International Politics:
Perspectives from Philosophy and Political Science

4

Corinna Mieth | Wolfram Cremer (eds.)

Migration, Stability and Solidarity

Nomos

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International Politics:
Perspectives from Philosophy and Political Science

edited by

Prof. Dr. Christian Neuhäuser, TU Dortmund University
Prof. Dr. Christoph Schuck, TU Dortmund University

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Preface

This volume on *Migration, Stability and Solidarity* focuses on two neglected questions and their interconnection within migration ethics. It, firstly, is about the relation between migration and political stability. Secondly, it deals with the question how solidarity should be understood when it comes to migration. With respect to the first question, some theorists argue that in the context of immigration, political stability is important in a pragmatic, but not a principled sense (e.g. Carens, Cassee, Pevnick). Others disagree, especially many participants in public discourse. To them, political stability is of utmost importance and can, under certain circumstances, be threatened by migration (e.g. Miller, Walzer). This discursive divide raises several philosophical questions, for instance: What exactly is the normative importance of political stability? How is it possible to determine if and to what extend political stability is threatened by migration? If there is indeed such a threat, how can it be reduced without infringing on the legal and moral rights of migrants? With respect to the second question, it is sometimes argued that migration undermines solidarity within societies (e.g. Miller). At the same time, it can be argued that it establishes and strengthens patterns of global solidarity needed to advance liberal values and human rights globally. As in the case of political stability, the question of different forms of solidarity arises. Related questions concern the proper understanding of solidarity and whether solidarity presupposes some form of perceived similarity or connectedness. It might also be asked how solidarity can be strengthened without damaging the rights of migrants. The topics of stability and solidarity are interconnected, and tensions within and between the concepts led to fundamental discursive conflicts. Whereas some argue that a discussion of these issues would play into the hands of nationalists and illiberal right-wing movements, others claim that avoiding these debates would have the same effect. We think an informed and rational discourse is needed. For this, it is important to get the empirical facts right, but also to map the normative landscape carefully. Urgent tasks are to identify and weigh different moral claims as well as to develop creative policy solutions that address the apparently conflicting claims of residents and migrants.

We have invited contributions from various disciplines and different countries addressing these issues or very similar questions regarding migration, political stability, and solidarity. We are especially grateful to Michael

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Blake who provided an introductory essay and a final reply to the contributions of this volume. Blake focuses on democratic decay, especially in the US, where populism is threatening the faith in democratic procedures and values. He introduces five demonic reasons in order to characterize populist discourse. Those who are supporting populism see themselves as deprived of something to which they feel entitled and may perceive less restrictive immigration policies as unjust. Blake is quite skeptical about liberal democracies today, since when being faced with populist threats, they could only realize just migration policies at the expense of stability.

Raissa Wihby Ventura chooses a different perspective. She focuses on "undesired" migrants who are often considered as a threat to stability of the receiving country. She proposes to shift the burden of justification to the receiving society. Bodi Wang also questions the self-understanding of societies when confronted with immigration. She critically examines David Miller´s book *Strangers in Our Midst*. She holds that Miller overemphasizes cultural differences at the expense of the analysis of material conditions that lead to social segregation, structural and institutional racism in the receiving society and a rhetoric that legitimizes exclusion. Susanne Mantel examines the question whether refugee protection requires admission, critically discussing Christopher Wellman's position. Wolfram Cremer focuses on inner European migration and the right to social benefits from a legal perspective. He shows that EU law requires a certain standard of solidarity, namely states the obligation of the EU-Member States for granting existential social benefits to EU-Citizens. Dimitrios Efthymiou focuses on the relation between solidarity and welfare rights. He holds that the concept of solidarity as a rich good would provide access for nationals and migrants to welfare rights. Esma Baycan Herzog critically examines the claim that social cohesion understood as an expression of national identity is incompatible with migration. She shows that within post-immigration societies, i.e. societies in which the common identity is diverse, open border policies are justified. Gottfried Schweiger critically discusses the question whether mandatory value courses for asylum seekers, as required by some countries, can be justified by referring to stability considerations: value courses are supposed to protect the state, reduce costs and improve integration. Alberto Pirni introduces a model of how we could live together in the intercultural age by distinguishing between "place stability" and "identitarian" stability. Costanza Porro and Christine Straehle as well as Thorben Knobloch and Corinna Mieth focus on the threats to stability and solidarity that arise from parts of the native population within western democracies. Porro/Straehle examine the thesis that multicultural societies suffer from a lack of solidarity. They consid-

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er populist movements as an expression of lack of recognition by parts of the population. Knobloch/Mieth focus on internal threats to stability caused by anti-immigration backlashes. By understanding liberalism as a historical project between more progressive requirements for open borders and a more particularistic understanding, as well as the introduction of the concept of compromising mindsets, they bring these seemingly opposing perspectives together and distinguish liberal from illiberal backlashes. Finally, Michael Blake comments on the contributions that all tried to show that within the self-understanding of liberal democracies, stability and solidarity with migrants could somehow be combined or that at least excluding notions of stability are misguided. Still, Blake, to his own regret, draws a conclusion that is, again, rather skeptical regarding the realization of justice towards migrants within liberal democracies today. But there is not as much contradiction here as it seems since Blake totally agrees that immigration policies today are unjust, the difference lies in the belief in the resources liberal democracies today have to change this. And if that is the question, some of the authors might also be skeptical.

The idea for that project goes way back to discussions the editors had with many people. We want to thank all the contributors to this volume for their articles and the intense discussions we had at our conference on the topic at Ruhr-University Bochum in 2019 and many other occasions. Special thanks go to Christian Neuhäuser, Anna Goppel and Michael Blake for the ongoing discussion on migration, stability and solidarity. Corinna especially thanks the Institute for Advanced Study in Berlin for support. We are also grateful to Reza Mosayebi for accompanying the project and helping with organizational matters. Finally, we want to thank Beate Bernstein and Joanna Werner from Nomos-Verlag for their patience and the good cooperation.

Bochum, September 2021 *Corinna Mieth and Wolfram Cremer*

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