



Centre for  
**Global  
Cooperation  
Research**



UNIVERSITY OF  
GOTHENBURG



*Open-Minded*

**International Online Conference  
5-6 October 2020**

**'Urgency' and 'Responsibility' in Global Cooperation**

***Covid-19 and Beyond***



**Conference booklet**

# The Conference

Global crises have become regular fare in contemporary society: around diseases (Covid-19, Ebola, SARS, Zika, etc.) as well as around climate change, cybersecurity, finance, human rights, migration, poverty, war and more. For all such transboundary challenges a headline message flows that ‘responsible’ actors should ‘urgently’ pursue global cooperation, with the implication that uncoordinated and conflictual approaches are foolish if not depraved.

Taking impetus from Covid-19 and moving across other issue areas, this online conference examines how mindsets of ‘urgency’ and ‘responsibility’ (and their absence) work in global politics. How do people invoke this vocabulary to mobilize global collective action? In contrast, how do others contest ‘urgency’ and ‘responsibility’ – for example, with climate change denials, claims of fake news, responsabilization of migrants, and so on? When do appeals to ‘urgency’ and ‘responsibility’ provoke creative new ways of global cooperation? When on the contrary does this language encourage extra-legal action and suspension of rights?

To explore these issues, the conference convenes international interdisciplinary panels of specialists in a variety of policy fields. We look not only at unfolding experiences around the Covid-19 pandemic, drawing on experts in global health governance, but also look beyond the immediate moment to other ‘crises’ and consider what can be learned from a historical and comparative perspective.

All, anywhere in the world, are welcome to join this global online conference.

**Please register [online](#), and we will provide you with the relevant access information. We look forward to your participation!**

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# Welcome

to the first International Online Conference organized by the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/ Centre for Global Cooperation Research at the University of Duisburg-Essen and the University of Gothenburg School of Global Studies!

At this virtual event we would like to invite you to think with us and our colleagues from across the world on two concepts that most of us will have encountered but fewer have actually tried to critically assess. The talk, evidently, is of 'urgency' and 'responsibility'. Urgency, in this sense, could be described as a rather vague feeling, creeping in whenever news about a supposedly global emergency of any kind hits the headlines, compelling us to demand that something be done about whatever-it-is, immediately. Usually this notion entails a query about responsibility, thus an attribution of who ought to be in charge of doing aforementioned 'something' and who is to be blamed for not having properly averted the problem in the first place.

The guiding hypothesis of the conference is that in different policy fields, a sense of urgency typically does not arise spontaneously, but is actively invoked by politicians, social movements, religious leaders or the media. At the same time, urgency is contested by opposing forces who vigorously labour to deflate calls for action by downplaying the suffering of migrants, denying human-generated climate change or accusing their adversaries of fearmongering and 'fake news'. Any attempt to give urgency to an issue or, in political science terms, to increase its salience, is closely intertwined with rhetorical practices of assigning responsibility. Throughout the panel sessions we are thus going to take account of the narration and contestation around urgent calls for action on a global level and discuss this with regard to different responsibilities in issue areas such as migration, climate politics, human rights, cybersecurity, peacebuilding, politics of legitimation, gender violence and famines in recent world history.

While the idea for the conference took form before the current global pandemic, this ubiquitous topic will of course also feature during this event. As the most recent case of triggering international urgency, this virus – though tragic and exhausting – might at least present us with the rare opportunity to observe and better understand narrative dynamics in global politics as they unfold in front of our eyes. The 17. Käte Hamburger Dialogue on the first day of the conference (5 October, 5:30 pm CEST) will take up exactly this thread to ask what can be learned from this disease for future health and political crises worldwide.

We strive to arrange this event in an engaging manner to generate a productive, yet enjoyable experience for everyone. Apart from panels and roundtables, we provide plenty of opportunities for you to connect and interact through breakout rooms and an engaging social program, which will introduce, among other things, dance as a channel of expression for social movements and protest. Hopefully, this contributes to a rich and refreshing virtual experience despite the real-life constraints of lock-downs and physical distance.

We look forward to an engaging two days!

Your conference organization team

## How to participate & What to expect

From **08:30 (GMT +02:00)** onwards you can start to sign in to the zoom conference platform. To do so, please follow the link you received upon registration.

Please note that you will first be led to a waiting room. The organizers will admit you to the official event after having checked whether your name appears on the registration list. To be able to do so, we kindly ask you to **log in with the name stated in your registration**. After having entered, you can then **later change your name and use a pseudonym if you wish to remain anonymous**.

To get the most out of the event, we recommend that you familiarize yourself with the basic functions of zoom, e.g. by accessing the various introductory videos on <https://support.zoom.us/hc/en-us>. Please also note that **upon entering the zoom platform, your camera and microphone will be muted by default** in order to avoid distraction. Individual **sessions will be recorded** for follow-up work and documentation. As a spectator you will be asked to consent to this as well, although you won't appear in the recording if you're only following the panel sessions.

However, we do encourage active participation and therefore would like to invite you to **send your questions via the chat function to our team throughout the event**. Your feedback will then be forwarded to the moderator who may **call on you to pose your question to the panel**. If you prefer not to appear in person, we still invite you to submit your questions via chat, so that the moderator can read them to the panel. We hope that you understand that due to time constraints it is possible that not all questions will be raised during the session, but we will forward all of them to our speakers after the meeting.

We look forward to welcoming you in our virtual lecture hall on Zoom.

# Open Rooms and Activities during the Conference

## Technical Support Room

<https://uni-due.zoom.us/j/6386597206?pwd=MHkwMDRNMN1FUalg3ZWhhZ2hRc0hMZz09>

Meeting-ID: 638 659 7206

Code: 997769



We will have a supporting team in the conference rooms present to help run the sessions smoothly, who can be approached for any technological issues related to your participation in the session.

If you have technological difficulties that cannot be fixed by our session support staff, or if you experience difficulties with entering the conference room, you are welcome to ask for support via the link posted above.

Starting on the morning of October 5th, this room is open for the duration of the conference.

**In case you need to reach us offline, please contact our IT team via e-mail or phone:**

**Head of IT: Uwe Amerkamp**

Phone: +49 (0)203 379-5234

e-mail: amerkamp[at]gcr21.uni-due.de

**Technical Support: Senyurt Isbecer**

Phone: +49 (0)203 379-5230

e-mail: isbecer[at]gcr21.uni-due.de

## Käte's Lounge and Lobby

<https://uni-due.zoom.us/j/96049214233?pwd=YmFVR1NUN2JXaVBuSFdmVGx6cUp4UT09>

Meeting-ID: 960 4921 4233

Code: 662289



Apart from the conference main floor where all the panels take place, this is likely going to be one of the most frequented rooms at the conference. Please come and visit *Käte's Lounge & Lobby* whenever you might need to take a break, want to further engage on a discussion or have a private conversation with a colleague or another conference participant you've just met. See someone at the conference that you want to further engage with? Send them a chat to meet here and our bartender will be sure to provide you a breakout room for closed conversations or discussions.

This is also the place to go to for **access to our extended Social Program**: Come and take a look at the virtual exhibition "Dance of Urgency"; take a break and stretch those neck and shoulder muscles with some easy Yoga exercises; pop into our photo booth to create your own memories of your conference attendance!

Come on in, at *Käte's Lounge and Lobby* we're always open. The coffee may be virtual, but the bonding is real.

## Exhibition "Dance of Urgency"

*Access through Käte's Lounge and Lobby: request link from our "bartender" there.*

If the teaser clips during coffee breaks have piqued your interest, this is the place to go!

They belong to the digital exhibition "Dance of Urgency" that premiered in Vienna last year. A selection of the works can exclusively be watched and admired as part of this conference. For a detailed description please see the excerpt from the **exhibition guide** below (starting on p. 10). To get an artistic impression of the way protest, social

movements and dance intertwine and coalesce in situations of personal or collective crisis just follow the link provided by our “bartender” and learn about beats that have shaken the world.

**We will also have the curator, Bogomir Doring, explain the idea behind the work in a brief talk on the evening of the first night (5 October), so stay tuned to find out more about the “Dance of Urgency”.**

## Yoga Corner

*Access through Käte’s Lounge and Lobby: request link from our “bartender” there.*

After sitting attentively in front of your screen for several hours, you might feel that tension rising up in your shoulders or your neck becoming a little stiff. Of course, the best solution would be to stand up, take a short walk or exercise. But in case you’re not a fan of either those things, don’t have the time, or need something to also re-activate your brain on a deeper level, we have just the right video for you. Just ask our personnel in Käte’s Lounge and Lobby for the link and let the magic of yoga and a skilled yoga instructor do the rest and turn your office chair into a temple of relaxation. Multiple repetitions are advised!

## Photo Booth

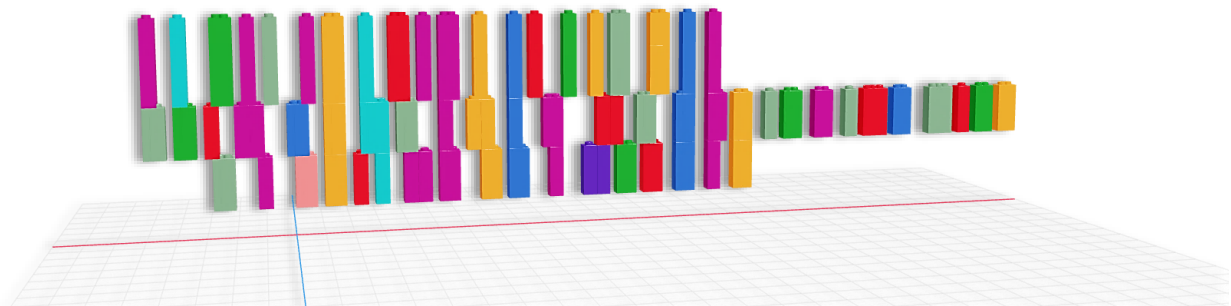
*Access through Käte’s Lounge and Lobby: request link from our “bartender” there.*

We are very happy you have decided to join our conference and look forward to “seeing” you there. In order to actually “see” you, however, we need a little help from you: You will have to visit our virtual photo booth and press the camera trigger button to receive a nice memory of your conference attendance. You can even decorate your picture with stickers and labels or, if you’re in a playful mood, take a GIF or boomerang to create a moving image. It is easy as pie and will help everyone to know who else is in the conference room. After all, not only can you download your own photos, but you can also see how many other people joined and took a picture in the gallery (used exclusively for purposes of our conference documentation).

## Lego© bricks editor

<https://www.mecabricks.com/en/workshop>

If you’re in the mood for doing something crafty, but are tired of doodling or have nothing at hand in the real world, we recommend trying out this virtual Lego editor. It takes some practice, but once you know how to handle the bricks, it is a very calming and creative way to help you focus on the small things and see how they are all attached to one another. Here is an example of what can be made (yes, this is the GCR21 Lego-logo):



# Conference Programme

All times are CEST (Central European Summer Time) / UTC + 2h.

## Monday, 5 October 2020

### 08.45-09.15 Welcome & Introduction

#### Welcome

Sigrid Quack, *Director KHK/GCR21*

Anders Burman, *Research Head, SGS*

#### Introduction: 'Urgency' and 'Responsibility' in Global Cooperation

Swati Parashar, *SGS*

Jan Aart Scholte, *KHK/GCR21*

### 09.15-10.45

#### Panel 1

#### Whose Responsibility? The Migration Dimension of Covid-19

**Moderator:** Stephan Scheel, *University of Duisburg-Essen*

Alan Gamlen, *Monash University Melbourne*

Karen Anne Liao, *National University of Singapore*

Darshan Vigneswaran, *University of Amsterdam*

### 10.45-11.00

*Break*

### 11.00-12.30

#### Panel 2

#### 'Urgent Action': Strategies of Mobilization and Cooperation around Human Rights

**Moderator:** Nina Schneider, *KHK/GCR21*

Monica Baar, *Leiden University*

Marcia Esparza, *City University of New York*

Johan Karlsson Schaffer, *SGS*

Christine Unrau, *KHK/GCR21*

### 12.30-13.30

*Lunch Break*

### 13.30-15.00

#### Panel 3

#### Urgent Hunger: Memory and Responsibility after Famines

**Moderator:** Jenny Edkins, *University of Manchester*

Camilla Orjuela, *SGS*

Swati Parashar, *SGS*

Ram Krishna Ranjan, *University of Gothenburg*

Joanna Simonow, *KHK/GCR21*

Fisseha Fantahun Tefera, *SGS*



15.00-15.15 *Break*

**15.15-16.45** **Panel 4**  
**'Urgency' and 'Responsibility' in Peacebuilding**

**Moderators:** Florian Kühn, *SGS*

Aidan Hehir, *University of Westminster*

Joakim Öjendal, *SGS*

Theresa Reinold, *University of Duisburg-Essen*

16.45-17.30 *Break*

**17:00-17:30** **"Dance of Urgency" – Asking the Artist**  
**An interview with Bogomir Doringer**

**17.30-19.00** **17<sup>th</sup> Käte Hamburger Dialogue**  
**Roundtable Discussion: Global Cooperation under Covid-19**

**Moderator:** Jan Aart Scholte, *KHK/GCR21*

Adia Benton, *Northwestern University*

Maryam Deloffre, *George Washington University*

Tine Hanrieder, *London School of Economics (LSE)*

Franklyn Lisk, *University of Warwick*

## Tuesday, 6 October 2020

**09.00-09.30** **Taking Stock: What Have We Learned So Far?**

**09.30-11.00** **Panel 5**  
**Urgency and Responsibility around Gender Violence**

**Moderators:** Amya Agarwal, *KHK/GCR21* & Swati Parashar, *SGS*

David Duriesmith, *University of Sheffield*

Roxani Krystalli, *University of St Andrews*

Elina Penttinen, *University of Helsinki*

Philipp Schulz, *University of Bremen*

11.00-11.15 *Break*

**11.15-12.45** **Panel 6**  
**Reconciling Urgency, Responsibility and Accountability in Cybersecurity Governance**

**Moderator:** Hortense Jongen, *VU Amsterdam*

Carolina Aguerre, *KHK/GCR21*

Enrico Calandro, *Research ICT Africa*

Louise Marie Hurel, *London School of Economics*

Tatiana Tropina, *Leiden University*

12.45-13.30

Lunch Break

13.30-15.00

**Panel 7**

**Do We Have Time for Democracy? Reflections on Civic Participation during Climate Emergency**

**Moderator:** Katja Freistein, *KHK/GCR21*

Aysem Mert, *Stockholm University*

Peter Newell, *University of Sussex*

Rikard Warlenius, *SGS*

15.00-15.15

Break

15.15-16.45

**Panel 8**

**Urgency and Responsibility in the Politics of (De-) Legitimation**

**Moderator:** Frank Gadinger, *KHK/GCR21*

Christopher Smith Ochoa, *University of Duisburg-Essen*

Hortense Jongen, *VU Amsterdam*

Benard Musembi Kilaka, *SGS*

Fredrik Söderbaum and Kilian Spandler, *SGS*

16.45-17.00

**Closing Remarks**

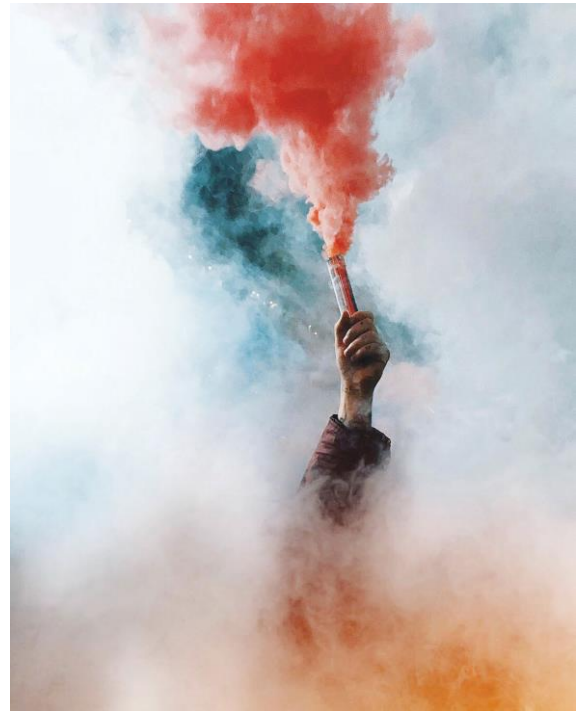
Sigrid Quack, *KHK/GCR21*

Swati Parashar, *SGS*

## Exhibition: Dance of Urgency

Dance is understood as a way of socializing, as nonverbal communication, as an art form, as ritualistic practice. Still, one would hardly look at dance floors to understand what those dancing individuals and crowds are expressing or why they are moving. How does the dance of people in clubs reflect the socio-political environment and struggles of individuals and groups? How do the Rave-o-lution in March 2018 in front of the Georgian Parliament in Tbilisi and antifascist protests in Berlin during the same month relate to ancient Dionysian rituals, and why does the “soundtrack” to these events come from the drums of African Americans?

Clubbing during the NATO bombing of Belgrade (Serbia) in 1999 introduced **Bogomir Doringer** to dance as a coping mechanism and as a political phenomenon. Wanting to understand these powerful yet uncanny memories, in 2014 he started to film clubs from a bird’s-eye view, striving to document variations of collective and individual choreographies worldwide. In this quest, he discovered two different forms of dancing: that of entertainment and that of urgency. Clubs are seen as a ground for ritualistic practice and as experimental spaces that employ different audiovisual art forms. Some clubs are able to transmit activist and spiritualist ideas, and so form an influential counterculture. This culture is appropriating abandoned architecture and reanimating dead city zones.



If we understand how these spaces change or appear in times of uncertainty, it could help us to understand crowds better. The rise of crowds seems to fluctuate as a reflection of the actual political climate. By researching dance floors, the project sensed the return of politics to club culture in Western Europe and the urgency of such gatherings after the recent rise of right-wing tendencies. In the past few months various protests have adopted the rave

format, like Rave 4 Climate (Paris), Brexit Protest Rave (London), against gentrification (Berlin and Rotterdam), Free Human Rights Open Air (Vienna) etc.

The exhibition aims to establish the definition of a “dance of urgency” that arises from the emotions that occur in times of personal and collective crisis. Such a dance empowers individuals and collectives. With the help of interdisciplinary participants, it extracts knowledge from dance culture with a uniting and strengthening quality, and because it can also perform as a political body when necessary.

## I DANCE ALONE

by **Bogomir Doring** (\*1983 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia [Serbia]; lives in Amsterdam, NL)

video by **Rafael Kozdron** (\*1979 in POL, lives in Amsterdam NL)

Could clubbing (subculture) be observed as a micro-environment in order to find out how certain patterns of behaviour on a dance floor are telling stories about their wider contemporary cultural and socio-political systems?

**Bogomir Doring** in 2014 started filming different clubs from a bird's-eye view with an aim to document variations of collective and individual choreographies worldwide. The collected footage initiated an interdisciplinary artistic research project that is using artistic and natural science methods in studying the social phenomenon of clubbing.



Could we understand clubbing as a living system that regulates and

*New Years Eve- Awakenings, Gashouder - Amsterdam 2016 (by Bogomir Doring)*

stabilizes vitality and functioning of collective and individual body, in regard to the changing conditions in society? Are social and political changes manifested and filtered through dance floors? Through the investigation of a variety of clubbing sessions and the creation of an encyclopaedia of international events, suitable clubs are selected to be filmed based on their curatorial and cultural interest or political agenda and so on. Knowing the spatial typologies of the clubs emerging from the mentioned selection, a mobile laboratory is designed to fulfil the requirements for collecting video, lighting, sound samples. It will include different types of recording devices to support the observation and further investigation by the project partners.

Choreography in its broader sense, is used to understand how relations among body movements are creating specific patterns of behaviour. From the scientific perspective it is important to consider the individuals on the dance floor as cells constellations and further observe analogies with body movements. The project unites disciplines very different from each other, creating an innovative approach to the study of club culture as a social phenomenon and serving as a testing ground for recent theories concerning the roles of boundary on pattern formation in biology. It aims to rethink what is an individual in a community, what a community is, how it functions and how are relational and connective spaces between individuals lived, experienced, understood.

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## THE POLITICS OF ECSTASY

2019, video-essay, 20', color

Written and narrated by **Chiara Baldini** (\*1975 in Florence ITA, lives in Lisbon PRT)

Art direction, sound and video editing by **Rafael Kozdron**

Commissioned by **Bogomir Doring**

**Chiara Baldini** and **Rafael Kozdron** worked on the translation of Chiara’s essay *The Politics of Ecstasy* into a video work narrating the history of the “Bacchanalia Affair”, the name given to the repression of the Bacchanalia in 186 BCE in ancient Rome. The video consists of sensual and subliminal moving images collected from various video archives’ stock of footage. Sounds merge with a voice-over, inspiring the viewer’s imagination.



*Part of a wall painting showing followers of the “wine-god” Bacchus drinking and dancing in a garden. From Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome, 1st century BC. (The British Museum )*

The work outlines the striking similarities between ancient Dionysian practices and certain modern-day electronic music events, which often share similar values (like inclusivity, LGBTQ+ community, female empowerment, safe spaces, etc.) and “techniques of ecstasy” (dancing to repetitive beats and ingesting psychotropic substances). Such features lead to the posing of similar challenges to mainstream society, triggering either enthusiastic support or ferocious repression.

The original “*Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*” — the bronze plate inscribed with the Senate decree prohibiting cults in Rome and

Italy — is held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum’s classical collection in Vienna.

*“At the break of dawn, the music wanes to silence and the gods recede... like shadows... to make space for humans... the bodies rediscover their limits, as they stumble back into the street, shading their eyes from the sun, holding each other from falling... exhausted, happy, reborn.”* is part of the essay describing an ancient scene.

## **A PORTRAIT OF SAMA' ABDULHADI - THE PALESTINIAN TECHNO QUEEN BLASTING FROM AROUND THE GLOBE (2019)**

2019, video, 16', color

A film by **Jan Beddegenoodts** (\*1988 in Antwerp, lives in Antwerp BEL)

Produced by Deep focus Webdocs & Cameltown

Broadcasted on VPRO

Filmmaker **Jan Beddegenoodts** reacted to the topic of music and activism with three short documentaries. He spent time with strong individuals who are part of big collective movements stemming from Georgia, Palestine and Israel. In the coming months he will be producing two more films in Brazil, and in the USA. His portrait **SAMA'** follows Sama' “SkyWalker” Abdulhadi, a Palestinian techno queen who began blasting around the globe following her performance at Boiler Room, providing visibility and empowerment for her country. An emblematic artist of the Palestinian underground scene, DJ SAMA' (previously named SkyWalker) is the first Palestinian techno DJ and electronic music producer.



*SAMA' (by Jan Beddegenoodts)*

## DANCE OR DIE

2019, video, 16:9, color

**Naja Orashvili** \*1983 in Tbilisi, lives in Tbilisi GEO

**Koka Kitia**

**Giorgi Kikonishvili** \*1988 in Tbilisi, lives in Tbilisi GEO

commissioned by **Bogomir Doringer**

When people come together to dance collectively, they influence one another's movements through a physical and emotional bond. In May 2018, state armed forces raided Tbilisi's famous BASSIANI techno club, which had served as a base for new social movements, providing freedom and support for a new generation. The day after the raid, 15,000 people took to the streets to defend the club, urging the government to step back and apologize. "We Dance Together, We Fight Together" has become the now-famous motto



*Protest near the Georgian embassy in Warsaw, 2018: Protestors in Poland show solidarity with the Tbilisi clubbing-scene (Deutschlandfunk Kultur; imago/ZUMA Press)*

of those days. It was led by the *White Noise movement* and it quickly gained the support of communities worldwide. Images of this event have been broadcasted and shared widely in the media and social networks, inspiring and reminding Europeans that dance can be and is political when necessary.

**Dance or Die** is an experimental film by **Naja Orashvili**, **Koka Kitia** and **Giorgi Kikonishvili (BASSIANI)** that looks into the political significance of dancing, and how club spaces paved the way for a totally new youth culture in Georgia. It recreates the path from primordial Georgian folk dance rituals, from which the BASSIANI concept was created, to modern day collective club dancing for freedom.

The White Noise movement (თეთრი ხმაურის მოძრაობა) is originally a civil rights movement for drug-policy reform in Georgia. It started as a community organized around artist **Beka Tsikarishvili**, who faced several years in jail for possession of cannabis. After winning a landmark victory in court, the group has grown and evolved into a community support group for people who have suffered injustice and police brutality because of the use of substances, in most cases on their way to or from the clubs. This was the reason why the movement started organizing its meetings with the support base in the underground clubs of Tbilisi. This was how BASSIANI and the White Noise movement became involved in an unprecedented collaboration — and how the floor perceived by many as the place solely for escapism turned into a hub for civil rights movements uniting women, queer, students, workers and others in need.

# The Panels



## Panel 1: Whose Responsibility? The Migration Dimension of Covid-19

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### Panel Description:

The coronavirus pandemic is affecting the lives of migrants, patterns of migration as well as migration policies in numerous ways. For example, the Norwegian News Agency (NTB) recently reported that in Norway 30–40 percent of patients who test positive for the virus are from immigrant backgrounds. The international resettlement for refugees has been suspended. Underpaid and exploited migrant laborers from Bulgaria, Poland and Romania working in German meat factories have been blamed for having spread the virus. The pandemic is used to confuse the “war against the virus” with the war against illegalized migrants that European Member States and others have been waging for years. And, of course, potential mobile students and scholars think twice before doing fieldwork abroad or meet colleagues in faraway countries.

Against the backdrop of the magnitude of the COVID-19 pandemic and its multiple impacts on migration, the panelists will discuss the urgency of responses to the crisis and changing meanings of what counts as legitimate and responsible behavior.

**Moderator:** Stephan Scheel, University of Duisburg-Essen.

*Stephan Scheel has been appointed as an assistant professor (Juniorprofessor) for transnational cooperation and migration research in December 2018. Before joining the sociology department of the University Duisburg-Essen, Dr. Scheel has been working as a postdoctoral researcher on ERC-funded research projects at Goldsmiths, University of London, and the University of Twente in the Netherlands. Dr. Scheel's research interests lie at the intersection of border and migration studies, citizenship studies, critical security studies as well as science and technology studies.*

### Contributions:

**Alan Gamlen, Monash University Melbourne**

#### Recent Publications:

- with Kutarna, Chris and Monk, Ashby H.B. (2019): Citizenship as Sovereign Wealth: Re-thinking Investor Immigration. In: *Global Policy*. 10, 527-541.

- Gamlen, Alan (2019): Crises of Migration in Crises of Capitalism. In T. Vickers (ed.), *Borders, Migration and Class in an Age of Crisis: Producing Workers and Immigrants* (Global Migration and Social Change Series).

*Alan Gamlen is an Associate Professor of Geography at Monash University in Melbourne, and a longstanding Research Associate at Oxford University's Centre on Migration, Policy and Society. His research focuses on the geography and governance of international migration.*



## “Repatriating Migrant Workers in a Pandemic: Migration Policy and Responsibility in sending state Responses to Crises”

Karen Anne Liao, National University of Singapore

### Abstract:

Current discussions of labour migration amid the coronavirus pandemic have primarily centered on the contexts of host or receiving countries, particularly how the outbreak has led to job losses, displacement, and strandedness among migrant workers. In this session, I argue for the importance of attending to the role of sending states in returning labour migrants to their countries of origin, and how this aspect reflects policy discourses on urgency and responsibility during large-scale emergencies. Drawing from research on the Philippines’ experience of labour migrant repatriation during crises, including the COVID-19 outbreak, I discuss three key observations contributing to this panel session. First, the Philippines’ discursive construction of responsibility is embedded in its migration policy framework, which maintains a dual approach of labor export and the promotion of migrants’ rights and welfare. This framework has reinforced the country’s institutionalization of labor migration, which incorporates repatriation as a form of assistance and a key responsibility of the sending government during emergencies in host countries. Second, the Philippines’ repatriation processes in past crises and the ongoing COVID-19 situation have necessitated the cooperation and involvement of other migration-related actors. Notably, the sending government has crafted repatriation policies that assign responsibility to migration industry actors like recruitment and manning agencies, thereby devolving responsibility and expanding capacity for assistance and repatriation. Third, the sending state’s diplomatic engagement and collaboration with host country authorities, international organizations, and civil society actors have been crucial in facilitating past repatriation operations. However, alongside these observations are also the challenges and difficulties the Philippines has faced in past repatriation operations and in its current response to the pandemic. These issues raise questions on how labour migration policy discourses are shaping notions of international cooperation and responsibility-sharing during crises.

*Karen Anne Liao is a PhD candidate at the Department of Geography at the National University of Singapore. Her main research interests are patterns of migration in Southeast Asia, skilled and temporary migration.*

## “The End of Migration Studies? Global Pandemic as Opportunity for Reform”

Darshan Vigneswaran, University of Amsterdam

### Abstract:

COVID-19 is changing global migration patterns and the basic principles of global migration governance. Migration Studies scholars are asking themselves what the implications of this phenomena are for the questions they have tended to ask, and the modes of conceptualisation theoretical explanation they have relied upon. In this vein, Alan Gamlen's recent paper on 'The End of the Age of Migration' provides the field with a list of essential provocations regarding the sorts of emerging issues Migration Studies scholars might pay attention. Simultaneously, the COVID-19 pandemic should

also serve as a more profound provocation to the field: regarding the need for more substantive engagement with alternative approaches to knowledge and understanding, and more specifically, a deeper consideration of the field's enduring statist and Euro-centric assumptions and biases. This paper draws attention to these enduring problems by way of a critical engagement with Gamlen's article, describing how the pandemic exemplifies the need to rethink the field's a) conceptualisation of the 'migrant' and 'international migration' as an independent objects of analysis, b) Euro-centric framing of research inquiry into this object of analysis; c) resulting neglect of the agency of actors in the Global South in shaping migration and migration governance outcomes; and d) enduring silence on the topics of race and racialization. These are not new, but long-standing critiques of Migration Studies. So the paper draws on a long history of critical research into the topic to formulate these critiques, while identifying the ways the pandemic has heightened their salience and drawn our attention to the need for a fundamental re-think of the nature and purpose of Migration Studies as an intellectual enterprise.

*Darshan Vigneswaran is the Co-Director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies and Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam. His research lies at the intersection of International Relations and Political Geography. His work is primarily interested in how territory has been reconfigured in response to changing patterns of human mobility and settlement.*

## Panel 2: 'Urgent Action': Strategies of Mobilization and Cooperation around Human Rights

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### Panel description:

Urgent action is the name of one of the most established formats of human rights activism: Launched by amnesty international in the 1970s, this type of campaign typically starts with distributing information on one specific case of human rights violations, as well as the names and addresses of government officials who are then targeted by activists from all over the world with letters, and (later) e-mails, online petitions etc. In these cases, a collective movement invokes urgency by focussing attention on an individual with a name and a story, thereby creating a sense of individual responsibility. Everyone can do something: Write a letter. At the same time, it is open to debate how this invocation of urgency can be complemented with a more systemic view which assigns differentiated responsibility to different forms of actors – and thereby also differentiated obligations to act.

Against this background, the proposed panel invites contributions that seek to explore the tension between calls for urgent, immediate action and the need for more systemic, structural change in the field of human rights. Seeking to combine various disciplinary perspectives (including, but not limited to, History, Sociology, International Relations and Political Theory), the panel welcome contributions that:

- take stock of concrete forms of urgent action (including Amnesty International's urgent actions) which put the suffering of individuals on the agenda.
- Examine the success (or failure) to mobilize for global cooperation in the field of human rights.
- Offer a critique of such forms, exploring the dilemma of ascribing individual rights and obligations while disregarding structural problems and addressing deeper, long-term causes while neglecting individual responsibility.
- Identify forms of global cooperation that effectively combine calls for urgent action with structural and systemic social change beyond the individual.

**Moderator:** Nina Schneider, KHK/GCR21

*Nina Schneider is a Senior Researcher and Research Group Co-Leader at the Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen (UDE). At the KHK/GCR21, she is responsible for the thematic field 'Global Cooperation and Polycentric Governance'. Previously, she was a Senior Research Fellow at the Global South Studies Center at the University of Cologne. Her research interests include Critical Human and Social Rights History, Dictatorship and Violence in Cold War Latin America, Global History, Entangled and Comparative History, Media History, Oral History.*

## **Contributions:**

### **Monica Baar, Leiden University**

#### **Abstract**

In the last few decades, disability has become accommodated within the framework of human rights. At the same time, it has remained unclear how those rights can be safeguarded at the time of emergencies -such as human-generated or natural disasters. In those cases, attention usually focuses on immediate 'trouble-shooting' and there may be neither sufficient time nor capacity to pay attention to legal regulations. Another problem that the presentation raises is that the human rights framework is tied to citizenship or documented migrant status and thus, the systematic application of human right becomes problematic precisely in the case of most vulnerable groups: refugees and undocumented migrants. A major obstacle to mobilization is that the focus on the most basic necessities - food and shelter - often de-prioritize other requirements such as (wheelchair) access, the right to treatment of chronic illness and support for mental health issues. There has been debates about whether some 'minimum requirements' should be observed in emergency situations, however the mainstream opinion is that the danger of defining minimum standards can lead to the erosion of the entire human rights palette.

*Monica Baar is Professor by special appointment of Central European Studies at Leiden University. Her main research interests are Comparative Historiography, marginality, inequality and vulnerability as well as Disability Studies.*

### **Marcia Esparza, City University of New York**

#### **Recent Publications:**

- (2018): Examining the Political and Military Power in Latin America: a Response to Christian Gudehus. *Journal of Perpetrator Research*, 2(1), 20–25.
- (2018): *Silenced Communities: Legacies of Militarization and Militarism in a Rural Guatemalan Town*. New York / Oxford: Berghahn Books.

*Marcia Esparza is an Associate Professor in the Department of Criminal Justice at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York. Her main research interests include Genocide, historical memory, legacies, colonialism, postcolonialism, critical human rights, and military sociology.*

### **“Beyond „the Rights of the Others”: A Political Conception of Human Rights for Societies Like Ours”**

Johan Karlsson Schaffer, SGS

#### **Abstract:**

A predominant view in the philosophy of human rights treat human rights as the rights of other people in places faraway: When their government violates or fails to protect their rights, we – citizens of liberal democracies and our governments – may have an urgent responsibility or even duty to act.

We find this notion, for instance, in the so-called political and practical approach to human rights in the tradition of Rawls, Raz, Beitz and Cohen, who see human rights chiefly as standards of toleration, legitimate statehood, intervention and interference. Human rights set criteria for when liberal states or the world community may and may not legitimately interfere or have duties to assist. We find a similar notion in the discourse-theoretic conception of human rights proffered by e.g. Habermas and Benhabib, who by insisting on the “co-originality of democracy and human rights” place so high demands on the fulfilment of HR that their role in international affairs chiefly seem to be to define inter-state norms for the prevention of mass atrocities.

In this paper, I shall develop a different philosophical conception of human rights, one that draws on sociolegal scholarship to theorize human rights as power-mediators, i.e., normative principles relatively weak actors can use to challenge authoritative institutions. Conceiving of rights in this way can allow us to make sense of the politics of international human rights in societies where democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights are generally respected.

*Johan Karlsson Schaffer is an Associate Professor at the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg. His main research interests are located at the intersection of political and international theory, and especially human rights and democratic theory.*

### **“Images of Urgency: Human Rights Organizations and Their Visual Campaigns for Migrants’ Rights”**

Christine Unrau, KHK/GCR21

#### **Abstract:**

Urgent action is required in view of severe and ongoing human rights violations related to migration. This contribution to the roundtable asks how human rights organizations use images to convey this message. For example, amnesty international and Human Rights Watch illustrate their urge for rights-oriented policies of migration by showing images of individual migrants but also volunteers engaged in refugee support. While these images often convey the hardship of flight and the precarious conditions in which refugees find themselves, they also often attest to the effort not to reduce persons to their status as refugees.

Based on this exercise of stocktaking, the contribution explores both the potential and the downsides of various forms of images in the context of human rights advocacy on migration. As will be pointed out, the necessity of individualizing human rights issues through images and stories has been stressed by political theorists. For example, Judith Shklar argues that we need to “dramatize” individual stories in order to allow for empathy with the victims of human rights violations in spite of the powerful “ideologies of necessity” at play. However, the link between triggering emotions of compassion and the propensity to act accordingly has been questioned. Ethically, concerns of instrumentalization and complacency have to be addressed. Especially the use of shocking images can be criticized, not least in view of the multiple hierarchies between portrayed migrants and the respective audience.

Against this background, this contribution to the debate will neither encourage nor condemn the deployment of refugee images in human rights-oriented campaigns on migration. Rather, it will be argued that the modes of employing images matter and the task is to develop criteria to evaluate those modes.

*Christine Unrau is a research group leader at the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/ Centre for Global Cooperation Research at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Her research interests include globalization and anti-globalization, emotions and politics, as well as humanitarianism.*

## Panel 3: Urgent Hunger: Memory and Responsibility after Famines

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### Panel description:

Hunger is both an urgent concern in the world today and a major calamity of the past. Historically, famines have killed staggering numbers of people. Regardless of that, and despite the fact that they are not the unfortunate effect of “poor weather” but largely human-made, they are rarely conceived of as mass-atrocities. The memory boom that has brought heritage – including difficult or “dark” heritage – into focus in recent decades, and the global proliferation of transitional justice as a set of mechanisms and norms to deal with a past of large-scale human rights violations, has mostly not been concerned with events of mass-starvation. Famine victims are rarely commemorated, and actors responsible for instigating or allowing mass-hunger to occur are not held accountable.

As the problem of hunger becomes even more urgent globally due to lockdowns and economic recession in the wake of the ongoing pandemic, questions of responsibility and memory are increasingly raised. This panel will contribute to these discussions, by looking at historical famines. The panelists will investigate why, when and how famines are silenced or treated as mass-violence, and analyze attempts and opportunities to pursue remembrance and justice in their aftermath.

**Moderator:** Jenny Edkins, Professor, University of Manchester

*Jenny Edkins is Professor of Politics at the University of Manchester. Her research interests revolve around scepticism about the fantasy of security; notions of time, space, and materiality; and ideas of the human and sentience. She has examined these questions through empirical investigations in a series of contexts such as: Missing persons and enforced disappearance; Forensic investigations; Trauma and memory; Famine aid; Humanitarian intervention; and Facial recognition, expression and disfigurement.*

*She is currently exploring the relation between class, race and personhood and is interested in auto-ethnography, autobiography, fiction and narrative methods. Her work has drawn on postcolonialism (Fanon), Marxism, psychoanalytic approaches (Žižek, Lacan) and feminism (Butler) alongside others.*

## Contributions:

### “Visualising the Empire’ – British Colonial Image Building and the Bengal Famine of 1942-43”

Swati Parashar, University of Gothenburg

#### Abstract:

Empire building and colonialism were intricately linked to famines that starved people in the colonies. There were as many as 60 million deaths reported during famines in the British Raj in the Indian subcontinent throughout the colonial period, first under the British East India Company rule and then under the Imperial Crown. These famines were reported and commemorated in various ways to sustain the imperial project and the legitimacy of colonial rule. During the 1873-74 Bihar Famine, the British politician, and administrator, Richard Temple imported rice and organized welfare programmes to enhance the purchasing power of the poor to build the image of a caring regime. This move was greatly criticized by the British authorities, compelling Temple to adopt stringent measures during the Madras Presidency Famine of 1877, causing the death of millions.

Moreover, as historians have suggested, images and stories of the famine in one colony were circulated in another, not just for relief work, but to build consensus for the Empire and the colonial government. This was evident in the case of the 1876–8 Indian Famine being reported in colonies as far off as Australia to create loyalty for the British Imperial project and support for colonial subjects. Several such images of famines in the colonies became visual political tools to generate relief work and humanitarianism in the service of the Empire. Around 3 million Indians perished in the Bengal Famine (1942-43), approximately six times the deaths in Britain during World War II. In this paper, I investigate the Bengal Famine relief works, narrative building, and governmental and non-governmental interventions (or the lack of it) undertaken during the British era; the various ways in which they drew attention away from the deliberate violence and suffering in Bengal, towards the war efforts in Europe and the benevolent British imperial government. My effort is to demonstrate how justice for colonial famines is long overdue, and reparation debates have not fully captured the extent to which starving the colonial subjects was an established colonial policy. Most importantly, famine images and suffering became useful tools to perpetuate narratives of the efficient and caring colonial regimes.

*Swati Parashar is an Associate Professor at School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg. Her main research and teaching interests are in critical security and war studies, feminist and postcolonial international relations, women militants and combatants, gender, violence and development in South Asia.*

### “(Re)Telling the Bengal Famine of 1943: Towards a Fourth World”

Ram Krishna Ranjan, University of Gothenburg

#### Abstract:

In light of the general omission of subaltern questions, especially Dalits, in the literary and artistic representation of the Bengal Famine of 1943, my PhD in Artistic Research aims to further and experiment with epistemologies and ontologies of



expressions that emerge from the space of subalternity, and investigate the possibilities and limits of it in film practices.

In my presentation I wish to read a film script which might or might not be made into a film. The script wishes to function as a collage – a piecing together of fragments from elided narratives/archives, fieldwork notes, poetry, contemporary realities and future imaginaries. The script wishes to blur theory and practice. The script wishes to shift geographies of reason and being to a Fourth World.

*Ram Krishna Ranjan is a practice-based researcher and visual artist. He is currently a PhD candidate at Valand Academy with an educational background in Economics, Media and Cultural Studies and Fine Art. His longstanding areas of interests are decoloniality, migration, gentrification, memory and nation, and the intersectionality of caste, class, and gender.*

### **“After the ‘Late Victorian Holocausts’: Famines, Memory and Indian Nationalist Mobilization in the Early Twentieth Century”**

Joanna Simonow, KHK/GCR21

#### **Abstract:**

The prevalence of "hunger" in British India in the twentieth century gave urgency to India's claim to political self-determination. Indian nationalists capitalized on famines to forge affective ties between Indians and to expose the falsity of colonialism's promise of bringing economic prosperity to the country. This was not a completely new phenomenon. However, the increased mobility of Indians and the creation of diaspora institutions 'internationalized' the Indian nationalist response to famines in the early twentieth century.

This paper will explore how Indians in North America and Canada reacted to famines in their home country at a time of widespread xenophobia, when Anti-Asian Immigration laws meant to stop the influx of migrant workers from (South) Asia. While the exclusion of Indian labour migrants drove the politicization of Indian diaspora communities in North America and Canada, Indians also began to raise money to alleviate famine and referred to starvation in their home country to support their political claims. I argue that this overlap of activities was not coincidental. First, members of the Indian diaspora had often experienced famines themselves and the prospect of starvation had driven many of them to British Canada and North America. Second, the occurrence of famines in India was a powerful emotional topic, used to influence public opinion and promote new alliances among diaspora communities and like-minded North Americans. In this context, the collective memory of famines was revived to mobilize and channel anti-British sentiments on the one hand, and to construe a narrative that placed newly emerging famines in a history of colonial economic exploitation on the other.

*Joanna Simonow is a Postdoc Research Fellow at Center for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg. Her main research interests are women's, gender and feminist history; anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism; South Asian, global and transnational history; food aid and famine relief; and humanitarian movements and their histories.*

### **“Forgetting a Famine: The Politics of Representation and Justice in Ethiopia”**

Fisseha Fantahun Tefera, SGS

### **Abstract:**

A range of social movements and advocacy works call for ‘urgently’ redressing past violence through establishing accountability and responsibility to bring justice to victims. Representation of the history and victims of past violence through official memorialization has also been largely considered as part of these calls for justice. Despite that, with few exceptions, famines and their victims seem to be ‘forgotten’ in this growing attention to past violence through advocacy, social movement, court trials, and official memorialization. Scholars have also shown that dealing with past violence through various mechanisms (mainly through establishing legal accountability and official memorialization) is selective. This can be attributed to the nature and characteristic of the violence itself, for example, how the violence of famines is slow in time and disbursed in space. It could also be attributed to the meaning various actors construct around the violence in relation to how the violence is related to national identity and modernity. The 1984/85 Ethiopia famine that claimed the lives of at least 600,000 people provides an interesting context to look at how famines are dealt with afterward. As most famines in recent decades, this famine was a result of complex causes where drought and conflict intersect. In such a context, recent scholarly works have shown that modern-day famines are preventable and man-made and that they amount to crimes of omission, if not commission. After a regime change in 1991, while former government officials were put on trial on charges of and sentenced for genocide and crimes against humanity, no one was held legally accountable for the famine casualties. Similarly, while various museums and monuments attend to the official memorialization of the civil war and its victims, the famine and its victims are ‘forgotten’. In this paper, I will closely look at how various actors understood, construct meanings about, and dealt with the 1984/85 famine of Ethiopia.

*Fisseha Fantahun Tefera is a PhD Candidate at School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg. His main research interests include politics of development, global development goals, peace and development, and development governance in the Horn of Africa.*

### **“Remembering/Forgetting Hunger: Towards an Understanding of Famine Memorialization”**

Camilla Orjuela, SGS

### **Abstract:**

Dark periods of the past have become an increasingly important part of the politics of the present. The memory of genocides, wars, and other disasters is upheld and curated to enable an understanding of a difficult heritage, honor its victims, and prevent mass atrocities in the future. The legacy of large-scale political violence is often in focus of such commemorative efforts, while the loss of life on a massive scale in mostly man-made famines rarely receives attention. However, although few of all monuments, remembrance days, museums, and other memorial endeavors are dedicated to the memory of mass-starvation, there is not a complete silence around hunger deaths. On the contrary, the famines in Ireland in the 1840s and Ukraine the 1930s have been at the center of commemorative efforts in the two countries in question and their diasporas. Also, in contexts where the memory of mass-starvation has been repressed, initiatives towards memorialization spring up. While earlier literature has explored

famine memorialization in particular cases (overwhelmingly that of the Great Irish Famine), this paper takes a global perspective as it discusses how we can understand when, why, and how famines are publicly remembered – or forgotten. To do so, the paper develops a framework for analyzing famine memorialization as a process of mobilization. It teases out which actors function as memory entrepreneurs, what resources enable memorialization projects, and what narratives, sites, artifacts, and events are employed to evoke and formulate famine memory. This process of mobilization is, the paper argues, shaped by structural conditions related to power constellations (during and after the famine), education and media landscapes, as well as commemorative culture. Examples from Europe, Asia, and Africa are used to illustrate and discuss how famines memory is mobilized (or not).

*Camilla Oriuela is a Professor at the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg. Her main research interests are diaspora mobilization, identity politics, local peacebuilding, post-war reconstruction and reconciliation and memory politics, famines, and Sri Lanka and Rwanda.*

## Panel 4: 'Urgency' and 'Responsibility' in Peacebuilding

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### Panel description:

The immediacy of reporting on conflict in the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa or South permeates global politics with a sense of urgency and claims to take responsibility. In particular 'responsibility' has proved to be a powerful rhetoric for global cooperation. Recently, the long-standing arguments on responsibility of stable and 'civilized' states for the maintenance of global order has been revived and actualized by official UN discourse on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and subsequent resolutions – signaling that violent conflicts and humanitarian emergencies deserve global attention and urgent policy responses.

This should give us pause to reflect on the concepts of 'urgency' and 'responsibility', which are contested notions in peacebuilding. While Western norm entrepreneurs like the UK and France have pushed for an interventionist understanding of peacebuilding, China and Russia as well as relevant actors from the South (India and others) have uttered severe reservations towards associated policies to re-define sovereignty. Brazil with its "Responsibility while Protecting" (RwP) initiative tried to bridge the different camps – without much success. Many of these countries do in fact intervene, while trying to package their practices in different ways. The UN secretariat, at the same time, focusses clearly on the more preventive pillars of the R2P with its 'Sustaining Peace' Agenda, as well as with its focus on "inclusive and peaceful societies" in SDG 16.

Still, discussions about interventions have frequently been connected with a sense of urgency in the field of military intervention and in the international prosecution of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. They follow the pattern of justifying military means as last resort, when all else has been tried and failed. Such particular notions of a just order are implemented in a very selective manner – and often collide with understandings of just orders in the war-torn societies subjected to these interventions.

Invoking responsibility and urgency has substantial trade-offs. While it puts gross human rights violations on the international agenda, it also is implicitly taking for granted that local and national actors and institutions are neither willing nor able to respond adequately to organized violence and that international actors have to take charge. Top-down policies implemented from outside and often sidelining national and local agency are the result.

The panel asks how discourses of responsibility and urgency undermine national sovereignty and local ownership. It explores how non-urgent forms of taking responsibility, with clear relations of accountability and defined aims for a policy, can contribute to peacebuilding while not falling victim to short-termism and reactivism. It aims to shed light on turning points, catalysts for taking action and on decisive actors, whose competing notions of justice are governing responsibility discourses and their justifications; the focus is on the processes within which citing urgent need to implement

and/or restore, transform, renew, negotiate or impose certain forms of justice during or after conflict becomes instrumental for policy-making. It also investigates contestation of and resistance against such order making.

**Moderators:** Tobias Debiel, KHK/GCR21 and INEF & Florian Kühn, SGS

**Tobias Debiel** is Director of the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) and Co-Director of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen. He is also engaged in other well-known German institutes such as the Center for Development Research (ZEF) and the Development and Peace Foundation (SEF). His research interests lie in state failure and global governance; state building and violent conflicts; and structures of violence and development chances in times of globalization.

**Florian Kühn** is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Global Studies at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Also, he is an editor of the 'Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding'. His research focusses on international security, interventionism and state-society relations, conflict dynamics, development and military practice, state finance and state formation, security communities and defence cooperation.

#### **Contributions:**

##### **“The Subjectivity of Urgency without Accountable Responsibility”**

Aidan Hehir, University of Westminster

##### **Abstract:**

Despite the emergence of initiatives designed to improve the capacity of the international community to respond to intra-state crises – most notably the “Protection of Civilians” concept and the “Responsibility to Protect” norm – the willingness of the international community to respond effectively to intra-state crises remains poor. Over the course of the last ten years there has been a steady decrease in global respect for human rights and a notable increase in mass atrocity crimes; though there has been no shortage of calls for “urgent” action to be taken in response to the various crises which have occurred in this period – most notably in Syria, Yemen and Myanmar – those asked to respond have demonstrated an ability to resist these calls.

This reluctance to respond has, of course, much to do with the geopolitical calculations made by states. But this can hardly come as a surprise; states are not moral actors, nor do they have any legal duty to respond to particular crises. As such, demands that “something” be done “urgently” whenever a new crisis erupts, are inevitably futile given that those called upon to respond do not actually have a duty to do so; rather they have a vague responsibility. As such, the fundamental problem which accounts for the record of inertia – punctuated by the occasional intervention when national interests and humanitarian need align – is the structure of the international system. This system comprises a vast array of laws proscribing certain behaviour – from torture to genocide – but the traction of these provisions is fundamentally compromised by the inherently politicised means by which they are enforced by the UN Security Council, and this body’s

lack of accountability. So long as it is states beseeched to “do something urgently” the response will continue to be inadequate.

*Aidan Hehir is a reader in international relations at the University of Westminster and the Postgraduate Director for Politics and International Relations. His research interests include humanitarian intervention, statebuilding in Kosovo, and the laws governing the use of force.*

### **Joakim Öjendal, SGS**

#### **Recent Publications:**

- with Stern, Maria (2019):

Peace through Security-Development: Nebulous Connections, Desirable Confluences?

In: Toje and Bard (eds.), *The Causes of Peace: What We Now Know*.

- (ed.) with Swain Ashok (2018):

*Routledge Handbook of Environmental Conflict and Peacebuilding*. Abingdon:

Routledge.

*Joakim Öjendal is a Professor at the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg. His research interests include peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction after deep-seated violence, genocide and/or civil war as well as issues of democratization with a special interest in local governance, decentralisation, and local democracy; and the political economy of natural resource management, especially transboundary water management.*

### **“Global Responsibility and Transitional Justice. The Proliferation of and Resistance Against International Courts in Africa”**

**Theresa Reinold, University of Duisburg-Essen**

#### **Abstract:**

Africa has witnessed a proliferation of international human rights courts as well as criminal courts at different layers of governance – globally operating courts, regional courts as well as sub-regional courts – which suggests that analyzing this phenomenon through the prism of multi-level governance (MLG) will yield interesting insights into the workings of the rule of law in an era of global legal pluralism. The spread of these courts is at the same time a trigger for and a manifestation of local resistance - a trigger, because the assertion of court autonomy has prompted political backlashes from African leaders, and a manifestation, because in some instances, African states have responded to the interference of courts from higher levels of governance by creating courts at lower levels of governance which are assumed to be more responsive to their interests.

*Theresa Reinold is a Junior Professor for Global and Transnational Cooperation Research at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Her research and teaching focuses on the interface between international relations and international law, in particular on legalisation tendencies in global governance and regional (African) integration processes.*

# 17th Käte Hamburger Dialogue: Global Cooperation under Covid-19

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The current global pandemic has brought the 'urgency' and 'responsibility' for global cooperation into particularly sharp focus. This interdisciplinary roundtable of global health experts considers what kinds of global cooperation have and have not happened in respect of Covid-19, in terms of prevention, detection, counteraction, recovery and reconstruction. Thereby they will try to assess, whether this experience holds lessons for future pandemics - or even global cooperation in general?

## **Moderator: Jan Aart Scholte, KHK/GCR21**

*Jan Aart Scholte is Professor of Global Transformations and Governance Challenges at Leiden University and Co-Director of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen. Until recently, he was Professor of Peace and Development at the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg. Other previous appointments were at the University of Sussex, the Institute of Social Studies, and the University of Warwick.*

*His research covers globalization, global governance, civil society in global politics, global democracy, legitimacy in global governance, global Internet governance, and global studies methodologies.*

## **Panellists:**

### **Adia Benton, Northwestern University**

*Adia Benton is an Associate Professor at the Department of Anthropology at Northwestern University. She is a cultural anthropologist with a previous career in the fields of public health and post-conflict development in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia. Her main research areas are global health, biomedicine, development and humanitarianism and professional sports. She is interested in patterns of inequality in the distribution of and the politics of care in settings "socialized" for scarcity and in understanding the political, economic and historical factors shaping how care is provided in complex humanitarian emergencies and in longer-term development projects – like those for health.*

### **Maryam Deloffre, George Washington University**

*Maryam Deloffre is an Associate Professor of International Affairs and Director of the Humanitarian Assistance Initiative at the Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University. In her research, she is interested in understanding the nature of global order and how it is organized. Her research on the governance and coordination of global humanitarian and health assistance focuses on collective accountability standard-setting, and the coordination of emergency response. Drawing on the concept of communities of practice, she shows how metagovernance norms, metagoverning, and reflective practices produce coordination and collective action in the humanitarian sector via collective standard-setting initiatives.*

*In a related area of research, she investigates the coordination and governance of global pandemic response with empirical focus on the 2014 Ebola outbreak in West Africa and the COVID-19 pandemic.*

**Tine Hanrieder, London School of Economics and WZB/ Berlin Social Science Center**

*Tine Hanrieder is an Assistant Professor in Health and International Development at the London School of Economics. Trained as a political scientist, she is interested in global health institutions and their underlying power relationships and cultural valuations. Her two main research themes at the moment are first, the role and reform of the World Health Organization, and second, the contested professionalization of frontline health workers, especially those who work with marginalized communities.*

*Before joining LSE, she was Head of the Research Group “Global Humanitarian Medicine” at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.*

**Franklyn Lisk, University of Warwick**

*Franklyn Lisk is a Professorial Research Fellow at the University of Warwick. His research and policy analysis on global health governance focus mainly on HIV/AIDS responses and on the political economy of African development, employment and labour market challenges, and China-Africa relations. He has provided consultancy and technical advisory services to African governments, bilateral donor agencies, and international organizations (e.g. the African Development Bank, the World Bank, UNDP, UNAIDS, and others). His current research interests are Global governance of AIDS response and health as a global public good in an era of globalization; Globalization and sustainable development; Health systems and response to HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases; and Public policy, regionalism and the integration of African economies into the global economy.*



## Panel 5: Urgency and Responsibility around Gender Violence

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### Panel description:

In today's turbulent times, widespread instances of violence and multiple forms of resistance call upon our urgent attention to explore the diverse meanings attached to them. In doing so, we look at gender as the key factor in understanding the centrality of violence in transforming everyday life and creating as well as disrupting various forms of gendered and affective citizenship. Recent studies in international politics show the possibility of exploring violence in novel and interesting ways. There are more scholarly engagements with both visible discourses and invisible silences around violence. The prevalent normalization of violent acts in international politics renders certain forms of violence as invisible. Critical masculinities and feminist discourses in IR have not only highlighted the invisibilities of gendered violence, but also provided interesting methodologies/epistemologies to study the intersections of violence with multiple themes. In the same spirit, our panel aims to contemplate and complicate the idea of violence. Going beyond the empty malestream conception of war and political violence, we extend the discussion to the following nuances and questions around violence:

1. Temporalities of Violence- Is violence restricted only to episodes of war and armed conflict or can it be found in the preceding conditions and after war lived realities?
2. Violence and Emotions- Can pain, suffering and loss also count as violence? Can love, forgiveness and care be viewed as integral to violence? What do visual representations depicting emotions in war and conflict mean in the study of violence?
3. Sexual Violence-What implications does gender-specific silencing by institutions have on survivors of conflict related sexual violence?
4. Institutional and Intimate Violence: What are the invisible and normalized forms of violence at the level of intimate relationships and institutional practices?
5. Global North and Global South: Is it possible to unpack these binaries by exploring the complexities of the colonizer and colonized violence?

Working with the above questions, the panelists will discuss how gender informs the study of violence in the context of their research. Each panelist will also reflect on how we can envisage global cooperation that accounts for the urgency and responsibility of building transnational solidarities in times of backlash and resistance against gender equality and women's rights. The recent Covid-19 situation has also revealed the serious impact of gender on both men and women. In particular, it has exposed the

stark gender inequalities around care work and continues to worsen the gender gap and domestic violence. The popular ‘waging a war’ analogy further fuels sexism and a masculinist imagination. Addressing these issues, the panel will discuss the urgent need to adopt a gender-centric approach to manage the existing global health crisis.

**Moderators:** Amya Agarwal, KHK/GCR21 & Swati Parashar, SGS

**Amya Agarwal** is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the research group ‘Pathways and Mechanisms of Global Cooperation’ at the Käthe Hamburger Kolleg/ Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen. Her main research interests include Gender in Peace and Conflict Studies; Critical Masculinity Studies; Resistance movements; and Ethnography.

**Swati Parashar** is an Associate Professor at School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg. Her main research and teaching interests are in critical security and war studies, feminist and postcolonial international relations, women militants and combatants, gender, violence and development in South Asia.

#### **Contributions:**

**David Duriesmith, University of Sheffield**

##### **Recent Publications:**

- with Meger, Sara (2020):

Returning to the Root : Radical Feminist Thought and Feminist Theories of International Relations. *Review of International Studies*, 46(3), 357-375.

- Duriesmith, David (2018): *Manly States and Feminist Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press.

*David Duriesmith is lecturer in Gender and Politics at the University of Sheffield at the Department of Politics and International Relations. His research explores the relationship between patriarchy, masculinities and violence from a pro-feminist perspective. He has published on preventing violence after war, men’s support for gender equality, foreign fighter networks, the transformation of war and feminist international relations theory.*

#### **“Defying Urgency”**

**Roxani Krystalli, University of St Andrews**

##### **Abstract:**

Urgency is both real and misleading. As feminist scholars have pointed out over the decades, the mantle of “urgency and emergency” has been used to cover the many forms of violence and injustice that unfold away from the spotlight. Away from the spotlight is a place, but also a time horizon: one that defies the sense of event-based developments, with bounded and sudden beginnings and clearly defined endings.

In my presentation as part of this roundtable, I will focus on this (seemingly) non-urgent horizon of violence, injustice, and resistance to them. Drawing from ethnographic fieldwork in Colombia between 2016 and 2018, I will share a vignette on

the losses that may become less legible when justice systems in the aftermath of war focus on urgent harms.

*Roxanin Krystalli is a Lecturer (Assistant Professor) at the University of St Andrews. Her academic research and teaching focus on feminist approaches to peace and conflict studies. She is also a writer and storyteller, interested in the themes of memory and loss, nature and place, violence and care.*

### **“Ordinary Torture: Understanding the Shadow Pandemic of Intimate Partner Violence during Covid-19 Lockdown”**

Elina Penttinen, University of Helsinki

#### **Abstract:**

*“No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”*

European Convention on Human Rights, Article 3, Prohibition of torture

The preventive measures to flatten the Covid-19 pandemic curve has brought the issue of intimate partner violence again on the international agenda. The WHO rapidly issued a statement on the effects of lockdown on women and girls and called for attention to how violence against women exacerbates during emergencies and crises. UN-Women followed suit by issuing a statement calling for national governments to recognize that the existing shadow pandemic of domestic violence is bound to increase due to lockdown measures. Lockdown could be used as an excuse to further coercive control, financial insecurity, and the pandemic's added stress could also flare up latent physical abuse and intensify existing abuses. In this presentation, I discuss how IPV could be given the recognition it deserves as a severe form of violence by adopting the conceptualization of IPV as torture from feminist legal scholars. I argue that understanding the seriousness of IPV requires paying attention to the complexity of the abusive relationship itself, instead of simply isolated acts of aggression and recognizing how the coercive control constitutes a similar dynamic as in the context of torture. I discuss the similarities between practices of torture and abuse in intimate relationships, which include the severity of violence, sporadic times of physical violence and lack of violence, manipulation and gaslighting, and the effects of that the totality of the situation has on the target based on my original research on the experiences of IPV in intimate relationships. The presentation concludes with the discussion on how the lockdown strategy to prevent the spread of Covid-19 has contributed to the increase of IPV as the lockdown strategies were adopted without systematically creating safety guidelines and support for targets of intimate partner violence. In this way, I argue that states can be seen as complicit in the perpetration of IPV and should be held accountable, similarly as governments in which torture is used for political purposes.

*Elina Penttinen is the Director of the Master's programme, University Lecturer and Docent in Gender Studies at the University of Helsinki. Her main research interests and publication areas include key questions in gender studies such as; globalization and sex-trafficking; politics of gender-mainstreaming; ethical action competence and gender; compassionate witnessing as a method for feminist research on violence; and potential of posthumanism for feminist research on violence.*

## “Engaging with Male Survivors of Wartime Sexual Violence – Lessons from Northern Uganda”

Philipp Schulz, University of Bremen

### Abstract:

Sexual violence against men and boys in conflict, long overlooked as an issue, has in recent years made major scholarly and political inroads on the international policy stage, in humanitarian programming and in scholarship on gender and security. To illustrate, UN Security Council Resolution 2467, from April 2019, for the first time ever repeatedly acknowledges that men and boys can be victims of wartime sexual violence. Emerging evidence from across contexts – including Syria, Libya and Myanmar – demonstrates the perpetration of widespread crimes of sexual violence against men and boys in conflict and displacement settings, thereby illuminating the urgency of recognizing, responding to this type of violence. Yet despite this increasing recognition, specific programming and policy measures that take into account male survivors’ gendered harms and experiences remain largely absent. This input seeks to engage with this gap, offering impressions and insights of engaging with male survivors of wartime sexual violence in northern Uganda since 2015. I intend to spell out a survivor-centric approach of engaging with male survivors and responding to their experiences, that takes into account their gendered harms and vulnerabilities, that is founded upon survivors’ perspectives and priorities, and that recognizes survivors’ agency in finding solutions on their own terms. Such a survivor-centric approach of responding to sexual violence against men thereby immediately corresponds with UNSC resolution 2467, which centralizes such a survivor-centred point of view. What becomes apparent through these deliberations is that responses towards sexual and gender-based violence in contexts of violence and insecurities must be contextual and relational, and must be informed by feminist and intersectional understandings of gender violence more broadly.

*Philipp Schulz is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Bremen at the Institute for Intercultural and International Studies. His main research interests are peace and conflict studies, gender studies and feminist international relations theorizing, transitional justice, and research ethics.*

## Panel 6: Reconciling Urgency, Responsibility and Accountability in Cybersecurity Governance

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### Panel description:

Cybersecurity is one of the most contentious issues in Internet governance and global politics today (Deibert, 2017). Cyber threats and incidents, such as the ransomware attack of Wannacry in 2017, have attracted considerable media coverage and public attention (Buse, Meissner, 2019). The media have not only exposed significant institutional-, knowledge-, and technological- shortcomings in addressing cyber threats. They have also called for urgent remedies and fast responses. This demand for urgency raises numerous questions. Who is responsible for addressing these threats? How can we promote cooperation and trust between different state and non-state actors at different levels (global, regional, national, local, etc.) to address these threats? And how can we respond effectively and swiftly to cyber security threats, whilst at the same time upholding basic democratic principles such as accountability?

Over the past decade, numerous initiatives have been developed to address cybersecurity. Multilateral efforts within the United Nations include two separate but complementary bodies that negotiate norms on state behavior. In addition, several confidence- and capacity-building initiatives to promote peace and international security in cyberspace have emerged. Examples are the Open-Ended Working Group (OEWG), the 6th Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) and several new processes that have been approved in the UN and which could contest the current Budapest Convention of Cybercrime from 2001.

These multilateral efforts are not without criticism and many stakeholders have watched the “cybersecurity agenda” with caution. Traditional, top-down multilateral initiatives are often informed by approaches taken in the areas of security and defense. These initiatives potentially conflict with some of the core socio-technical principles of the Internet, including its openness. In addition, many intergovernmental processes are organized in silos with little communication among them (Kleinwachter, 2020) or with non-state actors. As the management of cybersecurity threats requires trust to facilitate swift responses (Bradshaw, 2015) and it is often difficult to identify the source of a cybersecurity threat (Mueller et al 2018), several stakeholders have questioned the effectiveness of these approaches.

Against this background, various other governance arrangements have emerged that claim to take a more holistic approach to cybersecurity and promote cooperation across sectors. One such example is the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace (GCSC) which identifies several principles and norms that are considered critical to cyber stability. These multi-stakeholder initiatives do not only involve governments, but also include representatives from the technical community, business and civil society. As such, they hold potential to be more inclusive and

effective than old-style multilateral approaches. At the same, they raise new questions about accountability in cybersecurity governance.

This panel deals with possible tensions between calls for ‘urgency’, ‘responsibility’ and ‘accountability’ in cybersecurity governance.

Possible questions that participants might want to address are:

- Who calls for urgent actions against cybersecurity threats? Which rhetoric and narratives do they advance to demand urgent action and promote specific solutions? How far are these narratives accepted or contested?
- Which mechanisms are in place to ensure swift and effective responses to cybersecurity threats, whilst at the same time holding responsible actors accountable?
- Which modes of multilateral and multi-stakeholder cooperation exist to address cyberspace security? How far, and under what conditions, do they (not) cooperate? What barriers exist to effective cooperation in cybersecurity governance? How do new modes of global cooperation compare to traditional multilateral approaches in terms of their effectiveness in addressing cybersecurity threats?

How do (non-)state actors at different levels (e.g. global, regional, national, local) cooperate to address cybersecurity threats? How is responsibility allocated at multiple levels? How do accountability mechanisms operate across multiple levels?

**Moderator:** Hortense Jongen, VU Amsterdam

*Hortense Jongen is an Assistant Professor in International Relations at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Her research interests are in the areas of authority and legitimacy in new modes of global governing, with a specific interest in global Internet governance, the global governance of corruption, multi-stakeholder governance, soft multilateral governance, and mixed-methods research.*

#### **Contributions:**

**“Tracing responsible Behaviour. Assessing and locating Responsibility under the practice of Contact Tracing Apps during the COVID-19 Pandemic”**

Carolina Aguerre, KHK/GCR21

#### **Abstract:**

The outbreak of the corona-virus pandemic and the responses have placed in the spotlight the vital role of digital technologies to sustain educational and economic activities, government processes, and social functions. As one of these solutions, the so-called corona-apps have emerged relentlessly since the beginning of 2020. Apps have been announced by both policy makers and the private sector in many national contexts as a remedy to the pandemic. However, there is still a lack of evidence as to how well they work and help solve the problem of the virus spread (Ada Lovelace Institute, 2020). In addition, there have been signs that these have been exposed to

privacy concerns and data leaks. “We were really in a hurry to make and deploy this app as quickly as possible to help slow down the spread of the virus,” said one Korean official from the Ministry of Interior and Safety to the New York Times newspaper in July 2020, when data breaches that hampered citizen trust in the app were publicly released.

One of the notions of risk that has emerged more forcefully is that of data governance. How data is collected, stored, managed, and used are key dimensions of a corporate approach to its governance. While the development of state-sponsored corona apps is a national issue, from a technical perspective, the governance of many of these apps relies on different interphases of technologies that are controlled by state and non-state actors across multiple jurisdictions. At the same time, the public sphere has been on the alert to cybersecurity threats and the risks related to massive use and reliance on digital infrastructures.

The issues around app use and misuse - beyond corona-apps - have also recently been portrayed as examples that pose serious challenges to national security and where there is a lack of international cooperation (Aaronson, 2020; Girard, 2020). The consequences of this inadequacy to address the massive compilation of data is a problem that deserves to be addressed internationally and not only nationally or regionally. The idea of a Data Standards Task Force for Digital Cooperation (Girard, 2020), lacks political will to be considered within the United Nations but could be a comprehensive way to frame this problem. The trade regime has become de-nested (Otteburn, 2020) and in particular, for the so-called digital economy, it has been paralyzed for over two decades in the scope of the WTO, even though some contend that data governance should be governed at the level of trade agreements and trade-related organizations (for example during the G20 of 2020 by the presidency). On the other hand, the inevitable turn to national demands of control of data (Keane Woods, 2018) and the fundamental role of data governance in security propose an avenue to research currently existing processes that address cybersecurity governance. This work argues that data governance frameworks should be not only integrated into digital trade and human rights but also in cybersecurity approaches. There is no such thing as adequate data governance without comprehensive cybersecurity standards, norms, and principles. The risks to the mismanagement of data and the vulnerability of privacy rights, as well as the security threats they can pose is already well inside the agenda of the emerging “regime complex” (Nye, 2014) of cybersecurity governance.

*Carolina Aguerre is a lecturer and researcher at the University of San Andrés (UdeSA) in Buenos Aires. She is a member of the board and academic coordinator of the Center for Technology and Society (CETYS) and of the Internet Policy Observatory of the University of Pennsylvania. She is currently also serving on the steering committee of GIGANET, the global academic Internet governance network. Her main research areas include internet policy and governance, particularly on issues related to the DNS, national and regional mechanisms, and the regional digital economy.*

## “Research ICT Africa, Cybersecurity Capacity Centre for Southern Africa”

Enrico Calandro, Research ICT Africa

### Abstract:

As we move from words to action on norms, rules, and principles of responsible state behaviour in cyberspace, the international community is focusing on implementing a cyber stability framework, but a number of African countries might still be several steps behind.

This situation calls for new responsible models for international cooperation in cyberspace, based on contextualising issues of global cyber stability in national contexts, with specific attention for the needs of low-income countries. The domain of cyberspace, just as the four original 'dimensions' under discussion in the UN First Committee on disarmament—land, sea, air, and outer space—cannot be isolated from its unique local context, which inevitably creates a distinct set of challenges, priorities, and mechanisms for governing cybersecurity nationally.

Besides clarity on the geopolitical positions of African nations in the governance of cyberspace; and clarity and capacity on how to implement the body of cyber norms, and how international law applies in cyberspace: Nationally, policy and regulatory constraints for the observation of the UN GGE principles, rules and norms need to urgently be unpacked, and understood. It is time to work locally, to identify specific points of policy intervention to bridge the gap between international commitments on cyber peace, justice, and security, and the implementation of such principles at a national level.

Discussions on cyber stability might not sufficiently consider the perspectives of developing nations. Digital ecosystems characterised by digital inequalities, underestimated ICT threat landscape, and the limited capacity of many African stakeholders to combat those threats, make it difficult, nationally, to observe several cyber norms developed by the 2015 UN GGE (A/70/174). This is due to unworkable institutional arrangements emerging from protracted, outdated, and practically non-existent national cyber strategies, uncoordinated multi-ministerial responses to growing cyber threats, and incomplete (or difficult to enforce) cyber legislative frameworks. Nationally, reporting on ICT vulnerabilities (norm j., A/70/174), if not done responsibly and taking into account positions of weakness in cyberspace from a geopolitical perspective, may expose even more weaknesses of already fragile digital ecosystems. There is little to no evidence of African countries producing, for example, state-sanctioned cyberattacks or high-quality standards in the supply chain. Meanwhile, the proliferation of asymmetric warfare might have increased states' use of ICTs aimed at developing not only cyber defence but also offensive capabilities, resulting in the implementation of cybersecurity measures that lack both human rights considerations and transparency.

The uneven playground of cyber diplomatic work at the UN First Committee level may place developing countries in a vulnerable position. The OEWG needs to link emerging threats not only to the need for improving capacity but also to solutions and prevention[1] by proactively applying the principles of governing disarmament (Art. 11, Charter of the United Nations). The purposes of the United Nations are, among



other things, to "take adequate corrective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace" and to achieve international cooperation by suppressing "acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace" (Art 1, Charter of the United Nations).

A 'new technology diplomacy' is urgently needed to achieve cyber stability. This should take the form of a collaborative layer of engagement between different public and private organisations alike involved in digital access, use, safety, and security, to review rules on the governance of cyberspace responsibility, i.e., in a locally informed and nationally contextualised way.

*Enrico Calandro is a researcher at Research ICT Africa. His main research interests are digital transformation research, and the relationship between digital access and development with a focus on digital inequalities.*

### **"From Threats to Responses: The Role of Social Imaginaries in Making and Shaping Incident Response"**

Louise Marie Hurel, London School of Economics

#### **Abstract:**

National Computer Security Incident Response Teams (nCSIRTs) – also-called Computer Emergency Response Teams (CERT) – constitute a worldwide network of experts that have long supported the security, stability, and resilience of networked systems – whose establishment and consolidation as a global community partly resulted from the need to have a national focal point for incident handling in light of the rising attacks in the late 1980s. National CSIRTs are key actors (national focal points) in circulating, responding, and preventing the escalation of attacks such as NotPetya, for example. Incident response teams (more generally) operate as the 'first responders' in identifying, assessing, managing and responding to cyber threats. These so-called – yet often-unseen – 'digital fire brigades' operate as fundamental infrastructures of knowledge on threats. They possess specific communicational designs (e.g.: Common Vulnerability Scoring System) and jointly compose a global network of information sharing. These teams are primarily concerned with the monitoring, management and reporting of vulnerabilities and are formed by engineers, information security practitioners, and computer scientists with both technical skills and knowledge on cyber threats.

The way in which threats, vulnerabilities and insecurities are imagined, defined, and 'hung together' has consequences for the possibilities of action across different communities. In this presentation I will focus on highlighting the different concepts and 'models' that have sustained and challenged the role of nCSIRTs as both institutional responses to growing cyberattacks and vulnerabilities, but also as communities of practice that are both culturally and contextually (nationally and internationally) networked.

*Louise Marie Hurel is a PhD Researcher for Data, Networks and Society at the Department of Media and Communications of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Her main research interests are focused on exploring interdisciplinary approaches to contemporary challenges in networked communications, and the role of non-state actors in cybersecurity, regional and national Internet governance, and infrastructure security.*

**Tatiana Tropina, Leiden University**

**Abstract:**

Society has already relied heavily on digital technologies before the COVID-19 pandemic forced us to an even faster pace of digitalization, heightening concerns about vulnerabilities to cybersecurity risks and demanding an urgent response to threats in cyberspace from all stakeholders involved in cybersecurity governance. The pandemic has brought a number of varied challenges, such as tackling COVID-related cybercrime, addressing the issue of state-sponsored attacks on health and research institutions, dealing with disinformation campaigns, developing secure, privacy-protecting health-tracking applications, to name but a few. The need for a rapid response to these challenges means many solutions have been implemented without the usual expected level of scrutiny. This presentation on COVID-19 and cybersecurity governance at the Panel 6 "Reconciling Urgency, Responsibility, and Accountability in Cybersecurity Governance" will focus on the accountability and responsibility aspects of few cases of decision making to address security threats in the time of COVID-19, such as measures taken against disinformation campaigns, development of health-tracking applications, and stakeholder cooperation in addressing the issue of COVID-related crime. Based on these cases, the presentation aims to address and bring further discussion on the issues of possibly eroding mechanisms of accountability, limited stakeholder participation in policy-making processes, and the influence of recent decisions on post-COVID-19 cybersecurity governance.

*Tatiana Tropina is an Assistant Professor in Cybersecurity Governance at the Institute of Security and Global Affairs at Leiden University and an Associate Fellow of The Hague Program for Cyber Norms. Her main research interests are cybercrime, cybersecurity, ICT regulation and Internet governance.*

## Panel 7:

# Do We Have Time for Democracy? Reflections on Civic Participation during Climate Emergency

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### Panel description:

The question in the title is aimed at being provocative, yet calls for setting democratic procedures aside in the name of ‘saving the planet’ have been heard from notable scientists, including James Lovelock, originator of the Gaia theory, Jørgen Randers, professor and one of the authors of *Limits to Growth*, and Torbjörn Tännsjö, professor in moral philosophy. Although those who outrightly defend an autocratic response to the climate emergency are probably a minority, opinions such as ‘China has a better vantage point for climate action than democracies’, or that ‘politicians only care about winning the next election, not about saving the climate’ are quite commonplace among environmentalists. The fast-growing climate movement Extinction Rebellion (XR) demands that (democratically elected) governments should, in questions related to climate change, obey to a Citizen’s assembly consisting of randomly selected citizens from across society. XR considers it a democratic reform, which can be discussed, but it is anyhow a clear expression of mistrust in the ‘ordinary’ procedures of democracies. It has been argued that naming our current predicament in terms of an “emergency”, “urgency” or “crisis” in themselves, and without stating it directly, evoke autocratic reactions, implying needs for strong, decisive and centralized leadership rather than the arguably slower processes of civic involvement and ‘communicative action’.

That democracies – as well as autocracies – have been too slow to act on climate change is not in question here. But does that necessarily point to authoritarian solutions? Or could the counterargument be made that civic involvement and participation – even a further deepening of democracy – could be as, or even more, effective in creating the social and economic changes necessary to reduce emissions and adapt to climate change? While discussing rights and liberties during climate transitions, do we need to differ more clearly between civic rights and property rights? Can an expansion of the former combined with restrictions of the latter be a way forward for climate transformations? What is the role of *justice* (social and economic fairness) in transition in relation to the political and procedural aspects? Considering the global nature of these issues, how could civic and democratic influences be strengthened on the international level? How can it be strengthened in countries with weak and fragile democratic institutions? And how do societies need to transform in order to meet the challenges of reconciling adequate measures to climate change and open, inclusive political processes?

Beyond the immediate institutional and ethic repercussions of acting against climate change, we also need to understand the alternatives to each selected option in a broader context, including the perspective of citizens and the potential trade-offs between options. Thus, while this panel departs from an acknowledgement of the risks of ‘putting democracy on hold’ and aims at launching ideas of how to make a

(global) climate transformation both inclusive and just, it also affirms that any denial of the urgency to act is not an option. The alternative to 'climate despotism' cannot be the 'democratic delayerism' that has characterized much of the (non-)responses to climate change so far.

**Moderator:** Katja Freistein, KHK/GCR21

*Katja Freistein is a Research Group Leader at the Käthe Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen. At the KHK/GCR21, she is responsible for the thematic field 'Pathways and mechanisms of global cooperation'. She was a postdoctoral researcher at Bielefeld University, Germany, and a visiting scholar at Aarhus University, Denmark. She is currently working on a joint research project that looks at the methodological and conceptual agenda of studying narratives and symbolic politics. Her broader research interests are global inequality, international political sociology, and discourse theory.*

### **Contributions:**

#### **"Reimagining democracy in the Anthropocene: climate exceptionalism versus convivial resistance"**

Aysem Mert, Stockholm University

#### **Abstract:**

The climate crisis challenges democracy not only because nation-level democratic processes fail to address the problem, but also, post-political arguments highlight the urgency and severity of the ecological crisis (climate exceptionalism) while framing democracy as too slow and ineffectual. The democracy that can address the climate emergency cannot be "more of the same", given the explicit disillusionment conveyed by the citizens of liberal democracies, and that current democratic processes are associated with dissatisfaction and failure on many levels of governance. Yet, this is also an opportunity to rethink and (re-)construct democratic imaginaries, and correct some failures of the existing regimes.

As we enter the Anthropocene, we already notice the increasing stress on socioecological systems. Extreme climatic change and the impossibility of predicting the conditions of the near future will bring with them feelings of deep uncertainty and insecurity. These feelings might translate into othering, polarisation, and a desire for faster and more decisive action, often associated with authoritarianism. A situation where order itself becomes impossible represents a more fundamental dislocation than the usual contingency "found in all empirical reality: it is the very definition of the state of nature" (Laclau 1990: 70). Then, establishing order becomes urgent and important, and not the content of that order. Ensuring survival takes precedence over how decisions are reached.

The climate crisis provides us with the opportunity to reflexively address (a) the limitations of the current democratic practices and imaginaries (representative/nation-level, nominal/global-level etc), and (b) which Holocene democratic institutions can still be useful in the future. Under extreme duress,

democratic institutions can only survive if they provide citizens with (1) basic security and order, characterised by flexible and adaptable plans and processes; (2) the political narratives that justify the difficult transformations required for such flexibility; and (3) inclusive public platforms on which the required transformations are debated, contested, and agreed upon.

*Aysem Mert is an Associate Senior Lecturer at the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University and a research fellow at the Earth System Governance Research Programme. She is also the Director of the International Masters Programme In Social Science Environmental Studies (IMPRESS) at Stockholm University. research focuses on discourses of democracy and environment at transnational and global levels, political storytelling, and public-private cooperation/partnerships.*

### **"Power shift: Limiting destruction, not democracy"**

Peter Newell, University of Sussex

#### **Abstract:**

In my intervention, I want to argue for not being liberal about ecological limits, but being liberal about the means of living within them which should be determined through enhanced civic participation, representation and deliberation. This is an argument for deepening democracy in all spheres of life including the economy in particular, and against eco-authoritarianism of any sort. This involves ambitious attempts to secure indirect representation for future generations, devolution of power through global subsidiarity and a radical attempt to clean up politics from the point of view of the disproportionate power and influence of private corporate actors over politics, the economy, the media and in shaping everyday life. This is viewed as part of the re-commoning of politics and re-commoning of the economy.

This raises the question of how and by whom are limits set. I envisage a strengthened and enhanced role for independent advisory panels (modelled on the climate change committees we already have but with more active citizen participation and full transparency and scrutiny of their activities) that can set budgets, agree limits and hold governments to account for progress in meeting these targets. The means and strategies for achieving these targets are then matters for governments and local councils to deliberate using citizens' assemblies, voting, participatory budgeting and other means of ensuring social ownership of the required changes.

I reflect on the risks associated with emergency framings of inviting and enabling top-down and regressive interventions by powerful actors, but also note the ways in which justice framings are being co-opted by actors resistant to change. I highlight the danger, observable in debates about 'just transitions', that incumbent and status quo actors can deliberately slow, stall and control the pace of change by insisting that all potentially negative social impacts are addressed before more ambitious action can be endorsed. This is not a criteria they argue for in relation to their own entry and exit practices associated with the disruptive effects of their investment strategies, and so while it is vital that processes of managed decline attend to justice issues, we should be wary about from where those demands come from and the intent behind them.

*Peter Newell is Professor of International Relations at the University of Sussex. He specializes in the politics and political economy of environment and development and his research interests include issues of climate change and energy, agricultural biotechnology, corporate accountability and trade policy. In recent years his research has mainly focussed on the political economy of carbon markets and low carbon energy transitions.*

## **“Urgency and Responsibility Covid-19, Climate Change and the sudden Return of Statism”**

Rikard Warlenius, SGS

### **Abstract:**

As it seems, a virus has accomplished more in the struggle against neoliberalism in just a few months than environmentalists, small farmers, trade unionists, as well as nationalists and chauvinists, have achieved in several decades. Even those who, in recent years, have called out for more decisive state action because of the urgency to deal with climate change – indeed a threat to our civilization – did so in vain. That is, until the covid-19 pandemic. Facing the immediate risks of both mass death and mass unemployment, the public did not seem to trust neither the night-watchman state nor austerity policies to protect their lives and incomes. Although it is too early to tell – the pandemic will abate and there is a risk of a return to "business as usual" – we might witness a sudden return of statism.

To be sure, statism – tentatively defined as increasing legitimacy for state action and authority in more areas of social life – comes in many flavors. The main contender to hegemonic political and economic liberalism in recent year has been a chauvinist, nationalist and authoritarian statism, visible in e.g. far-right parties and the Brexit campaign. But there are other statism's that might start gaining ground again, such as the tradition of strong welfare states, for which state control is not about Orwellian surveillance but democratization and decommodification; about ensuring that crucial social functions, such as health care and education, are under public control and distributed according to the principle of need.

The classical, post-war welfare state was not green and never directed primarily at achieving ecological sustainability. But if it could be, its far-reaching, "statist" capacities is perhaps the best tool we will ever have to rapidly transform and decarbonize society. Therefore, the 2020 statist turn must be regarded as an opportunity to not only deal with global health issues, but also to direct it towards the almost as acute and much more severe problem of climate change. To say that it is the last chance is probably an exaggeration, but only probably.

*Rikard Warlenius is a senior lecturer at University of Gothenburg School of Global Studies. His main research interests include climate/ environmental justice and the concept of ecological debt.*

## Panel 8: Urgency and Responsibility in the Politics of (De-) Legitimation

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### Panel description:

Recent debates in IR and other social sciences have highlighted that legitimacy can no longer be understood exclusively as a state-centered essentialist category anchored in formal governance routines such as elections. Likewise, recent research has started to challenge orthodox and widely shared assumptions that political institutions only thrive if they are legitimate. Instead, legitimacy is understood as a more fragile, politicized and contested phenomenon in nearly all institutional spheres of world politics.

This shift towards (de-)legitimizing processes comes along with a new interest in the 'politics of legitimation' (Christian Reus-Smit), which regards normative disputes not as a systemic error, but as a productive source for democratic politics and practices of global cooperation. However, this processual notion of legitimacy leads to many new research challenges in conceptual, theoretical, and methodological terms. The focus on politics of legitimation implies considering politicization processes and power relations, a broad spectrum of public voices and political actors in their complex relationships, as well as new forms of resistance (e.g. whistleblowers, young climate activists, right-wing networks) against formal authorities.

Against this background, crisis situations and the political controversies around them in issues of global cooperation (e.g. climate change, migration crisis, liberal internationalism) are of particular interest since they provoke an imperative of justification for political actors in power and enable public voices of critique from a broad normative spectrum. Moreover, they reveal different normative understandings on responsible political action and how competing political actors are (not) able to find agreements in issues of global and regional cooperation. However, if legitimacy is not simply created by heads of state, but also by civil society actors, new protest movements, parliamentarians, and 'ordinary citizens', many challenging research questions emerge on how to conceptualize and study contested 'legitimation work' (Raymond Geuss) around multiple sites of global cooperation.

The four contributions in this panel provide challenging answers to these questions by offering a set of interdisciplinary and micro-oriented studies on strategies, beliefs, practices, and narratives in the politics of (de-)legitimation in global politics.

**Moderator:** Frank Gadinger, KHK/GCR21

*Frank Gadinger is Senior Researcher and Research Group Co-Leader at the Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen (UDE). At KHK/GCR21, he is responsible for the thematic field 'Global Cooperation and Polycentric Governance'. Before, he was a team leader of the research group 'Political Narratives' at the Institute of Political Science, NRW*

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### **Contributions:**

#### **“Plotting the Snowden Controversy: Narrative Legitimation Politics as ‘Tests’”**

Christopher Smith Ochoa, University of Duisburg-Essen

#### **Abstract:**

The corrosive consequences of security practices in post-9/11 democracies have long become a mainstay of International Relations and critical security studies research. It is therefore puzzling that analyses of the justification of the emerging global surveillance nexus, as revealed by Edward Snowden in 2013, remain largely unexplored. Addressing this, we aim to develop a conceptual framework for the analysis of legitimation politics in urgent situations of democratic controversy.

First, we introduce the notion of ‘test’ from Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot’s pragmatic sociology to categorize the discursive context and ambiguous moral reference points (truth, reality, existence).

Second, we combine pragmatic sociology with narrative analysis to enable the exploration of the central practices of justification and critique. Specifically, we focus on three narrative elements to capture this dynamic: metaphorization, role construction, and emplotment<sup>1</sup>.

Third, based on empirical work on the Snowden controversy in the USA and Germany from its inception until now, we explicate the framework. The identified justificatory practices in tests of legitimation politics contain different plot patterns unveiling competing normative imaginaries around global surveillance that cannot be easily resolved through compromise.

This perspective bridges the gap between recent debates on international practice theory, narrative analysis, and legitimacy research. Moreover, it sheds new light on the ongoing controversy around global surveillance as one of the most urgent challenges of political life in our times.

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<sup>1</sup> Editor’s note: *emplotment*: The assembly of a series of historical events into a narrative with a plot.



## “Discourse and Legitimacy in Global Governance: Evidence from ICANN”

Hortense Jongen, VU Amsterdam & Jan Aart Scholte

### Abstract:

Key actors in global Internet governance face increasing demands to address concerns about democracy, human rights, inclusivity and freedom of the Internet. As their authority in the Internet ecosphere cannot be taken for granted, many of them seek to legitimate their rule in the eyes of different audiences and stakeholders. One way in which they seek do so is by promoting specific legitimization discourses, for example, in relation to security, democracy and justice.

Although we can see that these discursive practices are widespread in the sphere of Internet governance, we know little about the extent to which key audiences pick up on these cues. Do they notice them? If they do so, do they appreciate or reject them? How far have they internalized or perhaps even appropriated these narratives? And do these legitimization discourses have any impact on the perceived legitimacy of the governing organizations?

To fill this gap in knowledge, this paper pursues four aims:

- To discover how far participants in global Internet governance pick up and embrace legitimating discursive practices;
- To establish how far they have internalized and appropriated these discourses in their own narratives about Internet governance;
- To examine variation in how different audiences (e.g. stakeholder groups and social categories) respond to these discursive practices;
- To explore the relationship between audiences’ awareness of these legitimization practices and their legitimacy perceptions toward the organization sending these messages.

Theoretically, the paper follows a sociological understanding of legitimacy. This means that we look at how far ICANN’s intended followers perceive ICANN to be legitimate, rather than assess the organization’s legitimacy against external, normative standards. In addition, the paper engages with an extensive body of literature on practices of (discursive) legitimization in global governance.

Empirically, the paper focuses on the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN). Tasked with the governance of several core technical functions of the Internet infrastructure, ICANN has consistently promoted narratives of security, democracy, inclusivity, and justice to justify its authority in this area.

Evidence comes from 467 mixed-methods survey interviews with the ICANN Board, staff, and community. Conducted in 2018-2019, the study is based on quantitative and qualitative data. Our quantitative data consist of closed-ended survey questions asking respondents how often they hear certain key legitimization phrases raised in ICANN and whether they approve that these topics are being discussed. These phrases are: ‘security, stability and resiliency,’ ‘market competition and efficiency,’ ‘free and open Internet,’ ‘accountability,’ ‘multi-stakeholder participation,’ ‘global public interest,’ ‘human rights,’ ‘diversity,’ and ‘bottom-up policymaking.’ In addition, we collected quantitative data on respondents’ confidence in ICANN as a proxy indicator of

legitimacy. We use statistical methods to study the relationship between the two. The qualitative data consist of participants' responses to several open-ended questions about legitimacy in ICANN. We are specifically interested in how far respondents reproduce these legitimating narratives when talking about ICANN's legitimacy. The results of this paper contribute to a better understanding of discursive legitimation practices in global Internet governance.

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### **“Infrastructures and the ‘Frontier’: Emerging Security Practices and Controversies along the LAPSSSET Project in Kenya”**

Benard Musembi Kilaka, SGS

#### **Abstract:**

The world is currently experiencing an exponential growth in infrastructure projects, more so in the global south. Given that some of these infrastructures are unfolding in regions considered as frontiers and as such, not fully integrated into the state, their implementation is increasingly making the state visible in such settings and thus triggering a change in state-society relations. Due to the widely held perception that ‘frontiers’ are insecure spaces, state officials often draw on different acts of legitimation to justify the litany of security practices meant to protect such infrastructures. Yet, as numerous studies have noted, some of these security practices sometimes trigger controversies due to their disruptiveness and debates over who between infrastructure and the people should be the referent object of security. These controversies often manifest through multiple and complex politics of legitimation as actors on opposing sides jostle to justify their positions or critique the actions of others. These controversies not only illustrate a crisis of legitimacy to the security practices but also to the actors that either? implement such practices. Additionally, these controversies also challenge dominant perspectives that often depict communities located in such settings as passive and silent victims of state intervention schemes. Therefore, these controversies present a useful opportunity for providing new insights to our current understanding of legitimacy, especially in contexts with limited state authority. Using the case of the LAPSSSET corridor, where a number of security practices meant to project have turned controversial, this paper aims to illustrate both the politics of legitimation around such controversies and how the (non)resolution of such controversies shapes the legitimacy of both the projects and the accompanying security practices. In doing this, the study draws inspiration from

practice theory, and more so, from the works of Boltanski and Thévenot on Pragmatic Sociology due to its emphasis on controversies, the critical capacities of actors and symmetrical relations between actors in a dispute.

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## **“Populism and the Crisis of the Liberal International Order”**

Fredrik Söderbaum & Kilian Spandler, SGS

### **Abstract:**

A seemingly endless stream of analyses by academics and policy-makers echoes Ikenberry’s belief that ‘the crisis of the liberal order is a crisis of legitimacy and social purpose.’ Many of these contributions – especially those written in the West – are implicitly or explicitly normatively biased in favour of liberal norms and ideas, and believe that the return of ‘populist nationalism’ constitutes the main threat to the liberal (international) order. From this point of view, contestation spells chaos, and the antidote is to reinforce the liberal order, be it by means of renewed US leadership or socializing and co-opting contenders into existing norms and institutions. Not only does this underestimate the political appeal and traction that alternative visions for international order have gained both outside and inside the West. It also reproduces the dangerous assumption that anything apart from the American-led order necessarily negates the notion of order per se. In order to avoid the false dichotomy between liberalism/order and populism/disorder, this study tries to understand populist strategies of de/legitimation with regard to international order.

Straddling Western and non-Western contexts, the study compares populist leaders and their governments from three continents: the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, the former Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, and Rodrigo Duterte, President of the Philippines. We show that populist strategies to delegitimize liberal internationalism are inherently tied up with attempts to project and legitimate alternative ideas of order. These de/legitimation practices are formulated in three frames: anti-liberalism, multiple and threatened identity, and popular sovereignty. The frames serve as a basis for (i) the delegitimation of established global and regional governance institutions, (ii) the legitimation of calls for reform within them, and (iii) the promotion of certain institutional preferences over other — most notable leaders-driven and highly symbolic regional formats like the V4, ALBA and ASEAN. By unpacking this intricate relation between delegitimation and legitimation in world politics, the study advances our understanding of the populist contestation of liberal international order in a way that sidesteps the liberal bias, but still enables a critical – and in fact more nuanced – discussion of populism’s implications for the perceived crisis of international order.

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