congratulate Dirk Messner, also on behalf of my colleagues, on his new position at UNU,’ said Professor Sigrid Quack, Director of the Centre for Global Cooperation Research in Duisburg. ‘At the Centre, we’re looking forward to continued fruitful and inspiring cooperation with the German Development Institute and with Dirk Messner and his new colleagues on the issue fields of global cooperation.’

Dirk Messner identified potential for synergies between his new work and the Centre in Duisburg: ‘Our Käte Hamburger Kolleg can – via UNU – advance cooperation with the United Nations. UNU benefits from the unique cooperation research done at the Centre.’

Professor Messner was instrumental in bringing behavioural as well as natural science perspectives into the Centre’s research. His book ‘Global Cooperation and the Human Factor in International Relations’ with Silke Weinlich kick-started the Routledge Global Cooperation Series, which Messner co-edits.

Markus Böckenförde appointed Professor for Comparative Constitutional Law and Human Rights

Markus Böckenförde, Executive Director of the Centre since its inauguration in 2012, has been appointed Professor for Comparative Constitutional Law and International Human Rights Law at the Central European University in Budapest (CEU). The Centre’s Director Professor Sigrid Quack paid tribute to the merits of Markus Böckenförde, who ‘shaped the academic profile and composition of themes at the Centre by numerous initiatives and contributed his expertise and perspective as an international lawyer to the field of global cooperation research’. His research interest has been at the intersection of law and development, rule of law promotion, and constitution building with a focus on Africa. Next to numerous pertinent publications, he edited three volumes of the Centre’s Global Dialogues Series and was instrumental in establishing cooperation and partnership with major organizations of development and cooperation research and policy.

Claudia Derichs appointed Professor for Transregional Southeast Asian Studies, contributes to ‘Global Sixties’ Research

Claudia Derichs, alumni fellow at the Centre, who held the 25th Käte Hamburger Lecture, and authored the quite influential monograph Knowledge Production, Area Studies and Global Cooperation (Routledge Global Cooperation Series) has been appointed Professor for Transregional Asian Studies at Humboldt University (Berlin). One of her current projects scrutinizes ‘1968 and the Global Sixties’ and addresses ‘1968 pre and beyond’ as a period of global transformations, but with particular local shapes in terms of ideological uppinings and legitimations for (violent) action. Cases in point in her research are the Japanese New Left – with a focus on the women in this current – and selected movements in what is called the ‘Muslim world’. In terms of activism, the empirical sites examined are East and Southeast Asia, i.e. the Japanese Red Army and the various (da’awa/dakwah) or Islamic resurgence movements of Muslim communities in Southeast Asia (related publications referenced on page 10).
used to characterize the incoming refugees imply natural catastrophes to signal emergency and thus an urgent need for political solutions. The current fashion of referring to refugees coming to Europe as ‘asylum tourism’ provides another metaphor that denigrates refugees and denies the massive danger and costs of their flight. Studying metaphors, accordingly, helps to unmask how political narratives can be aimed at limiting the range of interpretations of a current situation and thus also of the possible political solutions. Providing emotionalized storylines is another important function of political storytelling. For instance, some protagonists of the new right like the German PEGIDA movement narrate their activism as a necessary repetition of the successful fight against the communist regime which culminated with the end of the GDR. Thereby they stylize themselves as the new generation of citizens who fight the threat of dictatorship. This self-image as guardians of democracy goes hand in hand with a celebration of ‘manly rage’, presented as a necessary emotion in a battle against blind and pseudo-moral elites and against immigrants, who are characterized as dangerous invaders.

As has been stated repeatedly in recent comments on European and Northern American politics, the issue of migration has served as a battleground for various political projects, which are not inherently concerned with solving problems of migrants and refugees or other domestic problems. Instead, pitting refugees and migrants against native populations has served to keep alive a political climate of crisis and urgency – which prevents other pressing issues (like poverty, housing prices or unequal chances of education) from being addressed. At the same time, the issue has served to push identity politics, which build on propositions of very traditional societal models that seem to appeal to a conservative clientele.

An analysis of election campaign posters by right-wing populist parties in France, Germany and the UK demonstrates how these parties create opportunities for identification with their goals, particularly with regard to masculinity and female role models. One image, for instance, shows an English fisherman – called ‘Tony’ – and builds on the strong opposition between a technocratic EU and the honest, but neglected man to promote the Brexit campaign.

Threats of emasculation posed by the EU are recurring features of UKIP images. Another image by the German Alternative für Deutschland party shows an unidentified pregnant woman with a slogan that promises to produce ‘new Germans’ (instead of ‘New Germans’, i.e. migrants living in Germany), using the idea of reproduction as a means to preserve German identity and racial corpus (the infamous Volkskörper). The imagery used is pleasing, so that observers can have little objection to their content. The gendered dimension of these images is not coincidental, since the proposed identity politics build on traditional models of society with women as mothers and men as their protectors. Consent to the proposed identities seems to be an important part of the populist lure.

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Volker Heins and Galya Ben-Arieh Ruffer members of NoVaMigra Consortium

Volker Heins, research group leader at the Centre and its policy field convener for ‘migration’ is a member of the NoVaMigra research project Norms and Values in the European Migration and Refugee Crisis, which has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 770330). The project brings together representatives of different universities with the University of Duisburg-Essen as the lead institute (coordinator: Andreas Niederberger). Another member of the Consortium is alumni fellow Galya Ben-Arieh Ruffer (Northwestern University).

‘With a unique combination of social scientific analysis, as well as legal and philosophical normative reconstruction and theory, NoVaMigra will develop a precise descriptive and normative understanding of the current ‘value crisis’, assess possible evolutions of European values, and consider Europe’s future in light of rights, norms, and values that it should aim at and that could contribute to overcoming the crisis.’ (cited from the website: http://novamigra.eu/)

Elena Pulcini coordinating Labfileglob

Alumni fellow Elena Pulcini just started a new endeavour as coordinator of an inspiring research network. The professors and young researchers involved in the Philosophical Laboratory of the Global Age (Labfileglob) strongly believe that philosophy can and should contribute towards analysing the urgent challenges produced by globalization. Labfileglob aims to develop a critical approach, able to connect the current challenges with the analytical and methodological tools provided by social philosophy. Labfileglob wants to pursue ‘an immanent critique enabled by the subjects and resources within the social reality. Such an immanent approach requires reflection on the psycho-anthropological structure of individuals starting from their socio-historical living contexts, in order to further investigate the motivations – especially the emotional ones – and the world images at the root of the individual and social agency.’ http://www.labfileglob.unifi.it/

Bettina Mahlert conducts field research in Brazil

In August and September, Bettina Mahlert will be a visiting fellow at Universidade Federal Fluminense, Campos dos Goytacazes, in Brazil. Through conducting interviews with university members (professors, lecturers, students), she will explore how these individuals experience and cope with security/insecurity with regard to access to key resources such as income, jobs, education, or health. A particular focus will be on the perception of future contingencies. This research is part of a larger comparative project that seeks to advance understanding of (in)security as a dimension of social inequality.

PhD Scholarship for Elena Simon

Elena Simon, research assistant for the Centre’s thematic area of ‘Polycentric Governance’ received a ‘White Rose Social Science Scholarship 1+3’ from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Elena will study at the Department for Political Science at the University of Sheffield and carry out her PhD project (working title ‘Citizens in Camouflage: Rendering visible the production of collective violence in everyday life’), which will be supervised by alumni fellow Jonathan Joseph and Ruth Blakeley.
‘The EU could be more attuned to local narratives’

Interview with Tamirace Fakhoury

Welcome to the Centre, Tamirace! We heard about your comparative project on refugee politics and you’re just coming back from a meeting with participants. How did you start it?

Being a member of the Arab-German Young Academy in Berlin allowed us to apply for grants from the German Ministry of Education and Research. This comparative project entails a student exchange. Students from Berlin visited Lebanon in March 2018 and carried out field research there and then my students at the Master level went to Berlin in June with a view to comparing and contrasting the politics of reception and media portrayal in both Germany and Lebanon. In Lebanon, the German students visited the UNHCR and met with various research organizations and refugee initiatives. In Berlin, we debated refugee access to the labour market and to jobs, and also the challenge of the sustainability of initiatives.

So after the visit to Berlin both student groups will have their impressions and the differences might be huge.

Ironically enough we detected a lot of similarities. Both Germany and Lebanon are now talking of refugee return and repatriation. And it is also a hotbed topic in the media. Although Lebanon received more than 1 million refugees who constitute 25% of its population by now, Germany received a large number of refugees yet they only constitute 1% of its population. Although it is not possible to compare given the demographics, conceptualizing the impact allows some similarities to be detected. For example mainstream media in Lebanon and in Germany have portrayed refugees as an economic liability and questioned whether they have overburdened the system. One striking difference, however, that we noticed is that although Lebanese parliamentary elections have just taken place a few months ago, the refugee issue was totally depoliticized, and the candidates didn’t talk about it. They didn’t want to provoke tensions. Conversely, as I understood, during the elections here in Germany the refugee issue was big!

How do you see the role of the EU in the region?

As you know the EU is the leading donor in helping Lebanon and Jordan face the displacement challenge from war-torn Syria. Governments on both sides of the Mediterranean are closely cooperating on the issue. Lebanon and Jordan have signed Migration Compacts with the EU. These compacts necessitate the consolidation of legal migration channels and trade agreements between the EU and local governments, and in return Jordan and Lebanon would accommodate Syrian refugees and facilitate their access to the market.

Does it work?

This is a highly contentious topic that I will be investigating during my stay at the Centre. On the one hand one can see that Arab governments and the EU have thought out various initiatives and strategies in order to deal with the situation on the ground and to enhance the resilience of both refugees and host communities. At the same time human rights organizations have criticized the EU approach in the Southern Neighbourhood as it links refugee aid with trade and border management in a kind of bargaining approach, which might reflect badly on refugee rights and needs. If we look at the regional response plans since 2012, we notice that all of them have been underfunded and that statistically Syrian refugees are becoming more vulnerable and poorer.

Is there a model of governance that in your opinion would work and provide a framework for cooperation?

We cannot look at Arab governments’ discourse towards large-scale displacement without embedding it in the global discourse and in the EU discourse. In my project, I contend that polycentricity is crucial to understanding state discourses on both sides of the Mediterranean. You cannot really analyse policy, if you don’t focus on how the policy framework is being disseminated, decoded and re-interpreted by the receiving ends. To be honest, I don’t want to be very idealistic and say that I foresee a lot of virtuous collaboration because at the end of the day the EU has not departed from its approach on migration as a reflection of the ‘stability security’ nexus. This has always been the case. However the EU can be more attuned to the local narratives of its Southern neighbourhood and observe what is happening on the ground. For example, while the EU endeavours to boost resilience in the host communities, they ask, ‘What is resilience? That we bear the brunt and then explode?’ I would like to track those narratives of contestation and also disseminate them here so that policy making circles become aware of how the EU policy framework is being decoded and re-interpreted at the other end of the continuum. The polycentric lens is amazing to do that theoretically.
Current Projects

Comparative Perspectives on Refugee Politics (Beirut/Berlin)
Tamirace Fakhoury and Carola Richter (Freie Universität Berlin)

Involvement of Public-, Private-, and Civil Society Actors in the Global Compacts on Refugees and Migration
Micheline van Riemsdijk

Governing the Borderlands: Transnational Security Interventions and their Impacts in Africa
Adam Sandor

The Conceptualization and Evaluation of Polycentricity of Social-ecological Systems
Andreas Thiel

The Populist Lure: Images, Emotions, and Narratives
Katja Freistein, Frank Gadinger, Volker Heins, Elena Simon, Christine Unrau

Communication in the World Bank and UNDP
Katja Freistein

The Role of International Institutions in a Stratified Global Order
Katja Freistein and Caroline Fehl (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt)

The Institutionalization Effect of Global Indicators
Katja Freistein

Micro-Practices in International Institutions
Katja Freistein with alumni fellows Alejandro Esguerra and Stefan Groth

Community and World society: Theorizing Solidarity
Bettina Mahlert

Key Concepts and Policy Analysis in International Development Politics (habilitation thesis)
Bettina Mahlert

The Role of Cities in Managing Migration: Some Experiences from the Global South
Marianne H. Marchand (not shown)

A Critical Analysis of Cooperative Approaches to Climate Change Mitigation under Article 6 of the Paris Agreement
Ying Shen

Pity and Fear. Sentimental Education and Sentimental Propaganda in the Refugee Crisis
Christine Unrau
Events

29th Käte Hamburger Lecture: ‘Global Lawmakers: International Organizations in the Crafting of World Markets’

This Käte Hamburger Lecture was delivered by Prof. Dr Terence Halliday, Research Professor at the American Bar Foundation and Adjunct Professor of Sociology at the Northwestern University, who shed light on competing efforts of international organizations to build a transnational legal order for commercial trade.

Transnational legal orders emerge, stated Halliday, from social ecologies of state and non-state actors. Halliday did an extensive empirical work on the role and influence of world’s largest inter-governmental body which incorporates both state and non-state actors into its deliberation—the United Nations. In his lecture, he advocated a new approach to study the process of law-making in the crafting of world markets. Rather than focusing on a particular law-making body, scholars should embrace processes of interaction which study how boundaries are drawn around law-making to include some actors and exclude others.

Responding to Halliday’s lecture, discussant Prof. Dr Wouter Werner, Senior Fellow at the Centre, asked whether the difficulties or features identified by Halliday are specific only to trade law-making and its impact on world markets. He drew attention to the importance of certain personality characteristics of delegates which might influence conditions for success and failure. Furthermore, he briefly tackled how open the concept of law was that was adopted in the project. The relevance of adaptability of ‘law’ was therefore questioned.

The following discussion with the audience was moderated by the Centre’s Director, Prof. Dr Sigrid Quack.

10th Käte Hamburger Dialogue debates Prospective Migration Policy, discusses Relations Between West Africa and Europe

How can migration between Africa (ECOWAS) and Europe (EU) change between now and 2030? In this Käte Hamburger Dialogue, jointly organized with the Interdisciplinary Centre for Integration and Migration Research (InZentIM), four scenarios for the future relationship between Europe and West Africa were presented and discussed. The scenarios were presented by Dr Stephen Adaawen, alumni fellow at Centre and Prof. Petra Bendel of the University of Erlangen, who were both amongst the 30 experts from Europe and West Africa, that developed the four scenarios in workshops, organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Centre.

The scenarios and their implications on further research or even new research branches were commented upon by the further panellists Dr Benjamin Schraven of the German Development Institute and Prof. Volker Heins, research group leader at the Centre. Their discussion highlighted the need for a sensitisation of scholars for the challenge to base migration research on valuable empirical foundations and criticized the dominant framing of migration as a problem, pointing to the fact that migration is the solution for thousands of people, suffering from authoritarian regimes, poverty or the impacts of climate change on their livelihoods.

The panel discussion was moderated by Prof. Dr Tobias Debiel, Co-Director of the Centre, following an opening speech by Elisabeth Braune of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Dr Nobert Jegelka, Executive Director of InZentIM and Dr Markus Bökenförde, Executive Director of the Centre.
Reviews

Christine Unrau: Erfahrung und Engagement

Christine Unrau, research group leader at the Käte Hamburger Kolleg, examines the ‘motives, forms and goals of the global justice movement’ in this recently published monograph. In deliberate differentiation from the sociological perspective, it poses the basic question of political theory as to the justification of political commitment by the actors themselves. The object of the analysis is thus the production of ideas in the global justice movement, ‘whose core is the conviction that intervening political action is possible, meaningful and even a duty’. Christine Unrau’s monograph makes a systematic contribution to the typology of experience in political theory and advocates a further conceptual development of emotional experience in the political context.


Christian Bueger and Frank Gadinger: International Practice Theory

The second edition of the seminal work of Bueger and Gadinger on the subject after four years indicates a growing body of research, as well as a desire to motivate further variety, while introducing basic points of a research ethics for practitioners of practice theory research. A closer look at situational arrangements seems to be promising in four issue areas of IR that have been particularly important in the discussion of IPT, namely, diplomacy, the production of insecurity, transnational governance, and state building and intervention. IPT does not claim exclusivity or even the status of a ‘grand theory’, but ‘the intent is to show how core phenomena of IR, including power, state behaviour, identity, international organisations, transnational collectives, norms and rules, or war and peace can be studied differently.’ An eye-opening second edition at the right time.


Peace Research Institutes: Friedensgutachten 2018

Published annually since 1993 the ‘Friedensgutachten’ (peace report) scrutinizes current challenges in the field of peacebuilding, peace and conflict research and crisis management by international organizations. A special focus of this year’s publication is on ‘Warlike decay in the Middle East’. Threats to domestic peace are identified as a transnational security risk (‘Der innere Friede ist in Gefahr’, Felix Bethke et al.).

BICC Bonn International Center for Conversion
PRIF/HSFK Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
IFSH Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, Hamburg University
INEF Institute for Development and Peace, University of Duisburg-Essen

Christian J. Tams: The ‘International Community’ as a Legal Notion

The functions, meanings and content of the concept of ‘international community’ are fluid: it is as appealing as it is evasive – and in fact, often it is appealing precisely because it is evasive, and because a wide range of diverse, sometimes competing, meanings and expectations are projected onto it. This working paper seeks to unveil some of the functions, meanings and expectations projected upon the notion of ‘international community’. While it focuses on debates in one particular field, viz. international law, its themes are of significance to a wider audience.

What follows is a list of new publications of the Centre's current and former fellows and staff as well as authors from our wider academic network. We will publish an updated list quarterly from now on and invite you to inform us about your recent contributions to the field of global cooperation research. The published list represents a selection of titles that we feel are substantive contributions to the field.


Journal of International Political Theory
Special Issue
Marcel Mauss in International Relations
JIPT volume 14 number 2 June 2018
Edited by Volker M Heins, Christine Unrau and Kristine Avram
Gift-giving and reciprocity in global society: Introducing Marcel Mauss in international studies
Volker M Heins, Christine Unrau and Kristine Avram
Reciprocity, hierarchy, and obligation in world politics: From Kula to Potlatch
John G Oates and Eric Grynaviski
How to understand international society differently: Mauss and the chains of reciprocity
Frédéric Ramel
The gift as colonial ideology? Marcel Mauss and the solidarist colonial policy in the interwar era
Grégoire Mallard
Generous corporations? A Maussian analysis of international drug donations
Auriane Guilbaud
Refugees welcome: Arrival gifts, reciprocity, and the integration of forced migrants
Volker M Heins and Christine Unrau
Hostageship: What can we learn from Mauss?
Ariel Colonomos

Imprint
Universität Duisburg-Essen
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Published quarterly
Webspace: www.gcr21.org/media-resources/newsletter/Licence: Creative Commons
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21 The ‘International Community’ as a Legal Notion
by Christian J. Tams
Duisburg 2018

20 The Resilience Turn in German Development Strategy and Humanitarian Intervention
by Jonathan Joseph
Duisburg 2017

19 From Inaction to Restrictions: Changes in Lebanon’s Policy Responses to Syrian Mass Refugee Movement
by Zeynep Sahin Mencutek
Duisburg 2017

18 Involvement and Impact of External Actors on Constitution Making in South Sudan and Somaliland: A Comparative Study
by Katrin Seidel
Duisburg 2017

Global Cooperation Research Papers
ISSN 2198-1949 (Print)
ISSN 2198-0411 (Online)
doi: 10.14282/2198-0411-GCRP-[issue]

Prospective Migration Policy – Scenario Building on Relations Between West Africa and Europe
Markus Böckenhörde and Elisabeth Braune (eds.)
Global Dialogues 15, Duisburg 2018

Future Scenarios of Global Cooperation—Practices and Challenges
Nora Dahlhaus and Daniela Weißkopf (eds.)
Global Dialogues 14, Duisburg 2017

A Multi-disciplinary Mosaic: Reflections on Global Cooperation and Migration
Markus Böckenhörde, Nadja Krupke, and Philipp Michaelis (eds.)
Global Dialogues 13, Duisburg 2016