

CCRD-GAR Workshop

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLITICS OF MIGRATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF LIBERAL AND ILLIBERAL DEMOCRACIES

11 November 2022

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Jacob-und-Wilhelm-Grimm-Zentrum
Geschwister-Scholl-Straße 1/3
10117 Berlin

CONVENERS

**the Association for Migration
Research (GAR)**

Didem Daniş
Gülay Uğur Göksel
Lülüfer Körükmez
Deniz Sert

gocarastirmalaridernegi.org

**the Center for Comparative Research
on Democracy (CCRD)**

Gülçin Balamir Coşkun
Ertuğ Tombuş

ccrd-berlin.de

PROGRAM

9:00 - 10:00 GAR & CCRD Presentations

10:00 - 11:15 Panel I: General Concepts, Theories, and Policies on Politics of Migration and Democratic Backsliding

The politics of immigration across political regimes: Theorizing beyond binary world (di)visions

Katharina Natter, Leiden University

The rise of illiberal democracy and the politicization of immigration

Leila Hadj Abdou, EUI

Chair: **Ertuğ Tombuş**, HU Berlin

11:15 - 11:45 Coffee break

11:45 - 13:15 Panel II: Case Studies 1

Crisis Talk and De-Democratization: The Migrant Other in Hungarian Right-wing Populist Narratives

András Szalai, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE)

Migration management in grey areas: the case of Turkey

Didem Daniş, Galatasaray University & **Deniz Sert**, Özyeğin University

Liberal migration and refugee policies in illiberal democracies: the case of Brazil under Bolsonaro

Leiza Brumat, Eurac Research & UNU-CRIS

Chair: **Güluy Uğur Göksel**, İstanbul Bilgi University

13:15 - 14:30 Lunch

14:30 - 15:45 Panel III: Case Studies 2

Illiberal Enforcement: Transnational Cooperation for Policing Migration

Ioana Vrabiescu, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

German migration policy: Competing interests and categories

Zeynep Yanaşmayan, DeZIM-Institut

Chair: **Deniz Sert**, Özyeğin University

15:45 - 16:15 Coffee break

16:15 - 17:45 Keynote

Immigration Policies: From Liberal to Neoliberal—and the Difference that Populism Makes

Christian Joppke, University Bern

Chair: **Güluy Uğur Göksel**, İstanbul Bilgi University

Leila Hadj Abdou, Ph.D. is Part-Time Assistant Professor at the Migration Policy Centre at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the European University Institute (Italy); and a Policy Officer in the Department for Integration and Diversity of the City of Vienna (Austria). She has widely published on the governance of migration and migrant integration. Among her latest publications are Exploring the EU's Status Quo Tendency in the Migration Policy Field: a Network-Centred Perspective, *Journal of European Public Policy* 2022 (with A. Pettrachin), and the book *Migration and Mobility in the European Union* (Palgrave MacMillan 2020, with A. Geddes and L. Brumat).

Leiza Brumat is a Senior Research Fellow at Eurac Research (Bolzano, Italy) where she works on her project 'Policy Implementation in Global South Regionalism: Multilevel Migration Governance in South America (POLIM)', funded by the Province of Bolzano/Bozen. She is an International Relations analyst who was awarded a Ph.D. by Flacso - Argentina. Before joining Eurac, her previous positions include Research Fellow at the Migration Policy Centre (MPC) of the European University Institute, lecturer in International Relations and Regional Integration at two universities in Buenos Aires, as well as a Research Fellow for the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET) of Argentina. She is the co-author of *Migration and Mobility in the EU* (2nd edition, Palgrave, 2020, with Andrew Geddes and Leila Hadj Abdou). Her research focuses on regional and global migration governance.

Gülçin Balamir Coşkun is an associate professor of political science. She received her Ph.D. in International Relations from Istanbul University and her MA degree from University Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne. Her BA was also in International relations at Galatasaray University, Turkey. From 2018 to 2021, she worked as an Einstein Fellow at the Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. She is currently working as one of the senior research associates of the project "Judicial autonomy under authoritarian attack" at the same institute and she is the academic coordinator of the Center for Comparative Research on Democracy. Her research focuses on authoritarianism, judicial independence, rule of law, media capture, and digital censorship. Coşkun's current research explores the relationship between media capture and judicial capture in authoritarian contexts.

Didem Daniş is a sociologist whose teaching and research activities evolve around the topics related to migrations in and around Turkey. She currently works as associate professor at Galatasaray University, Sociology Department, in Istanbul. After her undergraduate education at Bogazici University (Istanbul), she received her master's degree at METU (Ankara) and completed her doctoral thesis at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris) in 2008. Didem Daniş has extensive experience in teaching and research collaborations in Europe and the Middle East. She has published numerous articles in academic journals on Iraqi and Syrian refugees in the Middle East, with a focus on the state's role, immigration, and integration politics, as well as migrants' local and transnational social networks. She is also the director of the Association for Migration Research.

Gülây Uğur Göksel is an Assistant Professor at the department of International Relations in Istanbul Bilgi University. Dr. Göksel has completed her Ph.D. degree from the University of Colorado at Boulder, USA. Her research interests are immigration, multiculturalism and critical theory. She has a manuscript entitled *Integration of Immigrants and the Theory of Recognition: Just Integration* (2017. Palgrave Macmillan-International Political Theory Series).

Christian Joppke holds a chair in sociology at the University of Bern in Switzerland. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley in 1989. After that he held professorships at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, the European University Institute in Florence, the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, International University Bremen, and the American University of Paris. He wrote extensively on social movements, immigration, citizenship, multiculturalism, religion, nationalism and populism. His most recent book is *Neoliberal Nationalism: Immigration and the Rise of the Populist Right* (2021). He currently works on a book called *The Political Forms of Neoliberalism: Order and Disorder*.

Lülüfer Körükmez is a sociologist whose work focuses on migration, gender, and human rights topics. She received her Master's and Doctorate degrees from Ege University, Department of Sociology, Izmir. She worked as an assistant professor at the same department until her dismissal by a decree law. Her doctoral thesis was about the labor migration from Armenia to Turkey after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. She has conducted numerous research and published articles on the topics of her academic interest.

Katharina Natter is an Assistant Professor at the Leiden Institute of Political Science, The Netherlands. Trained at SciencesPo Paris and the University of Amsterdam, she previously worked at the International Migration Institute of Oxford University. Her research explores the politics of migration across political regimes, with a particular focus on the role of democratization and autocratization. She has published in *International Migration Review*, *Population and Development Review*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Comparative Migration Studies* and the *Journal of North African Studies*. Her book *The Politics of Immigration Beyond Liberal States* will come out with Cambridge University Press in early 2023.

Deniz Sert is a Professor at the Department of International Relations, Ozyegin University, Istanbul. Before joining OzU, she was a Senior Research Associate at the Migration Research Center, Koç University, MiReKoc. An expert on migration issues in Turkey and globally, she has taught and researched at several institutions domestically and abroad. She received her BA in International Relations from Koç University, an MSc in European Union Policy Making from the London School of Economics, and an MPhil in Political Science from the City University of New York. She got her Ph.D. in Comparative Politics from the City University of New York. She has published extensively on international migration within Turkey and its regions. Dr. Sert has extensive project experience, she was a Jean Monnet Chair on Migration and Mobility, CHARM (2019-2022). She is also an editor at the IOM's renowned SSCI journal of *International Migration*.

Andras Szalai is associate professor at the Department of International Relations and European Studies, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), and an affiliate researcher at the Central European University's Democracy Institute. His current research deals with right-wing populism's narrative construction of security threats, the symbolic use of borders in mitigating ontological insecurities, and the securitisation of migration as a societal control mechanism. His general research interests include securitisation theory, constructivist theories of European foreign policy, and epistemic power in security expertise. Szalai's work has appeared in outlets such as *International Relations*, *Millennium*, and the *European Review of International Studies*.

Ertug Tombuş is the deputy director of the Center for Comparative Research on Democracy and a Research Associate at the Department of Social Sciences, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. Between 2017-2020, he was the academic coordinator of the *Blickwechsel: Contemporary Turkey Studies Program* at HU-Berlin. Before joining HU-Berlin, he taught at Columbia University, The New School for Liberal Arts, Eugene Lang College, Western Connecticut State University, and the State University of New York. He is the managing editor of *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory* since 2009. He was a visiting research fellow at Northwestern University and Yale University. He holds a Ph.D. M.Sc. and B.Sc. in political science and M.Phil. in Sociology. His primary teaching and research areas are theories of democracy, politics and law, theories of constitution-making, comparative constitutionalism, populism, secularism and its critics, sociology of law, political sociology, contemporary social theory, and Turkish politics.

Ioana Vrăbiescu is an Assistant Professor at VU Amsterdam. She currently develops a project to highlight the role of ethical emotions in enforcing migration control state apparatus. Previously, within the project *DispoCIT* (University of Warwick), she investigated how transnational police cooperation in targeting Romanian citizens for deportation impacts state sovereignty and citizenship dispossession. During her postdoctoral years she was a researcher at the University of Amsterdam ERC project *SOLIDERE*, and in the H2020 project *RELOCAL*, a Fellow at the Open Society Institute, and a visiting scholar at the Tel Aviv University and the New School for Social Research. She conducted multi-sited fieldwork alongside the deportation apparatus in France and in Romania, and ethnographic research with social services and institutions for migration management in Spain, among others.

Zeynep Yanaşmayan is the head of the Migration Department at the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM). She is an interdisciplinary scholar working at the intersection of political science, sociology, and socio-legal studies with research interests in citizenship, migration and mobility studies, governance of religious diversity, transnationalism, and diaspora politics. She is the author of *The Migration of Highly Educated Turkish Citizens to Europe: From Guestworker to Global Talent* (Routledge) and co-editor of *The Failure of Popular Constitution-Making in Turkey: Regressing to Autocracy* (Cambridge UP). Her work has previously been published in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Citizenship Studies*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Political Geography and Law and Social Inquiry*. She holds a Ph.D. in Social Sciences from KU Leuven, Belgium.