



MeDiMi Conference • May 7–8, 2026



**Humanrightization in Migration
Societies:
Conditions, Forms, Consequences**

Book of Abstracts and Bios



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Welcome

MeDiMi is an interdisciplinary research group funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). We study discursive practices in migration-related conflicts. Our focus is on actors who advocate for the inclusion of migrants and, explicitly or implicitly, mobilize human rights: as a legal argument, a moral-political claim, or a maxim of (professional) ethics. Combining legal analysis, social-science research, and cultural studies, we develop a practice theory of human rights that is centered on the concept of humanrightization.

With our second multidisciplinary conference, we aim to present and discuss empirical and conceptual findings after almost four years of research. We are seeking dialogue with other scholars across established communities and disciplinary boundaries. We invite researchers at all career stages and of all backgrounds – from undergraduate and doctoral students to senior academics and independent activist-researchers – to join us in exploring legal, political, and everyday struggles over the human rights of migrants in today's societies.

The presentations at the plenary sessions will present key findings from our project for discussion. They will form the basis for an edited volume to be published by transcript (Bielefeld). The presentations for the various other panels were selected from submissions in response to a Call for Papers issued earlier this year (see [here](#)). In times when migration laws and policies are becoming increasingly restrictive, and everyday discourse is frequently dominated by hostility toward migrants, these papers examine legal, political, and everyday struggles in migration societies.

The conference team, on behalf of the entire MeDiMi Research Group: Simona Adinolfi, Maximilian Aigner, Jürgen Bast, Slađana Branković, Friederike Eichner, Laura Goller, Laura Holderied, Mina Ibrahim, Maik Paap, and Frederik von Harbou.

April 30, 2026

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Session A • Panel A1: “Fora of Legal Struggles”

Participants

- *Luise Freitag*, University of Göttingen: “Change of Arenas? Negotiating Migrants’ Rights Before UN Bodies”
- *Kamilla Galicz*, Sant’Anna School of Advanced Studies, Pisa: “The Dublin System Before UN Committees: From Exceptionalization to Humanrightization?”
- Chair: *Janna Wessels*, VU Amsterdam (bio here)

Abstracts

Change of Arenas? Negotiating Migrants’ Rights Before UN Bodies (Luise Freitag)

The European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) has been pivotal in upholding the rights of migrantized individuals (Viljanen/Heiskanen 2016; Schmalz 2025; Aarrass 2026). However, recent attacks, exemplified by the “open letter of the nine” governments in May 2025, the conclusions that followed an informal ministerial meeting in December 2025 (Steininger 2026; Riemer/Acconciamesa 2026), the threats of withdrawal from the convention or the lack of enforcement of judgements, raise the question of whether the ECtHR can still fulfill the potential migration scholars and activists have attributed to it.

Given the fundamentality and quantity of the pressure towards the ECtHR, this contribution explores whether a change of arenas from the ECtHR to the bodies of the United Nations (UN) in the protection of migrants’ rights can be expected. While institutional settings differ and the UN procedures may not follow the strict juridical logics of the ECtHR, it is argued that, through the implementation of individual complaint procedures (which can be brought before eight of the treaty bodies), UN bodies could become increasingly important arenas for negotiating the rights of migrants. To explore this hypothesis, the first pending case against Germany before the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) will be analyzed. Social rights, it is argued, are emblematic of migrants’ rights, hypothetically ensuring their dignity as human beings, but in practice often being tied to the ideology of “economic usability” and increasingly used as a bordering mechanism (Bendixsen/Näre 2024). The CESCR case concerns the question whether the complete withdrawal of social benefits (Section 1(4) AsylbLG – Asylum Seekers Benefits Act) violates Articles 9, 11(1), 12(1), and 2(2) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The complaint has already led the Committee to call upon the German Federal Government to take interim measures to secure the minimum standard of living (GFF 2025).

The analysis will focus on similarities and differences between the individual procedures, provide an overview of the pending CESCR case and ultimately assess the potential and limits of

legal struggles concerning migrants' rights before UN bodies, particularly considering the on-going attacks on the ECtHR.

The Dublin System Before UN Committees: From Exceptionalization to Humanrightization (Kamilla Galicz)

On 29 February 2024, the EU Court of Justice ruled on the possibility to proceed with Dublin transfers to Poland notwithstanding the pushback and detention practices documented at its external borders. The judgment suggests the Court's return to the systemic flaws test, relegating fundamental rights protection to highly exceptional circumstances. A threshold similarly difficult to meet may be evinced from recent pronouncements of the European Court of Human Rights. These developments raise the question of what alternative avenues may be available for applicants who allege the infringement of their fundamental rights due to intra-EU transfers.

Against this backdrop, this proposal aims to assess the Dublin system under International Human Rights Law based on the jurisprudence of UN Committees. Specifically, it chooses the Human Rights Committee and the Committee against Torture, as the bodies supervising two of the most ratified international human rights treaties, as well as the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to shed light on the gender-related aspects of transfers. Methodologically, the analysis first seeks to identify the criteria developed by the three Committees to assess the fundamental rights impact of intra-EU transfers. Second, it pursues to compare these standards with the ones adopted by European Courts.

The ultimate aim is two-fold: first, to critically reflect on the "quasi-hegemonic" role of the prohibition of torture and other forms of ill-treatment in rights-based approaches to Dublin transfers; second, to raise awareness of the "hard protection" these "soft courts" may offer in Europe's composite fundamental rights space.

Bios

Luise Freitag (she/her) is a PhD researcher in the Research Training Group 2987 "Mobility Rights in the Global Context of Multiple Crises" at the University of Göttingen as well as a Research Fellow of the Research Group "Law and Governance in the Context of Social Inequalities" at Berlin Social Science Center (WZB). Her dissertation project focuses on social policy as a means of migration control and includes an analysis of the legal framework as well as the discourse practices that shape welfare state bordering mechanisms.

Kamilla Galicz. I am a postdoctoral researcher in Constitutional and Public Law at Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies, where I obtained my PhD in Law. Currently, I am visiting lecturer at Pompeu Fabra University; I teach the undergraduate course of international protection of human rights and give lectures on judicial independence in Europe. I conduct comparative legal research on migration, asylum, the role of courts and other monitoring bodies to protect fundamental rights in the European legal space. My main areas of interest are human rights

law, international refugee law, EU law and comparative constitutional law. In addition, I take part in a wide range of projects, teaching and public engagement activities in the fields of fundamental rights protection, migration, asylum, citizenship and access to justice.

Scheduled Participant

Suspension of Family Reunification for Beneficiaries of Subsidiary Protection (Anna Suerhoff)

Family reunification for beneficiaries of subsidiary protection has become an increasingly controversial topic. On the one hand, it is still largely undisputed that the right to family life is enshrined in international law and has to be respected in national legislation. On the other hand, even though being a legal pathway, family reunification for beneficiaries of subsidiary protection who, for example, have fled civil war in their home country, had been linked to illegal migration in the political discussion and became more and more restricted.

In July 2025, the legislator suspended family reunification for people with subsidiary protection. In its recent decisions, the ECtHR emphasized that the compatibility of such a regulation with the right to respect for family life under Article 8 ECHR depends on the existence of an effective hardship clause.

At first sight, the suspension rule seems to meet this requirement and provides for a hardship clause referring to Section 22(1) of the Residence Act which foresees the admission from abroad for reasons of international law or on urgent humanitarian grounds. In the law's reasoning the legislator explicitly refers to Article 8 of the ECHR and in parliamentary debates members of parliament emphasized the need for effective hardship provisions.

However, this official confirmation of compliance with international law standards is undermined by the concrete application of the hardship clause. The institute's legal analysis of an internal directive of the Federal Foreign Office setting out the requirements for the hardship assessment comes to the result that the case law of the ECtHR is not considered just as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. But if the hardship clause proves to be ineffective, the exclusion of family reunification violates the right to respect for family life.

Anna Suerhoff is a researcher and policy adviser in the department Human Rights Policies Germany/Europe at the German Institute for Human Rights. She is a lawyer and works in the field of asylum and migration, including family reunification, deportation, and the Common European Asylum System. Related publications: *Die Härtefallprüfung im Rahmen der Aussetzung des Familiennachzugs zu subsidiär Schutzberechtigten. Stellungnahme*, Berlin 2026; *Zum Entwurf eines Gesetzes der Fraktionen CDU/CSU und SPD zur Aussetzung des Familiennachzugs zu subsidiär Schutzberechtigten. Stellungnahme*, Berlin 2025; *Hürden beim Familiennachzug. Das Recht auf Familie für international Schutzberechtigte. Stellungnahme*, Berlin 2020.

Session A • Panel A2: “Varieties of Discourses”

Participants

- *Laura Cleton*, Erasmus University Rotterdam: “Legitimizing Children’s Deportation through Human Rights Discourse?”
- *Marlene Joger*, University of Bamberg: “Diverging Human Rights Perspectives? An Analysis of Human Rights Narratives in Migration Discourse in the European Parliament”
- *Virginia Signorini*, University of Milan: “Is the Right to Asylum Dying? Stratified Protection, Institutional Myopia, and Ambivalences in Italy’s Refugee Regime”
- Chair: *Maik Paap*, University of Giessen (bio here)

Abstracts

Legitimizing Children’s Deportation through Human Rights Discourse? (Laura Cleton)

Thousands of undocumented migrant children across the EU are at risk of being returned to their “countries of origin”. Enforcing their deportation, however, presents challenges to liberal states: their governance is characterised by a tension between commitments to protect children’s rights and welfare on the one hand, and limit undocumented migration on the other. As children’s rights are universally recognised, seldom deemed controversial, and strongly codified, liberal states’ commitment to them should ensure a careful balance between the two objectives. While legal analysis already suggests that children’s rights seldom overpower the right of liberal states to control their borders, literature largely overlooks how children’s rights are understood and enacted within migration administrations. Doing so is important, as migration administrations bear the duty to put rights into practice when implementing children’s deportation. This paper therefore investigates the evolution of deportation policy in two EU countries – Belgium and the Netherlands – and questions whether and how deportation is framed in children’s rights discourse. I analyse a set of 150 key texts, including parliamentary debates, policy documents, working guidelines and newspaper articles, that together contextualize how children’s rights discourse come to materialize for migration administrations. I start in the 1980s, when deportation became a commonly used instrument across the EU, and cover the UNCRC’s ratification. The paper contributes to socio-legal scholarship on the role of rights discourse in policy.

Diverging Human Rights Perspectives? An Analysis of Human Rights Narratives in Migration Discourse in the European Parliament (Marlene Joger)

Although the European Parliament (EP) has long been considered the EU institution most committed to human rights and migration, it is no exception to the increasing politicisation and humanrightisation of migration. Political actors frequently use the language of human rights to articulate their interests and goals on migration. I ask *how* and *for what purpose* human

rights narratives are used in the EP's migration discourse, and *whether* and *how* they differ by political group affiliation. To identify these narratives, I conduct a qualitative content analysis based on the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF). I examine the human rights narratives used in debates during the 9th legislature in the two EP committees most focused on both human rights and migration: the Subcommittee on Human Rights (DROI) and the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE). My findings indicate that all party groups make use of human rights narratives in migration discourse; however, they differ by political goals. Protective human rights narratives legitimate the acceptance of migrants by strengthening the existing human rights system and the EU's role in it. Restrictive human rights narratives reframe human rights in migration discourse by limiting them to specific groups of migrants. Dismissive human rights narratives bend the meaning of human rights towards political agendas that seemingly undermine the human rights system as a whole. I discover potential human rights re-definitions and competing new meanings in migration discourse that challenge predominant understandings and are central to the EU's reputation as a community of values.

[Is the Right to Asylum Dying? Stratified Protection, Institutional Myopia, and Ambivalences in Italy's Refugee Regime \(Virginia Signorini\)](#)

Article 14 of the UDHR anchors asylum firmly within the realm of human rights. Yet how is this right evolving in the everyday lives of people crossing EU borders and applying for international protection?

Drawing on field observation and qualitative interviews with practitioners and refugees conducted over the past twenty years, this paper analyses the temporal evolution of the asylum and reception system in Italy, as a transit and destination country. It examines how legislative reforms, administrative practices, and local reception arrangements have progressively reshaped the concrete possibility of accessing asylum, and how these shifts reverberate in the experiences of migrants and practitioners, and the effective application of this human right.

Moving beyond the dominant crisis-migration narrative, I argue that Italy reveals a supply chain of temporariness, fragmentation, and institutional myopia. A growing taxonomy of security – structured around country of origin presumed “at risk” or “safe” – stratifies access to protection, while dispositifs of governmentality normalise a culture of asylum that bifurcates “integrable” and “non-integrable” subjects. Together, these logics generate practices of invisibilization when criteria are unmet.

By combining policy analysis with qualitative data, the paper shows that asylum is undermined not only by explicit restrictive policies but also by ordinary bureaucratic practices that suspend, delay, and condition migrants' access to rights over time. It shows how human rights language and norms around asylum are both mobilised and emptied in practice and therefore traces processes of humanrightization and de-humanrightization, questioning whether the human-rights framing of asylum still carries inclusive, emancipatory potential within contemporary migration regimes.

Bios

Laura Cleton is Assistant Professor at the department of Public Administration and Sociology, at Erasmus University Rotterdam. She specializes in the policies and politics of deportation in Europe, in particular for undocumented children and their families. She works on migration governance, migration policies & politics, deportation regimes, feminist approaches to migration studies and family migration. She acts as Associate Editor for the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Steering Committee member to IMISCOE's Gender and Sexuality in Migration, and secretary of the Dutch Association for Migration Research (DAMR).

Marlene Joger is a PhD candidate and research fellow in International and European Politics at the University of Bamberg. Her research interests focus on human rights and migration in EU institutions, especially the European Parliament, and the United Nations. She has published a research article in *International Studies Quarterly*.

Virginia Signorini holds a PhD in Sociology and is a Research Fellow at the University of Milan, where she works on projects at the intersection of memory and migration studies, using biographical and participatory methodologies. Her research lies in the sociology of migration and refugee studies, with a focus on power dynamics within reception systems. She has conducted long-term fieldwork on the roles of institutions, non-state actors, and social workers and educators in Italian and European reception and protection systems. Alongside her academic activity, she has extensive professional experience with organisations in Italy and across Europe, working on asylum and reception.

Session A • Panel A3: “Agency and Representations”

Participants

- *Simona Adinolfi*, University of Giessen/MeDiMi: “The AI and the Butterfly: A Critical Posthumanist Approach to Images of Migration”
- *Janina Schlüsselburg*, University of New South Wales/MeDiMi: “The White Gaze and its Resistance: Manus Island Prison and its Representation in Australian Mainstream News Media”
- Chair: *Friederike Eichner*, University of Giessen (bio here)

Abstracts

[The AI and the Butterfly: A Critical Posthumanist Approach to Images of Migration \(Simona Adinolfi\)](#)

The increased polarization of discourses around migration in the United States and in Europe is especially palpable on social media where posts, memes, and more broadly, visual images, circulate widely and fast. In this talk, I argue for a critical posthumanist approach to the analysis of images of migration circulating on social media. I draw on Greta Olson and Janna Wessels’ typology of images of migration and expand it through a critical posthumanist framework. After situating critical posthumanism within the context of discourses around the representation of migration, I define two types of images of migration: dystopian and nonhuman. The former are AI-generated images which often depict ethnosexualized Muslim men *en masse* against the backdrop of a clearly recognizable US American or European monument or landscape. They depict dystopian “future” scenarios to further the argument of “migration as a threat” and the possibilities of remigration as a solution. The latter are images that depict animals like the Monarch butterfly which are widely recognized as migrating being in order to make the case for migration as natural phenomenon. Understanding AI-generated images of migration in critical posthumanist terms allows to question the entanglement between human input and nonhuman output through the concept of cognitive assemblage (Hayles), and to avoid demonization of AI as such. Similarly, understanding nonhuman images of migration through critical posthumanism questions the representation of migration as natural which risks dangerous comparisons that may jeopardize the recognition and defense of the human rights of migrants.

[The White Gaze and its Resistance: Manus Island Prison and its Representation in Australian Mainstream News Media \(Janina Schlüsselburg\)](#)

Journalism and media practices in the Global North – exemplified by Australian news media – claim to report on issues such as forced migration and displaced people in an objective, balanced, and neutral manner. However, by conceptualising current journalism and news media

practices through the framework of the white gaze, we understand that they are neither objective nor neutral. Rather, objectivity and neutrality function as instruments for upholding existing power hierarchies.

My research examines alternative representations of forced migrants that challenge the white gaze, amplifying voices that have frequently been marginalised or dismissed as biased when confronting racism, colonialism, and settler colonialism. While the conference's regional focus centres on Europe, North America, and the MENA region, Australian media practices offer valuable insights as part of the Global North, particularly given the striking parallels in migration discourse and the incarceration of forced migrants arriving on boats in (offshore) detention centres.

In this presentation, I will elaborate on the white gaze and trace its genealogies – including the male, colonising, and settler colonial gaze – to illuminate how performative claims to objectivity, balance, and neutrality by Australian mainstream news media reinforce the settler colonial project and strengthen existing power hierarchies. I will present an analysis of arts practice that reconfigures the image of 'the refugee' through agency, self-determination, and an inherent relation to nature. Drawing on decolonial and intersectional approaches, and combining perspectives from critical Indigenous scholars, activists, and artists, I aim to demonstrate how alternative visual storytelling disrupts dominant media narratives and opens spaces for counter-hegemonic representation.

Bios

Simona Adinolfi is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Giessen, where she is part of the project MeDiMi, and postdoctoral associate at Ghent University. Her PhD dissertation examined contemporary novels of migration using a critical posthumanities framework, to show how canonical themes usually associated to narratives of migration are being subverted and complicated on a formal level. Her current research interests span from contemporary literary representations of human and nonhuman migration to the influence of digital technologies on narrative forms to the media representation of migration in Italy, Germany, and the United States.

Janina Schlüsselburg is a PhD candidate at the University of New South Wales in Sydney and an associated MeDiMi researcher. In her PhD project, she focuses on visual representations of migration published in the Australian media from 2015 onwards, focusing on international human rights discourse. Her research deconstructs the white gaze rooted in settler colonial structures by analyzing self-produced art that challenges dominant visual narratives. Her interdisciplinary methodology combines works of critical scholars, artists, and activists to develop decolonizing approaches to visual culture analysis.

Scheduled Participant

Contesting Protection: Syrian Refugees' Digital Resistance and the Reclamation of Agency (Muhammed Zeyn)

Syrian refugees' collective rejection of the "refugee" designation through digital platforms exposes a fundamental paradox: humanitarian protection frameworks that confer legal rights simultaneously impose categorisations experienced as dehumanising. Following Assad's December 2024 collapse, approximately one million Syrians repatriated despite requiring \$250–400 billion for infrastructure reconstruction. Social media became the primary site where displaced populations contested imposed identities and reclaimed national belonging. This paper examines how Syrians navigate tensions between protection and agency by mobilising human rights discourse – both explicitly and implicitly – to challenge categorisations that reduce complex political subjects to dependent victims.

Drawing on qualitative interviews with Syrian refugees in Türkiye and returnees to Syria, the research identifies three intersecting practices of rights mobilisation. First, viral declarations proclaiming "Just Syrian" rather than "Syrian refugee" reveal how bureaucratic labels function as contested political impositions rather than neutral descriptors, with displaced persons asserting dignity against frameworks privileging victimhood over autonomous personhood. Second, returnees' testimonies documenting liberation from authoritarian surveillance despite material devastation invoke implicit rights claims centred on freedom, dignity and psychological restoration – challenging paradigms that reduce return decisions to economic rationality. Third, citizens' online documentation of official misconduct triggering governmental reversals demonstrates how digital platforms enable accountability practices that circumvent dysfunctional institutional channels.

Theoretically, the paper demonstrates how Arab-Islamic values emphasising honour, dignity and self-reliance contest Western humanitarian framework of dependency, revealing cultural tensions embedded within purportedly universal human rights claims. The analysis illuminates how protection systems can inadvertently perpetuate the marginalisation they ostensibly address, with implications for Palestinian, Sudanese, and Ukrainian displacement contexts.

Muhammed Zeyn is a PhD candidate in Migration Studies at COMPAS, University of Oxford. He holds master's degrees from Ibn Haldun University in Istanbul and the University of Oxford. His research focuses on the psychosocial impacts of displacement and digital media and the integration issues facing displaced communities and returnees.

Session B • Keynote: “Humanrightization – A Practice Theory of Human Rights in Migration Societies”

Abstract

The session presents MeDiMi’s research agenda and key concepts of a theory of discursive practice in migration societies, developed through the collaborative work of the project’s researchers.

Speakers

Jürgen Bast is MeDiMi’s spokesperson, head of its coordination unit, and Principal Investigator in the legal research project “Territoriality, Public Authority, and Human Rights: the EU’s Border Regimes.” He is a Professor of Public Law and European Law at the University of Giessen. His main research interests are in migration law and European constitutional law. He has co-authored *Human Rights Challenges to European Migration Policy* (2022) with Frederik von Harbou and Janna Wessels, and has collaborated with Armin von Bogdandy on a new volume on EU Constitutional Law (*Unionsverfassungsrecht*, 2025). They are currently working on the English edition, which will be published by OUP.

Laura Holderied is a postdoctoral researcher in MeDiMi’s coordination unit at the University of Giessen, where she contributes to the project’s theory development. Her research interests lie at the intersections of (critical) migration and border studies, visual politics, and visual and interpretative international relations. She is particularly interested in social and political conflicts over mobility, rights, and inclusion/exclusion in migration societies. Her research has appeared in *International Political Sociology, Cooperation and Conflict, Journal of Human Rights Practice*, and *Leviathan*, among others. Her book *Visual Border Politics. Images and Migration Governance in Europe* has recently been published with Routledge.

Scheduled Speaker

Dariusz Zifonun is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Marburg and Principal Investigator in the MeDiMi project “Doing Human Rights: How the Categories of ‘Human’ and ‘Migrant’ Are Made (Ir-)Relevant in Everyday Life.” His research examines how memberships in “social worlds” – i.e., categorical and relational affiliations such as ethnicity, “race,” or gender – are organized and interact. He is the author of *Versionen. Soziologie sozialer Welten* (2016) and co-editor of the *Handbuch Migrationssoziologie* (2024) and *Ritual Change and Social Transformation in Migrant Societies* (2016).

Chair: *Susanne Buckley-Zistel*, University of Marburg (bio here)

Session C • Plenary Event: “Forms of Humanrightization”

Participants

- *Susanne Buckley-Zistel*, University of Marburg: “Doing Human Rights in Everyday Life: Syrian Migrants Perform Justice, Feeling Its Limits”
- *Janna Wessels*, VU Amsterdam: “Doctrinal Entrepreneurship in Human Rights Litigation”
- *Michael Knipper*, University of Giessen: “Doing Human Rights in Migrant Health”
- Invited Discussant: *Tine Destrooper*, Ghent University
- Chair: *Frederik von Harbou*, University of Applied Sciences Jena (bio here)

Abstracts

Doing Human Rights in Everyday Life: Syrian Migrants Perform Justice, Feeling Its Limits (Susanne Buckley-Zistel)

In April 2020, Syrians gathered outside a courtroom in Koblenz holding photographs of disappeared relatives, as the first global trial against officials of the Assad regime unfolded. Simultaneously, artists, families, and activists engaged in diverse practices – from performances on torture to transnational memory archives and symbolic acts such as planting trees for the disappeared – challenging purely legalistic approaches to justice. This paper reconceptualizes humanrightization as a process of “doing human rights,” emphasizing how social actors actively enact, negotiate, and transform human rights across legal and vernacular contexts. Focusing on justice for core crimes in Syria, we argue that human rights and justice are not fixed norms but emerge through situated practices and struggles. Drawing on the Al-Khatib trials (2020–2022) in Germany, we show how diaspora actors participated in and critically engaged with universal jurisdiction processes while simultaneously articulating alternative visions of justice. Their activism – spanning legal participation, political advocacy, and everyday practices – both mobilized and challenged dominant human rights frameworks. These engagements reveal justice as relational and evolving, shaped by experiences across institutional and informal settings. Ultimately, the paper demonstrates how humanrightization unfolds through transversal dynamics, where vernacular practices expand and redefine the meaning of human rights and transitional justice.

Doctrinal Entrepreneurship in Human Rights Litigation (Janna Wessels)

This presentation analyzes the entanglement of legalized and politicized human rights practices in legal struggles over migrants’ rights. To better understand the transversality of these dynamics, the concept of “doctrinal entrepreneurship” proves to be useful. Doctrinal entrepreneurship is defined as the practice of deploying legal argumentation with the aim of shaping the interpretation and application of human rights norms. Human rights law, by its very nature,

is open-ended: its abstract formulations require interpretation in concrete cases, and these interpretations have effects beyond the individual dispute by establishing authoritative understandings of rights. This dynamic provides a space in which competing actors – whether lawyers and NGOs seeking the inclusion of migrants, or governments seeking to defend restrictive migration policies – can intervene to shape doctrine. Courts then process these competing claims, accepting, rejecting, or reinterpreting them, and thereby co-producing the evolving meaning of human rights.

The process of humanrightization has subjected governments' migration control practices to unprecedented judicial scrutiny. The presentation demonstrates that in this legalized field, doctrinal entrepreneurship functions in both inclusionary and exclusionary directions. Migrants' representatives mobilize human rights arguments to expand protections, while governments, as bearers of obligations, act as doctrinal entrepreneurs in their own right by reframing their migration policy interests into terms of human rights doctrine in ways that preserve sovereign discretion. Human rights jurisprudence thus emerges as the product of social struggles conducted within the discursive framework of law.

In this way, the paper shows how the legalization and the politicization of human rights are inseparably entangled: In other words, the legalization of migrants' rights claims before courts is, at the same time, a deeply political process, in which governments as well as civil society actors strategically engage in shaping the scope and meaning of rights. By foregrounding doctrinal entrepreneurship as a practice of "doing human rights," the paper highlights how human rights law's indeterminacy enables both protective and restrictive outcomes – and how the discursive negotiation of human rights reflects the broader dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in migration societies.

[Doing Human Rights in Migrant Health \(Michael Knipper\)](#)

This paper examines the practice of human rights in an area that is of crucial importance to migration societies: health. Health is a subject that, in principle, is not defined by law and politics but by the biological and psychosocial needs, vulnerabilities, and, fundamentally, the finitude of all human life. However, according to scholars and practitioners from various backgrounds, among them the present author, health is a human right that depends on distinct conceptual, social, and legal prerequisites. Both legal and medical arguments and evidence underscore the need to systematically include political and legal factors for conceiving of health as a human right. This is particularly relevant in the case of migrants, as legally and politically shaped barriers are widely documented to prevent mobile populations, asylum seekers, undocumented migrants, and people in irregular legal situations from enjoying the highest attainable standard of health as recognized in international human rights law.

Against this backdrop, this paper on "doing the right to health" will analyze the practices and attitudes of staff members of two International Organizations dedicated to the health of migrants: WHO (World Health Organization) and IOM (International Organization of Migration). Given the prevalence of human rights rhetoric within the UN system and frequent assertions

of a human right to health of migrants by quasi-judicial expert bodies, it seems reasonable to expect that references to human rights play an important role in the practice of these organizations. However, our empirical research has shown that their staff members more or less deliberately choose to depoliticize the topic and to deploy terms, concepts, and strategies from the field of medicine and public health that are assumed to be morally and affectively more “neutral.” Legal concepts and references to procedures defined by international law (e.g., periodic state reporting at the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) are almost completely absent from the documents produced by these organizations. The primary concern behind this reluctance to address the political and legal dimensions of migrant health is to avoid provoking governments: As representatives of “member-states-driven-organizations,” they claim, their goal is to engage and support governments in advancing “practical solutions,” with “depoliticizing” migration and health becoming a major strategy. Political advocacy and the deployment of legal instruments are rather relegated to civil society actors, who are perceived as better suited to airing conflicts with the duty bearers of the right to health.

For the theory of human rights discourse in migration societies, the example of health shows how certain actors deliberately do not use the political and legal language, concepts, and strategies that emerged from a conceptual humanrightization in international law and in academic scholarship. This paper thus contributes to a better understanding of the asynchronicity of the scope of humanrightization in different social spheres, and the reliance of advancing human rights on civil society actors, who mobilize them as a normative resource against institutional actors.

Bios

Susanne Buckley-Zistel is MeDiMi’s deputy spokesperson and Principal Investigator in the project “Human Rights Crimes, Norm Entrepreneurs, and the Implementation of the Principle of Universal Jurisdiction in Germany.” She is a Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies and Executive Director of the Center for Conflict Studies at the University of Marburg. Her main research interests lie in (transitional) justice, memory, gender, space, and postcolonialism. She has published widely on these issues, including the co-edited volumes *Peace and the Politics of Memory* (2024), *Perpetrators and Perpetration of Mass Violence* (2018), *Gender, Violence, Refugees* (2017), and *Spatializing Peace and Conflict* (2016).

Janna Wessels is an Associate Professor at the Amsterdam Centre for Migration and Refugee Law (ACMRL), Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, and Principal Investigator in the MeDiMi project “Who is Empowered by Strasbourg? Migrants and States before the ECtHR.” Her research investigates the link between human rights and migration law and policy. She is the author of *The Concealment Controversy. Sexual Orientation, Discretion Reasoning and the Scope of Refugee Protection* (2021/23) and co-author of *Human Rights Challenges to European Migration Policy* (2022), with Jürgen Bast and Frederik von Harbou.

Michael Knipper is a Professor of Global Health, Migration, and Medical Humanities at the University of Giessen. He is Principal Investigator in the MeDiMi project "Migration and the Humanrightization of 'Health': Paradigms, Practices, and Conflicts." Michael is a physician, medical historian, and anthropologist. In his research, he pursues a historically and anthropologically grounded perspective on the social, cultural, and ethical dimensions of health. He has published in *The Lancet*, *BMC Public Health*, *International Journal of Infectious Diseases*, and *International Journal of Public Health*, among others.

Tine Destrooper is the director of Justice Visions and a professor of transitional justice at the Faculty of Law and Criminology of Ghent University. She is also a member of the Human Rights Centre and the co-chair of the human rights research network at Ghent University. Her research focuses on victim engagement in transitional justice, which is also the focus of the book she co-edited most recently: *The Cambridge Handbook of Victim Engagement in Transitional Justice*. She currently oversees a cross-case analysis of the role of documentation across a wide range of transitional justice processes, as well as various other research projects regarding grassroots transitional justice and accountability initiatives.

Session D • Plenary Event: “Conditions of Humanright-ization”

Participants

- *Jürgen Bast*, University of Giessen: “Pioneering Humanrightization: The Emergence of Human Rights Law as a Basis for Asylum Claims”
- *Adriana Kessler*, University of Applied Sciences Jena: “Human Rights Movements and Legal Mobilization in Conflicts over Migration”
- *Greta Olson*, University of Giessen: “Humanrightization as *living law*, Human Rights Consciousness or as Structure of Feeling”
- Invited Discussant: *Anuscheh Farahat*, University of Vienna
- Chair: *Anna Arden*, University of Giessen (bio here)

Abstracts

Pioneering Humanrightization: The Emergence of Human Rights Law as a Basis for Asylum Claims (Jürgen Bast)

The theory of humanrightization refers to a particular constellation that is marked by facilitating “conditions of possibility.” Within the framework of MeDiMi’s practice-theoretical approach, the assumption of such legal, civic, and mental-affective infrastructures helps to understand why social actors refer to human rights in a myriad of situations to express their interests and self-understandings.

This paper traces the origins of human rights law as a basis for contesting migration control, using the evolution of the legal concept of a human right to asylum as a case study. When and how has this body of justiciable norms and legal doctrines developed into established legal knowledge that actors in professional legal discourse can rely on in order to assert inclusionary claims on behalf of migrants? Preliminary work on the European Court of Human Rights suggests that the new doctrines emerged and consolidated during a period that began in the late 1980s and lasted until the early 2000s (“the long 1990s”). The present paper builds on this periodization and specifically studies the change in the understanding of the principle of non-refoulement in international law more broadly. How did the principle, which was previously regarded merely as a conditional obligation of States towards a narrowly defined class of displaced persons, become an enforceable human right to asylum of an absolute nature? From the internal perspective of legal discourse, this development can be reconstructed as a conceptual humanrightization of international refugee law, a branch of international law that was previously considered separate from human rights law. The paper argues that this doctrinal development cannot be understood without considering parallel transformative developments in the political and cultural spheres.

The presentation aims to contribute to the theory of humanrightization by conceptualizing its diachronic dimension as a process of historical transformation in which the conditions of possibility emerged. It emphasizes the role of pioneer actors, both on an intellectual level and in civic engagement, in a phase prior to this transformation when the notion that migrants might have human rights protected by law was anything but self-evident.

Human Rights Movements and Legal Mobilization in Conflicts over Migration (Adriana Kessler)

The contribution investigates the interplay of human rights movements and practices of legal mobilization in conflicts over migration. Such legal mobilization takes different forms, from participating in legislative procedures in the context of hearings to strategic litigation. In both instances, multiple actors, such as NGOs and lawyers, often collaborate, aiming to induce political and societal change. How are human rights arguments employed by civil society actors in order to articulate, protect, or advance migrants' interests by means of legal mobilization, and what role do (semi-)professional organizations and their networks with other actors play to facilitate such practices? By analyzing actors, arenas, and activities of legal mobilization, the presentation elucidates the legal and civic infrastructures of humanrightization.

The contribution is based on different conceptual and empirical sources. It compares findings from Leila Kavar's seminal work on legal activism in France and the USA with recent case studies by Lisa Hahn on strategic litigation in Germany on the topic of family reunification. We juxtapose them with results from our own empirical investigation of the legal mobilization of human rights by civil society actors in conflicts over the production and interpretation of provisions of German migration law, such as the Asylum Seekers' Benefits Act (*Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz*). Those have not only highlighted the paramount importance of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) but also of (citation) networks among NGOs, lawyers, as well as academics for the humanrightization of German migration law.

The analysis of our findings yields significant implications for the theory of humanrightization. It demonstrates how the mutual support of legal and civic human rights infrastructures creates a space of possibilities, making it more likely that migrants' interests are both articulated at all as well as conceived of as human rights issues. It also highlights the untapped emancipatory potential of the legal reception of UN human rights treaties on the domestic level – yet another body of law that may function as a condition of possibility for human rights claims in migration-related conflicts.

Humanrightization as *living law*, Human Rights Consciousness or as Structure of Feeling (Greta Olson)

One aspect of what the MeDiMi research group refers to as "humanrightization" (*Ver-menschenrechtlichung*) – the advance of human rights discourse in all aspects of life – comprises the analysis of the subjective state that individuals and groups in migration societies

have when they make human rights arguments or undertake actions that assume the presence and/or validity of human rights. Describing how to conceptualize this human rights mindset or the subjective state of humanrightization as well as how people come to it is the purpose of this talk. I outline three models that can be used to explain the emergence of a human rights mindset: one, as the result of living law; two, as human rights consciousness; and, three, as a human rights structure of feeling. I then explicate case studies resulting out of current MeDiMi research that offer evidence for these models.

Bios

Jürgen Bast: see Session B

Adriana Kessler is a Research Associate and doctoral candidate in the MeDiMi project "Human Rights Transformations of German Migration Law." She studied law in Germany and France and is co-founder and board member of *JUMEN e.V. – Legal Human Rights Work in Germany*. Her research interests lie in fundamental and human rights protection, international and European law, and migration law. She has published in *Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR)*, *Zeitschrift für Menschenrechte (zfmr)*, and *MenschenRechtsMagazin (MRM)*, among others.

Greta Olson is Director of the Center for Diversity, Media, and Law and Professor of American and British Literature and Cultural Studies at the University of Giessen. She is Principal Investigator of a project on images of migration and human rights in the MeDiMi research group. Greta was Fellow at the Käte Hamburger Center "Law as Culture" in Bonn (2014, 2016), was general editor of the *European Journal of English Studies (EJES)* from 2010 until 2025, and is, with Jeanne Gaakeer, co-founder of the European Network for Law and Literature. Recent publications include *Law, Narrative, Narratology: Interdisciplinary Essays* (NYU P 2026), co-edited with Simon Stern; the co-edited *Law and Critique / Recht und Kritik* (2025); *Diversity Issues in the U.S.A.: Transnational Perspectives on the 2024 Presidential Elections* (2024), co-edited with Melanie Kreitler; *Feelings about Justice/Law: The Relevance of Affect to the Development of Law in Pluralistic Legal Cultures*, co-edited with Franz Reimer and Thorsten Keiser, and the monograph *From Law and Literature to Legality and Affect* (OUP 2022).

Anuscheh Farahat is a Professor of Public Law in European Context at the University of Vienna. Previously, she was a Professor of Migration Law and Human Rights Law at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. Since 2026, she is a PI in the DFG-funded Cluster of Excellence "Transforming Human Rights" (EXC 3039) at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. Between 2017 and 2024, she headed an Emmy-Noether research group on the role of constitutional courts in transnational solidarity conflicts in Europe, funded by DFG. Since 2023, she has been a Max Planck Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle with her project "JUST MIGRATION: Labour migration regimes in transnationalised contexts". Anuscheh studied law in Frankfurt, Paris and Berkeley. She received her PhD in law from Goethe University Frankfurt. Her book on migrant citizenship and transnational migration in Germany (*Progressive*

Inklusion: Zugehörigkeit und Teilhabe im Migrationsrecht, Springer Verlag, 2014) received multiple awards. Anuscheh Farahat publishes widely on issues of European and international migration law, citizenship law, human rights law and constitutional law (both European and national), with a specific focus on solidarity conflicts.

Session E • Plenary Event: “Consequences of Humanrightization”

Participants

- *Laura Holderied*, University of Giessen: “The Ambivalences of Human Rights Discourse and Inclusion/Exclusion in Migration Societies”
- *Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez*, University of Frankfurt: “Contesting Structural Dehumanization: Human Rights and Alternative Semantics of Justice in Political Protests of Self-Organized Migrant Groups”
- *Benjamin Bunk*, University of Giessen: “Human Rights Semantics and Universal Notions of Justice in the Professional Everyday”
- Invited Discussant: *Vicki Squire*, University of Warwick
- Chair: *Mina Ibrahim*, University of Giessen (bio here)

Abstracts

[The Ambivalences of Human Rights Discourse and Inclusion/Exclusion in Migration Societies \(Laura Holderied\)](#)

The paper examines the ambivalences of human rights discourse by focusing on the relation between human rights references and inclusion/exclusion in migration societies. It departs from the assumption that humanrightization – the mobilization of human rights norms, semantics, and tropes in migration-related conflicts – does not necessarily lead to an increase in migrants’ inclusion. Instead, the paper suggests approaching human rights discourse in migration societies more openly: as a meaning-making process that can create a discursive space for both the inclusion and exclusion of migrants. While the meaning of human rights might appear fixed – anchored, for example, through the principles of universality, fundamentality, and subjectivity – questions regarding the scope and application of human rights in the context of migration are highly contested. This indeterminacy creates space for human rights meaning-making. From this perspective, the meaning and scope of the human rights of migrants are being constantly re-produced and re-negotiated in discourses and other practices.

Developing the theoretical perspective of “human rights-in-use,” the paper presents a framework to analyze human rights discourse in migration societies as a situated process of meaning-making. By analyzing how state actors make human rights relevant in the context of migration and border governance in Europe, the presentation explores how actors in migration societies shape the meaning of human rights and discusses the consequences this has for the inclusion/exclusion of migrant(ized) Others. Based on an analysis of policy discourses and policy documents, the paper identifies three patterns of human rights-in-use: human rights borderwork, human rights hierarchizing, and human rights lip service. More concretely, it illustrates

how human rights references, at times, legitimate the exclusion of (certain) migrants by, first, specific framings of protection, second, intersecting human rights logics with dominant understandings of humanity and racialized logics, and, third, framing the fulfilment of human rights as external to Europe and the responsibility of third countries.

By drawing attention to the ambivalences of humanrightization the paper demonstrates that the consequences of human rights discourse for migration societies and the inclusion/exclusion of migrants are not straightforward, but highly contextual. As the paper argues, approaching the human rights and migration nexus from the lens of practice theory means that it always remains an empirical question if and how references to human rights – when entangled with other discourses and practices of the European border regime – can create conditions under which inclusion or exclusion becomes more or less possible. Doing so, the paper complements and nuances understandings of the consequences of humanrightization by going beyond discussions of the emancipatory potential of human rights and shedding light on the politics of rights in migration societies.

[Contesting Structural Dehumanization: Human Rights and Alternative Semantics of Justice in Political Protests of Self-Organized Migrant Groups \(Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez\)](#)

MeDiMi argues that actors in migration societies have increasingly referred to human rights in the context of migration since the 1990s and continue to do so in current times. This argument, however, does not imply that this increased thematization goes hand in hand with a progressive realization of migrants' human rights. In this paper, we discuss the way self-organized refugee and migrant groups address the continuous impossibility of human rights realization and intervene in the processes of humanrightization. Our discussion is based in analysis of digital archives of self-organized groups based in Germany and field research conducted along the US-Mexico border. Through the analysis of three dominant discursive strands in political work of refugee and migrant groups – isolation, violence, and solidarity – we examine the way principles and frameworks of justice and dignity are used to a) emphasize and reactualize the universality as the grounding moral principle of human rights, and b) critique and complicate liberal notions of human rights from a decolonial perspective.

[Human Rights Semantics and Universal Notions of Justice in the Professional Everyday \(Benjamin Bunk\)](#)

One of the key goals of the MeDiMi project is to understand the interplay of human rights discourse with other inclusionary semantics of justice. This perspective is particularly relevant in local contexts and everyday life, where we often encounter implicit human rights references – in MeDiMi's terminology: "human rights tropes and narratives" instead of references to explicit "human rights semantics." This paper explores the difficulties of identifying this type of implicit references in everyday discursive practice and in distinguishing a human rights language from other universalist normative frameworks.

For this purpose, we turn to the professional context of social work and the relevance of human rights as an ethical maxim for practitioners in this field. The contribution focuses on the subjective biographical aspect of humanrightization. In our empirical data, we observe what we call bottom-up processes of human rights consciousness formation. The ethical attitudes of the social workers in our studies have developed throughout their lives alongside their professional careers. Consequently, these attitudes are rooted in both their everyday experiences and their professional practices. Social workers speak a pedagogical language that stems from a helping profession, which is not (yet) itself human rights-based, but draws from a multiplicity of normative sources. The actors' attitudes are embedded in a broad field of ethical orientations, making it difficult to attribute the self-legitimization of their actions to any one specific normative framework. A shift towards a human rights-based discourse in a narrower sense can only be identified where human rights semantics are explicitly employed in these actors' discursive practice. However, we show that their language is *highly compatible* with human rights semantics and norms, especially in the field of migration-related work.

In summary, the paper nuances the theory of humanrightization by interpreting the "doing" of human rights in the everyday life of migration societies as a process where human rights consciousness emerges from a complex blending of human rights norms with plural, more general notions of (in)justice, care, and assistance.

Bios

Laura Holderied: see Session B

Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez is a Professor of Sociology with a focus on culture and migration at the University of Frankfurt and Principal Investigator in the MeDiMi project "Human Rights Discourse in Political Protests of Refugees and Undocumented Migrants in Germany and the US." She has been an early and staunch advocate of decolonial critique in the German-speaking world. Her publications include *Decolonial Mourning and the Caring Commons. Migration-Coloniality Necropolitics and Conviviality Infrastructure* (2023/24), *Migration, Domestic Work and Affect* (2010/11), and the co-edited *Palgrave Handbook of Critical Race and Gender* (2022).

Benjamin Bunk is a postdoctoral researcher in the MeDiMi project "Human Rights as Reference Point of Professional Ethics for Social-Educational Practice in Migration Societies" at the University of Giessen. Currently, he is acting as Substitute Professor of Social Pedagogy at the University of Wuppertal. His research interests include social movements and pedagogical movement research, political education and education for sustainable development, international youth work, and postcolonial social work and progressive education. His publications include the book *Bildung und Soziale Bewegung. Die brasilianische Landlosenbewegung und das Weltsozialforum als Räume für Bildungsprozesse* (2018).

Vicki Squire is Professor of International Politics at the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, UK. She has over twenty years of experience of research with

mobile and displaced communities and is author of seven books and over fifty articles/book chapters. Vicki has undertaken research and led research projects across multiple sites and regions, including the UK, the Balkans, the Mediterranean, the Mexico-US border region and sub-Saharan Africa. She is currently Lead Investigator of the Data Literacies in Displacement and Humanitarian Settings project (2024–2027) and has recently published *Making and Un-making Global Citizenship* (2025, Edinburgh University Press).

Session F • Panel F1: “Belonging Claims”

Participants

- *Kathrin Hamenstädt*, University of Birmingham: “The Problematic Nexus Between Migrants’ Rights and Migrants’ ‘Value’: A Critical Discussion of the UK’s Earned Settlement Scheme”
- *Tatiana Margalitadze*, University of Tuscia, Viterbo: “Who Speaks for ‘The People’? Migration, Constitutional Identity, and Demographic Governance”
- *Barbara von Rütte*, University of Bern: “Rights’ Reversal: Integration Requirements and Human Rights in Swiss Migration Law”
- Chair: *Laura Goller*, University of Giessen (bio here)

Abstracts

The Problematic Nexus Between Migrants’ Rights and Migrants’ “Value”: A Critical Discussion of the UK’s Earned Settlement Scheme (Kathrin Hamenstädt)

In 2025 the UK Government announced the “biggest overhaul of legal migration model in 50 years”, and prides itself on establishing the toughest settlement scheme in Europe. The government emphasises that “illegal migrants and arrivals reliant on benefits face waiting between 20 and 30 years to settle”. The new scheme, aptly called “earned settlement” by the Government, prioritises the worthiness and usefulness of the “human capital” a migrant brings to the country, and establishes hierarchies of migrants along the lines of “value”. The general waiting time for settlement, which is currently five years, is increased to ten years, and the “near automatic” access to settlement is replaced by a system where migrants have to prove “meaningful contribution to UK society”. Those who can make a meaningful contributions see their waiting time for settlement shortened, those with “undesirable features” will have their waiting times increased and might find themselves in legal precarity for decades. Settlement operates as a gatekeeper, as it determines who can access or successfully invoke certain rights. Migrants without settlement find themselves in legal precarity (UKSC, *Rhuppiah v SSHD*), which limits the successful invocation of Article 8 ECHR to exceptional cases (ECtHR, *Jeunesse*). Settlement grants non-nationals an unconditional and unlimited right to reside in the UK and gives its holders access to the labour market (right to work) and public funds (social assistance, social housing etc.). Conversely immigrants without settlement, who claim benefits for more than 12 months, will see their waiting time for settlement increased to 20 years.

Who Speaks for “The People”? Migration, Constitutional Identity, and Demographic Governance (Tatiana Margalitadze)

In recent years, migration debates in Europe have increasingly been framed as questions of protecting “the people,” national identity, and demographic continuity. Governments and constitutional actors argue that democratic self-government includes the right to preserve the cultural and demographic composition of the political community. These claims raise a fundamental question: can majoritarian self-definition justify limiting universal human rights in migration governance?

This paper examines the emerging notion of “demographic sovereignty” within European migration conflicts. While human rights law is based on the protection of individuals regardless of nationality or origin, constitutional identity claims emphasize collective self-determination and the authority of a people to shape their future. The tension between these two approaches has become evident in constitutional reasoning and political rhetoric concerning relocation, border control, and asylum obligations.

Through a doctrinal analysis of Article 4(2) TEU and selected constitutional court reasoning, most notably in Hungary, situated within broader variations in constitutional responses across Europe, the paper explores how demographic protection is framed as a constitutional value. Rather than openly rejecting human rights, these arguments seek to redefine the boundaries of inclusion and the limits of supranational authority.

The paper argues that migration has become an area of intense dispute, where competing understandings of democracy confront one another: one based on universal rights, the other on majoritarian constitutional self-determination. This conflict reshapes the meaning of belonging and challenges the future role of human rights in European migrant societies.

Rights’ Reversal: Integration Requirements and Human Rights in Swiss Migration Law (Barbara von Rütte)

Integration has been one of the dominant paradigms in European migration law in recent years. Migrants are asked to acquire language skills, participate in the labor market, comply with civil obligations or refrain from criminal conduct in order to access or retain certain rights. Increasingly, integration frameworks also demand loyalty to the state. Although such requirements have been widely criticized, states continue to expand them, often invoking the language of human rights to compel non-citizens to adhere to purportedly liberal values.

Taking Switzerland as a case study, this contribution analyses how the integration requirement of respecting the values of the constitution in Swiss migration law reconfigures the concept of human rights. Non-citizens are expected to respect certain fundamental rights as a condition for improving their residence status or obtaining citizenship. This development has a threefold effect: at the individual level, it subjects non-citizens to ideological and behavioral expectations that touch upon inner convictions and go beyond the threshold of legally prohibited conduct applicable to citizens. At the state level, it shifts the responsibility for respecting, protecting

and fulfilling human rights from the state to the (migrant) individual. At the societal level, it fosters the presumption that human rights violations are imported by migrants rather than rooted in domestic structures. This dynamic, the contribution argues, reverses the very idea of human rights as inalienable rights of individuals – regardless of nationality or migration status – against the state. In doing so, it negates the emancipatory potential of human rights in a migration context.

Bios

Kathrin Hamenstädt is a DAAD-Lecturer/Assistant Professor in Law at the University of Birmingham (UK). She has previously worked at the University of Leiden (NL), Brunel University London (UK), King's College London (UK), and Maastricht University (NL). Her research focuses broadly on EU and UK migration law and citizenship law, fundamental rights, and comparative constitutional law. Currently she teaches EU law, German constitutional law, and German private law. Selected publications: *The Margins of Discretion in Transnational Administrative Acts. Expulsion Decisions and Entry Bans following a Criminal Conviction*, Hart Publishing 2022; "Legal Othering and the UK's Hostile Environment Policy", in: P. Melin, S. Schoenmaekers, S. Carrera & Y. Michielsen (Eds.) *The Art of Moving Borders, Liber Amicorum Hildegard Schneider*, The Hague: Eleven International Publishing 2022, pp. 227–241.

Tatiana Margalitadze is Head of Advocacy at the Georgian Development Foundation (GDF) and a lawyer and mediator with over 15 years of experience in human rights, legal reform, and policy development. She is a member of the Georgian Bar Association and its Labour Law Committee, as well as the Mediators Association of Georgia. She is currently a Master's student in Security and Human Rights at the University of Tuscia, Italy. Her work focuses on migration, protection of vulnerable groups, and alignment of national legislation with EU standards. She is the author and co-author of publications on human rights and migration.

Barbara von Rütte is an Assistant Professor for migration law at the Center for Migration Law of the University of Bern (Switzerland). Her research focuses on migration law, with a particular focus on nationality, statelessness and belonging, as well as on international human rights law and the law of diverse societies. She has published widely on Swiss migration law, nationality and statelessness and migrant's right under the ECHR. Her monograph *The Human Right to Citizenship. Situating the Right to Citizenship within International and Regional Human Rights Law* has been published with Brill in 2022. She is a member of the Federal Commission on Migration advising the Swiss government on migration issues.

Session F • Panel F2: "Activist Practices"

Participants

- *Pascale El Moussobaa*, University of Giessen/GCSC: "Embodying Protest, Building Agency: Exploring Middle Eastern Migrants' Political Lives and Subjectivities in Berlin City"
- *Lena Laube & Maria Ullrich*, University of Bonn: "Making Human Rights Visible at Sea: On the Intervention of Civil SAR in the Mediterranean Border Regime"
- Chair: *Slađana Branković*, University of Frankfurt (bio here)

Abstracts

Embodying Protest, Building Agency: Exploring Middle Eastern Migrants' Political Lives and Subjectivities in Berlin City (Pascale El Moussobaa)

The arrival of Middle Eastern migrants to Germany in 2015 provides new opportunities to study the lives of Middle Eastern migrant activists, allowing for an in-depth exploration of their political lives, as well as their claims and grievances within the German context. So far, research on newly arrived migrants has centered on the refugee "crisis" with much of the analysis being done through the lens of methodological nationalism, which alleviates the nation state to a sole unit of inquiry, muting migrant voices. Additionally, in much of the prevailing discourse, migrants are largely presented as refugees, disenfranchised victims, or criminals, but not as politically emancipated subjects with rich lives of their own. Specifically, Middle Eastern migrants remain underrepresented in literature on protest movements, although they are engrained in diaspora scholarship and studies on transnationalism. This research project centers on eight activists from the Middle East, with backgrounds from Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Palestine. Initially politically active in their home countries, these activists have expanded their engagement by participating in diverse protest initiatives in Germany after relocating. The study draws on the biographical journeys of these activists as they navigate their political subjectivities. The objective is to delve into their roles as activists, encompassing both past and ongoing efforts in resource mobilization. By exploring how they do activism and how they become an activist, this investigation seeks to clarify the implications of this process on their understanding of agency and self. It also seeks to understand how resource mobilization and being an activist is shaped by different social contexts.

Making Human Rights Visible at Sea: On the Intervention of Civil SAR in the Mediterranean Border Regime (Lena Laube & Maria Ullrich)

Search and Rescue (SAR) NGOs have emerged as prominent actors in contesting the violent practices in the Mediterranean border regime. By documenting human rights violations at sea,

SAR NGOs make these violations visible and demand public accountability. Through their involvement in rescue operations, they demonstrate that respect for human rights is possible – also at Europe’s borders. We argue that this dual function – exposing human rights violations and enacting human rights – strengthens their legitimacy and enhances their capacity to mobilize broader societal support for border practices that are grounded in human rights. Drawing on qualitative interviews with SAR NGOs and their support networks in Italy, Germany and Spain, conducted within the ZivDem research project (2022–2026), our presentation highlights the interplay between human rights claims, concrete border interventions, and practices of visibilization. We also take a critical look at the risks of making individual mobility practices visible in order to claim legal protection. Therewith, we contribute to current debates on the politics of human rights by demonstrating how civil SAR actors bridge the gap between normative human rights discourses and their practical implementation.

Bios

Pascale El Moussobaa is a Doctoral Researcher in Cultural Sociology at Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen. Drawing on person-centered ethnography and biographical-narrative methods, her current research examines how Middle Eastern migrants in Berlin develop political agency across different social and spatial contexts. Pascale holds an M.A. in Research Training in the Social Sciences from Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Her academic trajectory is informed by over a decade of professional experience in the non-profit and communications sectors, including recent work with IOM, the UN Migration Agency.

Lena Laube is a Sociologist and Senior Researcher at Forum Internationale Wissenschaft at the University of Bonn. Together with Mareike Gebhardt, she is PI of the research group on SAR activism in the Mediterranean “ZivDem” (funded by Gerda Henkel Foundation). Moreover, she is part of a transdisciplinary project “Reflexivity in (forced) migration studies” at University of Bonn. Her research focuses on International Political Sociology, mobility and border studies, refugee studies and comparative research on democracies. She holds a PhD from Bremen University, where she studied border regime change and the externalization of border controls.

Maria Ullrich is Postdoc Fellow at Forum Internationale Wissenschaft at the University of Bonn. She is member of the research group “ZivDem” and co-founder of the Bonn Platform for Forced Migration Studies. She is a social scientist and her research focuses on citizenship, migration, and borders in contemporary Europe. Maria studied European Studies and Political Science at the Universities of Passau, Bonn, and Naples. She wrote her doctoral thesis (in German) at the University of Siegen on citizenship practices of refugees in the German reception context.

Scheduled Participant

Humanrightizing Structural Impunity: The Permanent Peoples' Tribunal and the Limits of International Criminal Law in Migration Governance (Nuran Akcan)

When formal legal institutions fail to respond to systematic harm, how do civil society actors mobilize human rights to claim authority, name responsibility, and demand remedies? This paper examines the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal's (PPT) 2017–2020 sessions on the rights of migrants and refugee peoples as a case study in humanrightization from below, a practice in which non-state actors deploy human rights language, evidentiary form, and juridical reasoning to challenge governance arrangements that produce predictable violence, including mass deaths at sea, detention abuse, and the systematic exclusion of migrants from legal protection. The paper takes European migration governance as its primary object, tracing how the PPT's hearings across Palermo, Barcelona, Brussels, and Berlin transformed individual testimonies and documented patterns of harm into a collective legal claim. The Tribunal's category of "system crimes" reframes human rights demands from individual remedies into calls for structural repair and redistribution, what the paper terms corrective distributive justice. The relative absence of accountability within international criminal law serves as the background condition that explains why this alternative forum emerged and why its rights-mobilization practices matter. The paper concludes by reflecting on the emancipatory potential and institutional fragility of humanrightization when it operates without binding legal force amid a restrictive turn and human rights backlash, and asks what such counter-institutional practices reveal about the current limits and possible futures of rights-based advocacy in migration societies.

Nuran Akcan: I am an independent researcher and human rights lawyer based in Iğdır, Turkey, where I practice primarily on documentation, detention, and procedural rights issues affecting Afghan migrants, including applications to the Turkish Constitutional Court and the European Court of Human Rights. I am a member of the Human Rights Commission at Iğdır Bar Association. I hold two masters degrees in international law from Melbourne Law School – a Master of Public International Law and a Master of Laws – and have previously held a research fellowship in international law. During my time in Melbourne, I worked as a paralegal at the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre on protection visa applications and contributed to policy submissions to Australian parliaments. My research examines how international law and international institutions produce hierarchy in the name of order, and how that hierarchy gets translated into technical legal standards that sort who belongs, who is protected, and who is held responsible, with a focus on Europe and Türkiye. I am a prospective PhD candidate examining Ottoman-Turkish governance and how early nineteenth-century international legal doctrines of the "standards of civilisation" were internalised into state and legal structures.

Session F • Panel F3: “Actors and Experiences”

Participants

- *Daniel Mekonnen*, independent researcher, Geneva: “From ‘Liberal Bastions’ to Norm Breakers: The ‘Human Rights Backlash’ in the Global North and its Implication on the Future of International Refugee Law”
- *Aleksandra Ancite-Jepifánova*, Refugee Law Initiative, University of London: “Temporalising Genocide: From Protection to Deportation in the Case of Iraqi Yazidis in Germany”
- Chair: *Leon Züllig*, University of Giessen (bio here)

Abstracts

From “Liberal Bastions” to Norm Breakers: The “Human Rights Backlash” in the Global North and its Implication on the Future of International Refugee Law (Daniel Mekonnen)

The steady growth in the total number of forcibly displaced persons (FDPs) across the globe has now emerged as one of the major challenges leading to an erosion of a “rules-based” international legal order, paving the way to disheartening withdrawals from “age-old” commitments to international human rights standards (Simoni 2026; de Haas et al 2023; Mekonnen 2024; International IDEA 2025; V-DEM 2025). In this emerging debacle, International Refugee Law (IRL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL), two inter-related sub-fields of Public International Law (PIL), are becoming among the primary victims of what is now known as a global challenge of “democratic backsliding” (International IDEA 2025; V-DEM 2025). There is a mushrooming academic literature in this regard, ranging from international relations to the jurisprudence of international law and other academic disciplines. The most articulate is academic literature belonging to the realm of Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAAIL), which seems to be increasingly embraced even by “scholars of Global North” – as seen most recently, for example, in the 2025 annual conferences of the European Society of International Law (ESIL) and the International Migration Research Network (IMISCOE). However, much of the academic discourse in this regard is disproportionately dominated by perspectives emanating from the “learned” experience of forced displacement. In this contribution, based on his “lived” experience of forced displacement, and prolonged engagement in “intellectual activism,” the author presents some critical and relatively fresher insights examining the future of IRL and IRHL, doing this from a phenomenological point of view, as opposed to a strictly doctrinal or positivist approach.

Temporalising Genocide: From Protection to Deportation in the Case of Iraqi Yazidis in Germany (Aleksandra Ancite-Jepifánova)

This paper examines the implications of temporal limits in European refugee and human rights law in cases of genocide, an extreme form of group-based persecution. The case of Iraqi Yazidis

- a non-Muslim religious minority native to northern Iraq subjected to ISIS's genocide in 2014
- offers a paradigmatic example in this regard.

Between 2014 and 2017, Germany, which now hosts the largest Yazidi diaspora outside Iraq, granted asylum to more than 90% of Iraqi Yazidi applicants. Following ISIS's territorial defeat, however, German authorities concluded that group-based persecution had ceased, effectively establishing a temporal cut-off for genocide for asylum purposes. Since 2018, protection rates have declined sharply, and in 2023 deportations to Iraq began.

Adopting an interdisciplinary approach, the paper combines doctrinal analysis of German and EU asylum law with interviews conducted in Iraq with deported Yazidis. It argues that asylum law reclassifies genocide survivors as "ordinary" migrants once persecution is deemed legally over, thereby overlooking the enduring consequences of genocide. A decade after the attack on Sinjar, more than 100,000 Yazidis remain displaced in IDP camps in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, which is not their area of origin, and are unable to return due to destruction, trauma, and insecurity.

The paper contends that refugee protection frameworks currently lack a mechanism to account for post-genocide vulnerability, thereby enabling deportations into conditions shaped by the very crime international law recognises as exceptional. In doing so, current legal frameworks risk reinforcing cycles of displacement, family separation, and prolonged limbo that hinder post-genocide recovery.

Bios

Daniel Mekonnen is a Geneva-based Independent Researcher and Consultant working in the areas of IHRL and IRL. He sits at the Editorial Board of the *International Journal of Refugee Law* (Oxford University Press), and the Executive Committee of the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM), the secretariat of which is hosted at the Centre for Refugee Studies, York University. This abstract emanates from an ongoing research project of the author on "phenomenological reflections on the study of forced displacement."

Aleksandra Ancite-Jepifánova is an interdisciplinary legal scholar specialising in conflict, displacement, and human rights, with a particular focus on refugee and asylum law. She holds a PhD in Law from Queen Mary University of London and is currently a FFVT Fellow at the Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies (BICC), a Senior Research Associate at the Refugee Law Initiative (University of London), and a Research Affiliate at the Democracy Institute of Central European University. Her research combines legal analysis with empirical fieldwork and critically examines how crisis narratives reshape access to and termination of refugee protection in Europe. She has conducted extensive research in the UK, Germany, Eastern Europe, and Iraqi Kurdistan, and publishes on post-genocide displacement, deportations, and the concept of migrant instrumentalisation at the EU's external borders.

Scheduled Participant

From Political Activism to Human Rights Advocacy: A Historical Analysis of the Kurdish Diaspora's Role in "Humanrightizing" the Kurdish Question (1979–Present) (Delzar Sadiq)

This paper explores the historical transformation of the Kurdish national struggle from a framework of territorial political resistance into a discourse centered on universal human rights – a process defined by the MeDiMi research group as "humanrightization." Focusing on the period following the 1979 Iranian Revolution and the subsequent waves of migration from the MENA region to Europe, the study analyzes how Kurdish political actors and diaspora organizations mobilized human rights as a normative resource. By employing a multidisciplinary approach that combines historical archival analysis with discourse theory, the research examines how the "Kurdish Question" was reframed within international legal and moral-political claims. It investigates the conditions under which Kurdish migrants shifted their semantics of justice from revolutionary rhetoric to human rights language to challenge exclusionary practices and state-led marginalization. Furthermore, the paper discusses the consequences of this shift, highlighting how the mobilization of human rights has provided a discursive space for inclusion in migration societies while simultaneously facing the challenges of "human rights backlash" in contemporary European politics. This contribution offers a unique perspective on how a non-state nation utilizes human rights to navigate the complexities of belonging and legal struggles in a globalized world.

Delzar Sadiq: I am a dedicated academic historian and a Lecturer at Salahaddin University, Erbil, Iraq. I earned my Ph.D. in History in 2023, specializing in the modern political and social history of Iran and Kurdistan. My research focuses on political party formation, multilingual archival studies, and social movements. I have extensive experience in academic administration, having served as Deputy Head of the History Department and Director of the College of Arts Library. I am an active member of the Royal Historical Society (RHS) and have a proven record of scholarly publications and international academic engagement.

Session F • Panel F4: "Everyday Practices"

Participants

- *Stefano Angeleri*, University of Limerick: "Seeds of Praxis: Human Rights Education with Community Health Leaders in Marginalized Migrant and Host Communities"
- *Steffi Colao*, University of Hamburg: "Anticipating the Risks of CEAS: Looking to the U.S. from Germany"
- *Tasnim Jabaly & Sebastian Weste*, University of Marburg/MeDiMi: "Vernacularization of Human Rights in Public Places"
- Chair: *Maria Hartmann*, University of Marburg (bio here)

Abstracts

[Seeds of Praxis: Human Rights Education with Community Health Leaders in Marginalized Migrant and Host Communities \(Stefano Angeleri\)](#)

Amid persistent obstacles to the realisation of Venezuelan migrants' rights in Colombia, recent years have witnessed the growth of intersectoral initiatives, including human rights education (HRE) programmes targeting social leaders from diverse national backgrounds to foster empathic solidarity. This article examines one such intervention aimed at strengthening the legal literacy of 15 coalitions of Community Health Workers (CHWs) across the country: a non-formal workshop series that reached 450 participants between 2022 and 2024. These community brokers act as lay health promoters but have also the potential to act as both indirect and direct human rights defenders in Colombia. Through their everyday work, they address key social determinants of health while defending rights from positions of care and close community proximity. Drawing on qualitative analysis of pedagogical materials grounded in emancipatory education, participant-produced artefacts, field observations, and survey data, the study evaluates whether the trainings fulfilled core HRE functions: fostering empowerment through knowledge-building, empathy and care, and action-oriented leadership, as well as generating ripple effects within their multinational communities. Combining critical pedagogy and popular education with a social rights framework, the findings largely affirm these contributions, highlighting a dialogical, solidarity-driven approach with tangible impacts. At the same time, the research identifies important limitations relating to specific actors and structures, particularly the difficulty of moving from individual support toward collective advocacy and the need for more sustained engagement with participatory mechanisms.

[Anticipating the Risks of CEAS: Looking to the U.S. from Germany \(Steffi Colao\)](#)

My paper will be a selection from my doctoral dissertation, *Lawyering through Crisis: Experiencing the Risks of Legal Activism*. My project interrogates the affective experience of risk as

negotiated by activist lawyers, or lawyers who view their work as an effort to change or resist certain government policies. Focusing on German and U.S. legal organizations working within the migration justice movement, I look at how activist lawyers respond to legal landscapes that are in crisis from extreme far-right changes. As these lawyers try to represent their clients and causes within a space that is becoming rapidly unpredictable, they must constantly assess the risks of their work: to their clients, to migrant communities, to the migration justice movement, and to themselves. I am curious how lawyers in the U.S. (primarily California) and Germany are approaching escalating (and similar) attacks on the human rights of migrants, investigating ways collaboration might be helpful.

For this conference, I will present a paper that 1) presents and reflects on my methodological approach to legal ethnography as a lawyer; 2) applies this approach to one element of the escalating restrictions on migration: Germany's implementation of CEAS, in advance of which many legal organizations are already preparing strategic legal work. I will evaluate how lawyers are experiencing these changes and the risks these pose. Here, I will also reflect on how my own positionality as a U.S. immigration lawyer influences my research, given the way part of these reforms risk following U.S. practices of detention.

Vernacularization of Human Rights in Public Places (Tasnim Jabaly & Sebastian Weste)

Our talk develops an empirically grounded theory of the category "human-being" (dt. "Mensch") in social interaction. It centers on the observation that this category is interactively made relevant in situations of fractured belonging. The category "human-being" points beyond institutionalized role expectations and thus opens up spaces for self-presentation. The talk argues that it thereby unfolds an interactive protective function, which can be paralleled with Luhmann's concept of human dignity as the right to self-representation. This function does not arise from legal norms, but from an ambiguity that resists particular ascriptions. From this perspective, the category "human" appears as an interactively generated figure of difference that, in structural coupling with the legal system, constitutes an everyday precondition for the addressability of human rights claims.

Bios

Stefano Angeleri. I am a socio-legal scholar and educator specialising in human rights, migration and health justice. Currently an assistant professor at the University of Limerick, I taught and conducted research across Ireland, United Kingdom, Italy, Colombia and the United States, gaining insight into how normative, social and personal contexts shape human rights education and practice. I held a two-year visiting scientist appointment (in person and remotely) at Harvard University, where I built a global network around the intersections of health and human rights. I lead interdisciplinary initiatives with academic and social impact in Latin American and European countries, also formerly as an MSCA Fellow and as EU's FRANET Ireland Lead. Currently General Coordinator of the Academic Network on the European Social Charter and Social Rights, my work bridges law, public health and social justice: In particular my research has

explored the meaning of preventive and primary health care approaches to health rights; the impact of sovereignty and power on the development and implementation of law for undocumented migrants, including persons with disabilities and mental health issues, and the role of human rights education and legal literacy in informal settings with marginalized communities.

Steffi Colao: I am a PhD researcher at Universität Hamburg in Ethnology and a California-barred immigration attorney, focusing on deportation and border violence. Most recently, I supported family reunification cases at IRAP Europe and pushback cases at ECCHR. I have also worked on removal defense, human rights complaints, and asylum cases in the U.S. and EU. I hold a J.D. in Critical Race Studies and International & Comparative Law from UCLA School of Law, 2023, and a B.A. in Geography from Dartmouth College, 2019. My most recent article, “No Right to Exclude: The European Union’s Reparative Migration Obligations” (41.1 AM. U. INT’L L. REV. (2026)), was published this winter.

Tasnim Jabaly is a Research Associate and PhD candidate at the Institute of Sociology at the University of Marburg, a member of the MeDiMi research group, and an affiliated member of the Center for Conflict Studies. In her doctoral project, she explores how belonging is negotiated in everyday life and the role human rights play in these processes. She holds a B.A. in Psychology and an M.A. in Sociology from the University of Wuppertal. Alongside her studies, she gained further research experience at the Institute for Social Research and Social Policy in Cologne. In addition, she has worked in various practice-oriented settings, including youth and social work as well as neighborhood-based project development. Her research interests include the sociology of knowledge, ethnography, conflict studies, and the sociology of human rights.

Sebastian Weste is a Research Associate and PhD candidate at the Institute for Sociology at the University of Marburg, a member of the MeDiMi research group, and an affiliated member of the Center for Conflict Studies. He obtained his bachelor’s degree in Social Work from the University of Applied Sciences and Arts Dortmund. Concurrently, he pursued an “Akademiestudium” in Cultural Studies at the FernUniversität in Hagen. He subsequently earned his master’s degree in Sociology, with a focus on the sociology of knowledge and practice theories, from the University of Marburg. His research interests are situated in the fields of sociology of everyday life, special sociology, ethnomethodology and human differentiation.

Session G • Roundtable: “The State of Migrants’ Human Rights in Europe and the US”

About the Roundtable

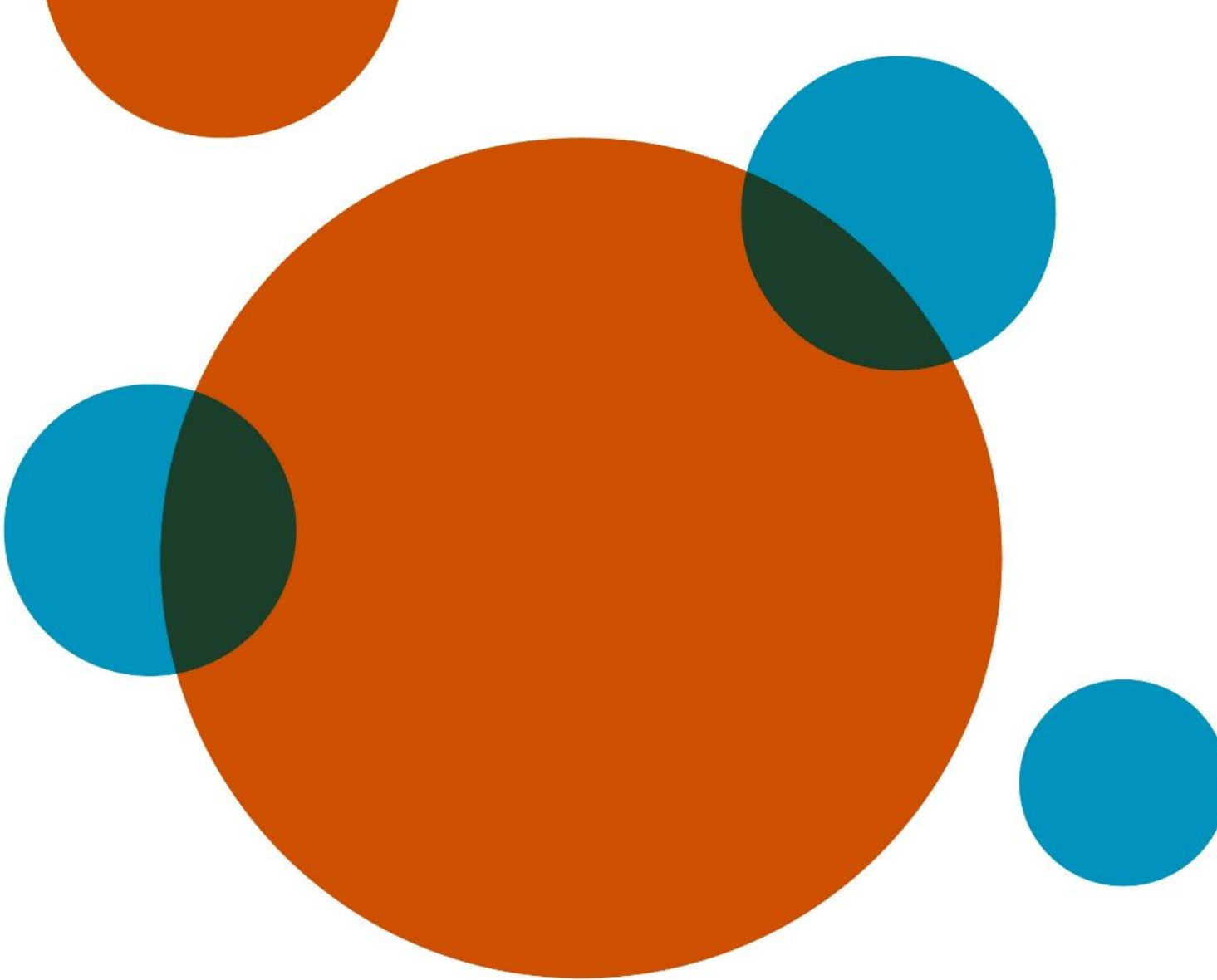
This session will discuss the human rights situation of migrants in Europe and the United States, with a focus on social movements and researchers advocating for migrants’ inclusion. It will also address overarching themes regarding legal, political, and everyday struggles that have emerged from the previous sessions.

Participants

Anuscheh Farahat: see Session D

Hiroshi Motomura is the Susan Westerberg Prager Distinguished Professor of Law and Faculty Co-Director of the Center for Immigration Law and Policy at the UCLA School of Law. He is the author of *Borders and Belonging* (Oxford 2025), *Immigration Outside the Law* (Oxford 2014), and *Americans in Waiting* (Oxford 2006). He is also co-author of the casebook *Immigration and Citizenship* (West 10th ed. 2026). He has received several university teaching awards and is one of 26 U.S. law professors profiled in *What the Best Law Teachers Do* (Harvard 2013). Hiroshi has testified in the US Congress, is a Nonresident Scholar of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and is a member of the International Migration Review editorial board. Hiroshi is also co-host of the podcast *Unsettled: Immigration in Turbulent Times* and is featured in the Try Guys video *The Try Guys Try Immigrating to America*.

Nina Perkowski is Assistant Professor of Sociology, with a focus on Violence and Security Studies, at the University of Hamburg. Her research interests lie in the sociology of (in)security, migration and border regime studies, urban sociology, and the study of futures and utopias. She is Principal Investigator of the project “Counter-Communities’ Protection Practices and Security Utopias in Catastrophic Times” (2026–2030) within DFG Research Unit 5870 “The Promise of Security in Catastrophic Times.” Since 2023, she has been a Young Academy Fellow of the Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Hamburg, where she also co-leads the project group “Futures, Utopias, and Dystopias.” She holds a PhD in Politics from the University of Edinburgh and previously coordinated the ESRC’s Mediterranean Migration Research Programme at the University of Warwick. She is the author of “Humanitarianism, Human Rights, and Security: The Case of Frontex” (Routledge 2021) and co-author, with Vicki Squire, Dallal Stevens, and Nick Vaughan-Williams, of “Reclaiming Migration: Testimonies Beyond Crisis” (Manchester University Press 2021). Her recent publications include “Radical Imagination and Vernacular Security: Creating Spaces for Alternative Security Futures” (International Political Sociology, 2025).



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