

Chapter 2

Scientific Diasporas, Migration and Development A Perspective from Philosophy and Political Theory¹

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When modern man fell to Earth and wanted to restructure all the relationships of immanence and transcendence from a vertical plane to a horizontal one, it was doubtlessly foreseen that a return to verticality was in the natural order of things. Nevertheless, those suppositions which suggest that the world is flat are now generally accepted by modern political imagination as being too limiting.

Walker, R. B. J., 2005

Contents

Introduction: choosing the “diaspora option”	
Sustainable development = sustainable scientific diasporas	24
<i>1. Diasporas, Scientific Diasporas, Development</i>	31
1.1 Diasporas in the Perspective of Philosophy and Political Theory	31
1.1.1 Diasporas – the Statelessness of Modernity in the 19th Century?	33
1.1.2 Political Ambiguity in the Concept of Diaspora Requires Intellectual Caution	39
1.1.3 Development Reveals an Ambiguity in Migration Policies of Scientific Diasporas	41
1.1.4 Globalisation of Human Capital, Internationalisation of Education, Academic Research and Scientific Diasporas	42
1.1.5 Scientific Diasporas and the <i>Cosmopolis</i> . The Preliminaries	46
<i>2. Globalisation, Development and Science</i>	48
2.1 Globalisation and History: Attempting to Divide History into Periods, Ruptures in History	48
2.2 The Theories of Liberalism, Justice and Development are Confronted by the New World Order and by Cognitive Capitalism	59

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2.3 Migration, Development, Human Rights in the New World Migration Order (NWMO)	65
2.3.1 Establishing Human Rights in Scientific Diasporas	66
2.3.2 Establishing Sustainable <i>Human</i> Development in Scientific Diasporas	68
2.4 Science, Migration and Development	78
2.4.1 Science, Technology, Diasporas and Scientific Diasporas	78
2.4.2 Legacies in Science and Technology and in the Research Field (Bourdieu)	80
2.4.3 Oral, Written and Linguistic Communications in Scientific Diasporas Communication	84
3. <i>Universality, Cosmopolis, Cosmo-political Citizenship</i>	86
3.1 Universal, Pluriversal, Hybridisation: Logic, History and Politics	87
3.1.1 Universal, Plurality, State. A Conflict Revealed by International Law	90
3.1.2 How Can we Become Universal, Mr Einstein?	98
3.2 Rethinking the Notion of National Borders (Balibar)	100
3.3 Movement, <i>Cosmopolis</i> , Cosmo-political Citizenship	104
3.3.1 <i>Cosmopolis</i> , Cosmopacifism, Hospitality	108
3.3.2 Choosing to Create Cosmo-political Citizenship	110
<i>Conclusion, Propositions</i>	
Thirteen Propositions for an Effective “Diaspora Option”	113

Summary

The very fact of accepting the “diaspora option” (Brown) assumes that the movement of scientists to other countries, the so-called diaspora of the best trained people throughout the world is a viable and logical response to our present global challenges. Using the research carried out by GIAN (Geneva International Academic Network) as a starting point, this present work analyses the links between scientific diasporas, migration and development in the light of philosophy and political theory. By closely examining and comparing many types of discussion on this topic – theoretical, economic, administrative, the opinions expressed in newspapers, the views dictated by common sense – it is possible to shine a discerning, critical light on the statements and interpretations of the various facts (Part I).

By sifting through the practices, constraints, data, ambiguities that crop up in policies devoted to diasporas, migration and development, it is possible to give a clearer picture of the problems that arise from: 1) the links between globalisation, development and science; 2) the key elements that guarantee human rights and sustainable development (Part II); 3) two new concepts that are mutually dependent and crucial both for the political holding environ-

ment³ of the global city and for analyzing scientific diasporas: namely, sustainable *human* development and cosmo-political citizenship.

These two concepts connected to imperative needs, to human aspirations and human rights, allow us to clarify what is at stake in the practice of scientific diasporas. In order for the *cosmopolis*, the global city, to become a reality it will be necessary later on to examine some basic concepts (universal, pluriversal, and questions of national borders) and the ways that the difficulties of universalist conflicts can be settled by international law. We have to show where, how and at what cost we can fit these two concepts into the traditions of philosophy and political theory – in spite of the fact that we will thereby be challenging these disciplines to transform themselves. In this way we can establish the place, the role and a feasible link between *cosmopolis*, cosmo-political citizenship, science/technology and sustainable *human* development. The text ends with thirteen propositions for research and for the scientific formation of scientific diasporas.

Key-words

Philosophy and political theory, movement, Universal, Pluriversal, State, *cosmopolis*, hybridity, hybridisation, “right to a city,” *mondialisation/globalisation*, sexual gender, migration, human capital, social capital, human rights, justice, common good, development, sustainable development, sustainable human development, power, action, exploitation, key participants in development, modernity, new world order, new world migration order, governance, work force, right to work, knowledge workers, enterprise/company, diasporas, diaspora option, scientific diasporas, science, technology, networks, hospitality, right to have rights, Kant, Arendt, citizenship, cosmo-political citizenship, boundaries/borders, democracy, translation, nation-state, belonging, soil, blood, partition, order, disorder, change, paradigm.

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3 In this chapter, according to the author’s desire, the French word *cadre* will be translated *holding* or *holding environment* in the sense of Winnicott (translator’s note).

Introduction⁴

Choosing the “Diaspora Option”

Sustainable Development = Sustainable Scientific Diasporas

This current GIAN (Geneva International Academic Network) project is an interdisciplinary research project under the auspices of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Lausanne (EPFL)⁵ with a strict timetable (14 months), adequate means and with precise practical objectives. The results will be incorporated into policies on migration, development, research, academic education and science and in institutional, academic and professional communities. These objectives reveal Switzerland’s involvement with three countries (Colombia, South Africa, and India),⁶ an impressive array of key players from various institutions or on site, which also includes migrant knowledge workers and associations of migrant researchers in networks linking Switzerland with other countries of the “South.” The theme: “A Swiss network of scientific diasporas to enforce the role of highly skilled migrants as partners in development” states in detail the cornerstone of the project, the key players in the setting up of the network, a clarification of the project’s objectives, questions that must be addressed, information that has to be gathered, points that need to be analysed, propositions that have to be drawn up. In the scientific diasporas’ approach, just as much emphasis is placed on transmigrant migrants (Glick Schiller et al., 1995) as on highly skilled professionals (Pecoraro, 2004), on the agents of development,⁷ on the connection between scientific development and international cooperation, on the role played by the public authorities.⁸ One can easily conjec-

4 The notes are intended to provide practical and precise help in: a) defining terms b) locating the text in a work that has been cited c) providing bibliographical tools for research.

5 The interdisciplinary research of GIAN is directed by Professor Jean-Claude Bolay (sociologist) at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Lausanne in collaboration with the ILO, and the universities of Geneva and Lausanne.

6 Russian, China, India, Japan, South Africa, South Korea, Brazil and Chile are the main countries that Switzerland works with to reinforce bilateral partnerships in the federal policy to foster education, research and innovation for the years 2008 to 2011.

7 On this subject see Appave Gervaix, “Diasporas as agents of development”, notes for presentation by IOM on the initial analysis of the questionnaires for the International Dialogue on Migration’s Intersessional Workshop, IOM; <http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/OFFICIALTXT/EN/iswmd_200502>.

8 Can we be satisfied with two program-questions put by a young researcher for a “clear vision of the future” in these terms: “What do politics and high schools want in terms of academic positioning in relation to other countries or at world-wide level? How can the State or a public-private partner favour funds supply in order to allow the researchers who leave the institutions with new patents, new techniques, to create a new business and go into the mar-

ture that the phenomenon of scientific diasporas owes just as much to the increased power of key protagonists who are not associated with particular countries as to the tensions between the power of the public sector and private interest as they are affected by this phenomenon. The project examines the relations developed by immigrant scientists in Switzerland⁹ with their three countries of origin (Colombia, India, and South Africa) in order to evaluate the scientific knowledge transferred by them to their country of origin (and conversely, the amount transferred by them from their country of origin to Switzerland).

What is hiding in the “brains,” the bodies – or rather we should say in the brains in the bodies (Rose, 1997) of millions of male and female workers, once we start observing the facts through the lenses of philosophy and political theory? Who are the brains, where are they, whom do they serve, what purpose do they serve in the various power relationships of production, of movement, in the use of knowledge in the new world order? In social studies why do speakers sometimes refer to knowledge workers in terms of *movement* more than *production and use* when this is clearly not supported by the English term *International knowledge production and circulation*? Is the ambiguity used deliberately to conceal the fact that they are making no distinction between scientific workers and bankers (start-up money, transferring capital, industrial parks etc.), the populations that will actually benefit or other phenomena? What part of the public and private funds that are transferred will benefit training and public research that are aimed at the basic good and protection of the planet?

Isn't appealing for the private capital (of the migrants) to help developing countries simply a way of substituting migrant money for foreign aid? What is the actual value of knowledge transferred from the South compared to the money we contribute in so-called foreign aid? What is the real place of migrant knowledge workers coming from the “South” in the globalised labour market and in the world cognitive capital (Moulier Boutang, 2007)? Are they mere *objects* of exchange, in other words *non-subjects* in international labour, exchange and social relations? We shall see that the answer to these questions lies precisely in the conceptualisation, the deployments and in the public and private tools that are shaping the construction of the new world order. The tension set up by the *brain drain-brain gain* syndrome defines the nature of unequal exchanges and power relations – not merely the movement, but also the production, the utilisation

ket?” Rydlo Alexandre, Assemblée d’Ecole, EPFL, *Etumag*, p. 11, December, 2007. See also the work of Benninghof and Leresche (2003), and of Joye-Cagnard (undated).

9 Within the context of scientific diasporas, it may be interesting to take into consideration the work of Swiss scientists who worked in these countries in a context of scientific development. See for example the report of Caloz (1975).

tion, the appropriation of knowledge. In short, it defines the cognitive capital produced by human beings (men and women) who are linked to the new systems, tools, technologies, institutions, countries, networks that shape our present-day globalisation.

We find ourselves in a holding environment of globalisation, an intentionally planned relationship between knowledge workers and networks, four nation-states (Switzerland, India, Colombia, South Africa), and international institutions (International Labour Organisation, ILO, International Organisation for Migration, IOM).

Considered from this angle, the theme poses specific questions about the project, about its home base (Switzerland) and about the established links (India, South Africa, Colombia). It asks general questions so that it can draw conclusions and it sets out thirteen concrete propositions. By putting forward two key concepts, my objective is to shed light on the complicated facets of problems related to political and philosophical life so as to broaden thought about science, migration and scientific diasporas. These constraints have had a large influence on my work (one month of research work). The research must be pursued. In this research, I am framing my question about scientific diasporas with the emphasis on its participants as agents and creators of development and international cooperation. Where are the essential cornerstones that inspire the participation, the allegiance, the powers, the opposing powers, the alternative mechanisms? And what stands in the way of setting them all into motion? How can we validate what is called mobility in scientific diasporas? What is its impact on the countries of origin and on the inequality that we see in the hierarchy between countries? (Meyer, 2001; Docquier, 2006) What weight is brought to bear by the nation-state system and by private transnational companies on the scientific diasporas within a framework of globalisation and geopolitics that is in a process of change? What are the consequences of the presence of empires that coexist side by side with the nation-state system in new forms of colonisation – we see this most markedly in the international scientific market? Does self-colonisation concern only the countries of the “South?”

How can we evaluate the role of emerging countries (China, India) that carry weight in world geopolitics and influence development in general and scientific and technical development, as soon as it is related to basic needs, human rights and sustainable development? As far as the assets of the EU and especially of Switzerland are concerned, which in the near future run the risk of seeing their relative influence diminish to the profit of the emerging countries' new powers as these are borne aloft by the financial storm (Plihon, 2004) and by new key players on the international scene, it is possible to hypothesise that Switzerland's involvement in the area of scientific diasporas could lead to a privileged role as a mediator (Balibar, 2003). Under what conditions could

such a role be developed once it is measured against the yardsticks of human rights and sustainable development?

From the perspective of philosophy and political theory, the notions of scientific diasporas, networks,¹⁰ partnership (RAWOO, 2001), migration, development have a direct bearing on the world, the holding environment, the type of political regime, on sovereignty and allegiance, on power, action, on the individual member of a country, on citizenship. What sort of political holding environment is desirable to connect individuals, peoples, minorities, nations as they move within this new climate of globalisation? Furthermore, what sort of connections and movements should there be between nation-states, Europe, other continents and the many various types of international entities (UN, transnational companies, NGO's, etc.)? In the world order, how strong is the influence of the hierarchy established between countries (poor, developing, emerging countries) in matters such as establishing lists, issuing visas, etc. that decide who should have access to education and research? Do we have to give it all the green light without another thought? What about the insoluble contradictions of statelessness in the 20th century described by Hannah Arendt when it comes to relationships between individuals, peoples, states, nations in the scientific diasporas? Would those who belong to scientific diasporas become today's stateless individuals? And if they were, in what way would they be stateless?

What is the relationship between citizen, state and the world? What is the connection between the world (*cosmos*) and politics (*polis*)? How are individuals, peoples, nations, states connected? To what elements and vital issues (political holding environment, sovereignty, territories, projects, subjects, etc.) are they connected? Such are the questions that we have to expect in a constantly evolving cosmopolitanism: the *cosmo-political citizenship* linked with *sustainable human development* at the frontiers of democracy (Balibar, 1992; Brubaker, 1989; Dowty, 1987). These are two key-concepts presented in this work. Seen from this perspective, the basic essentials demanded by scientific diasporas are the effective construction of a set of practices, the establishment of a universal and public right of access to education, research, knowledge, access to all the results and decisions of worldwide scientific policy.

So, what are the difficulties, the impediments – no, even the subversions – that are put in the way of such a collective construction for “sustainable” (Brundtland report) “human” (Amartya Sen) development and effective human rights? What place is still held by the nation-states political holding in

10 We think about Manuel Castells' work on networked societies (movement of persons and goods, information, migratory strategies and risk-taking, belonging and trust links, creation of informal institutions, etc.) (Castells, 1996).

diasporic relations of a scientific nature? To what extent are scientific diasporas participating in the creation of a “post-national” new world order? Who is a migrant when we speak about migration, about “scientific diaspora”; what are the conditions of migration for migrant knowledge workers? What is the role filled by migrant knowledge workers in their dual status as nomad migrants and members of diasporas? Do they belong to a community of migrants from their country or continent of origin or to an international/transnational community that has yet to be defined? What status (subject, citizenship) do members of networks hold in their countries of origin, their transit countries or in their countries of residence? What questions arise for them about allegiance, political participation in the broad sense, rights – and if so, allegiance to whom, participation in what political system? Are the new methods and tools (scientific policies for example) used by the networks and the diasporas leading the nation to a new place? Similarly, are we also witnessing the creation of new political organisations – and if so, which ones?¹¹ What new conceptions will develop, what justice (Della Porta, 2007) will be practised? What new concepts in property (common good, social capital), in migration policies, in development, in peace, in education, in research, in science? By using the experience of a cosmo-political citizenship, what role can scientific diasporas play in order to establish points of reference, practices connected to public rights? What are the implications of a political vision that claims to have its roots in the Universal, and in what Universal?

We shall see that the question of diasporas and in particular of scientific diasporas is interesting in that when it refers to the type of state defining the link between power and society, it envisages these states in diverse forms according to which part of the world they are located (Badie, 1997). The *brain drain* theories contain questions about defining what type of modernity; questions about desertion, injustice, appropriation, privatisation; questions about the transformation of the common good into special interests (the relationship between the private and public sectors, hierarchies between countries in policies that lead to a hierarchy of those who have access to education and science, the scientific needs of origin countries as the fruits of research production are lavished on the private sector, the status of the researchers, a different policy for patents, etc.) (Pestre, 2005). In the *diaspora option* theories (Brown, 2002) (Meyer and Brown, 1999), it is expressed in the positive term of creative action and development under certain conditions. In the two visions, we find a line of questioning about development in terms of ownership of human capital, raw materials, results, the fruit of education and research, the transformation of science and technology (universities, small- and medium-sized firms, start-up

11 For this discussion, see the work of Berthoumière and Chivallon (2006).

capital, technology parks, etc.) and cosmo-political citizenship. The active presence in Switzerland of men and women knowledge workers from the “South” changes the way we think here about migration, development, education, science, the technicalities of Swiss, European and origin country politics. Consequently, all of this has to be clarified. It is not at all evident that choosing the diaspora option is desirable to the countries of origin or the countries of residence or even to the majority of those involved in the process. How do the countries concerned with the research and its evaluation feel about it? Where can we find and record the models, the traditions, the ambiguities – even the tensions, and the contradictions?

What is said in the discourses¹² about migration, development, science and technology in the new world order when we examine them from the point of view of common good, human rights, sustainable development (knowledge, science, science policy)? What arguments do the Swiss and the international authorities put forward to ensure that the knowledge produced is made widely available, to encourage or discourage the spread of exchanges and scientific experiences of science researchers? What types of countries (northern or southern) do they propose and what practical guidelines for the use, the production, the movement of labour and the ownership of the results? To what extent do they take into consideration the nomadism of migrant workers, the effect of scientific diasporas, the nature of the communities where these migrant workers came from and the impact on these countries of origin, on the transit countries and on the countries where they now work? How can the so-called developing countries benefit from the work done by their relocated researchers and the fruits of these researchers? And of course we can ask the same questions about researchers from Switzerland or other countries who have relocated to other areas of international competition (Gaillard, 2002)? How is the principle of reciprocity applied in scientific construction (budgeting, hiring teachers,¹³

12 The making-up of a corpus (restricted time and means) takes into account all kinds of discourses about migration, diasporas, scientific diasporas and migration, development, education and science policies (administration, reviews, books, daily newspapers, media, etc.). Key theoretical concepts in political philosophy and political theory have been used as the guiding light of the observation and thought. Analyses have been integrated into the text and in the notes containing the selected quotations. One of the methods used in this work consisted in making an inventory of the key-concepts discovered in the discourses, giving a limited critical reflection on these concepts, searching for displacement so to be free of the more commonly-used conceptual yoke in order to see, think the order of the facts before our eyes from philosophy and political theory. Conceptual displacements, the search for a space of thinking and discourse tries to incorporate the practices of knowledge research workers who struggle for a place, a status, and to make their work and scientific projects heard.

13 The matter does not affect only “South” countries. 60% of the teachers at The Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH Zürich) are foreign, Universities (ZH, Geneva) 46%.

researchers, enrolling students)? How can “South” and “North” researchers work together in diasporic places that are yet to be invented? For instance, the internet promises a detachment from physical territory where we can hover in virtual reality at the click of a mouse, ignoring the real world.¹⁴ There will be novel tools and new ways of thinking, innovations in the way the world and space are perceived.

What counts most is the transformation of *brain drain*, *brain waste*,¹⁵ into *brain gain*, *brain exchange* (Pellegrino, 2002), seeing a new meaning in the old terms associated with the *diaspora option*: flight,¹⁶ exodus (Gaillard and Gaillard, 1997, 2002), exile, forms of violence, pillage; replacing them with optimistic terms like choice, projects, the chance for a real freedom to create, the free movement of migrant knowledge workers in the world of production, the circulation of knowledge (Nedelcu, 2004; Fibbi and Meyer, 2002) throughout the world connected to a sustainable development that is in the spirit of our human rights’ legacy, using the results and products to satisfy the basic needs of the countries of origin. These challenges are crying out to be transformed into a development project that is sustainable both individually and collectively. *Sustainable human development implies sustainable scientific diasporas in a global and finite political time and space (Kant) that conforms to what Hannah Arendt has called liberty and plurality.* In short, this is the challenge of a new paradigm that connects the *diaspora option* to our survival, our needs, our desires (Spinoza), to *human rights*, to *sustainable human development* and *cosmo-political citizenship*. It is possible to express conceptual breakthroughs and propositions that are useful for research by translating theoretical observations into practical proposals for physical actions and future research. In this sense, philosophy and political theory can make a modest contribution to the project.

14 A geography researcher questions the idea of the world growing smaller in relation with the virtual reality development. He shows that this thesis is refuted by trade figures: the impact of the distance from the markets, penalizing or profitable, is still as important as it was 30 years ago in Europe (Boulhol, 2008).

15 A lack of any possibility of updating competences and acquired qualifications is depreciating the scientific capital acquired by researchers.

16 A South-African researcher (Bailey) showed that the main causes of highly skilled migrants’ “flight” from South Africa are crime and violence and increasing poverty.

1. Diasporas, Scientific Diasporas, Development

Capital without work doesn't exist.¹⁷

The tool and technology are cultural expressions.¹⁸

In this first part, diasporas are viewed from the perspective of philosophy and political theory. Trends in the internationalisation of education, academic research and scientific diasporas are examined. To what extent do the diasporas contribute elements that will tackle difficulties or blocks in migration, development and science when the latter is considered for the public good? To what extent does an examination of the existence of diasporas allow us to supercede the closed, mechanical model of migrants merely going back and forth from their country of origin (Safran, 1991)? To what extent do the diasporas suggest a shift in the way we envisage the movement of people and modern diasporas, a new way of looking at them which will thereby become an integral part of a political power and sovereignty that have been shaped in a complex, heterogeneous time in space and history? What does 20th century statelessness teach us about stateless persons, minorities, refugees and also about migration and diasporas? Can we legitimately apply the term diaspora to the internationalisation of migrant knowledge workers? One initial political ambiguity is worth pointing out in the history of diasporas and certainly requires careful thought. A second ambiguity in current immigration policies highlights what is at stake in the links between migration and development.

Finally, in this part we ask a two-part question: why make a distinction between *networks* and *scientific diasporas* and to what extent does the matter of one's citizenship when crossing borders allow us to enrich these two phenomena, especially that of the scientific diaspora?

1.1 *Diasporas in the Perspective of Philosophy and Political Theory*

Diasporas are ancient phenomena. When you examine them from the perspective of philosophy and political theory you can sense the persistence of a question that has always remained an open one: the ties of allegiance, participation, protection and patriotism: the bonds between individuals, peoples, minorities, nations, diasporas and states that go to define a political commu-

17 Toni Negri (2005: 88).

18 Pierre Bungener; founder of the African Institute, the IUED, Geneva. Personal notes from a public conference.

nity You can also sense a persistent tension between “dispersion” (Brubaker, 2005) (the generic meaning of the word diaspora), new forms of political organisation in the new world order (NWO) and the role of diasporas in international relations (Sheffer, 1986; Shain, 1994/1995). We can recognise the gridlocks inherited from the 19th century that were caused by the coexistence of state and nation. We can also observe the blighted experiences of colonised people who were colonised¹⁹ or forced into the diaspora²⁰ since nation-states have been created. Since the end of the imperial era (Hobsbawm, 1987) and the system of nation-states – a dominant holding environment that controlled ingress and egress – there are schools of thought that place the diasporas outside the State but inside the nation²¹ (with roles in arbitration, pressure groups, influence on war and peace policies, as well as on the creation of a national identity). These roles have neither reduced the tensions nor answered any of the questions.

Furthermore, the questions about international migration, the transformation of labour markets, wars waged because of xenophobic or nationalist tensions and the place of foreigners in their countries of residence are changing into new questions. We are witnessing a reappraisal of the model of the nation state and of sovereignty. The model for diasporas, which parallels the still dominant system of the nation state, is certainly no longer the old 20th century one with its visions of stateless people caught up in a tragic fate (Armenians, Jews, Gypsies, Kurds, Palestinians etc.), but a new one that evokes a dynamic, a future, power relations; a model that transcends frontiers, sovereignties imprisoned in the nation state system and labeled “national,” a model which goes beyond carving up the globe into territories hemmed in by physical boundaries, visas, border guards, passports. The presence of migration in diaspora turns the question of public space (Greece, Kant, Arendt, Habermas) into a diasporic, political, public space as well as a public, scientific, political and diasporic space. Measured by the yardstick of democracy – for instance, from the perspective of sex and gender²² which has to be incorporated into the research – the presence of diasporas and what is called scientific diasporas poses

19 One thinks of the debates about the Arab nations and the missteps of those debates during their struggles for independence.

20 In this context see for example the return of the power of religious conservatism, the response of the community, the persistence of armed conflicts connected to the logic of the nation state, Jewish identity, its diaspora, its Zionism and the State of Israel (Lévy-Leblond, 2008). See also the work of Dayan-Herzbrun and of Traverso (2008).

21 This is the thesis defended by Shain (2007) and criticised by Peretz (2008).

22 I am thinking here of the integration of the gender perspective into migrations in scientific diasporas which is not written into the logic of territorial sovereignty. See in particular Dietz Mary (1985, 1987).

questions to a Europe and to global citizenship (Georgiou, 2001)²³. We shall see how the diaspora could be tentatively combined with terms such as *cosmopolitical citizenship* and *human sustainable development*, by including education and scientific research²⁴ into a citizenship that is being built at the frontiers of democracy.

So, the choice of the “diaspora option” (Brown, 2002) present in the GIAN research project opens two tracks of research: in philosophy and in political theory. On the one hand, it’s a matter of locating the theoretical difficulties (imagination, concepts, representations, practices) which constrain the social-historical imagination (Castoriadis); searching out the policies, actions, principles, norms, plans, tools (Foucault) which prevent us from seeing the authentic role of the diasporas and the scientific diasporas in the world. We shall see that the process of analyzing power, the conceptual distinction between force and potency (Spinoza, 1954, *potestas* and *potential*) allows for the possibility of social-historical evolution. This kind of approach to power enables us to reflect on the power of creation, of political and scientific action (Cefai, 2007) on the ways in which the diasporas and the scientific diasporas can help to breathe new life into the way we look at politics and by extension our policies of migration, development, sciences and education²⁵.

1.1.1 Diasporas – the Statelessness of Modernity in the 19th-Century?

Today, we question the usefulness, the meaning, and the usage of the word diaspora in a context which at the same time is national and transnational (Chivallon, 2006; Cohen, 2006; Centlivres, 2000, 2006; Schnapper, 2001; Assayag, 2000) and imperial. It’s a context where individual exiles, peoples, minorities (Laithier and Vilmain, 2008) and even certain nations²⁶ and stateless persons are a reality. The long history of diasporas has both economic and political origins and wars that were waged long before the era that (Habermas, 1988) has called modernity. It is an important reality in the present-day world

23 See also the European Council, document 10.342 from the 19th October 2004 on the culture of diasporas.

24 See the important legal opinion of the European Parliament of the 16th. March 2004: a communication from the Commission to the Council and to the European Parliament concerning the presentation of a proposed directive and two proposed recommendations aimed at facilitating the admission of citizens of Third World countries for the purpose of scientific research in the European Community, doc. COM/2004/0178 final.

25 Daniel Cefai’s research (2007) provides references, analysis of theories and analysis tools for concerted action from the Chicago School to Goffmann, that can be useful for the analysis of scientific diasporas networks.

26 For example, consider the Indian nations.

(Berthomière and Chivallon, 2006). It is crucial to the borders of nation states, to the idea of nation versus territory²⁷ and to other criteria which help to define the concept of nation (Ivekovic, 2003). It provides the basic template for researchers of international migration (Cohen, 1997). Could diasporas exist without a link to a history, a territory, a State (departures, exchanges, returning, destiny, heritage, identity, belonging, etc.) and without a link to different kinds of exile (Fariba and Bayart, 2008; Saïd, 2008)? To broach the question one must first clarify the link between diaspora and migration. Our starting point is a notorious fact: “Not all migrations end up forming diasporas” (Barou, 2007). The states of origin and residence have an ambiguous attitude towards migration and diasporas. The latter do take their place in the new geopolitics of emerging powers – but in what way? Talking about certain populations, we say diasporas (Armenia, Greece, Jewish, China, Palestine, etc.) (Kodmani-Darwish, 1997) and for some others, the term is not mentioned (Muslims around the world). So, the notion refers to very different histories and realities.

The term *scientific diasporas*, used more often in the plural (Barré et al., 2003), races far ahead of political happenings and national and international scientists. During this surge forward – since the decade of 1980–1990 – the new world migration order (NWMO) has become an established organisation. The research project shows that this establishment has the parallel goals of desiring its existence to be acknowledged, of requiring an organisation for its exiled scientific workers, and not least a link to their countries of origin in order to encourage their development. Is there a consensus or are there tensions between the NWMO and that particular view of development, the individual wishes and the networks of researchers – in particular those who come from the “South” – the policies of education and research?

By means of observations and research work into the policies of immigration and asylum rights in Switzerland, I came to write a thesis in political theory (and philosophy) on the theme of statelessness in the life of a philosopher and theoretician (Arendt Hannah, 1906–1975). Hannah Arendt experienced forced displacement, exile, the forced internationalisation of intellectual work, and the diasporas of the 20th century. This train of thought combined with my findings about the facts of society induced me to work on the foreigners’ camps at European borders (Caloz-Tschopp, 2004) and on the idea of resistance in politics and philosophy (Caloz-Tschopp, 2004, 2008a). In the present day NOWM that is under construction the question of scientific diasporas makes two types of migrations cross paths (highly skilled, unskilled) and also two sorts of policies that, as we shall see, prompt two lines of philosophical and political questioning.

27 See Sonia Dayan’s article’s on this subject (with a very comprehensive bibliography) in the Algerian journal *NAQD*, no 21 (on Palestine).

At first glance, the theme of scientific diasporas seems a far cry from the short history of the 20th. Century, with its long genesis, its tragic scenes connected to the wars and genocides that racked the world (Assayag, 2007). And yet today while undertaking this research, I have come to wonder just in what sense the diasporas of migrants will become the statelessness of the 21st century? Are we heading towards a stateless (Balibar, 2005b) statism in the European construction and beyond? If so, this is a fact which concerns scientific diasporas! Hannah Arendt showed that statelessness appeared in the 20th century with the end of three Empires in Europe (Ottoman, Russian and Austro-Hungarian) and with the crisis of nation-states (Butler, 2007). The world was asked some sharp questions, which in part were similar to the ones asked today by the 192 million migrants throughout the world, the diasporas and the scientific diasporas. Their presence, which in the era of colonial and continental imperialism took on various forms according to the particular circumstances (minorities, refugees, stateless persons, denationalisations, people being stripped of their citizenship, camps) would lead to their withdrawal from the political framework, to the process of dispossessing them of all rights, to exile, to expulsion from political life. In certain circumstances this led to mass genocide, to the superfluousness of human life (Caloz-Tschopp, 2000).

It revealed a profound crisis in the nation states' system which was incapable of integrating minorities, peoples, stateless persons, refugees or foreigners. It highlighted the emergence of the new concept of power (Amiel, 2007) that left a deep mark on the 19th and 20th centuries, the nihilist signs of which are still visible nowadays. Arendt showed how statelessness brought out into the open the major crisis of the 20th century where it was impossible to harmonise the criteria and needs of individuals, of peoples, of states that were prisoners of the nation. The extent of the crisis and its fateful consequences (political deprivation, populations drifting without protection or rights, the genocide of millions of people) revealed the demand for a neutral, political holding environment (State) that would be for the common good, a political system that was pluralist and open. It pointed out the demand for a political holding environment which had been freed from the nation-state's limiting territorial sovereignty, for access to the "right to have rights" (Arendt) for every individual on the planet. In short, it implied the construction of a *Cosmopolis*, that is to say a *world city*. Such a political construction implies that we reject the logic of those time-honoured assumptions inherited from the precepts whereby the social framework, the government and the system itself were incorporated into the sovereign and territorialised States (nation, soil, and blood) and then appropriated by certain groups and certain social classes. It implies that we go beyond a definition of national citizenship (Swiss, French, Colombian, Indian, South-African, etc.). It implies that we ask ourselves before anything else in public life – which in-

cludes scientific diasporas: who is a citizen, in what way, why, where, and with what status? How can we ensure and build a neutral and open holding environment for the globalisation movement (rethink the State in a new way as a holding environment, an administration and a system by detaching it from the nation, the soil and the blood and special interests)? It also means calling into question the so-called natural order of belonging to one or more communities (as individuals, a nation, a people, as minorities, groups etc.).

The word diaspora has come into general use during the thousands of years of history of numerous peoples on all continents, from Antiquity to the colonial era, to the post-colonial era and today it's growing by leaps and bounds. The phenomenon is reshaping migration, the movement of labour forces (in colonial enrichment, the mining sector, agriculture, etc.²⁸ and a vast array of networks: human, trade, work, linguistic, cultural exchanges. The dissemination of populations throughout the planet has put the territorial sovereignty of the States into perspective without causing it to disappear. Itineraries have replaced roots. Hybridisation has taken the place of identity. But can we make exclusive use of the term diaspora to characterise moving populations and scientific exchanges in the hierarchical organisation of our planet's empires, countries and continents? But can we use the notion of diaspora for characterising moving populations and scientific exchanges in the hierarchical organisation of empires, countries and continents on the planet?

“Que vuelvan los cerebros” (“Bring back the brains!”) is the title of a Spanish journal²⁹. It explains that it is vital to retrieve those Spanish scientists who are working abroad in other countries. It also points out the quality of career as a researcher offered by Spain dissuades them from returning. In 2006 *Bilan* (a magazine for Swiss Polytechnic Institutes and universities) published an article entitled “The brains are packing their bags” (“Les cerveaux se font la malle”). It reports on the situation of Swiss researchers who after studying in Switzerland had left for the United States and Canada only to be confronted by bad working conditions: 20 hours a day, frantic competition, women not allowed working, the difficulty of returning to Switzerland. The article does not denounce the *brain drain* suffered by developing countries but the one suffered by Switzerland. Therefore, in Switzerland the question is a number one priority for foreign and for Swiss students. Over the last few years measures have been taken – or more precisely, there were requests for measures to be taken for

28 The example of the Chinese diaspora speaks for itself. It has played a major role in Asia “grâce à la puissance des réseaux familiaux commerciaux et financiers qui contrôlent 55 à 80% du capital privé (Philippines, Malaisie, Indonésie, Thaïlande, Singapour...), elle bénéficie pleinement de la réouverture de la Chine continentale...” (Carroué, 2002: 55).

29 *El País*, 8.12.07, p. 30.

foreign students of the third circle (i. e. from countries such as Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, Kosovo etc.), for internationalizing the path of Swiss researchers and for establishing links that would encourage them to return, for women's rights, for dividing one's career between teaching and research, etc. To put it more clearly, in the field of research the theme of scientific diasporas is used automatically in the plural, which implies a plurality of networks, a turning point in dividing and organizing the world labour market into a hierarchy, the relationship between the university sector and transnational enterprises, and so on. In short, it concerns knowledge workers³⁰ throughout the planet. University teaching and research are grappling with the implacable laws of international hyper-competition (Cerny, 2005) both in the public and private markets of teaching and research.

The concept transnational put forward by certain anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists in order to go beyond the limited approaches of some of their colleagues stems itself from national thinking. It still attaches a disproportionate importance to the national factor and consequently to the nation-states that are a limited historical invention as the work of several historians and political scientists shows.³¹ Nation states have replaced other internal and international political forms (empires, cities, and self-subsisting communities). They are linked to the emergence of industrial and financial capitalism which set the history of the world at a temporal rhythm (clocks) and decreed the division of space into sovereign territories defined by legal and political principles. This form of holding environment is put to a severe test by the connections and multiple economic fluxes (raw materials, capital, populations, information, etc.) which are linked to the development of a post-industrial financial capitalism and to technological innovations. Therefore, the transnational does not necessarily represent "prolonging our stay in the field of migrations with theoretical efforts" (Monsutti, 1996: 47) but allows us to go beyond closed analysis unities.

From an epistemological and methodological point of view, what allows us to perceive things differently? Reconsidering the concepts of nation-state, city and empire deserves close scrutiny given the changes in world history and geopolitics. The diasporas encourage us to change our perspective, our level of analysis and our way of looking at things. Confining ourselves to the category of the *nation* tied to the *jus solis* and even sometimes to the *jus sanguinis* questions the limits of the invention of the *nation*-state holding environment with-

30 Or sometimes "non-material workers" ("travailleurs de l'immatériel") in another theoretical tradition. The term "Worker with knowledge" ("travailleur du savoir") is also used in French. See the study "Les travailleurs du savoir," *Sciences humaines*, n. 157, February 2005.

31 For example, see the works of Eric Hobsbawm, Immanuel Wallerstein and Benedict Anderson.

out at the same time forcing us to topple into the negation of any sort of environment for public life. It questions a more profound political and philosophical practice (Ivekovic and Glasson-Deschaumes, 2000–2001): the *partition* of the political, of politics (Ibid.), of culture, of thought (and – we can hear it in the term apartheid – separate development). This concept reveals hitherto invisible blockages, ways of resolving conflicts, erroneous political solutions:³²

What is the taste of peace followed by a partition? What is the taste of life in cities that have been separated and split up, where division never occurs without the infliction of the most extreme violence on bodies, on minds, on ways of communal life?³³

The concept of *partition*, like that of *hybridisation* rather than hybridity (Bhabha),³⁴ which is superior to it, comes to us from post-colonial and feminist studies and partly also from the alter-globalist (Haase-Dubosc and Lal, 2006) (Sommier et al., 2008) movement, areas where diasporas and scientific diasporas are very active.

Consequently, approaching politics by means of diasporas and scientific diasporas brings up complex and numerous questions and matters that are at stake in theories, politics, classical practices and networks. It is a vital part of interdisciplinary debates on migration, science, technology, development, politics and citizenship. Migration, diasporas, exile are reliable keys for reading our societies. Migration and diasporas can no longer be defined in the negative, as the face of the foreigner who is denied space and legitimacy. Although they clash against the constraints of the *jus solis* and the *jus sanguinis* at the heart of migration and science policies of the nation states, to what extent do they escape the rationales and the state machinery that are currently in place? And if they do escape these rationales, is it in order to consolidate the private sectors against the political ones, using new technologies (New Information and Communication Technology)? Or is it in order to open the public sphere of politics with new dimensions to the conditions of life at the frontiers? And for what common destiny? It is certain that the diasporas undermine the powers that be by suggesting new horizons for political life: holding states in movement, *cosmopolis*, *sustainable human development* and *cosmo-political citizenship*. As we shall see.

32 “They are adequate in preventing longer conflicts, and in preventing genocide. However, at some particular, frequently inconspicuous moment, during the conflict, they are offered as the only possible response to the desire for war between the communities and the ideologies that are in place. The processes of partition are locked there, at the place where the transaction fails and has been found unworkable. They signal the failure of politics, of civility,” Balibar, Étienne (2009).

33 See the review *Transeuropéennes*, n. 18 (2009) (introduction).

34 To overcome the danger of essentialisation that “everything is hybrid,” see Brubaker (2002).

1.1.2 Political Ambiguity in the Concept of Diaspora Requires Intellectual Caution³⁵

To move forwards with this perspective it is essential to establish the precise meaning of the concept diaspora. We speak of *scientific diaspora* but is it advisable to use the concept of diaspora given the semantic ambiguity of the term, its usage and its polymorphous form which is a new social form (Ma Mung, 2006)? The perspective chosen in social sciences for tackling the subject of diasporas often emphasises the migrants' interpersonal movement at various borders. At first glance, it thereby permits one to go beyond the rationales of essentialism and logics and nation-states system limits. But it does not remove all of the ambiguity surrounding the usage of the word and by extension the term *scientific diaspora*.

We should point out a political ambiguity present in the term diaspora. A tension exists between the need for homogeneity and coherence in a thought about the origin of peoples (transcendence, state sovereignty, chosen people, etc.), with references to culture that sometimes hides the *jus sanguinis* (blood ties). Such references are also made to nation-states. Thus, diasporas can be viewed as a Being, the essence of a people on the move rather than existing within a relational framework, a relational public space to be built by political action between people at borders of the nation-states system (Marientras) (Arendt)³⁶. This sort of approach presents in no way a contradiction of nation-state thinking, which in some cases favours the philosophy of essentialism, the process of assimilation and the idea of race. Consequently, the debate is focused on the attempt to replace the word *nation* for *people* as the essence of a state in order to define belonging on this basis. From this perspective, the two concepts (nation, people) are inclusive and not relational. This complex debate pinpoints the difficulties encountered by numerous thinkers and notably by Hannah Arendt. They can be summed up in the form of open questions: what political bond is possible between individuals, nation, minorities, stateless peoples in a diaspora and a territorialised nation-State system?³⁷ What becomes of a stateless person, a stateless people, a minority, when they have lost all residence, all political membership? Does a place exist *outside* the nation-state system (as defined by nation, by people or whatever else)? How is the system of States federated? What are its links with (national) minorities, peoples,

35 My thanks to the sociologist, Colette Guillaumin, for making me aware of this ambiguity.

36 Butler Judith: "Je suis l'un des leurs, voilà tout" ("I am quite simply one of theirs") (Butler, 2007: 3–7).

37 "The Nation State would not know how to exist once its principle of equality before the law had been surrendered," writes Richard Marientras in a remarkable book. Marientras, Richard, "Être un peuple en diaspora", François Maspero, Paris, 1975, p. 279.

diasporas that are on the move outside the dominant nation-states system? How can we rethink sovereignty by not fixing it into the nation-state context defined by *jus solis* and *jus sanguinis*? The multiculturalism solution emphasises communities, but grinds to a halt when it comes to defining what makes up a community, the demands for a political holding environment, the State that could be in the form of councils, or in the form of a republican State, and which may perhaps be a form of government with principles, a method of political organisation Arendt explains, thereby reminding us of the lack of a place that recognises individuals. The solution of granting sovereignty and rights to the person (subjective rights)³⁸ does not resolve the aporia of the bond between individual and State, and between nation, people, minority and State. A legal centre for the rights of the Arab minority in Israel (Abalah)³⁹ proposes a democratic constitution that is no longer restricted to those who belong to the nation, to the people, or to the minority. From this point of view *who is a citizen?* Abalah's solution separates the idea of the State, of a political system from the idea of those who are living together, the people, and the minority. It does not resolve all the questions, but it does place citizenship, the fact that one is defined by one's *political action as a citizen*, at the centre of a constitution. At this level, it allows for a connection between sustainable human development and *cosmopolitical citizenship* in the building of a *cosmopolis*, a *city of the world*. This is the crux of what we are discussing!

It is not possible here to continue this important debate at greater depth. Let us, however, acknowledge the political ambiguity contained in the term diaspora and consequently in the term scientific diaspora. The ambiguity is not inconsequential because of the risk that essentialisation and naturalisation might insinuate themselves and be used to justify certain political deviations (chosen people, nationalism, and racism). And, above all, because this ambiguity might justify a passive conception of work and politics. Such ambiguity is not inconsequential in the way we tackle scientific diasporas and their knowledge workers. We can remove the ambiguity not only by qualifying the movement but also its connections with labour, with residence, with circulation and with politics. Therefore, one can speak on the one hand of *migrant knowledge workers*, of *networks of migrant workers*, of participation in the creation of a social wealth (Putnam), which in the broad sense derives from scientific knowledge. And, on the other hand, one can speak of a citizenship in these many locations

38 Adopted by the Austrian Austro-Marxists at the beginning of the 20th Century at the moment when large empires were being dislocated and populations were "floating" round Europe without protection.

39 For part of the debate see Butler Judith (2007) "Je suis l'un des leurs, voilà tout" ("I am quite simply one of theirs").

that have no location, *atopos* where the migrants are located⁴⁰ and where as subjects and citizens they are building the *Cosmopolis*, the world as a city. The “right to a city” is in the movement that determines the conditions of existence, without one unique location. It is rooted at the same time in labour, residence, circulation of goods and their mode of appropriation related to basic needs in the societies battling with globalisation.

1.1.3 Development Reveals an Ambiguity in Migration Policies of Scientific Diasporas

Migrants and diasporas are at the centre of turbulence and conflict at borders. Like the rest of the globe’s population, they live in a globalised insecurity (Bigo, 2005). They are battling a philosophy, a policy of disjunction (Appadurai, 1999), of apartheid (Monnier, 2004), which governs the practices and their mental image of development, of migration, and of scientific diasporas (Castoriadis, 1975). In short, the new world migration order is dominated by a utilitarian,⁴¹ security-minded – even war-minded logic of partition, opposition, hierarchical organisation and deportation, which is incapable of grasping, understanding, describing, interpreting or summarizing the movement of the world, of societies and of populations (Caloz-Tschopp, 2007).

As early as 1988, in his farewell lecture at the University of Lausanne, the political scientist Laurent Monnier, speaking of *apartheid* in terms of immigration policies in Switzerland and Europe, described our future as a form of segregation, a separation combining exploitation, xenophobic, nationalist and racist discrimination and police violence. Certainly, the analogy with the apartheid system in South Africa has limits of methodology in an historical and present-day Europe which is bordered by Southern Mediterranean countries and Eastern European countries. But the concept does keep its heuristic validity at a time when Europe has a tendency to externalise its borders (Gibney and Randall, 2003) in camps, or even on islands,⁴² and to delegate control and deportations to zones that are closer and closer to zones where there is conflict of low or high intensity.

40 “As Socrates said, the immigrant is *atopos*, without a place, displaced, unclassified. Neither citizen nor foreigner, not really being the Same or Different, the immigrant is located in this ‘bastard’ place which Plato also speaks about, the limits of the social being and the social non-being”, Bourdieu, Pierre, preface to Sayad (1999: 8).

41 For this trend in migration policies see in particular the works of Valentin (1997) (above all the period since 1974), Morice (2002), Alaux et al. (2001), Morice (2004), Kymlicka (1999) (first chapter: “l’utilitarisme”).

42 Kevin Rudd, Australian Prime Minister (Labour Party), announced after the Bali Conference (December, 2007) his wish to end the “Pacific Solution,” a controversial policy which consisted of placing those seeking asylum in Australia into a holding centre on the Pacific Islands (*Le Monde*, December 27th, 2007).

What we are witnessing in migration policies is the institutionalisation of policies called “chosen migration” (origin countries and scientific migrants prefer to call them “captive” or “selective”) and security policies based on choosing between highly skilled and non-skilled migrants, selections behind closed doors, etc. This dualism reflects interests and needs. It has numerous repercussions on societies: ignorance of the riches brought by migrants, selections made behind closed doors and an attitude by the immigration authorities towards knowledge workers that debates the installation of the blue card and visas for students and young researchers. These are debates that reverberate at the highest levels of academia. If we sign on to the diaspora option, we shall see that it allows us to distinguish between *networks* and *scientific diasporas*, between technologies, between the informal activities performed by individuals in networks in migration space and collective projects that are linked to the development of the countries of origin. It also allows us to safeguard horizontal and flexible relationships in contrast to those organisational pyramids which favour authoritarianism, control and hierarchy, which are well exemplified by the system of nation-states. In other words, we require an organisation capable of taking firm action, whose active members are all close to the scene where those actions are being implemented (in this case, scientific and social ones) and networks which genuinely represent basic needs. We require a holding environment that leads to the formation of networks, to other types of organisations, to enterprises and to a State (where the opposing forces are also in networks acting as a watchdog). We need to show clearly what human sustainable development holds for us all and what cosmo-political citizenship can offer us at the frontiers of a world we all share.

1.1.4 Globalisation of Human Capital, Internationalisation of Education, Academic Research and Scientific Diasporas.

The phenomenon of human capital globalisation and the migration of knowledge workers is growing increasing at the beginning of this 21st century (Khadria, 2001). It does not merely have an impact on places of education and research (Villavicencio, 2005), migrants, highly skilled migrants on “Southern” countries and continents (Garcia, 2007), on the transformation of the policy of universities with their current tensions between the business market and science and between new elites and the proletarianisation of researchers and academic freedom appropriated for the public good.⁴³ After all, let’s not

43 A young historian who is preparing a doctoral thesis under joint supervision (University of Geneva-EHESS) on the educational reforms and on the creation of policies to regulate the scholastic flux in Western Europe (France Switzerland, Germany), between the end of the

forget that migrants contribute simultaneously to the labour supply, to the demand for goods and services and to the production of wealth for the immigration countries. As for the globalisation of the labour force, let's use the estimates made by geographers looking at the selective globalisation of the labour market. Above all, this globalisation affects highly skilled workers and also the care, restaurant and agricultural sectors. Both phenomena resonate at the two extremes of the labour market hierarchy. The care sector mostly affects women (often highly skilled but whose qualifications are not recognised and who are excluded from the labour market) (Ouali, 2003) and also many qualified people without papers⁴⁴ amongst whom there are women who should be a part of the knowledge economy. These categories of qualified migrants don't have the status to meet the needs of the labour market. Neither they nor their networks appear in the debate about scientific diasporas⁴⁵ even though they should be included. How many knowledge workers are employed as domestic help, dish washers, taxi drivers, and illegal farm workers? The social cost of wasting such social assets, which are not taken into account in the world economy, is considerable.

The world geography of brain power is becoming increasingly polarised and unbalanced, first of all to the benefit of the United States (*brain drain*): of the 150 million salaried employees in the world who participate in scientific and technological activities, 90% reside in the seven most developed countries and 20% of the researchers are in the United States or Canada. (Caroué, 2002: 52–53)

One African doctor out of five has settled down in a developed country (more than 70% from Mozambique and Angola)⁴⁶. The geographer shows how the policy of issuing temporary visas has served as an incentive, emphasises how the developed countries have thus saved on training costs, on salaries (15 to 30%); and conversely points out the loss in human capital, the financial loss for departure countries, the manner in which all this hampers their development. He indicates the measures taken by India in demanding reimbursement for edu-

19th Century and the 1920's, reminds us that these questions have a profound significance in history and that the debates about the progressive erosion of university space as an autonomous area for the sciences and about the status of researchers do not date from the present day. See Matasci (2008); see also Krause et al. (2008).

44 "Since 1992 40% of the flux of immigrants in France has had at least the equivalent of the French baccalauréat +2 years of study. In Sangatte (on the Northern coast of France) it has been estimated that 60% of the refugees held the baccalauréat +4 years of study" (El Mouhoub, 2008).

45 One aspect which the gender-based approach might explain in connection with the "scientific diasporas"...

46 Center for Global Development; Washington D. C.; Gunilla Pettersson; University of Sussex.

cational costs. He indicates that in the case of South Korea the brain drain movement has gone into reverse (70% are home again three years after earning their doctorate) thanks to massive investments by States and firms.

On the list ranking the most competitive countries, the relative importance of the factors⁴⁷ and the criteria are debated.⁴⁸ With the figure indicating the proportion of foreign students to host country, Switzerland tops the world list with a rate of 22.83% foreign students in 2006–2007 (ahead of the United States, 21.6%). What criteria do the recruitment policies use? What is the importance of “ethnic” (racist) and sexist criteria in obtaining a visa⁴⁹ and a place at a Swiss university? The high proportion of foreign teachers (EPFZ 59.5%, EPFL 55.5%, U. Tessin 60.7%, U. St-Gall 48.1%, Basle 48.2%, Zurich 45.8%, Berne 42.5%, Fribourg 35.7%, Geneva 35%)⁵⁰ bolsters this ranking. Studies from the American Council on Education, the OECD and the EU show that – reflecting the transformation of world geopolitics – the market for higher education is in the process of becoming multipolar, the range of students, teachers and researchers more and more international. In addition, the sites, the research laboratories are set up in partnership with the public and private sectors amongst several countries.

47 In case studies of scientific diasporas it would be necessary to evaluate the respective importance of the incentives of the States and the networks of migration when calculating the costs and the risks (trust) and the choice of countries in the employment offers given by international competition between countries (Indians preferring the United States, England; Latin-Americans preferring Spain and the United States; French-speaking Africans preferring France etc.).

48 A corollary to the globalization of the educational domain: we are witnessing a proliferation of the international classification of universities, including Swiss universities, contingent on the criteria of “performance”. Well, the results of these classifications vary a lot contingent on the methodologies that are used. To enable the students and the public to find their way through all of this, the State Secretariat of Education and Research and the Conference of the chief education officers of the Swiss universities have created an internet site <<http://www.universityranking>> (Swiss Communiqué, December 2007).

49 Police intervention practices in student recruitment policies have already been pointed out (visas, interventions) but to our knowledge they have not been logged or studied.

50 The evaluation of these figures from Office fédéral de la statistique is beyond our present work (relief, the return of Swiss researchers, engaging assistants, creation of an international network, etc.) but we may point out: a) the proportion between foreign students coming from other parts (20,644) and foreigners sent to school in Switzerland, i.e. the second generation (5,601), b) the low proportion of students coming directly from the “Third World” (5,288 taking into account those from America (not distinguishing between the two Americas). May we ask ourselves the same question that a history researcher asks about the United States in regard to the link between their primary, secondary and university public education systems: “The influx of brains into the United States, which is so often deplored, reveals above all the weaknesses of higher education in America, which is incapable of educating its own pools of scientists in a number of areas, and is forced to acquire them abroad: in China, in India... or in France” (Gervais, 2007).

The aggressive presence of the marketplace (the hierarchy of the world's best universities, competition between countries or continents trying to attract the world's best brains from the 2.5 million foreign students in the world, to solicit financing, to create common diplomas, decentralised education, to install the best laboratories throughout several universities belonging to a network, private universities, the failure of public universities, the exclusive use of English, etc.) have a substantial influence on education and research policies. Direct economic contributions,⁵¹ intellectual capital, innovative scientific products (patents) are profitable and the realities of appropriation are fierce. "The winners in this world race will have students from all cultures, campuses consisting of the elite from foreign countries, diplomas that are recognised internationally and English courses – the world language for business, research and technology" (Flynn, 2007: 6–12).

We have to examine the situation in Switzerland at greater depth within the context of North-South relations and in connection with the three countries considered in this research. What becomes of all those students when they leave their Swiss universities and the ETH of Zurich? How are they integrated into the labour market? What is the nature of the turnover of highly skilled professionals?⁵² How do their projects and the networks they belong to come together? What are the financial flows from scientific diasporas towards Switzerland and from Switzerland towards the three countries under research while they are pursuing their studies and afterwards? To what extent are they public, private and what is their background (family, industrial, banking, etc.)? What is the relationship between the taxation system (Is a transfer of funds taxed?), the wage system and social charges? Above and beyond discussing the principles of justice and solidarity, the link between migration policy, development and scientific diasporas thereby becomes more visible and the stakes more apparent.

51 In 2006, foreign students brought in 14 billion dollars in tuition and residence fees. One might well calculate the gains reaped by Swiss universities from the 22.83% of foreign students in Swiss universities (26,245 foreign students out of the 114,961 students in Switzerland in the year 2006–2007. See <www.bfs.admin.ch>, "Hautes écoles". Out of these 26,245, 20,644 were schooled abroad (Europe, 20,324/15,352, and the rest in Africa, in America, in Asia and in Oceanie).

52 On this topic, a majority (14 votes against 8) of the Commission of Political institutions of the Swiss National Council declared itself in favour of an initiative suggested by an honorary professor of the EPFL, no less than a national councilor (PDC), which proposed that non-European university graduates might stay in Switzerland and work there at the end of their studies (August 22nd 2008).

1.1.5 Scientific Diasporas and the Cosmopolis. The Preliminaries

Nowadays exchanges of knowledge, experiences and practices are essential in the globalisation of migration policies, education, formation, research and science. The issue goes far beyond *brain drain*, what today is known as “chosen migrations” or even *brain gain*. The aim of the EU’s limited blue card project (involving 70,000 people within the EU) is to grant immigration access to “specialised elites” and “top-level workers.” The measure falls far short of answering the questions. They’re working to reduce the distance and to construct a human counterpart (not merely the labour force) which will universalise communications, economic flow, cultures, and values. They have had first-hand experience of nomadism and diaspora and thus have *authentic experiences of the globalisation* of individuals, peoples, networks, collective groups, States (Bagalwa, 2007) which we can no longer ignore. In this sense, cosmo-political citizenship when it concerns any form of public service activity (such as science) is not an abstract notion but a social practice, involving principles of otherness and of frontiers, movements in power relations practiced in systems of historicised temporalities (Hartog, 2003; Baier, 2002) (in the form of countries of origin, transit and residence) and multiple and changing spatialities (the importance of cities, networks, work places and even the Internet).⁵³

In concrete terms, wherever the migrants are on the planet (the same conditions should apply to Swiss students too?), they ask to be able to move around (to travel, to study, to work, to create links, etc.) to several parts of the world without their movements being restricted to going backwards and forwards between their country of origin and their country of residence. They are able to bring knowledge, broader vistas, and their experiences of both sides (countries of origin, study or work). They also help to forge precious bonds between different parts of the world by virtue of their broader knowledge, experiences, of culture and science and technology. In that sense, they are mediators in a world that is on the move. That implies a profound transformation of the dominant social imaginary (Castoriadis), of living conditions, migration, development and science.

In a very general sense, from the points of view of philosophy and political theory, the migrants’ nomadism and networks (technology, work, life, projects, etc.) are two material forms of cosmopolitanism. They are the manifestation of building new ways of life, of envisaging the *polis* at both the local and the planetary level. In short, they are producing a blueprint for a sustainable human development and a new cosmo-political citizenship that are still

53 See for example – amongst the abundance of works on this subject – the work of Isin (2002).

under construction. The words *diasporas* and *cosmopolitanism* – politics in the cosmos, the right to a city in the world – are central concepts that may be combined in the creation of a cosmo-political citizenship integrated into a political holding environment and into a dynamic of economic-political power relations. These two concepts are not without ambiguities⁵⁴ They were forged in a historical context of peoples, minorities, stateless persons, refugees, empires, relations between Europe and the rest of the world (*Conquista*, colonialism, empires, the setting up of the dominant nation-state model, new empires). Neither *cosmos* (world) nor *polis* (city) can be reduced to what we call economic and financial globalisation. Every human being needs an open relational identity, a connection to the world, a political order that integrates the movement of life's conditions at all its frontiers.

In terms of a holding environment, of structure, political organisation, sovereignty and citizenship, how does one become cosmopolitan and a citizen? Is a cosmo-political citizenship imaginable, possible? How is it articulated with existing political holding environments? Who looks out for his rights, his need for protection? What are the duties? What then would be the political identity of a member of a diaspora? The political identity of a member of diaspora? A human being with a gender? A traveler? A migrant? A stateless person? A stateless person without a mother country? A citizen of the world? Someone from here and also elsewhere? What is the link between migration defined by movement and diasporas? What would be the place of a scientific diaspora in a holding environment transformed by movement? We shall see that the right to a city can no longer be defined in terms of political rights (citizenship in the classical sense) but has to be broadened to include the basic needs that are connected to the material conditions of existence and to sharing in the exercise of political power and the right to knowledge which is considered as social capital in the places where individuals and groups live and work. Consequently, the diasporas' and the scientific diasporas' right to a city, the links they establish with other diasporic networks, with their countries of origin, passage, and residence cannot be dissociated from various kinds of exchanges, in particular scientific exchanges, and from the conditions in the country of origin, the conditions of life of their population.

There is a philosophical, political link between *diaspora*, *scientific diaspora* and *cosmopolitanism* that philosophy and political theory have a duty to clarify. We shall see that cosmo-political citizenship inserted into a holding environment and a political dynamic which responds to its demands and its rights – in

54 One can quote the example of a “nationalism from a distance” (“nationalisme à distance”) (Benedict Anderson). See: Jaffrelot and Therwath (2007).

which science workers can take part – is one model for establishing a concrete public cosmopolitanism of knowledge, which is both local and global. It represents simultaneously a major interest for development, migration, science, international relations, peace and life in society on the Earth.

2. Globalisation, Development and Science

As the world situation has become more confused, with the disappearance of the socialist States, the emergence of significant political and economic differences between Third World societies and the diasporic movements of peoples across regional and national frontiers, a fragmentation from the global to the local has appeared at the forefront of historical and political awareness.

Dirlik, 1994: 347

In this second part I examine what is called globalisation (in English) or *mondialisation* (in French) by integrating history into development and science. I will then show in what way the theories of liberalism and justice at the root of development theories have a holding environment that is too restricted economically, nationally and from the point of view of exchanges. These restrictions prevent us from grasping the meaning of the new phenomena of labour and cognitive capital to which scientific diasporas are connected. Afterwards, the links between migration and development will be viewed in the light of the constraints of the NWO which greatly influences development, the effectiveness of human rights and scientific diasporas. Lastly, I want to show the links between science, technologies and scientific diasporas – first of all through the heritage and the new trends in science epistemology in scientific production which is where scientific diasporas take place. My goal is to have a minimal theoretical holding environment available for globalisation, development and science.

2.1 Globalisation and History: Attempting to Divide History into Period, Ruptures in History

As we wade through the flood of discourses on migration, development and science policies, we notice a certain lack of decentration, which is *historical* over medium or long periods, and *spatial* in both planetary and local dimensions. Space is represented as a space which knows only one point of reference

to which all other spaces are referred back to: a territorial hierarchical organisation of sovereign States where the ranking and the qualities of the “South” countries are solemnly inscribed (poor countries, developing countries, emerging countries) and empire, a geopolitics shaken up by multinationals and urban explosion.⁵⁵ Time is represented in a linear temporality mode which moves to the beat of Western progress. And yet globalisation is complex. It is not seen or lived in the same way by dominant and subordinate populations. Its meaning has to be pinned down in a diversified spatial holding environment and history, and in the relationships of power which cut across them, and in its constant evolution.

Researchers in economic and social history and philosophers devote a great deal of time to the question of epistemology and methodology for *periodisation* and *historical* ruptures in the history of mankind. The time of the world is long,⁵⁶ disjointed, muddled, and crisscrossed with non-linear stages and ruptures. Depending on where we are located and the power we wield, we will view and evaluate things in a different way. In short, the dominant periodisations of the West are anchored either in modernity (since Greece), or in the world-system (according to the famous French historian, Fernand Braudel, since the 16th century) with the opening up of the world, the expansion of production and the rapid rise of consumption in Europe. We run the risk of underestimating the specificity of historical circumstances.⁵⁷ The two most important ruptures from the point of view of Western economic and social history have been the Neolithic Revolution and the Industrial Revolution (Paul Bairoch’s thesis). The link between globalisation, periodisations and ruptures in the holding environments of modernity, in industrial and capitalist society have given rise to numerous debates in economic and social history, in political history, in the history of science, and in post-colonial theories. So, it deserves to be taken into account if only briefly in this particular study.

Mondialisation/globalisation, deglobalisation,⁵⁸ transnational class (Van der Pijl, 1998), historical hegemonies, “liquid” (Tosel, 2007; Bauman, 2007, 2000) capitalism, analyses, and the search for alternatives (Cox, 1997) an echo of all these things must be heard in colonialism, in European imperialism, in the experiences of destruction and extermination in the 20th century (Auschwitz, Hiroshima) – all with the aim of changing the human race. We are still aware of it today in the trail of historic inventions, putting things to use, merchandizing,

55 Around 2050, two thirds of the world population will live in towns. The towns of the “South” will account for 90% of the population, with a growth of shanty towns. See “Explosion urbaine et mondialisation,” *Alternatives Sud*, vol. XIV, n. 2, 2007.

56 The term goes back to the works of Fernand Braudel. See Braudel (1979) and Jorland (1987).

57 An argument put forward by researchers in “post-colonial studies”. See in particular “Entretien de Stuart Hall avec Mark Alizart,” *Stuart Hall*, ed. Amsterdam, Paris, 2007.

58 See also Ogilvie (2007).

the technicisation of human beings who are considered more and more mobile, malleable, disposable: the process which Michel Foucault (2004) called “bio-power” – a term which has been the object of many debates. There is a paramount need to read history and theories again. On other continents Europe is “provincialised” (Chakrabarty, 2000) in post-colonial studies. In the opinion of Indian researchers the history of financial capital and the history of Europe are no longer incontrovertible factors in contemporary thought echoing with the experience of colonial domination and the theoretical and political emancipation of those who had been colonised. Otherwise, it is not without significance that we bump into the term *mobility* borrowed from economy, *security* borrowed from the police forces, *choice* (chosen immigration) borrowed from the immigration States who in their discourses on migration are inspired to speak of the market demands in reference to highly skilled migrants. In discourses about migrants and diasporas⁵⁹ words appear like so many cracks in the evidence about mobility (economic)-security(police)-choice (the State): exile, insecurity, precarious labour, ownership of resources, local knowledge, solidarity, the needs of the country, the right to be there (Caloz-Tschopp and Dasen, 2007), etc.

Philosophies of history in unequal competition in the background behind institutional practices do influence the social-historical imaginary (Castoriadis, 1975), the systems of representation, the operations and tools of the workplace. In spite of the UN Declaration on the occasion of Migrants’ Day, “*Migrants have rights like everybody else*” – the theories of economic and scientific progress (growth), of development and its crisis – a theory that was already expounded on in the thirties –, theories about the end of history (Fukuyama),⁶⁰ the clash of civilisations and cultures (Huntington, 1997, 2004), a form of recapitulation of Carl Schmitt’s (Rigaux, 2007) friend versus enemy opposition to define international relations in a war mode, theories which go hand in hand with the conservative revolution⁶¹ continue to go in the same direction. These theories accompany the neo-liberal turning point, the structural theories of ad-

59 See for example the documents from the regional advisory council, African Union – the African diaspora in Europe, September 11th–12th 2007, Paris; see also Hardt (2001).

60 See in particular the work of Naves (2004).

61 “The representations of the social world which one must fight and resist were born in a real conservative revolution, as the pre-Nazi movements used to say in Thirties’ Germany. The think tanks from which the political programmes of Reagan or Thatcher emerged, or after them, Clinton, Blair, Schröder or Jospin were obliged, in order to be able to break with the tradition of the Welfare State, to perform a veritable symbolic counter-revolution and produce a doxa paradoxale: a restoration of the past at times at its most archaic (notably in economic relations), regressions, retrocessions were passed off as reforms or revolutions”, Bourdieu (2001).

justment of the OECD during the years between 1970–1980 (Morrisson, 1996)⁶² and the tension between regulation and deregulation in EU policies (Jobert, 1994). In the study of diasporas and scientific diasporas, what is the influence of these theories which were replaced by theories of governance (a concept replacing the notion of a political system in political theory), reinforced by a political engineering, which adapts the sciences to the marketplace (Kahler and Lake, 2000; Pierre, 2000; OECD, 2000; European Commission, 2001a, 2002b) in the study of diasporas and scientific diasporas? Many works have questioned the classical theories postulating that democracy and even science arise from the market.⁶³

The research project takes place in the early 21st century, at a historic moment of profound transformations during this present stage of globalisation.⁶⁴ History went through an important change of direction, a change of scale⁶⁵ in the 18th century, then in the 19th century. These changes have shaken up Europe and her relations that are North-North, North-East, North-South and South-South,⁶⁶ etc. The transformations call for corresponding shifts in the analysis (Assayag, 2005). The philosopher and mathematician, Michel Serres, who takes an active interest in sciences, says that, relatively speaking, after the rupture of the industrial revolution⁶⁷ we are experiencing a transformation as important as the transition from the Palaeolithic to the Neolithic Age. Nowadays studies in political science point out at least three basic trends in the international order or disorder: the return of power politics which slows down the emergence of a global governance that is nevertheless required; the consolidation of regional

62 Other texts speak of “adjustment with a human face” in order to prevent troubles in the application of adjustment policies in the years 1980 in “South” countries (better strategies, more or less dangerous measures); see bibliography of the paper.

63 For India, see the works of the economists Amiya Kumar, Bagchi; Amartya, Sen; for China, see Bergère (2007).

64 Like England and France at the dawn of industrial capitalism, China’s capitalist transformation “works initially to the detriment of the labour force but also to the small shopkeeper, the State and increasingly to the environment. At this pace things are heading towards an ecological catastrophe,” a renowned sinologist emphasises: she is thinking about the possibility of an ecological accident or a serious ecological crisis but not about local revolts, “which may push things to the institutional level” (*Le Temps*, January 7th 2008, p. 12) (Bergère, 2007).

65 See in particular the works of: Verley (1997); Baechler (1995); Hobsbawm (1997); Perroux (1948).

66 The difficulty of using a spatial metaphor shows its limits in describing, representing the political relationships in the holding environment of globalization. One might well think, like A. Sayad, that the spatial metaphor is a vestige of territorial, imperial and sovereign state thinking.

67 The economic historian, Paul Bairoch, has shown that, according to him, the industrial revolution was the second historical rupture of the Neolithic revolution (Bairoch, 1997).

entities based on the principle of mutual interests; the continuous presence of weak States that are incapable of fulfilling their public function (Gnesotto and Grevi, 2007). These trends are having a pervasive effect on development, migration, education and research policies.

Switzerland is a small country in the centre of Europe with six million inhabitants. It has no direct colonial past but nevertheless it has appeared on the list of great imperial powers since the 19th and especially⁶⁸ in the 20th century. Here are some facts which will serve to illustrate the situation. In 1913, Switzerland is clearly the leading country from the point of view of direct foreign investments per capita (\$700 versus \$440 for the United Kingdom, \$320 for the Netherlands, \$250 for Belgium, \$230 for France, \$70 for Germany, \$40 for the United States); Swiss multinational companies belong to that extremely small number of firms who dominate the world in a series of fields (energy technologies, automation, pharmaceuticals, cement and building materials, food-stuffs, clocks and watches, agrifood, the marketing of metals, banking, insurance and reinsurance).

In 2002, Swiss direct investments reached 300 billion dollars (8th in the world ranking); abroad Swiss multinationals employ 2.2 million salaried employees (twice the force they employ in Switzerland). The Swiss financial market is the fourth or fifth most important in the world specifically in wealth management, where it occupies a dominant position on the world scale (30% of the world market according to convergent estimates). In Switzerland and abroad banks and insurance companies are managing an amount equivalent to 70% of the United States GDP (10,000 billion francs). Customers from developing countries are bringing around 70% of the funds they manage offshore (*Le Temps*, Oct. 28th 2005), i.e. a global amount of 3,000 billion Swiss Francs. 80% of this money evades taxation in the countries of origin (40 billion francs tax revenue, i.e. 25 times the amount that Swiss government devoted to development aid in 2006). In addition, there is a structural legal and illegal immigrant labour force in Switzerland (varying between 16% in 1913 to 20% resident in Switzerland in 2006, i.e. more than one million persons and 200,000 of them unregistered) who suffer from much discrimination and insecurity; theirs is a form of on site relocation (Terray, 1999).

Like the rest of the world, one can argue that Switzerland – in spite of its relative power – must defend itself to survive. However, one might conjecture that the best way of doing that would be to participate in safeguarding the peace in the world and by redefining exchanges in Switzerland, Europe and the world on a more egalitarian basis – by extension therefore also in the “South-

68 On this subject, from the numerous works of historians and economists, let us quote Bairoch; Guex (1999); Jost (2005).

ern” partner countries and their workers. We should do this because of new international geo-political tensions, the growth of inequality, the pressing ecological factors, and as an example for the the rest of the European Union. To design polices for development, migration, science and technology, education and research, Switzerland cannot be content merely to follow the unique interests of the neo-liberal market leaders.

Indeed, all the key players indicated in the project find themselves involved in an exacerbation of planetary problems (ecology, economy, technology, wars, armaments, limited goods, hunger, healthy, education, etc.) and uncertainty about the future. At the same time, the inequality gap in the access and control of resources, the weight of the debt, the geopolitical transformations and the wars are taking on alarming proportions. As emphasised in the objectives of this project, to guarantee the links North-North, North-East, North-South, South-North, East-North, it is urgent to pay attention to the *human factor* and to support help organisations. In other words, what matters for research are the women and the men of the scientific diasporas and the public institutions which guarantee the safeguarding of the holding environment of these exchange relations.

From this perspective, tackling the question of migration, development, science and scientific diasporas demands first of all that we take stock of the historical context of globalisation placed in a time of medium and long duration. We can do this thanks to a *periodisation* provided by the research of historians (Braudel, Wallerstein)⁶⁹ into the world economy as seen in global space and which takes into account its limits and its critics. The presence of history and researchers of history to define the field of scientific diasporas are necessary. The discourses of migrants, diaspora researchers emphasise this necessity (historical memory, slavery, colonisation, marginalisation, failures, the place of the West, the status of local knowledge, the responsibilities of the diaspora intellectuals, etc.).⁷⁰

Whether globalisation is interpreted in terms of failures (Stiglitz, 2002), success, cost (Bauman, 1999) it is not one of today’s inventions. One merely has to think of Alexander the Great, of the Crusades, of the Conquista, the slave trade, expansionist imperialisms, etc. In the *Communist Manifesto* and *Grundrisse*, Karl Marx produced the evidence that the globalisation of capitalism dragged humanity, whether it liked it or not, into history’s first genuinely global system. It cannot simply be reduced to an accident of the market economy. It is therefore evident that what this globalisation calls for is a revision of the

69 Braudel and Wallerstein (1979); Braudel (1979, 1985).

70 Numerous discourses on the African, Indian and also the Latin-American diasporas contain these themes.

analysis methods of theories of governance (Graz, 2004) of its large domains (money, finance and development, production, labour and migration, trade and harmonisation of exchange conditions, health, the environment and living conditions). It also implies a renewed analysis of the dynamic of power versus opposing power (Beck, 2003) which from some angles comes close to the questions of research on the key players and scientific partnership.

Economic theorists tell us that we are witnessing a world rule of accumulation which is dominated by finance. So it is a matter of leaving the financial sphere (but not the technological revolution) to understand the movement of world capitalism, the new mode, the new mechanisms for accumulation which would lead to the gridlock predicted by Keynes, reminding us that history is long and eventful.⁷¹ The comparison of our stage of globalisation with that of 1870 to 1914 (Berger, 2003) is certainly a useful one. It invites us to divide history into periods of longer duration in order to locate the difficulties, the dilemmas, the present challenges, including those factors which concern policies relating to scientific diasporas. Today new frontiers of world economy are being drawn over those of previous globalisations (Berger, 2006; Balanya et al., 2005).

Historical periodisation allows us to provide a better definition of particular issues at stake in the debate between Enlightenment and anti-Enlightenment (Sternhell, 2006; Traverso, 2008) which lurk in the background of debates about progress, science, the relationship to slavery, and to colonisation. It enables us to evaluate more effectively the type of modernity,⁷² the “capitalist world-economy”⁷³ which has covered the whole planet since the 19th century and in which we find ourselves today. European modernity, from the point

71 By posing this hypothesis, by placing oneself in a world – and no longer merely a European – holding environment, the author writes that one should not concentrate on the division of labour, but rather “research the causes for the insufficient creation of wealth” by a system which is in “relative contraction”. See chapter 2–12 in Chesnais (1997); see also “Fin d’un cycle. Sur la portée et le cheminement de la crise financière”.

72 Wallerstein (1999) distinguishes two types of modernity, the modernity of freedom and the modernity of technological freedom which became globalised, remained in harmony from the 17th to the 20th century, then – according to him – split apart after the 1968 upheavals.

73 I’m borrowing the term from Wallerstein (1999): “in fact, that’s a term which is permissible for us to use to designate this period (from 15th century to the end of the 17th century), mainly because its system was already provided with the three essential elements for such an economic world: a single and axial division of labour existed within its borders, endowed with a polarization between economic activities of the central type and those of the peripheral type; the main political structures, the States, were connected amongst themselves inside a constraining interstate system whose frontiers coincided with the axial division of the labour; those who pursued the incessant accumulation of capital prevailed there on average over those who did not apply themselves to that end” (p. 188).

of view of forced migrations, began with slavery from Africa to the Americas (Portuguese, Spanish, Anglo-Saxon). It started from Europe, from the Caucasian and Mediterranean area. It first displaced Euro-Mediterranean geopolitics and geoculture towards the Atlantic, which separates Africa from the Americas, and afterwards spread out to displace other areas (Pacific Ocean, etc.).

Let us then begin provisionally with the periodisation established by the historian, Immanuel Wallerstein. On a chronological basis, Wallerstein established three periods of modernity: 1) from the 15th century to the end of the 18th century, three hundred and fifty years which mark the beginnings of the modern world system; 2) from the 19th century to the major part of the 20th, from 1789 to 1968,⁷⁴ when imperialism, nationalism⁷⁵ and the failure of socialism coincide; 3) the period after 1968. He concurs with other works by historians by acknowledging his limits and the criticisms he has received (Eurocentrism, not integrating the recent contributions made by works on coloniality)⁷⁶ and by suggesting the need for a methodology of pluri-periodisation which integrates debates on post-colonial studies (about stages, pluri-temporality, pluri-centres and spaces, etc.).⁷⁷ It is based on the concept of *world economy* of the historian Fernand Braudel (1902–1985, 1949). Braudel's is not the equivalent of the concept of modernity and he suggested it to situate the evolution of large regions of the world by qualifying evolution since the 15th century and not placing it in relationship to Greece – unlike the modernity periodisation of the Western humanities.

What I'm proposing here is to have at our disposal a historical holding environment to pin down a philosophical problem – the Universal and the *Cosmopolis* – which we often find pregnant with meaning but distantly implicit or absent in the labour market, in migration, development and science policies etc. since the advent of the facts described by Wallerstein. It is conse-

74 One of the debates about the second stage of Wallerstein's periodisation concerns the choice of the year 1968 rather than 1989 (Fall of the Berlin Wall). He and other researchers consider that 1989 is a sequel to 1968 (Arrighi, Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1992).

75 See in particular, amongst the abundance of literature, Mosse (1975).

76 On this topic see Mignolo (2001).

77 "World economy, (a phrase [...] I have coined to translate the particular usage of a German word *Weltwirtschaft*), only involves a fragment of the universe, a morsel of the economically autonomous planet, capable of being self-sufficient and whose connections and internal exchanges confer on it a particular organic unity" (Braudel, 1979). He gives, Wallerstein (1999) specifies, (note 75, p. 216), as example of world economies: "Carthage during the time of its glory, Islam after its devastating successes from the 18th to the 19th centuries, the Mediterranean during the 16th century."

quently more essential that the historian shows us that tendencies⁷⁸ must be taken into account in the labour force and the demographic balance: 1) a “serious reduction in the world pool of available cheap labour” (p. 205); 2) “an acceleration in the deruralisation of the world labour force” and its corollary: a strong increase in the world costs of labour as it is calculated as a percentage of the total cost of world production” (p. 206), and 3) a “yawning demographic gap which superimposes itself inversely on the economic gap between North and South... which is broadening even more.” According to the historian,

this factor is in the process of creating unbelievable pressure in favour of the South-North migratory movement, provoking an anti-liberal reaction of equal intensity in the countries of the North [...]. The internal demographic balance of the States of the North will change radically, and one can expect to see the birth of intense social conflicts (p. 207)⁷⁹

The availability of such a periodisation that one can shape and refine is useful to integrate one of the major philosophical and political ruptures that tore into the 20th century (thesis of Hannah Arendt and the Frankfurt School). It allows us to place the scientific diasporas not only into global space but also into historical time. Although Switzerland was not directly involved, it does require taking into account the link between colonisation, imperialism (Arendt, 1972) and what the West has known, undergone and imposed on the world since modernity culminated into the 20th century (world wars, Auschwitz, Hiroshima).⁸⁰

78 The analysis of the world of labour must integrate at this stage two other tendencies of rarefaction which are those of the “input locations” and fiscality. According to Wallerstein, “The day will soon arrive where there are no more streams to pollute or trees to cut down with serious and imminent risks for the balance of the biosphere.” Besides, fiscality finances the public services and business enterprises. Security needs are growing. That entails “an increase in the imposition of tolls to the point where it impedes the accumulation of capital.” In short, we are facing three major constraints: the labour force, nature, fiscality are not infinite. The needs of the system and the security of the populations to which it is impossible to respond, are in the process of leading “the capitalist world economy” to a “serious crisis.” “The new period of expansion which is opening to the world economy will exacerbate the conditions which have pushed capitalism towards its crisis. In technical terms, the fluctuations will become more and more chaotic. Parallel to this a dizzying regression threatens the individual and collective security, in league with the loss of the legitimacy of the structures of the States. And with as a probable corollary, a rise in daily violence across the world” (Wallerstein, 2006).

79 “It is not difficult to foresee the aftermath. In spite of the reinforced frontiers, illegal, under-cover immigration will increase throughout the North. At the same time, there will be a surge in voluntarily obscurantist movements” (p. 207).

80 On this subject see the works of the Frankfurt School (Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse), of Hannah Arendt, and in more recent research, the works of the historian Enzo Traverso and the sociologist. See also the thesis by Paul Bairoch who shows in his works that colonialism was beneficial neither to the colonised countries nor to the city states that colonised them (under various titles).

As for science, we must take into account the debate about the transformation of thought into a tool of reason, the question about the direction of progress,⁸¹ the control of scientific progress (Stengers, 2005). This debate cannot be assimilated into the Enlightenment/anti-Enlightenment debate but must be considered at greater depth over a longer historical period⁸² (a question that cannot be tackled here but which must be taken up in a later work of research).

Without going into more depth here in our evaluation of modernity, let us quote Toni Morrison (Nobel Prize for Literature, 1993), a specialist on slavery. She provides a particular insight into the critical shift of the descriptive categorisation and what is at stake in modernity which should be incorporated into all research and in particular into research about migration, development, and scientific policies:

Modern life begins with slavery [...]. From a woman's point of view, in terms of confronting the problems where the world is now, black women had to deal with 'post-moderns' in the nineteenth century and earlier. These things had to be addressed by black people a long time ago. Certain kinds of dissolution, the loss and the need to reconstruct certain kinds of stability. Certain kinds of madness, deliberately going mad in order, as one of the characters says in the book, "[...] not to lose your mind". They're a response to predatory Western phenomena. You can call it an ideology and an economy, what it is pathology. Slavery broke the world in half. It broke it in every way. It broke Europe. It made them into something else, it made them slave masters, and it made them crazy. You can't do that for hundreds of years and it not take a toll. They had to dehumanise, not just the slaves but themselves. They have had to reconstruct everything in order to make that system appear true. It made everything in World War II possible. It made World War I necessary. Racism is the word that we use to encompass all this.⁸³

For the future of space, geography follows the transformations of spaces and territories (Bruneau). Geography itself also emphasises forced mobility and interdependence, skimming off the cream of human potential and the traffic in a labour force that is unskilled or highly qualified (Carroué, 2002). In political terms, space has been evaluated in terms of *political and public space* since the creation of democracy in Greece and elsewhere in the world.

It is in the process of profound transformation (Kant, Arendt, Habermas, Derrida) in the wake of the totalitarian experience, with a burgeoning, unlimited total-liberalism, the increasingly growing presence of cities and "Southern" cities that are polluted.⁸⁴ In addition, there is the weakening of Nation

81 On this subject, see the excellent issue of the review *Polyrama*, n. 119, December 2003.

82 "To understand what we've made of progress, it is necessary to go back to a period which is located towards the end of the 15th century, at the paroxysm of the Renaissance," specifies an historian Jost (2003: 35).

83 Toni Morrison, *Beloved*, cited by Gilroy (2003: 289).

84 90% of the most polluted towns are located in emerging countries.

States demanding sovereignty over territories that are escaping their clutches in a geopolitical framework of multinational companies, empires, regional spaces that are being reshaped, the appropriation of political space by private multinational companies. All of the above is radically transforming the relation of human beings to the space they occupy.

The successive stages of globalisation with their periodisations, ruptures, their movements of contraction and expansion, the (mis)appropriations of public and political space are creating an uncertain world. When we ponder the questions of scientific diasporas, the evolution of financial capitalism, technological innovations, the profound changes in world geo-politics, the persistence of slavery in connection with migration, we may well believe that advocating such a change in looking at things and acting to change them is not necessarily a naïve attitude, even if the logistics of economic and financial war which accompany the security discourses (also present in the transformations of university education and academic research) appear as incontrovertible evidence.

These forms of political logic with temporalities and diverse spatialities induce a dehumanisation which Toni Morrison tells us about and a loss of confidence on the part of the scientists, as L. Zuppiroli,⁸⁵ a professor of mechanical engineering at the Swiss Federal Institute of technology in Lausanne, explains. Today, the question of scientific and technological progress can no longer be assimilated into the question of social progress.⁸⁶ That suggests far more a radical renewal of scientific practices and citizenship. These are the concern of researchers in the North and South. The conditions of the freedom of movement of the diasporas are symbolised from now on by the figure of Prometheus – both chained and yet still in movement. That is the place that is the movement where conflicts and debates are in play.

85 “The top officials in charge of education and research, fascinated by the technological successes of the United States, even end up visiting M. I. T. or the California Institute of Technology or Princeton University or some other renowned establishment. They come back with stars in their eyes and their mouths full of American acronyms. [...] Since these establishments have everything to gain by pleasing politicians: ruled in general by money and private initiative – even if they are in fact flooded with public money and military funds –, they fit neatly into this neo-liberal logic that these European policy-makers – whether they’re liberal, conservative or social democrat – all finally espoused and whose bywords are privatisation and deregulation” (Zuppiroli, (undated): 19).

86 “The end of progress in no way signifies a reduction in the role of the sciences, quite the opposite. [...]. In the new configurations which will be adumbrated their role is absolutely vital: it’s a matter of designing completely new teaching methods for public validation, a policy where evidence can be discussed and arrive at a certainty, a provisional closure, by an explicit process that is no longer secret or hidden” (Latour, 2003: 37).

2.2 *The Theories of Liberalism, Justice and Development Confronted by the New World Order and Cognitive Capitalism*

As a result of the intervention of migrant workers, important transfers of labour, funds, goods, and indeed of women and children take place. They have become the subject of in-depth studies in the sociology of migration. In a context of insecurity and war, exchanges of labour, women, goods, funds, information, documents, etc. produce and reproduce social bonds. This fact calls for a critical evaluation of the theories about the State and about exchange which is limited to the marketplace. This fact calls for comparative approaches to the types of State in the West and elsewhere. The presupposition that universal modernity takes its model at all points of the world from the Western experience deserves to be examined in a comparative, critical manner.⁸⁷ This fact calls for a new general theory of exchange, as the IUED researchers (Dominique Perrot; Gérald Berthoud) emphasised in the wake of other international research (Amselle). Marcel Mauss (1969), a sociologist, has shown that gift and counter-gift (giving, receiving, giving back) are the three pillars of social relationships.⁸⁸ He has shown that exchanges exist (the famous example of the potlatch) in which the non-accumulation of goods by destroying them is exchanged for prestige and honour. We may well answer with a rejoinder to Marcel Mauss that all exchanges are not merely exchanges of objects.

In the exchange that Marcel Mauss is talking about, labour is part of the transformations in the wage system (Moulier-Boutang, 1998), part of what we call the economy, cognitive capitalism (Gaudin, 2007), where a sexist division of labour still persists (on one side men working in the ITC, on the other the women working in social assistance, health, and social services, a sector that is insufficiently taken into account in the holding environment of cognitive capitalism and as a consequence badly evaluated from this point of view) (Kofman, 2003). Other authors are also calling for a reconsideration of the conditions for the production of knowledge, for a social and political demoralisation (Tosel, 1995; Castoriadis, 1974, 1979) in companies, universities, and exchanges between countries.

Anthropology emphasised the paradigm of the distinction between an exchange and an economic exchange. At this point, let's briefly recall the works of Karl Polanyi and continue to ask the questions he raised. Not all human

87 On this subject see especially the work of Badie (1997).

88 Another anthropologist show that certain objects are excluded from the practice of donations and exchange because they are "aids to identity" which circulate throughout the group and that the logic of donation against counter-donation is much more complex (outside intervention, the status of human sexuality, the status and form of political and religious relationships). See Godelier (2007).

exchanges can be listed in the economic order. In addition, world economic exchanges do not exclusively obey the classic or neo-classic economic models which fail to take into account all the complexity and richness of social relations and the relationships of societies to the environment. The market model coming from these theories is not broad enough to build a general theory of exchange, which would take all of the complexities of societies into account and not only the market economy, explains Karl Polanyi (1972), an economist of Hungarian origin and a committed socialist who teaches at Columbia University (New York). It is interesting today to retrace the author's steps both to understand the anti-modern "great turnaround" (*Umwandlung*),⁸⁹ what happened to the modern world with the great economic and political crisis between 1930 and 1945, "the great disease" of Nazism in Europe. What he calls "German fascism" takes root, in his view, at the very heart of economic-social modernity. From a comparative perspective, as Louis Dumont explains in his preface summing up the processes, he puts The Ricardo Innovation Centre into perspective by comparing it with the exchanges in Melanesian tribes in order to research what constitutes the basis for production and the basis for exchange and in order to explain the way "Adolf Hitler buried liberalism."

As Karl Marx had already shown, market theories are based on labour value appropriation, the search for maximisation of profit transformed into capital. They refer to the mechanism of supply and demand and to the price system. They neither take into account the creation of the essence of Man and his emancipation through labour, nor reciprocity, nor the redistribution of produced goods, nor any interference with technological discoveries, nor with all the wealth from what is exchanged. The mere satisfaction of material needs and making profits do not explain the richness of human relationships, the diversity of societies, their connection to devices and tools, to the technologies, and – what is part of all this – to the creation, the production of social capital, spreading of knowledge and experiences through the means of scientific diasporas. Put more simply and once again following in the tracks of Marcel Mauss, in order to understand the richness and the complexity of the social relationships which emanate from diasporas, and in particular from scientific diasporas, we need to consider these relationships in the holding environments with an interpretation of the facts in terms of total social facts (according to the famous term).

89 Dumont (1972) translates the "great transformation" as "the great turnaround," which shows more clearly the conflict between the modernity of economic liberalism and the anti-modernism which was reawakened by Nazism in Europe. "The course of Polanyi's originality was to have viewed modern society, or the liberal economy, in the light of societies that were not modern and that stood in contrast to them... so as to extract some general concepts that might replace them." The opposition between modernity and anti-modernism will be exploited by the historians and anthropologists of the non-Western societies.

To clarify the principles, criteria and mechanisms which are prevalent today in all the decisions influencing exchanges by means of migration and scientific exchanges, perhaps it would be convenient to perform a theoretical shift and take a comparative epistemological process as Louis Dumont, reading Polanyi, invites us to do. Writing the preface to Polanyi's book in 1982, he brings out the originality of his approach and his contribution, whilst still pointing out the major factors that are at stake in building a new theoretical foundation which is necessary for the study of scientific diasporas:

modern civilisation and its history become understandable in a completely new sense when it is seen in relation to the other civilisations and cultures [...]. Nothing is more topical than this placing of cultures in relationship to one another. It's a commonplace to say that the world we live in is a world where the different cultures interact, but our view is most frequently a narrow one and we are a long way from measuring to what degree our world has absorbed any of this cultural interaction [...]. For example, recent world events have yet again shown the potency of the self-esteem held by nations or States, the importance for people to feel and be preoccupied with their dignity. Now, this need for recognizing collective identity is located precisely at the point of articulation of the Universalist values and of the specific cultures: when all is said and done, it's a matter of the weight of cultures and of their interrelationship. Our world is an intercultural world, and this point of view grants rights to the representations of the participants that one tended to underestimate. In fact, what we take to be the entirety of modern ideas and values is already at the present moment to a great extent the result of the interaction of the cultures, from the result of feedback from the dominated cultures on the dominant culture. The world that we reputedly present as modern is thus penetrated in reality by the interaction between modernity and non-modernity, or the spontaneous adaption of modernity in the dominant world. (Dumont, 1972: XVII–XVII)

These remarks are valid not only in the context of what is called “East-West” or “North-South” relations, but for all societies and all social relations (consequently also relations inside societies stamped as being in a state of modernity, where the scientists of the diasporas of the “South” congregate and work).

In the ongoing globalisation, the production, the transfer of knowledge, the experience of scientific practices is due to the scientific diasporas. Nevertheless, we must still heed the fact emphasised by Louis Dumont (1972) that “modernity in the case of economic liberalism forms an alliance at first approximation to its opposite in today's existence” (p. XIX). A comparative approach between both trends *Enlightenment/anti-Enlightenment* and their confrontations in changing tones and forms at various moments of European history, linked with debates about the place of economy in societies would reveal recurrences and other factors which form the stakes nowadays. If a universality does exist, it is that of the foreignness of the other person, which for us here means the migrants, the diasporas and the scientific diasporas. We shall see on what conditions the Universal can relay Kant's abstract universalism and the

universalism postulated by the market opening at the same time new horizons for interesting research.

After development thanks to economic growth, are we witnessing the development by knowledge to the detriment of the diversity of human know-how? The question tackled by analysts of knowledge management and by researchers in intercultural education refers back to the concept of cognitive capital concerning the economy. In order to prolong and update these works on liberalism in regard to scientific diasporas, it is necessary first of all to record “the great disillusion” of a Nobel Prize for Economy (Stiglitz, 2002), then to envisage the “new great transformation” which followed the one described by Polanyi and was described by another economist.

At this stage of globalisation, he writes, it is indicated by the emergence of cognitive capitalism.⁹⁰ This type of capitalism has an important role in a new type of capitalism which succeeds mercantile capitalism and the capitalism of slavery, amid the industrial capitalism and imperialism at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Adam Smith’s political economics do not allow us to apprehend the reality of the value, the wealth, and the complexity of the world system. In order to grasp the “totality” (Jameson, 2007) of the way cognitive capitalism has taken hold, we have to change our theoretical points of reference. We have to start out again with the concept of labour. What is at stake is the capacity to locate and describe the “gangué” (current globalisation) of emerging cognitive capitalism, master the complex regions of the biosphere, the place of intangible labour and collective intelligence. The author outlines the stages of his program:

We have to be able to describe the great transformation of labour, the division of labour and the digital network (which is neither the market, nor the hierarchy), and labour-invention attractors produced by art and by the university. We have to grasp the meaning and describe new contradictions in the creeping revolution in intellectual property rights, production of knowledge assets, the crisis of wage earners (in flight and weakening), new forms of poverty, in particular intermittent workers who are the other face of intellectual capital, in the emergence of *cognitariat versus proletariat*. We have to understand and describe the process of passing from production transformations through financialisation (and not in the other direction), the links between financialisation and cognitive capitalism, taking into account intangibles⁹¹ in the enterprise, the transformations of labour market (para-subordinated), the intrinsic instability of cognitive capitalism and a “New Deal for cognitive capitalism” which includes the feasibility of a guaranteed social income. The research resonates with many of the characteristics of diasporas and scientific diasporas. It offers useful propositions (chapter VII).

90 This is a hypothesis of labour put forward by a French researcher who is in the process of testing it in a research programme. Moulrier-Boutang (1998) (see definition p. 86 onwards).

91 The category of the “intangible” is presented in an analysis of labour made by Hardt and Negri (2004) in the second section of their book.

It is even possible to enrich the debate further from another theoretical angle (that of political philosophy) inspired by the work of an Indian economist, Amiya Kumar Bagchi (2007), on the development of Calcutta. He studies the links between migration and morality (justice and equality), the sovereignty of finance and the dehumanisation of migrants. His work is partly inspired by concepts like *human development* (Amartya Sen) and *social capital* (Robert Putnam),⁹² while progressing towards a profound evaluation of the theories of justice prevalent in India and elsewhere in the world

His long and very profound article – extended by the article published in 2008 and quoted in the footnotes – is developed in five successive stages, substantially informed and well-argued (migration and globalisation, theories about justice and ethics and how they are implemented in the treatment of migrants, global project on current neo-liberal capitalism and financial capitalism (*Finance-led Globalisation II*), theories of justice (among others John Rawls' (1971, 1999) monumental work) confronted with the facts of globalisation, propositions for political ethics in migration policies). In the continuation of another work about migrants and justice theory, I'm limiting myself here principally to the terms of the imperial point of view and the dehumanisation that he discovers and describes with the starting point of the political ethic in the John Rawls' theory of justice. As far as I'm concerned, I had shown how in his time John Rawls' theory of justice and his principle of difference were prisoners of the nation-state categories and the American example of the Seventies (Caloz-Tschopp, 1996).

After his treaty on justice, John Rawls has developed certain aspects connected to international relations, but without breaking away from national and imperial categories. The remark grows in importance insofar as numerous theories in philosophy, political philosophy, law and social studies are limited by approaching them in the narrow holding environment of the nation-state and its legacies.⁹³ So the theories prevent us from grasping the phenomenon of migration, development and diasporas in all its complexity and granting it a place in the holding environment of politics and law.

Furthermore, a debate is open between so-called governance theories and democracy (Cavaliere, 2007) and citizenship theories. It is present also in migration, development, science and technology policies. The debate can't be

92 My thanks to Barnita Bagchi (Calcutta) for pointing out these two references.

93 Several publications make a point of mentioning the passage of a "national" to an "international" vision, which is certainly useful, but insufficient inasmuch as the system and the categories of the system of the nation States still dominate the construction of knowledge. See for example the publication of the AIM (2005).

settled with the invention of the concept of “democratic governance,”⁹⁴ insofar as an ambiguous concept of democracy is unable take into account the resistance and the political construction of networks (labour, technology) which exist in scientific diasporas, or – to put it more theoretically, where the sovereignty of individuals and a “people” run the risk of being forgotten, to the benefit of the closed sovereignty of the State. Ambiguity would make us lose sight of “the diaspora option” which we have chosen for the present research. The choice places the emphasis on the *knowledge workers* of the scientific diasporas and their power to act as key players in international cooperation. The resurgence of very diverse works on democracy since the 70’s and since the years 1980–1990 reveal at the same time its ruin, its disappearance, its reconstruction⁹⁵ and the radical nature of its historical creation that we have to rediscover today (Caloz-Tschopp, 2008a). In this sense, in the context of globalised neo-liberalism, when the Berkeley political analyst Wendy Brown (2007) describes the *de-democratisation*, in particular because of the depreciation of the conflict and the opposition forces from a vista where liberal democracy is in the process of dying (in her words), we may continue her research by asking ourselves to what extent this particular trend causes a *de-development* (Summers), against which, as we shall see, the choice of the diaspora option constitutes an alternative where scientific diasporas may be incorporated. To summarise, from a more radical perspective, let’s mention (without stopping there) that in policies of development, migration, education and science, there is a separation between classical works of criticism and more recent work. After the failures of development and also the blame placed on the model of limitless economic progress, philosophical questioning has no longer concerned itself merely with the economy in connection with the type of progress, but more broadly with the type of “imaginary social meaning” of “rationality” (Castoriadis, 1975, 1986), the frontiers, the place granted by human beings to other human beings, to animals and to nature in the universe.

Today, what Castoriadis was saying in 1974 about development as an imaginary, socio-historic meaning in terms of “rationalist ideology,” an illusion of omnipotence, the supremacy of economic “calculation,” the absurdity and

94 “Today governance prefigures the system that I can foresee: a mixture of hearty, back-slapping populism for the elections and the governance by the happy few for important questions. The anti-populism of the elites dutifully echoes popular antipopulism. The people entrust those who govern them with little confidence, but the opposite is also true: those elected by the people have a scant liking for them. Perhaps they will call this new system ‘democratic governance’. It would be a contradiction in terms, since the governance is anti-democratic, but will that be so shocking in a system where the principle of sovereign People, qualified by certain intellectuals from now on as ‘romantic,’ will have been forgotten?” (Hermet, 2007, 2008).

95 See especially *Le Monde diplomatique*, n. 646, Jan. 2008, pp. 22–23.

the incoherence of organising “society on a rational basis,” the religion of “science,” the idea of “development for the sake of development,” in terms of an indefinite development without end (in both senses of the world *end*) to reach “a state which is not defined by anything except the ability to reach new states” (ibid: 141, 142, 143) remains a critical question for societies and for science. Above all, let’s mention the present theoretical debates surrounding the demand for a new anthropology and a new political ontology. It’s a matter of taking into account not only the over-exploitation of nature, human beings, labour-force reserve (Marx), but also a policy of the disposable (human beings, objects), forms of destabilisation of human boundaries in social relations through a governance Michel Foucault called “biopolitics,” heavy traces of which can still be discerned in development, migration and science. Although we are not able to develop this point here, it is important to point it out, since we can well imagine that these debates already shape and will strongly reshape the analyses of the policies which interest us in the years to come.

2.3 Migration and Development and the Rights of Man in the New World Migration Order (NWMO)

From sixteen themes, 120 UN member states placed at the top the theme of migration as a tool for socio-economical development (March 1st 2007) (GFMD, 2007). The relationship placed by numerous international organisms,⁹⁶ States, NGO’s, researchers, etc. between migration and development and more specifically between migration, development and science⁹⁷ is far from being clear evidence, from now on if you plan to use it as a template in constructing a new world migration order and if you analyse the particular arguments, practices and the measures taken. From the point of view of philosophy and political theory, it implies a double construction undertaken at the same time with that of scientific diasporas: rethinking human rights and sustainable development in their radical meaning. It also implies that we take particular legacies in the sciences into account and broaden the concept of science by acknowledging the fact that science is built inside socio-political relationships.

96 See in particular: IOM (2005), Commission of the European Communities (2005), The Berne Initiative (2004).

97 See in particular: Tejada (2007).

2.3.1 *Building Human Rights in Scientific Diasporas*

The 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an opportunity to remember the history of the struggles that are still going on for the right to live, to dignity, to basic needs, to peace, to development, and to the rights of women...⁹⁸ We may conjecture that building human rights on the very terrain where the labour market is being transformed at the frontiers of the wage earners, of civil society, of lives of international associationalism, of NGOs, of the diasporas and the scientific diasporas is one of the new forms of creation of a social conscience, of social movements in the internationalisation of class relations.⁹⁹ As for the State system, it meets with resistances and ambiguities which appear in the tendency to multiply the number of escape clauses (special dispensations, exceptions, restrictions). These facts show that it's important to "reason the reason of State" (Delmas-Marty, 1989). The human rights field demands that we decode resistances, the conflicts that surround the "impossible capture of humanity" (Lejbowicz, 1999) in relations between politics, State, and (civil) society, not merely in Europe, but in the holding environment of current globalisation. The area where work and migration take place are privileged domains for interpreting conflicts. In order to connect migration and development and the construction of human rights, research has placed the emphasis on demanding the integration of human rights into the domain of the international right to migration. Thus the objective of interdisciplinary work is to tackle the constantly debated question of the universality of human rights, not only through the lens of a theoretical debate which has already been well fed, but also through the lens of a comparative study of the reciprocal apprenticeships of history and common practice,¹⁰⁰ and by analyzing conditions for building the Universal in the domain of international labour and migration (research and citizenship).¹⁰¹ It is impossible here to recapitulate the processes and arguments which justify the demand for a new epistemological paradigm in this field. A publication which resulted from another research project carried out at the University of Geneva (FPSE), at CUDIH, at the University of Lausanne (IEPI), financed by the GIAN in collaboration with ILO and UNHCR, the NGOs, and the City Council of Geneva,¹⁰² provides us at the same time with interdis-

98 Let us take this opportunity to point out the public appeal launched by Ubuntu, the World Forum of Networks of Civil Society.

99 See on this subject Lojkine (1999).

100 See on this subject Sen (2005) (in the field of the sciences, medicine, democracy, by not reducing diversity in religious questions).

101 Amongst two recent texts, let's quote (in connection with the right to work) Supiot (2005).

102 Recherche Mondialisation, Migration, Droits de l'Homme. See the site of Professor Pierre Dasen, University of Geneva, FPSE (www.unige.ch/fapse) and the site of RUIG.

ciplinary tools and a both on international law and the internal law of the States (Caloz-Tschopp and Dasen, 2007).

Some propositions have been presented as a synthesis of the research (see vol. I). Amongst the propositions set out publically on this occasion, one by Monique Chemillier-Gendreau (Paris), a scholar of international law, deserves particular attention: la création d'un cour mondiale des droits de l'homme¹⁰³ (the creation of a World Court of human rights). It is not without significance that the proposition was set out within the framework of a research work on migrations. It has direct and indirect implications for scientific diasporas, a point which would deserve to be expanded on in future research. Along with other measures concerning migrant workers (ILO),¹⁰⁴ encouraging the use and application of the Convention on migrant workers is one of the propositions which is useful for scientific diasporas. One should also underline the necessity that the list of guidelines on human development drawn up by the UNPD and the UN be evaluated and enriched in view of the work that has been done on migration and development to shed light on scientific diasporas.

We must remind ourselves here¹⁰⁵ of the axes of action in international law that are directly relevant for migrants, diasporas and scientific diasporas. The first one relevant to the objectives of this research is the requirement of an obligatory jurisdiction on human rights. Let us imagine for a moment that in the field of migration and scientific diasporas, individuals and civil society NGOs would present articles before a court about "the right for any person to leave any country," arguing that this right includes necessarily the right to enter another country. One can thus see the ramifications of research into international law as well as into the rights connected with the freedom of movement of individuals throughout the world. It is also possible to propose that the General Assembly of the United Nations solemnly proclaim that all human rights belong collectively to "general imperative law," which by its nature is irrevocable. We may also advocate the necessity and urgency that international jurisdictions already in existence, The Hague International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court (ICC) see that their legal powers cannot be revoked. States would no longer be able to avoid yielding to them, as is the case today. As we have seen, these themes are just as appropriate for interdisciplinary research which might be connected to work on migration, diasporas and consequently scientific diasporas. The construction of human rights is integrated with the construction

103 See Caloz-Tschopp and Dasen (2007), particularly proposition n. 7. See also the footnote 18 (p. 41).

104 See: ILO (BIT on its French acronym), 2004, 2006.

105 My thanks to Monique Chemillier-Gendreau, professor of international law, for clarifying this point for our research.

of sustainable development in the spirit of 1987 and as far as its own development is concerned with the development of sustainable *human* development.

2.3.2 *Building Sustainable Human Development in Scientific Diasporas*

In the discourses on development a critical debate has been going on since the years 1960–1970 on three axes in critical or a critical relation to neo-liberalism at the present stage of economic-political globalisation: the progress assimilated by free-market economy growth (criticism of liberalism, debate between Enlightenment and anti-Enlightenment), (in) equality (ILO, unions, migrants' countries of origin, social movement, migrants), and the environment (ecomovement).¹⁰⁶ From the first axis, the works of Pierre Bungener and Roy Preiswerk – followed up by IUED researchers (Marie-Dominique Perrot, Gérald Berthoud, Gilbert Rist, etc.), in the years that followed – one can keep in mind that in the face of all other economics, they enthusiastically recommended an anthropological reconsideration of exchange and the system of methodology of the mirror-effect on our societies in order to construct a global vision of globalisation. These research efforts tracked the shift of anthropology at the moment of decolonisation, from colonial terrain toward the terrain of our societies (notably, of our Information Society) (Berthoud, 1991, 2000). In the 80's, policies and research on development experienced a “radical rupture”¹⁰⁷ (economic reforms, eclipse of the models inspired by Marxism and nationalism).

Since the 90s we are witnessing a metamorphosis in the discourses on development, on fields of study and experiences (unequal exchange, accumulation, dependence, opposition centre-periphery, change, imperialism... (Petras and Velmeyer, 2001) structural readjustment, social capital, sustainable development, governance, gender, rights, humanitarian considerations, *empowerment*, *capability*, autonomy, etc.) (Samaddar, 2005). Let's make special mention of the themes that converge in the numerous debates: after North-South bipolarity, attention is redirected towards the demand for a project and for a world public governance which breaks with the global capitalist system (the transformation of civilisation, a reduction in the world consumption of raw materials, energy, structural changes in the various urbanised ways of life, links between the city and the countryside, the organisation of labour, the demand for a basic universal income that is not connected to the labour market, transportation, consumption, intensive production of cereals with reference to a re-

106 On the other hand, the gender perspective is much less developed in these debates.

107 This is the thesis of a scientific symposium organised by 4 research institutions and associations in Paris on the 13th and 14th November 2008. See <colloquelesmots@gmail.com>. Acts published in *Revue Tiers Monde* and review *La régulation, Les mots, Economie et Institutions*.

organisation of property, of agricultural production, changing rules in the relationships between North and South, Third World debt cancellation, etc.).

The concept of development has gone through successive reformulations since the inequality approach and has now come to be known as sustainable development (sustainable).¹⁰⁸ The link between the objectives of development and the environmental crisis led to the concept of *eco-development* that was expounded on in the early 70's by Ignacy Sachs and at the Stockholm international conference on the human environment in 1972. Then the term *sustainable development*, translated into French as “développement durable” appears in 1980. It is made official and widespread by the report “Notre avenir à tous.”¹⁰⁹ The concept integrates a temporal approach (generational in the wake of the philosopher Hans Jonas, 1990) and spatial (the Earth). It connects the social, the ecological, the economic and other notions (liveable, viable, sustainable, just) but does not yet integrate the gender (in French *sexe/genre*) perspective. It aims to improve the standard of living of disadvantaged populations without jeopardizing or possibly destroying the natural systems which maintain life (ecosystems, natural resources). We must emphasise the argument of the financial analysts according to which sustainability had a positive impact on company profits.

This fact explains why more than 50% of the 2,500 major companies quoted on the Stock Exchange are registered in a so-called sustainable fund. Thus is the concept of sustainable development reduced to the financial market and to stock market profits.¹¹⁰ Yet we have seen that it is reformulated today in connection with a radical change, with a global political project, with civil life,¹¹¹

108 The term sustainable (from the French *soutenable*) seems to me preferable to “durable,” because it includes explicitly at one and the same time the demand for temporality over the long duration suggested by the word “durable” with – in addition – the political and scientific demand for knowledge (reason, a sustainable thesis) and action, engagement, will power, political responsibility (development is sustainable in the sense of livable, viable, durable, it is sustained actively by a “who,” by the entirety of the key players and institutions).

109 States the “Brundtland Report” from the World Commission on Environment and Development, submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1987.

110 See on this topic the works of the Ethos Foundation. This argument must be placed in relation to the authority of the *Lex Mercatoria* in NWMO (see the article by H  l  ne Pellerin).

111 The 1986 declaration in which the word “development” appears 48 times, whereas the word “growth” appears nowhere, was included in the efforts to restore a more just international economic order. “For those who initiate it, the human being, the people must be placed at the heart of development, its active subjects and not its objects; the sovereignty of all nations and of all peoples is equal and their right to self-determination cannot be satisfied by a mere formal recognition. It is crucial to guarantee them in fact and in practice,” writes Florian Rochat, the director of the Europe Centre-Third World (CETIM, www.cetim.ch), the organiser of a recent symposium in Geneva (Symposium, development and international cooperation, Uni-Mail, Geneva, December 7th–8th 2007). He emphasises the importance of the broadening of democracy, of a collaboration of the great powers to ensure human, economic, social, cultural and civil rights.

and that it underlines the changes in the current globalisation of the labour market when it is connected to migration. From 1986,¹¹² development has been questioned in various discursive constructions (unequal exchange, underdevelopment or bad development (Batou, 1989), diminution) and at the same time asserted as a *right* where the process of emancipation takes place (the word *empowerment* expresses this imperfectly). Its implications are described today more precisely¹¹³ but are still relentlessly questioned at the portals of public financing of North and South States,¹¹⁴ its meaning and orientation¹¹⁵ and its links with the present stage of capitalism.

The problem is that capitalism [...] revolves around the accumulation of money and not around the satisfaction of human needs [...], its goal is still vigorously aimed at deepening and extending a world where there is no respect for human beings and where nature can be disfigured to fit this economic system [...]. As the damage may prove irreversible, the very continuation of life on the planet is threatened (Whitaker).

These recent debates are shifting the critical approach to development and migration¹¹⁶ by integrating other factors of radicality (gender, the role of the elite in Southern countries, wars, colonial starvation, genocide, the exploitation of migrants in agriculture, the place of migrant women in the he sector, the logistics of disintegration and confrontation in urban zones where some neighbourhoods are closed sanctuaries, the militarisation of public land, etc.).

Tensions in relations, the concept of power, etc. between international private commerce, police and bureaucratic control of migration¹¹⁷ and sustainable

112 See Declaration on the right of development, DDC, December 4th 1986. Carried by the Non-aligned Movement, Declaration on the right to development DDC, December 4th 1986 the declaration of the United Nations Organisation on the right of development, December 4th 1986, approved by 146 States (more than 90% of the world population), rejected by the United States and with 10 abstentions (20th anniversary) gives the following definition of development: "a global, economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims to improve ceaselessly the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals, on the basis of their active, free and important participation in the development and a fair share in the resulting benefits" This founding text was accompanied by other texts: the Charter of the rights and economic duties of the States (1974) with its famous article 20 (chapter III) demanding the application of norms on the protection, preservation and enhancement of the environment.

113 See *Annuaire Suisse de politique* (2007), see also Schumperli (2007).

114 See "Le financement du développement", *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 192, October-December.

115 See in particular criticisms on durable development, "Quel développement?", *PubliCETIM*, n. 30, 2007.

116 See for example in French and German, translated from the English, Davis (2003) (2007), and Ackers and Davis (2007).

117 In the arsenal of control measures of the camps, were propositions about education combined with forced detention. A German deputy of the Democratic Union thus proposed the opening of reeducation camps for "foreign criminals".

development are opening new fields for challenging trade policies (Damian and Graz, 2000; Graz, 2001, 2007). All of this is not without effect on the way we look at the connection between migration, development and science and on the education and research which concerns scientific diasporas. It is clear that with the present globalisation, trends are changing in the new world migration order. "There is no doubt that people's mobility has grown considerably" in the words of Jean-Philippe Chauzy, spokesperson of the IOM. The type of migrants needed by Northern countries is changing.

Developed countries are competing to recruit computer scientists, doctors, nurses, engineers, etc. from Southern countries just as the recruiting system is coming up against a policy of restriction at the points of entry in the Northern countries. Since the 80s, we are witnessing a new stage in the attempt to control and regulate migration. Side by side with the needs for highly skilled migrant workers battling fierce competition, other needs exist in the care sector, where migrant women are in the majority, agriculture, catering, trade, basic services, etc. "It's all very well wanting specialists in high technology, but all these people need garage mechanics, laundry workers and dish washers in the restaurants – in other words, in as many areas where fewer and fewer local people are ready to work" (Crépeau, 2005). In Germany in 2000, Gerhard Schröder launched an appeal for 20,000 Indian computer scientists, but in the end only issued 18,000 "green cards." In France, 2,000 "competence and talent cards" renewable every three years tried to attract highly skilled workers from foreign countries and at the same time appeals were launched for the return of French researchers. New migration policies focus on Indian white-collar workers in the USA, Sri-Lankan workers in Saudi Arabia, Philippino cleaning ladies restricted to working illegally, and the 100,000 Moroccan and African agricultural workers who work in the greenhouses of Almeria in Spain and are treated no better than slaves.¹¹⁸ These few examples of migrant workers' statistics in the present globalisation show us that policies are established between restructuring, competition in the world labour market, protection and exploitation by diversifying the treatment of the various classes of migrants: ranging from attracting them, offering security, temporary residence,¹¹⁹ to structured illegality.

Since the 80's in the wake of debates about development, some of the discourses about immigration policies have advocated the concept of thinking

118 See *El Ejido: la loi du profit*, 2007, a documentary film by Jawad, Rhalib (80 minutes).

119 "We are not speaking here about seasonal workers like those who arrive every year from Mexico to pick fruit and vegetables, but of profession people who would come to establish themselves here for two or three years," explains H el ene Pellerin, a professor at the Political Science School of Ottawa University (2005).

about development and migration in the same context (OECD, IOM, World Conference on International Migration, Global Commission on International Migration, States, etc.). In the holding environment of the Schengen laboratory such an approach is not without ambiguity in so much as it took place at the same time as policies of enforced deportation of dismissed workers and illegals were being put into place along with other policies of selective immigration of targeted workers (a list of professions was provided to the labour exchanges of the countries of origin) and also of highly skilled workers (a hunt between Europe and the United States for the brains of the emerging countries).

Bilateral and multilateral police agreements aimed at the readmission of deported foreigners are imposed at the same time as temporary target immigration and scientific cooperation agreements – not necessarily with the same countries. Amongst the intended measures between States and at the EU level, police agreements about detention and deportation to country of origin, mention was also made of aid linked to development (Caloz-Tschopp, 2004). On a different note, other discourses connect development to migration. They intend simultaneously to broaden the idea of development so they can present new arguments aimed at encouraging public sponsorship of development (Swiss Confederation, cantons, town councils) presenting migration in positive terms¹²⁰ and allowing the “South” to have their say. The increasingly urgent necessity to include, in addition to the human element, a sensitivity to nature and a concern for climate¹²¹ in development strategies resulted at the time of the Bali Conference in 2007¹²² in highlighting the new category of climate refugees and broadened questions that had already been asked about the link between migration and development (Ndiaye, 2004). The campaigns presently run by the Swiss Federal Department of Police and Justice (DFJP) supported by certain IOM and EU services have been subject to criticism. Critics emphasise that these campaigns are tarnished by an outlook dominated by security and by the idea of a “closed circuit return ticket” type of migration.¹²³ And yet these criticisms are abundantly refuted both by the facts and by the work carried out by immi-

120 See in particular the two forums of the Geneva Federation for Cooperation (FGC) in 2005 and January 2008.

121 See the important United Nations report on climate (2007); Schwartz and Doug (2006).

122 See in particular the report of the Intergovernmental Group on the Evolution of Climate, GIED, 2007.

123 The basic model for this scheme was devised for seasonal agricultural workers during the years 1950–1960 (“circulation migration,” France). It forms part of the policy of the Promotion Agency for Moroccan Employment for the formal recruitment of migrant women to pick strawberries in Spain at 30 Euros per day at the current rate. Recruitment guidelines for the women: to be in good health, to be neither obese nor thin, to have perfect teeth, to be married, to have children younger than 14 years of age (guaranteed return).

gration sociologists.¹²⁴ They underestimate work on the conditions of production, exchange, all manner of transfers, in particular by the establishment of bilateral and multilateral agreements about legal migration between countries (rights, vocational training, lists of professions, social security, transfer of funds, etc.). We know that on the global level, the money sent by migrants to their families is estimated at 250 billion dollars annually. In 2006, the World Bank estimated that the amounts transferred by migrants in official or informal ways to their countries of origins reached 220 billion dollars (in fact, 10 to 20% more than that amount according to Jean-Philippe Chauzy of the IOM). A little less than half of this money comes from OECD countries, 30% from oil-producing countries and the Middle East, and the rest (17%) from the developing countries themselves.¹²⁵ Some studies equate what is called the drainage of money by the migrants with the development of the countries of origin by analysing the impact of the money when the national and local banks manage to channel this money towards development. Migrants are becoming entrepreneurs and vocal participants (Bagalwa-Mapatano and Monnier, 2002) in defining development policies and actual investors when partnerships are successfully established between immigrant associations, NGOs, the local authorities in the countries of origin and residence (education, work).¹²⁶

In this context, a follow-up to the research evaluating the effects on the development of the countries of origin might be to integrate the action of scientific diasporas in relationship to the support given to the countries of origin in case studies and to formulate criteria and propositions for public outline agreements for target transfers.¹²⁷ Modes of governance in the new world migration

124 Research has shown (China, India, Algeria, the Philippines, etc.) that policies of “forced return” act as a brake rather than an incentive to development.

125 In developing countries, the transfers are more profitable to the intermediary-income countries than very low-income countries. Compared to the GDP, these transfers represent 24.2% for Haiti, 22.8% for Jordan, 16.2% for Nicaragua, or 10.9% for Morocco. They have positive effects on macroeconomics (currency, national income increase, payment of imports necessary to growth), and on microeconomics (health, education, savings). These funds are also used for community facilities, telecommunication, tourism, transport and trade. The World Bank and the DFID have studied the effects of these transfers on poverty. They estimate that 10% of the transfer reduces 1.2% poverty. Source: <<http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/IMG/pdf/Transfertsimmigrants.pdf>>.

126 The criteria at the base of these policies connected with the public needs of the countries of origin have yet to be evaluated.

127 “Switzerland encourages the development of a scientific partnership with development countries. A guide to the partnership has been set out. It is intended to facilitate the exchange of knowledge and skills and to share objectives between the partners” (Kleiber, 1999). A research project could evaluate and update such a tool by integrating the specific needs of the scientific diasporas.

order which are strongly restricted by the *Lex Migratoria* (Pellerin, 2008) form the subject of numerous works in Europe and other continents.

What will be the new hierarchies in power politics, what will be the historic dominant bloc in the new world to replace the hegemonic blocs of the Second World War that ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall? What will be the place for migration, the status of migrants? In her works, H  l  ne Pellerin¹²⁸ corroborates other research by showing that she herself also sees that a turning point came in the 1980s with the change from a Fordist economy to a post-Fordist economy, that the New World Migration Order is governed by the wealthier States and regions of the world, that their economic and geopolitical priorities are based on two concepts: *controlled migration* and *controlled gaps*, with new check systems, and an underground of unqualified migrants who slip through the system illegally. She notes that there is no one single principle to contemplate migration as a whole. In fact, two official principles are aimed at handling two categories of migrants. The first principle, *organised migration*, is inspired by the demands of the world labour market. It aims to eliminate obstacles for migrants from departure to arrival (there are examples of specific programmes in Australia, Canada or the United States for skilled migrants whose goal is to expedite the economic social structure based on the needs of the world economy). The second principle put forward by the Trilateral Commission asserts *the right of people to stay in their country of origin*. It modulates discussion on the free movement of the most unskilled migrants, which we may recall, only concerns the right of these people to leave their country and not their right to settle in another one.

It is first and foremost at this point in the process that the link between development and migration is imposed, by modifying both the order of migration of the countries of departure and the incentives offered by the host countries who are trying to regulate the *laissez-faire* attitudes of neoliberalism. Considered globally, the competition (mobility, flexibility) between host countries and countries of origin (supply and demand) revolves around the most highly skilled migrants and in a climate of structured illegality. H  l  ne Pellerin notes the tendencies of the transnational labour entrepreneurs to bypass regulation controls with the expedient use of temporary and direct subcontracting between companies (in the form of service orders, which simultaneously avoid public control and social charges). In this system, which targets the most highly skilled migrants, the private order aims to replace the contract, the passport and to weaken the control systems of the States.

From the point of view of philosophy and political theory, two questions need to be answered: 1) the anthropological question: how to analyse and evaluate

128 My thanks to H  l  ne Pellerin for having sent me certain of her works. See on the subject of NWMO, *Vers un ordre migratoire mondial* (author's text).

the transformation of human *labour* activity into a *service* – in other words, human workers assimilated as services, things? What had been the labour of a human being protected by agreements, labour laws, social rights, etc. is becoming a *service* for a limited period, in an area of the market space that is out of the public control. Knowledge workers are becoming ordinary service suppliers. The question cries out for studies about cognitive capital and its new requirements in terms of social justice; 2) what is the public political status of free trade and safety zones where competition and inequalities privatise public space, economic activities, a police force without public control (States, social partners, unions)? What becomes of public space then? Who is in control of these new privatised zones? What is the place, the role of the system of states, the international organisms and other social partners? How is the responsibility of the companies defined? What becomes of law? Who is governing, who is imposing the rules and with what references and what prerogatives? Can we accept that private economic agents simply impose their rules on other agents, that intergovernmental police, uncontrolled by national parliaments and the European Parliament, manage the movement of populations? There is no consensus today on these questions, as H el ene Pellerin concludes, but there are points of tension around three questions: 1) the anthropological transformation of labour; 2) the separation of two types of migrants; 3) the status of orders, spaces, forces that are in place. At the Swiss level, we can trace the thread of these international tensions in current debates about development, Europe, the Schengen Agreement, the CIDPM [International Centre for the Development of Migration Policies], the tensions between technological cooperation and SECO [State Secretariat for Economy]. We have to locate and evaluate these tensions in the policies of education, research and scientific diasporas.

In the links between migration, development and science/technology, let us once more mention the debate in philosophy and political theory about the so-called theories of governance and the theories about citizenship in connection with labour, with migration and with development (Cavaliere, 2007). It can't be defined simply by using the concept of "democratic governance"¹²⁹ because an incomplete concept of democracy can't take into account the op-

129 "Today governance prefigures the system that I can foresee: a mixture of hearty, back-slapping populism for the elections and the governance by the happy few for important questions. The anti-populism of the elites dutifully echoes popular antipopulism. The people entrust those who govern them with little confidence, but the opposite is also true: those elected by the people have a scant liking for them. Perhaps they will call this new system 'democratic governance'. It would be a contradiction in terms, since the governance is anti-democratic, but will that be so shocking in a system where the principle of sovereign People, qualified by certain intellectuals from now on as 'romantic', will have been forgotten?" (Hermet 2007: 17). See also Hermet (2008).

posing forces of networks made up of the technologies which are present in the scientific diasporas. To put it more theoretically, we run the risk of diminishing the questions of labour transformation, the sovereignty of the little people who don't "count," (Rancière, 1995) the (in) equality in international economy (Sen, 1992), "the equality of brain-power."¹³⁰ The ambiguity would cause us to lose sight of the concern that research has confirmed for putting the emphasis on knowledge workers, scientific diasporas, and their networks. This means that we must focus on those factors that inspire or deter their power of action as key players in international cooperation. Because of the ambiguity we might lose sight of the research's concern for emphasizing knowledge workers, scientific diasporas and their networks, consequently we must focus on what encourages or puts a brake on their agency as international cooperation actors. The polysemy of the word democracy together with the proliferation of very diverse works published about democracy since the 70's, the 80's and the 90's show at the same time its ruin, its disappearance, its reconstruction¹³¹ and the radical nature of its creation in history that we can rediscover today (Caloz-Tschopp, 2008a) in connection with scientific diasporas (here).

Looking at the transformations of the world labour market and at labour itself convinces me of the necessity to re-examine the social aspect of the concept of sustainable development. To this end, I need to focus on the *labour factor and on the international and diasporic democratisation of the labour market*¹³² in the same spirit that prevailed at the Brundtland Declaration of 1987¹³³. It is imperative to link nature and human workers at a time when the survival not only of nature but also of humanity is in peril. At that period, the debates centred emphatically on the dangers of destroying nature by limitless economic growth. Today, the world transformation of the labour market, the globalisation of cognitive and financial capitalism insist on being linked to the fact pointed out by researchers in philosophy, sociology (liquid capitalism, Zygmunt Bauman, André Tosel) economics (Amiya Kumar Bagchi, Amartya Sen), and in migration (Binod Khadria) concerning knowledge workers and indeed all workers. A conflict exists between *sustainable human development and overexploitation, or even worse the disposable human worker*. Apart from this, a tension exists between a highly specialised labour force which is also

130 I'm borrowing this term from Jacques Rancière, who developed it in his research on the emancipation of the working world. See Faure and Rancière (2007).

131 See especially *Le Monde diplomatique*, n. 646, January 2008, pp. 22–23.

132 I am indebted to the comments of Professor André Tosel for this realignment concerning the profound transformations of labour and the democratization of labour.

133 Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, submitted to the UN General Assembly in 1987.

concerned by intense competition, by a modern reserve labour force and by an insecurity that has led to the exclusion of workers from any form of protection. The globalisation of human capital by means of international migration, as Binod Khadria illustrates using India (Khadria, 2001) as an example, no longer concerns merely the physical presence of the labour force on the surface of the Earth (namely, in the countries of origin and residence, regulated by passports, visas, contracts and their equivalents). It concerns the global applicability of levels of competence in specialised fields wherever they are located. Capitalism today enacts its own rules about mobility that the labour force and the State system are supposed to follow. In the world arena, the labour force is not merely a simple factor in production value but it is also one of the tangible forms of the movement of knowledge.

Human brains are transformed into services. The status of knowledge workers has become precarious (temporary orders taking the place of employment contracts); they are overexploited and even disposable. The application of a particular area of knowledge or technology connected to finance determines the movement of knowledge workers. The worker himself doesn't determine his freedom of movement. Capital regulates the mobility of diverse factors, including the brains and bodies of the knowledge workers. From human workers they are transformed into a service (a thing) and the migratory policies are designed to manage these services and their control. In the new relationships of capital and work (Tosel),¹³⁴ the worker, the migrant workers are the negative anthropological face of a cynical and nihilistic civilisation. The new governance of migration, its new principles and management characteristics, are transforming human workers into *precarious* service suppliers (Pellerin, 2004). To put it more clearly, the globalisation of the current labour market is introducing a new way of *naturalizing the labour force*. Hence, human capital, brains and bodies are not naked. They have a history, they have an existence, they have connections, they are a social capital (Putnam). This process of destructive cannibalism demands that we refocus and place all human work and the conditions of life at the centre of things so that we can remove the specific tendencies that together would destroy nature and human life. Our path of exploration leads us to revisit the heritage of sustainable development, to clarify the concept of *sustainable human development*. Within the limited context of the present work, the way to a new political anthropology which integrates nature and human beings is open but cannot be analysed in all the implications of the connections between nature and humanity (see propositions).

134 On this subject, see Caloz-Tschopp (2008a) (especially the third table).

2.4 Science, Migration and Development

While in the so-called developed societies movements lay claim to the English workers in the textile industry who at the beginning of the 19th century destroyed thousands of machines in order to preserve their way of life,¹³⁵ so too do the national and European bigwigs hold forth one after the other on “science and technique in the service of development.”¹³⁶ On one side there is rage, on the other there is optimism to illustrate the link between development, science and society. The debate opened by the Frankfurt School and Habermas on technology and science as an ideology (Habermas, 1968) is alive and well. For instance, in its Resolution 2005/52, entitled *Science and Technology in the Service of Development*, the Economic and Social Council of France invited the Commission for Science and Technology in Development (within the limits of existing resources and by means of extra-budgetary resources) to undertake the following activities: to facilitate the establishment of a network of centres for excellence in the developing countries; to create a management committee, to collect and compile case studies, to evaluate the possibilities of the Internet; to continue to offer its analytical expertise and abilities for the purpose of examine political science, technology and innovation. The resolution extols the benefits of technology, notes the necessity of reducing technological fracture and the need to reinforce the capacities of the technological field. “Special attention has been paid to the experience of those countries that have succeeded in equipping themselves with the local human resources that are necessary to maintain the modernisation of their technological base.” In the link established between migration, development and science, we may include a few questions about the place of science in the described processes.

2.4.1 Science, Technology, Diasporas and Scientific Diasporas

History reveals the complex place of science in society and what the universalisation of scientific production really means. We recall the scientific results in the construction of atom bombs obtained by the diaspora of researchers to various places in the world (India, China, and Pakistan). One thinks of a Nobel Prize awarded to an Indian researcher – Dr. Rahman – who worked for a long time in the diaspora. One thinks of Einstein in exile. There are many other examples in appropriate technologies and even in philosophy (Aristotle, the

135 There is an abundance of literature on the “Luddite Revolt,” see <<http://www.piecesetmain.doeuvre.com>>; *Libération*, June 21st 2007.

136 See for example the United Nations, Economic and social Council, the report from March 17th. 2006 (doc. GE.06-50467 [F] 030406 050406).

“foreign” philosopher of Athens, was introduced to the West in the Middle Ages by Averroes, who experienced exile and diasporas in the Islamic world; Gandhi studied in England and went on to South Africa before developing his philosophy of non-violence which took root in his experiences. We also think of scientific contributions that arose from health needs in “Southern countries.” Let us quote as an example Dr Manuel Elkin Patarroyo (Colombia) who invented a synthetic vaccine against *paludism* (malaria) which, thanks to the networks of the Colombian diaspora, achieved worldwide recognition. In Switzerland, the foundation of the Federal Polytechnic Institute and some universities was made possible thanks to a proportion of foreign teachers and researchers who are nearly as large in number as their counterparts in the Universities of Zurich and Geneva today (around 45%).

What is science at the present stage of globalisation? A quick look at the genesis of the word *science* arouses our curiosity. “In German, *Wissenschaft* comes from the verb *wissen* to know in the sense of confident knowledge, but also in the sense of a power. Until the beginning of the 17th. Century, the idea of objective knowledge was translated by *Wissenheit*, in which the suffix *heit* expresses a more abstract idea (*heissen* = to say, to govern) whereas *schaft* (*schaffen* = to make, to accomplish). It was only in the 19th. century that *Wissenschaft* took on its modern meaning of scientific knowledge” (Lévy-Leblond) Therefore it is important to distinguish between the state of science and research (UNESCO, 2006), between science and technoscience (which is a way of covering up science and technology at the risk of obscuring the desire to understand the world in order to transform it). There are also the distinctions between hard science and social science, and between science and the marketplace.¹³⁷ Another question, is science universal?

...science today has become, at least on our planet, universalised. Physicists work on the same subjects and with the same accelerators in Geneva and in Chicago, biologists perform the same experiments in Tokyo and Paris, astronomers use the same telescopes in Chile and in Hawaii. But this globalisation is nothing more than the victory of a certain type of Western science – initially European, then American. [...] The system of technoscience [...] which we have now entered will doubtless remain a reality for quite a long time, a newer

137 “In this global market, science – or more precisely technoscience – is becoming a factor of production. The blind process of knowledge is allied with the blind production of value and the two blind men, the marketplace and science, henceforth walk together and mutually reinforce each other. The spontaneous offer of new knowledge, born from scientific passion, has found a demand born in the marketplace and in the irresistible desire to possess things. Our economic growth, our prosperity, our health depend henceforth on our capacity to produce new knowledge and to transform it into consumable products” (which would require debate), in: Kleiber, Charles (2005), *Science et art, même combat*, Conférence CHUV, April 14th 2005.

mutation in this decidedly pluriversal activity than science is. But if other places and other times have been able to give to that knowledge we consider as science intellectual and material functions that are so different from those of the present day, why not leave the question of their status open in the civilisation(s) of the future? writes the physicist Jean-Marc Lévy-Leblond.

The link between science, migration, scientific diaspora and citizenship is not necessarily by way of being a continuity, a proof of automatic progress – just as there is not necessarily a “natural” link between science and democracy (Lévy-Leblond) (Wahnich 2005). These notions are shot through with power relations, cultural diversity, the historical experiences lived by migrants and the exiled peoples of diasporas, their society (colonialism, imperialism, history of nationalisms, racisms, wars, etc.), geopolitical realities, diversity of experience and habitus (Bourdieu), conflicts, the political choices of society.

2.4.2 *Legacies in Science/Technology and the Research Field (Bourdieu)*

In the deregulation of the world labour market (Sindzingre, 2008), it isn't enough merely to work more or even to make more science in order to increase development. It is not enough to heartily recommend scientific innovation to ensure development. On the subject of migration¹³⁸ speakers make a point of mentioning the exchange of goods, the labour force and of financial funds. Added to these objects of exchange we must add the complex movement of workers (their brains and bodies), the movement of knowledge tools, machines, products and results. Within the context of current globalisation, the governments of rich countries and the great international institutions confront the migratory and environmental challenges by stressing the primordial importance of knowledge, science and technological innovation in building economic and social development. The governments of emergent countries put forward the same arguments. They underline the pressure of international competition, poverty, and the inadequacies of educational policies, the budgets and the fundamental needs that have to be met in their countries.¹³⁹ But focusing on the economy and the links between neo-liberalism, the marketplace and science¹⁴⁰ presents

138 From the very extensive literature, let us quote Adams and Page (2005); Nyberg-Sorensen (2004); Nyberg-Sorensen et al. (2002); Weiss Fagen and Bump (2006).

139 On this subject see the conference of J.-F. Miranda, director of *Colciencia*, Colombia at the EPFL, November 27th 2007.

140 The case is a complex one: suffice it here to give one precise example which concerns the facilities of the universities, the professor and the students. Bill Gates engaged 8 students at 20% to have them talk about his company, his software and to recruit talent (Seydtaghia, 2007).

problems. The relationships between nature and culture, the place of humanity, the business of connecting the economy, science and culture, civilisation (so many concepts with so many different meanings!) are too rarely mentioned in the course of the debates. Like the case of the workers at the time of the industrial revolution, migrant knowledge workers are considered to exist in a kind of social and cultural nudity. After being mere bodies, would workers from less rich areas be nothing more than brains to be appropriated and exploited? What is confirmed by the classification of occupational diseases updated by the World Health Organisation is that mental illnesses are overtaking physical wear and tear. Their history, their language, their culture, their environment, their relationships with other members of the country of origin of the diasporas, are only taken into account in current policies insofar as they ensure a profit. Furthermore, development policies inherit the ranking of countries which tends to separate “poor” countries receiving “development aid” from “emerging” countries who are building up an international (including scientific) cooperation. (Are solidarity and justice necessarily conferred by aid to the poorest and by humanitarian aid when public policies don’t succeed in modifying the structure of the labour market – as studies by the International Labour Organisation, the World Bank and others show?) In migration policies they inherit sovereign and national categories (Sayad, 1991, 2006), and in addition, categories that are utilitarian, precarious and obsessed with security. They inherit from the world of economy a vision of society where market and profit offer the most fruitful choices to the detriment of basic needs, the reduction of inequalities, the fostering of culture. For example, one needs only to read a fundamental text (Nuruddin, 1994) by the Somalian writer Nuruddin Farah to measure the lacerations of the inhabitants of the African continent caught between frontiers of peoples, colonial territories and cultural identities which afflict all of the African societies and consequently, in addition the scientific diasporas.

At the 100th anniversary of the birth of Simone de Beauvoir (De Beauvoir, 1976) we are aware of the impact of the legacy of a sexist/gendered structure (Le Doeuff, 1989; Kofman, 2003; Freedman and Valluy, 2007), which is a form of “theoretical reductionism” (Kofman) in social life, in the study of societies and in science. Moreover, research and education inherit epistemological categorisations for the sciences that fetter the practices of institutions, science, those who decide policy for the sciences, and those who speak for the academic world. These categorisations reinforce the prejudices and conformity of research by establishing questionable hierarchies. The famous separations between on the one hand, pure and applied science, between science and technology, and on the other hand, between exact sciences and the humanities and the social sciences (all of which shape the organisation of the scientific world) are reflected

for example in budgetary distributions¹⁴¹ and the catalogue of its publications. Yet the most recent works in epistemology reject these distinctions that still abound in scientific policies.

These legacies are also present in science and technology and in scientific diasporas. They are encumbered by another legacy which forces us to tackle questions about building knowledge and scientific development (Baquiast, 2004) hampered by cutting off theory from practices that are divided into disciplines, biased and blinkered. Although we know that scientific practice does not necessarily endorse this separation, some very important objects which would help to understand scientific diasporas are thereby eliminated. The ideas of science and of knowledge considered from the broader perspective have failed to resist these legacies, these arbitrary distinctions. What is the place of scientific diasporas in these distinctions and requirements? Escaping these arbitrary limits means approaching these things from the idea of a “field”¹⁴² (Bourdieu, 1997), an articulation between practice and theory (Bourdieu, 1980), between science, technology and society, that allows us to keep a critical distance from categorisations that happen to be in fashion in the various policies that are involved.

Finally, the economic and political influence of science is difficult to measure in the light of this stage of our current globalisation. In the recent history of the 20th century, it has changed with Auschwitz and Hiroshima and what followed,¹⁴³ before and after the Cold War in the West. Today it finds itself at a new turning-point with the most recent scientific discoveries which have once more launched the debate on the relationship between nature and humanity.¹⁴⁴

141 For example, at the end of the year 2000 in Switzerland, the country was not retaining one programme in the area of human sciences in the ten centres of national research. Professor Claude Raffestin of the University of Geneva was talking about the “Economic Sparta that Switzerland had become”. He made the following comment on the decision: “The human sciences provide knowledge which allows the identification of processes, the understanding if not the prediction of society’s problems, the discovery of the origins of our cultures, the correction of our judgements on the past, the anticipation of the future movements as a result of long-term studies, the evidence to legitimise the positions we take and our actions. In short, they have no purpose except to furnish instruments of regulation in a world which simply doesn’t care about them since regulation costs more money than it brings in over the short term.” *Campus*, n. 51, March-April 2001, p. 12.

142 Pierre Bourdieu explains his disagreement with the idea of “RANA” – (acronym for the French phrase “applied research that is not applicable”) – put forward by Bruno Latour, which aims at a touch of “scientism,” makes a hierarchy of the researchers, but which provides a distorted view of real scientific practices (see p. 42 onwards).

143 The testimony of Sakharov is a document concerning the consequences of nuclear technology in the USSR (Chernobyl). See Sakharov (2002).

144 See especially Braunstein (2007); Le Blanc (2002); Janicaud (2002); Chomsky and Foucault (2006); Meillassoux (2006).

From the epistemological point of view, the emergence of a science to confront the complexity of the world and no longer limited to simplified situations cries out for a conceptual transformation to take all levels of nature into consideration.¹⁴⁵ Recent developments in the history of science and technology are putting the emphasis on scientific practices and their social conditions, along with the sociology of the sciences and technology.¹⁴⁶ It's an innovation that studies the facts of science as established facts that were decided upon in a particular context and not in a disinterested piece of pure research. The debate on sociological reductionism has begun, but the interest of this approach for scientific diasporas is that it places the accent on external social causalities and on the networks of the key players. Elsewhere, some sociological works on globalisation¹⁴⁷ are studying the elites – notably the academic ones – of globalisation, their role in the development, and reorganisation of capital, the organisation of a knowledge hegemony, the role of new philanthropists who are organizing new international universities,¹⁴⁸ the new questions about ethics that scientists must consider etc. Naturally, all these themes, which are dealt with in a wealth of literature, also concern scientific diasporas. So, the first consideration is not to confine oneself to areas of research and education in Switzerland or Europe (even the newly enlarged Europe).¹⁴⁹ Rather, we should open it up by developing relationships in multiple forms: for example, why shouldn't scientific cooperation

145 See on this subject Prigogine (1996).

146 In the French-speaking world, the importer of science studies of knowledge is Bruno Latour. See Latour (2005).

147 See in particular the journal founded by Pierre Bourdieu (2004).

148 International universities exist today which are financed by philanthropists in the same tradition of the 19th Century philanthropists. They recruit in various circles connected with financial services, the new technologies, the telecommunications – George Soros, the financier, Bill Gates, the founder of Microsoft, Ted Turner, the head of CNN and AOL-Time-Warner are amongst the most prominent names. They integrate critical works on globalization (ecology, human rights, gender studies) for the purpose of creating a world government composed of the elite. The plan is to initiate a dialogue with universities and with the non-governmental organizations (NGO). In the George Soros University in Prague one finds administrators from the World Bank and from the International Monetary Fund, who are the most ardent proponents of reform from these institutions. In addition, there are members of governments and militant champions of human rights, neo-liberals and defenders of international social justice. Their knowledge and skills are “sufficiently versatile to be reinvested and utilised in these diverse fields” of practice. In other words, what is being mapped out is “a strategy to redefine government knowledge that can be mobilised in the holding environment of a globalised economy,” see Guilhot (2004: 134).

149 Perusing the discourses on the politics of science, it is impossible not to be struck by the number of texts centred on themselves with a national, European or Western bias. See for example Papon (2004); Potocnik (2005) (European commissioner in charge of science and research).

use the projected networks to establish another “lower-level of globalisation”¹⁵⁰ which would improve “South-South” relations (Latin America, Asia, Africa) and “South-East” relations (South American, Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe)?

2.4.3 *Oral, Written, Languages in Scientific Diasporas Communication*

On the subject of communication in scientific production, one thinks of the connections between places of knowledge and the society outside their doors. One thinks of campuses at the cutting edge of knowledge such as Palo Alto (United States) and Bangalore (India), which are surrounded by slums. These visible spatial realities reveal that a sort of apartheid exists between science and society. And what is happening in actual practice? It’s worth asking one question: namely the matter of communication in scientific work. What is the place, the role of oral and written languages in the communications of scientific diasporas? We think of the 26 official languages and 800 dialects of India, of the literature and knowledge produced in the context of such diversity, of the learning and culture that could be exported.¹⁵¹ In the spirit of strengthening networks, of transforming networks into scientific diasporas, of pondering the diversity of the relationships between local and global knowledge, of thinking about the oral and written languages used in communication, we are forced to the conclusion that a field of research linking the supposedly exact sciences with human and social sciences becomes a necessity. Two questions open paths of research for the scientific diasporas which can accompany case studies, the evaluation of measures, practices and the policies of education and research.

The first question is about the place, diversity and richness of languages in the world in relation to the quality of the exchanges of civilisation¹⁵² and in particular the relation of science to the language, to the way scientists communicate with each other orally and in written form. This is a very important question at the same time for development, building up sciences in the broad sense, for scientific work and for scientific diasporas.¹⁵³ Communication in science is most often represented by publications and books, whereas the sociology of sciences (Latour and Woolgar, 1988), semiology and linguistics have demonstrated that the spoken word creates a social relationship in scientific activity as in every human activity. It is important to preserve both forms of

150 The term was developed by Roland Marchal, master seminar (“African Studies,” Paris I, Sorbonne) in 2005.

151 See in particular Kamdar (2008).

152 Amongst the extensive bibliography, see Crystal (2003); Lacome (2002); Wurm Calvet (2002); Wurm (2001); Hagège (2004) (2002).

153 To read the complete presentation of the argument, see Lévy-Leblond (2008).

communication (oral, written) simultaneously through the link between teaching and research, the requirements of scientific exchanges (conferences, symposia, informal chats, seminars, visits, telephone calls) and discussions about the conditions of validity. In addition, we know from experience that oral scientific exchange uses a plurality of languages. So what language should be used in exchanges? In order to distinguish the conceptual nature of scientific research from its end product (publication) the physicist Jean-Marc Lévy-Leblond suggests that we encourage the learning and use of the many languages spoken in scientific production (i.e. the promotion of oral multilingualism) and that we unify the written language for the end product (publication). This delicate approach to safeguarding cultural diversity is worthy of emphasis in direct connection with the policies of migration, development, education and research policies, and scientific diasporas (see propositions).

A second question in scientific practice is the place given to translation between languages and cultures. The philosopher, Rada Ivekovic, a Croatian refugee in Paris who works with Indian and Chinese researchers, is searching for a trans-border universalism, critical of Western, colonial, imperial and sexist universalism. She considers translation as something that allows us to work with categories in order to define this trans-border universalism which is based on the comparison of cultures and a communal, joint effort to determine higher values. "Being-in-common" is thought to emanate from historic struggles that have been reinterpreted in the collective memory from the point of view of transitions in individual systems, border transit, transferring identities, the transduction and the translation of languages and cultures after historical struggles re-interpreted in collective memory from the point of view of transitions in individuality schemes, transit at borders, identity transfers, transduction and translation of languages and cultures from one into the other.

Being-in-common is not only *esse ad*, *esse in*, *esse cum*; it is *esse trans*. How can we take into account such a philosophical and political question in our research on scientific diasporas and concrete practices?

3. Universality, Cosmopolis, Cosmo-Political Citizenship

It should be made clear that domination refers to a relationship which is not political but domestic. In his *Politics* Aristotle defines the power of domination as one that the master (*despotès* in Greek, *dominus* in Latin) exercises in a vertical manner over his slaves. Political domination today does not take the form of slavery or servitude but insists on its legitimacy by claiming to be a *de facto* power approved by completely free and equal individuals.

Tosel, 2007: 113

In this third part, whose aim is to consider scientific diasporas, politics and philosophy as a whole, our point of departure is to reflect on the Universal and how to transcend it as a containment of Oneness which refuses to allow the inclusion of diasporas in the political holding environment. We shall also examine the establishment of a political basis for cosmo-political citizenship and the future of the sciences seen as public property. The Universal expresses itself as a form of government, a dominant political system on the planet, as the dominant system of the United Nations. An alternate route via international law allows us to clarify questions that occur in international law about the nation-state. They concern the shape of the political holding environment, namely the State and its relationship to the system of *living together* in the tensions between domination and sovereignty, unicity and plurality, purity and hybridisation, that one finds both in the sciences and in citizenship. This leads us to integrate the innovative work of a political philosopher (Étienne Balibar) on the concept of the border. An actual example from the past may help us to realise to what extent abstract ideas can prove to be very concrete ones in actual practice – in fact, in the practice of science. We shall follow a difficulty in Einstein's reasoning which shows a place where it is already possible to spot something is at stake in the articulation between the Universal and the particular. This account is useful when we have to weave together the Universal and the particular between domination and sovereignty both in scientific practice and political philosophy.

Afterwards, I shall present the notions of *cosmo-politis*, and *cosmo-political* citizenship in connection with scientific diasporas and development. Finally, the second exploratory key-concept of *cosmo-political citizenship* is translated into concrete political practice. From this perspective, it becomes possible that exchange networks in education and research can be incorporated into the diaspora option and effectively become *scientific diasporas incorporated into citizenship*. In conclusion, propositions are presented for the continuation of the debate and the research.

A cheerful observation! Colonial and feminist struggles and post-colonial studies lead to a radical, critical reconsideration of the Universal, reminding us of the place of history, of power, and of the various struggles for theoretical construction and rights. In other words, transformations and theoretical shifts go hand in hand with the historical creation of rights and of cosmo-political citizenship. It becomes clear that the perspective chosen, while still relying on the tradition of philosophy and political theory, intends to be included in an approach to political concepts in *relational* terms, the terminology of power relationships. This approach allows us to unravel the tensions and contradictions and to dislodge the theoretical and practical obstacles which have been inherited from the material and ideological side of economic-political modernity. Hence, it aims to break in a methodological manner the limits of an essentialist, evolutionary, autocentred and even mechanistic vision, which are present in the theories of international relations, development (progress) and migration (the “return ticket” vision) without toppling into relativism.

Its aim is to take into account in the experiences of power, the plurality of the rhythms of temporalities, the relationship to space, to political technologies, to tools etc. Its aim is to maintain a critical distance from categorisations of theories and from practices that have sprung from the friend/enemy syndrome (Carl Schmitt), which refuses to acknowledge the significance of conflict in policy, the apartheid that is in league with the forces of security, the war for civilisation (Samuel Huntington) along with theories of dependence and adjustment. It strives instead for a *relational approach to power, to conflicts in the diversified transfers of exchange, of diffusion rooted in history and planetary space*. In the histories of places and peoples and States and the political theories of modernity and present times, what makes or mars the exchanges of real experiences that would allow the creation of a cosmo-political citizenship for the way society functions, for the way science functions? In the debate about the Universal, how does one get to the roots of these conflicts, how do you locate the source of the antagonisms (Rancière)?

3.1 *Universal, Pluriversal, Hybridisation: Logic, History and Politics*

At the present stage of financial, scientific and technological globalisation, de Tocqueville’s question, *How does one become European?* (Assayag, 2000) is certainly still relevant (in the debate about Europe), albeit concealed under layers of ambiguities. But de Tocqueville’s question calls forth another question which might unravel these ambiguities: how and why does one become a full-fledged member of the *city of the world* whatever one’s place on the planet? Science, our own Prometheus who has to be liberated from his chains, is no

longer merely European. He comes from other continents and countries. He can be found in the scientific diasporas which are being constructed all over the world. His gender is just as feminine as it is masculine. Furthermore, his chains are new forms of submission. The debate began in the history of science and in economic and social history during the prosperous years of growth when it was still believed that economic and scientific progress resulted automatically in progress full stop. Since then it has become a more complex question fraught with such issues as gender, wars, the limits of progress, the environment, scientific and technical innovations, massive transformations in the labour market, the importance of culture etc.). One of the historian's undeniable preoccupations is dealing with the consequences of the *big bang* of the markets on migration (Batou, 2007). In part, the Three Generations of Human Rights have formalised the nature of the debate into one of the public laws of the United Nations (human rights, economic and social rights, and the right to sustainable development) yet without satisfying the people's desire to participate in politics and without achieving any convincing results. Far from exhausting these subjects, we can try to point out some problems whose effect on the question of scientific diasporas is not without significance.

The Eurocentric genesis of sciences and technology, their expansion and their innovative devices flourished within Europe at a time when it dominated the rest of the world. It involved the economic, social, and technical history of the European societies (Landes, 2000), the connections between wealth and poverty,¹⁵⁴ as well as between exploration and exploitation (Tran Hai and Mounoud, 2006).¹⁵⁵

A quick bibliography search in the library and on the internet (without claiming to be exhaustive) shows at first glance that this Eurocentrism in research, in the history of science and technology,¹⁵⁶ still survives and that there is a need to broaden historical research. By questioning the direction and by acknowledging the aspect of sex and gender from an off-centred angle (the links between the populations of the countries of origin, migration, diasporas, and scientific diasporas), the movement of populations and the cultural diversity (Robertson, 1992; Appadurai, 2001) are arduously emerging. Cultural diver-

154 For example, how does one comprehend the fact that Switzerland's revenue per inhabitant is 80 times higher than that of Mozambique? How is it for the three research countries (Colombia, South Africa, India) at the national level as well as those regions we examined?

155 See also Foray (2002). The authors' thesis is overcoming the conflict by an open-ended problem-solving model which involves itself in training and in the systems of belief (the socio-cognitive approach).

156 Let us quote one of the rare references: Selin (1997).

sity is underestimated in European and Swiss¹⁵⁷ companies. What is the situation in the universities and laboratories of Switzerland, India, South Africa and Colombia?

The development of science and technology cannot be reduced to the theories of economic and political progress that make use of terms such as progress and economic development,¹⁵⁸ the market, democracy whether it be parliamentary or oligarchic or populist. Nowadays, how do you phrase the famous question that was asked by C.P. Snow (1950) in the 1950's? What is the connection between scientific culture and humanist culture (science and literature)? It is of interest to researchers of scientific diasporas, whether in Switzerland, in Colombia, in South Africa or in India. And how do you include the need to take into account the (in) equality and the cultural diversity or more precisely the *plurality* in accordance with Arendt's concept?

Evaluating these questions within the context of philosophy and political theory involves examining the concepts of the Universal, plurality, and the *Cosmopolis* to forge an exploratory notion of cosmo-political citizenship as a *praxis* (which the word *empowerment* translates incorrectly), so as to describe the living conditions, the needs and desires at the frontiers of democracy. We have seen that the dominant world order is a mixture made up of the order of the private multinationals, the geopolitics of empires and a system of sovereign nation-states in the process of transformation in chaotic temporalities as well as a hierarchy of disjointed territories which are struggling to integrate moving populations in their search to reclaim their sovereignty. The aporias of the nation-state as a political holding environment and system, conflicts around displacements of populations become obvious as soon as one takes an interest in the matrix of the Universal. The tension between the movement of populations, security policies, the imaginaries of the movement and the essentialising metaphysics of soil and blood leading to nationalisms, populisms and racism reveal the contradictions and hiatuses between the theories, systems and the future of societies.

157 Five challenges await the human resources of companies from now until 2015 as they confront the ageing of the population and the shortage of highly skilled labour talent management, the demographic question, organizational learning, the balance between private and professional life, the management of change and of cultural diversity (with the obviously unequal treatment of gender and cultural diversity). This is the last factor to be mentioned and it directly concerns the scientific diasporas. As the works of Professor Pierre Dasen and his team at the University of Geneva have shown especially (site), it concerns both relations *in* and *between* the "North," the "South," and the "East". See Strack and Böhm (2007).

158 For a defence of this thesis, see Cosanday (2007).

3.1.1 *Universal, Plurality, State. A Conflict Made Visible by International Law*

In the field of anthropology, the Universal evokes *universals, invariants*, a kind of “solid platform shared by humanity” (Héritier, 2001: 8), a kind of bedrock of humanity.¹⁵⁹ Yet to think politically from a universal matrix, doesn’t it mean confining oneself to an enclosure of Sameness, Identity, Oneness and on its reverse side, into a thought pattern of closed partition?¹⁶⁰ For the researcher in philosophy and political theory the question takes us back to a system of metaphysics of monotheistic transcendence. On the political level it regresses to the idea of a closed community which runs the risk of erasing history, the future, memory, space colonisation, the diversity of the world’s key players, the movement in particular of the citizenry of migrants, of diasporas, of minorities, of peoples, of languages etc. which represent so many of the signs of a creative social-historical diversity. The universal matrix is far from being conclusive proof when one considers the example of the nation-States’ system, which under the impetus of the imperial bourgeoisie raised itself to universal status by appropriating the State.

In political and legal spheres the Universal is in a state of crisis; so too is the tradition of the *communitas* (Esposito, 2000), as well as political systems and the model for the national State. Can the matrix of the Universal account at the same time for an *extensive* universality that has reached its limits on the planet Earth (colonisation of the planet accomplished, outer space conquered) and an *intensive* universality (globalisation has invaded all social and private spheres)? Under what conditions could the Universal¹⁶¹ become the general matrix of international relations that Kant dreamed of? These two questions lie at the heart of the concerns of researchers in international law. The difficulties they describe enable us to clarify a theoretical, logical and political predicament, that partly duplicates the problem of the nation-states system and which

159 The invariants of human thought are “modules, templates in some ways, forming conceptual frameworks made up of unavoidable associations of concepts that cannot be created but are all furnished differently according to the diverse cultures and which are located in domains whose limits can be plotted thanks to the ethnological experience which describes and collects those things which exist, or thanks to logical reasoning which can envisage all that is conceivable even if something has not yet seen the light of day. [...] They would enable us to understand not merely the behaviour but in addition and more profoundly the systems of representation or the social systems” (Héritier, 1999: 321–322).

160 On this subject see the works of Ivekovic on partition in philosophy and in politics (2002–2002).

161 One could pursue the debate from another angle, by tracing the exact derivations of the words *mondial, global, universal*. I hold strictly to a weighting category in philosophy and in law to frame two limited questions in philosophy and political theory, which however have vast implications.

conceals the power in the future movement of planetary, political and scientific relations. As far as politics, citizenship and law are concerned, the Universal contains three types of interwoven conditions: 1) the need for an *empty space* where relationships might be built between individuals, groups, peoples, nations, etc.; 2) the need for a political *holding environment* which is necessary for politics (various forms of States); 3) the need to provide forms of political organisation which are open to a plural future.

How does one think of an empty space, a neutral holding environment, an open and plural political dynamic so that political life doesn't turn into pure chaos on the planetary level? Every political dynamic harbours the tendency for the place and the holding environment to be filled, appropriated, essentialised by certain political forces (nationalism, communitarianism, tyranny, oligarchic privatisations, sovereignty movements, mercantile, bureaucratic and police government control, etc.). So, how do we envisage a *political holding environment of a state city* that is conducive to life and the public interest and which is not going to be appropriated in the name of narrow criteria tied to one of the (mis)appropriations of sovereignty (nation-State, patriarchal State, racist, ethnic, sexist State, etc.)? How do we conceive of measures that are designed *purely* to safeguard an empty space, the building of a holding environment and a negotiated community and that are not, as in our experience of politics, some form of essentialisation that paralyzes every movement of creation or exchange? These three conditions serve as observation markers to help us to focus on what has constituted political diversity and its genesis since the 14th century in Europe: nation-states under the stress of the fluctuating forms of empire (Walker, 2005) and the increasingly powerful influence of towns in the 20th and 21st centuries. Problems selected from international law allow us to position the elements of the conflict between the tendency towards political homogenisation and the pluralistic process, in order to find an opening into a future of a "ruptured transnational" (Besserer, 1997) citizenship, a "cosmo-political citizenship."¹⁶² Indeed, without prejudging what its multiple forms of organisation might eventually be, the question is already asked at the level of the empty space of the political holding environment of the city-state whether or not a political relationship is allowed. "What international society is lacking is a matrix for the Universal which would serve as a reference point for all the diversities without reducing them," writes Monique Chemillier-Gendreau, a lawyer in international law (Chemillier-Gendreau, 2005, 2008).

The Universal was Kant's dream as a means of ensuring peace in a finite world after the conquest of the planet by the West. Hegel has shown that it was

162 On this topic see especially Negri (2005).

not a simple question of logic (respect for the principle of identity, for non-contradiction, for the law of the excluded middle). So how can we think of the matrix of the Universal at the same time in terms of a holding location (a holding environment), a logical coherence and a dynamic? Far from being simply logical, the question is philosophical, historical and political. With the emergence of the nation as the dominant force in comparison to that of the minority, the people, the nation-State appropriated the Universal that was Kant's dream. It became the holding environment that contained the forces of maintenance, the homogenisation of diversity and contradictions under the aegis of the nation's criterion that gave the State its definition. The necessity to contain chaos, the need for order or coherence have been translated into the homogenisation of nation-States which have oscillated between patriotism and nationalism in various historical contexts.¹⁶³ Since then, as Monique Chemillier-Gendreau explains, the nation-States have acted as the matrix in the holding environment of societies, but with the great power to reduce other differences so that they conform to the nation. All the Jacobin movements have had the effect of negating the diversities in Europe (Turkey included). They have confiscated the question of a matrix of the Universal that is open to that which is to come and to plurality.

At the international level the matrix model has been transferred into the globalisation of the model of the nation-states system which is tied to today's market place. The model is under tension with the fragmentation – even the bursting – of the nation-states system, the regional dispersions, the transformations of the model for empire(s) and the emergence of cities. Diversity resists the sovereigntist homogeneity of the nation-State with the rise of regionalisms and all kinds of other oddities. Committed to the logic of Oneness, the sovereignty of the national state keeps the groups in a binary choice set in the enclosure: whether it stays within the framework of statism and *national* State sovereignty by losing any plural character, or whether it emerges in the direction of another form of statism and public sovereignty on a world scale. If a new form of Universal were imposed from above, it would contain the same limits as the model of the nation-State. Moreover, as Monique Chemillier-Gendreau specifies, the sovereigntist statism and national tradition of territory are also linked with another reduction, that of "Man" in the history of human rights from the Universal Human Rights Declaration translated over successive generations. They have broadened the concept of "Man" by integrating various problems but have also created other problems which at this moment are clearly visible in the current debates of the United Nations Human Rights Council. From these

163 See for example Quijada (2000).

two restraints, how can we avoid the destructive fusion of multiple identities or the bursting of all places and political holding environments? How do we build a political holding environment, a relational dynamic in a postnational citizenship? At the current stage of globalisation, how can we rethink the political holding environment that forms the State from the bottom up? How can we rethink the type of city-State and public law that would go beyond the exclusive criteria of the nation and “Man,” the insoluble contradictions of territorial and national sovereignty, without necessarily endorsing the empire shape imprisoned in a model of Oneness and force or that extreme fragmentation which threatens to topple towards a city-State and a law that are no longer public but privatised?¹⁶⁴

In fact, it’s exactly at the point of articulation between the Universal and Plurality where difficulties form. Monique Chemillier-Gendreau locates the failure of international law as a universal law, the right to construct a holding environment which contains politics, a pluriversal law,¹⁶⁵ at that point where diversity could not oppose equality. The various, hybrid identities of dominated minorities, particularly those from former colonies, have been swallowed up and forced into the model imposed by the Western powers (i.e. the sovereign nation-states and the marketplace). One could also draw attention to another criterion: namely, the absence of women, which the philosopher, Rada Ivekovic from the former Yugoslavia, calls the “sexual gender of the nation” (Ivekovic, 2003). So we can see that a double particularity, the sexually gendered nation, has occupied the place of the Universal and the human race and monopolised it and the political holding environment. The other peculiarities, all the other peoples and minorities – whether or not they are formed into States – have not had access to the empty place of a political holding environment, to a neutral reference point permitting them to exist in their own right, in touch with other diversities.

Integrated by losing their existence and their soul or by being marginalised, such was their dilemma. Politically, the crucial step that is called for is the construction of a city state holding environment that is public and able to contain a system of politics for the planet that is sacrosanct. This system would be able to contain diverse forms of political existence (individuals, genders,

164 The legal scholar, Gérard Soulier, who revives Greek terms for the debate about European *isopolitie* (common citizenship) and *sympolitie* (the multinational democracy of the European Union), proposes that we think again about the decay of the State, that we reconsider the idea of “civic right” on the basis of “independent cities which could take over from the enfeebled State as a holding for citizenship and initiate a civic right which is independent of all economic activity”.

165 I am borrowing this term from Jean-Marc Lévy-Leblond, who uses it when talking about a democratic universalisation of science.

peoples, minorities, nations, etc.) and any other hybrid positions that have been adopted.¹⁶⁶ These positions are the common characteristic of subordinate cultures that now by necessity reassemble in pluri-positions so as to form themselves *legitimately into a pluriversal and open city that is constantly evolving*.

The empty space of a holding belongs to nobody – it is essentially public property – and for everybody it can only be a political holding environment that is inviolate and open and able to welcome an open network of existences and dynamic positions where there is a corresponding openness of debate and a public law which can integrate the multiple conditions of existence. The empty place of the Universal holding can be only a type of public stateness to contain the existence of politics and to allow for political and democratic construction (Claude Lefort; Cornelius Castoriadis) by integrating diversity and hybridisation. To the extent that all the diverse conditions of existence and the *positions of hybridisation* find a place there, the Universal collected together into a political practice becomes the place to establish a holding for a *pluriversal and open* political dynamic. Individuals, peoples, minorities, diasporas, non-governmental organisations and transnational companies contain in many different ways the seeds for creating such a *pluriversal* construction and they question the appropriation of the place of the *Universal* holding by the sovereign nation-state. For a long time the nation-state has claimed to confiscate the Universal of a society both in the double form of a *sovereign and national state holding on a closed territory* and under the control of private interests (*Lex mercatoria*). Only the empty place of a public holding built and safeguarded by everyone,¹⁶⁷ by the transformation of positions into localised attitudes of citizenship allow for the construction of stateness and public law in the area of a political holding environment that is always open and which belongs to no one person, to no one group and to no one class in particular. The positive reference to the construction of the cosmo-political Pluriversal combines, in Monique Chemillier-Gendreau's view, a neutral place (we should write neutralised by political practice), a public stateness and a primary status of political dynamics supported by plural positions of existence and action rooted in a hybridisation granted to everyone (individual, gender, group, people, minority, nation, etc.). At the level of international law, one can observe an example of the first, slow, disappointing steps towards construction, whether they are directed towards democratic

166 I have borrowed this term from the researcher in *post-colonial studies* from Homi K. Bhabha (2007).

167 This holding cannot be reduced to the “veil of ignorance” from John Rawls’ theory of justice since the diversity remains present inside a neutral holding which is not taken over by any of those particular characteristics which the nation has used to represent a decisive moment in history.

construction (demos-cratos, power to the people, the reappropriation by the people of sovereignty, of their political power to act, an organisation for punishing crimes against humanity (see the list of propositions). Certainly, this is a limited frame of reference, even if it is negative, one that refers to acts that everybody recognises as their moral duty to condemn since they jeopardise the very possibility of existence for all of us.

For example, you can see one of its contradictions¹⁶⁸ at work in the dynamics between the marketplace and the State, or if you prefer, between the *public* and *private interests* in the international law concerning migrations (here). As a result of the weakening of nation-states combined with intergovernmental security forces and the *Lex Mercatoria*, the pathway towards showing the need for the pluriversal at the international level has experienced “considerable flaws in conception.” “Values are confused and, if cosmopolitanism does exist, it has been confiscated by the merchants just as patriotism was by the nationalists” (Chemillier-Gendreau, 2001). The creation of international law should be “a common law regulating world society,” but “the process has been spinning its wheels for half a century.” For example, the law for migrants shows that we have “one rule for one and another rule for the other,” that the rule of the security forces will always prevail over the rights and the safety of the migrants. Progress towards a privatised Universal is being made by transforming the law into the status of a “blueprint law” which is becoming part of the public political sphere (State, public law, public space, publicity) in the shape of interest contracts under the *Lex Mercatoria*. In this sphere the action is submitted to a consensus of arbitration and to a relativism that are beyond the reach of the law.

Thus the concept of the contract is no longer that which is decided by the philosophers of the constitutional State and which is a public political contract, i.e. rooted in the State as a guardian of the law (Kant) and balanced by three public powers (legislative, executive, judicial), where the major premise is the law itself to which everyone is subject. So stateness is defined by a private and commercial conception of a consensus where the letter of public law becomes blurred and where resources and rights become privileges dependent on profit and merit.

From this trend, we can see that public law is shifting from the politico-juridical sphere of the State towards the sphere of economics and war. The process is removing the entire force of law from the law by erasing public law

168 On the subject of this contradiction and others which run through migration (inclusion-exclusion, wealth-poverty, global-local, modernity, postmodernity, globalisation from the top and from the bottom), see for example Castells, Stephen, *Globalizacion y migracion: algunas contradicciones urgentes*, inaugural text, intergovernment council of the MOST, June 16th 1997.

and substituting private law in its place. This means that private interests are taking over public stateness, causing the State to disappear and even going so far as to attack the soft laws in the international public sphere of the United Nations. Indeed, the United Nations itself is suspect as a framework for relationships between the States. This is confirmed by the work of the political analyst, H el ene Pellerin,¹⁶⁹ who specialises in the New World Migration Order. She shows that in the multilateral governance policies of international institutions (OECD, Trilateral Commission, EU Commission,¹⁷⁰ IOM, etc.), the transformation of the labour market into a service market is marked by the absence of an international public law concerning migration¹⁷¹ and by the creation of new rules based on international business law (temporary assignments instead of real work contracts and no attention paid to economic, political, social and environmental rights). The new rules tend to constrain at the same time the presence of the United Nations Organisation and the regulating power of the States and their laws which are already at a minimum. She gives us a concrete example by analysing the GATS (General Agreement on Trade and Services) model of the four modes of movement in terms of the management of goods and services and the displacement of those people who are linked to specific services. Her analysis does not include living conditions and the need for protection but concerns itself for example with the simple fact of a GATS visa that offers service with a total disregard for any other right that should properly be considered one of the basic human rights. One also thinks of the very fragile status of the UN Convention on Migrants' Rights.¹⁷²

Using a different approach, two researchers are asking further questions about the limits of the Universal that we can discover in international law by placing them in the historical context of economic-political relations. The historian Immanuel Wallerstein (2008) examines European universalism along a course going from colonisation to the right to interfere. Europeans are not the only ones to hold universal values. He explains that the dominant universalism of the Western colonial powers was based on the limitless accumulation of capital and that colonialism and imperialism merely served to legitimise that aim. After the Netherlands in the 17th century, Great Britain in the 19th century and the United States in the 20th century, China and India have now taken their

169 Pellerin, H el ene, *La Gestion multilat erale et l'influence du droit international* (author's text).

170 See the 2001 directive adopted by the European Parliament to encourage the "facilitation of services".

171 In this context one has to stress the importance of the International Convention for Migrants (see propositions).

172 See especially Caloz-Tschopp (2008b).

place as major powers. So are we witnessing the emergence of a new universalism? For Immanuel Wallerstein (2006), one of the conditions is that of moving to the periphery to begin work on a methodical deconstruction of the rhetoric of European universalism as an ideology of what he calls (in the footsteps of Fernand Braudel) the world-system. He describes three variants of the Western universalist rhetoric: *the right to interfere* (“*le droit d’ingérence*”) dating from as early as 1550 in the Valladolid Debate and the Spanish theologian Sepúlveda’s justification for the conversion and massacre of Indians (civilizing mission), *orientalism* and the univocal notion of *scientific truth*. In his analysis, which refutes both relativism and indifference, pointing out the silences in liberal revolutions (colonialism, place of women, minority rights) and the acts of humiliation which result in war (the United States’ war against terrorism), he brings out possible alternatives based on dialogue that conform with the pluriversal perspective by imagining a “multiplicity of universalisms which would form a network of universal universalisms.”

The historian Pierre Rosanvallon (2008), in an approach that is limited to the evaluation of democracy in France, stresses the fact that the Universal has been marked by the weight of European and colonial history. For him, the history of the French Revolution symbolises a closed model of democratic universalism. “It is there that we see for the first time the impossibility of real universalism.” He emphasises that the American and French Revolutions contain “strong, indeterminate answers to the essential questions of citizenship, representation and sovereignty” in relation to the liberty and equality which formed the first uncertainties of these revolutionary foundations. By erasing the difficulties and contradictions, they led to a sterile conception of the history and “the construction of closed, democratic universalisms,” to a misunderstanding of experiences in the West and equally so elsewhere. He advances the thesis that “democracy conceived as an experience opens the door to genuine universalism; an experimental universalism,” which allows for a more open and more egalitarian dialogue between nations and a rejection of the “clash of civilisations” theory. In his article, he unfortunately gives no examples of concrete actions to be taken, either in theoretical experiences or in actions of citizenship.

In conclusion, to break the deadlock in the search for a possible political holding, should one take the Universal as “a hypothesis, a kind of disciplinary horizon eternally waiting whose outlines could never be clearly drawn” but which is there to bring out the principles of comparison between societies? This is the suggestion of the anthropologist Philippe Descola (1993). We have seen that the matrix of the Universal must respond to other challenges, not merely those of comparative approaches. To avoid impossible pitfalls, any thoughts about a matrix are in fact put to the challenge of combining the neces-

sity for constantly developing political action to create a holding that contains both spatial and historical evolution (Sibertin-Glanc, 2003).

Any approach which implies a new political ontology, a new logic and a new epistemology has to face the challenge of acknowledging the fact that, under the effect of wars and struggles (Hardt and Negri, 2004), foundations move and invariants vary, sometimes to the point where any framework holding political life has disappeared.¹⁷³ In other words, the dynamics of the evolution of social-historical being transforms theory, logic and philosophy (Castoriadis). History, the transformation of power relationships, territorial re-configurations in global geopolitics impel the philosophy and the political theory of the matrix to shift towards a political ontology of the future, of the power of multiple connections, of networks (Deleuze and Guattari)¹⁷⁴ towards an open and creative logic and a theory of relationships between the State and that which is outside the State, where migration is just one of the notorious facts. The word matrix itself becomes inappropriate and we have to find a new word. Philosophical and political debate is as vast, complex and abundant as it is rich. It is far from being over. It is emphatically present in the field of migration.

3.1.2 *How Can we Become Universal, Mr Einstein?*

A concrete example may bring these matters closer to the field of scientific practice by illustrating the difficulty of a practice of the Universal called upon to transform itself into a practice of the Pluriversal and to integrate the future. The Universal, the cosmo-political citizenship having been active in the *city of the world*, in the *cosmopolis*, are not a principle, a dream, a Utopia or an abstract norm as Kant thought in his idealistic approach. These two notions are (de)constructed in a dialectic of power relations which also exists in scientific thought.

So, the Universal in the *Cosmopolis* is not an absolute concept. It is a practice, a personal experience that is relational, individual and collective which is striving to become pluriversal. It concerns the construction of a place, a holding environment, a positive relationship to the multiple places where action and life abound and it is translated by the creation of cosmo-political citizenship that is tied to a place, a pluriversal political holding built at this stage of current globalisation. To live across several countries, to feel completely Swiss, European, Colombian, Senegalese, Indian or South African ... is the reality not only for migrants but for all the multiple forms of human beings on

173 One only has to think of the situation in the former Yugoslavia, Colombia and certain African states.

174 See in particular Deleuze and Guattari (1980); Deleuze and Negri (1985); Deleuze (1990) (2002).

the planet at various levels and degrees.¹⁷⁵ Various practical and theoretical constructions of the *pluriversal cosmopolis* and the cosmo-political citizenship do exist. Let us consider an example provided by a physicist to illustrate the brick wall that political and scientific thinking alike are butting their heads against. To put it more clearly, the enclosed universalism which is present in politics is not absent from science. We saw this connection with the history of universalism (Wallerstein). Examining the operations of theoretical constructions highlights the tangled web of conflicts we should take notice of, rather than merely affirming an abstract principle that has been emptied of all its contents. He reveals to us the dialectic at work in the practices of cosmo-political citizenship in order to create and build a *pluriversal city of the world*. One of the tangled knots is consequently the tension between the Universal and the singular which is called on to transform itself into a pluriversal dynamic. According to Kant, universalist conviction means that all human beings, without exception – beyond individual differences (gender, people, race, sexual orientation, class, etc.). have the same worth.

Reason (the logic of the universal) does not necessarily follow morality (any form of sinning against the universalist ideal). In Kant's complex universalist doctrine (David-Ménard, 1997) based on reason and morality, the exercise of reason and morality walk *pari passu*: any form of sinning against logical universalism is a moral error, any breach of moral universalism is a logical error. If there is no adequation, we must postulate a dysfunction of reason. The operator of equivalence (therefore the removal of differences) is the Universal. Thus, we have to consider two forms of equivalence: action and subjects, the physicist Françoise Balibar (2005) writes after reminding us of the elements of the debate. "Act as if the maxim of your action could always become equally valid as the law of a possible human world," writes Kant to describe the famous moral law as the construction of an equivalent class of acts. Running parallel to this, another class of equivalence is defined (and not constructed on an ad hoc basis), the class of subjects. At this point, reason intervenes. The outside subject enacts the moral law, which is reason (the subject is stripped of all that which is sensitive in its nature). The law of logic can only become universal if it is stripped of all contingency and of any particular subjectivity. Consequently, there are two universals in Kant, the universal of acts (or morality), constructed and *extensive*, and the universal of subjects, which is *intensive*. This method for making the Universal excludes the notions of the

175 "In order to make possible the multiplicity of adherences we need a gangway, a common reference point which we must build together and which would form human rights." Driss, El Yazami, General Delegate of Generics (Paris), declared recently. <<http://www.generiques.org>>.

individual and of individuation. Kant articulates universal acts, subjects and collective by erasing the individual. Henceforth, is it possible to think about the individual and the universal in physics and equally in politics without erasing the individual? The question was on Einstein's mind for his whole life, as Françoise Balibar (2005) shows from the example of a "moral mistake" Einstein committed, in a demonstration in which she compares Kant's theory to Einstein's theory of relativity and where she notes their common failure to combine the articulation between the individual and the Universal at the level of particles in fundamental physics and at the political level. Perhaps we should draw the conclusion that the only possible position in the face of aporia is to keep the conflict between these two terms open, and to live with the conflict by including what Kant annulled (passions, singularity) precisely so that we do not annul them. This short digression allows us to free ourselves from an idealistic, abstract and therefore ineffective vision and to go beyond the closed, inessentialising identity, to give a primordial importance to relationships, to passions, to conflicts, to hybridisations and to opt for a constructive conception of the Universal, of politics, of rights – and even of the sciences (which joins us up with social capital and scientific diasporas). A new reading of the notions of border and *cosmopolis* allows us to go from the Universal to the Pluriversal.

3.2 Rethinking the Notion of Border (Balibar)

By force of circumstance, many researchers buckled down to establish a criticism of logic, to categorise the idea of the frontier in ways that were too narrow to describe the movement, the large diversity of the way the movement took place in time (history), world space (territories) and to define the richness of social relations that were part of the movement that could not be reduced to mere economic mobility. Neither human history, nor world space, nor global landscapes that are occupied by more and more towns are conceivable without the relational movement of migration, diasporas and scientific diasporas. Think of the Greek scientists/scholars and philosophers in Sicily, in North Africa, Alexandria, India, China, Mexico, etc. Whenever geopolitical tensions and partitions flare up, the questions about borders surge up again with regularity. It is hardly astonishing that migration has become the barometer for measuring tension and changes.

The emergence of transnational theories in social studies particularly those concerned with the so-called transnational (Barry and Goodin, 1992; Fibbi, 2004) migration and diasporas is still rooted in the idea of a nation so as to qualify for the link between diasporas and nations (Bordes-Benayoun and Schnapper, 2006), between nation-states and the "transnational world," (Glick

Schiller et al, 1995) taking into account the various forms of nation-states (including those that emerged from ethnic theories of nationalities¹⁷⁶ that were opposed to the patriotism of the Enlightenment). The relative weakening of the nation-states system pervades suspicions about diasporas, debates about politics and European citizenship in Europe, debates about the regularisation of illegals in certain States for instance, and indirectly, the policies that govern education, science and labour. Theoretical trends which speak of the “clash of cultures,” where the stranger/foreigner becomes the enemy (Huntington, 2004) recall the old essentialising distinction – friend/enemy – expounded by the Nazi legal expert Carl Schmitt which was very much in fashion during the Nazi period (Morgenthau, 1946).¹⁷⁷ The Schmitt distinction places the distinction between national and foreign on a radical war footing to the point of expelling migrants from the States and from politics. It tolerates no thinking that goes beyond the category of “national,” nor does it allow for a global and political temporality or spatiality to take shape in institutions, policies, measures, or in any form of solid administrative machinery. It strictly controls attitudes towards movement, limits, frontiers, citizens, foreigners, laws, administrative procedures, police and military practices of intervention and surveillance, and the worth (or lack of worth) that is placed on culture.¹⁷⁸ Theoretical space is always occupied by the category of the “national” which accompanies the system of nation-states. It is always under the same roof with regional multinational and multilateral attitudes, with attitudes towards cities and empire (Hardt and Negri, 2001; Schmitt, 1985; Agamben, 2003) and towards “biopower” (Foucault, 2004) In the area of migration, the UN and the International Organisation for Migration have launched a new project, NIROMP – *New International Regime for Orderly Movements of People* – in which movement is present but

176 Such a theory is born from Herder’s affirmation of the equal rights of all cultures facing the cosmopolitanism of Western Enlightenment – an aspect of cultural integration from Germany beginning in the second half of the 18th century of the ideas and values of the French Enlightenment and the French Revolution. This became a heritage in the Germany of the 20th century. See Dumont (1979). One can find more “intimate” traces of this in the cultural-linguistic relationship (*Bildung*) and more precocious roots of Herder’s developments in the translation of the Bible by Luther (1483–1546), which delatinises the German language in order to found a national culture. The work of language translation “answers the need to bring out the essence by modifying it through a confrontation with a sacred or classical canon: the national is thereby founded by a broadening of its translatability, which blends with the idea of *Bildung*, understood as a process of formation, as a beginning, of a national language which can translate that which is foreign in the context of this process.” Kristeva (1988).

177 See also the introduction by Georges Schwab to the new edition of *The Concept of Political* (1932), by Carl Schmitt (1996).

178 On this subject see the works of the networks European Liberty and Security by Didier Bigo and Migreurop (<www.migreurop.org>).

where economics and security are dominant (Pellerin). Neither the term international (nor others derived from “national”), nor the term imperial are satisfactory to grasp the future of the State as a holding capable of containing political dynamics, as the place for peoples, as the aporiae of the nation state, as adequate to express the economic-geopolitical transformations in globalisation. As for Michel Foucault’s term “bloopers,” which we come across in the field of migration, it requires a renewal in political anthropology worthy of reevaluating the neoconservative and racist theories (from the 18th century to the 1930s and today) and capable of defining the new forms of essentialisation and naturalisation, whose importance we know to be so crucial in the discourses about migrants and women. A shift in theory and category is taking place.

Taking up again the notion of *border*, a work in progress on political philosophy about migration and the building of Europe¹⁷⁹ sets out an innovative approach to overcome the difficulties related to the Universal and to conceive of the holding, the system and the sovereignty. In the connection between the economy and security in migration policies, the area of *Liberty-Security-Justice* in Europe¹⁸⁰ (Tampere) and the expression *security perimeter* borrowed from the computer world show that the concept of justice is enclosed within a security vision of security. The frontier leaves room for unified, secure places with priority given to strategic management (efficiency, fluidity, reduction of national judicial orders in favour of globalised market criteria).

“Crossing borders or having many homes?” the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2004) wonders as he describes the human experience in conditions of globalisation. Étienne Balibar takes a political and philosophical stand. He looks again at the question of sovereignty and considers the proliferation of sovereignties (state and quasi-state bureaucracies of the police and the army) by confronting them at the border, in the State and amidst the people (Balibar, 2000). We shall confine ourselves here to his work about the *border*, which is very important¹⁸¹

179 I’ll limit myself here to the work of conceptualisation of the philosopher Étienne Balibar; one should quote other works by geographers, diplomats, in Europe, Asia, Latin America (references in French). For Europe, see for example, Foucher (1998, 2007); Dumont (undated); Zourabichvili (2008) (Georgia); for the former Yugoslavia and Asia (India, Pakistan), see the works of the philosopher Rada Ivekovic.

180 Council of the European Union, “The programme of The Hague to reinforce liberty, security and justice in the European Union as approved by the European Council at the time of its meeting on November 5th. 2004,” Brussels, December 13th 2004 (n. 16054/04).

181 “The border is of crucial importance for contemporary debates that care to know if the rich context in which we try to give meaning to political life must be understood as international – the accepted opinion – or even as imperial and belonging to globalised capitalism and to the unilateral militarism of the United States [...] by the prevalence of security measures on liberty that have been activated by the contemporary readjustments made by the sovereign authority.” Walker R. B. J. (2005).

in order to understand the relationships which have become intertwined at the borders where we still find women, migrants and diasporas.

The question of the links between the power of the State and the movement that is visible in migration and diasporas may be approached in the many ways that lead from exile to the crossing of the border. But far from being an *essence*, in the numerous faces, places, functions, etc., the vital, central issue in the border question is always a *relation*. The border crystallises the transnational relations of power, domination, class, and confrontations between the system of States and the migrants, the diasporas in the globalisation process. Étienne Balibar invites us not to confine ourselves to the visible border of the sovereign State on a confined territory with passports¹⁸² and walls, but to move to another position so that we might decipher the power games, the contradictions and struggles that are going on there. The State is transformed at its borders. So are individuals and peoples.¹⁸³ We have to understand that individuals and peoples may be inside (citizens) or outside (stateless persons), or inside and outside (diasporas), but whatever the relations of power may be, these people are something quite different from being a “border.”

They are building themselves a philosophical, political, psychic and civil identity by confronting the border. They develop a *power of Being* in the face of state and multinational forces which are trying to confine them to immobility and impotence. For a proper understanding of the content of Étienne Balibar’s (2007) important text in philosophy and political theory of which I can only mention here the essentials, we will refer to a complementary text by the same author (2002). Relying on Fichte and Devereux, Balibar shows by a different scholarly progression that the question of borders is not only an external, geographical and administrative relationship, but also a relationship that is actually lived, a relationship that *constitutes identity*. It must enable us to elucidate two great philosophical questions:

the relationship to “I” and to “we”, the idea that identities are neither purely individual nor purely collective, but are multiple ways for the individual to internalise belonging and for the community to institute or to prescribe the subjectivities, and on the other hand, the question of “I” (or “we”) and the “otherness”. The border that we are all defending together, and which makes us feel protected or restricted, which is the crossing point and point of contact with the other as well as an area that is closed off, is the slightly more historical and concrete face of these big questions.

In the broader sense, Europe has experienced yearnings for nationalism and the contrary desires to open up in the political debates about its relationships with

182 On this subject see Torpey (2005) (socio-history).

183 One thinks of the notion of “multitude” put forward by Toni Negri on rereading Spinoza.

its former colonies (Algeria), about broadening Europe (Turkey, Eastern European countries applying for EU membership), “the traces of the great frontiers of civilisation are not as immutable as one might imagine,” Balibar notes again in a commentary of a text by Keynes. Therefore it is necessary to know the dialectic of the history of borders and to ensure that fundamental rights are being honoured in the reports of border institutions, in police work and in the bureaucracy of Schengen and of the states. The measures to ensure this require reappropriating and establishing opposing forces to act as guardians and as a safeguard for fundamental rights. The border become the space of *inter-esse*, a no-man’s land between activities, continents, poles, borders, a place for crossing points, a meeting place for populations, ideas and knowledge which are in movement, in relationships, in conflict. Thus, one has to install a dynamic method which is in movement itself, which is “polychronic,”¹⁸⁴ “plurifocal,”¹⁸⁵ *multi-sited*. This is the place where we find the scientific diasporas.

3.3 Movement, Cosmopolis, Cosmo-polical Citizenship

The *movement* of persons, ideas and knowledge cannot be reduced to free movement, to what economic language calls *mobility*. From a philosophical point of view, movement is a constituent element of the evolving social-historical Being (a concept borrowed from Cornelius Castoriadis, 1975). It exists in the cosmos, in history, society, in the human body and in thought, labour, knowledge, all manner of links and in the tools of information and communication. Therefore movement is a component of the social-historical Being. The movement of societies, of populations (not only of migrants) and brains in the bodies is not a simple economic mobility. It can’t be confined to a utilitarian vision of the free movement of economic factors in terms of ends and means. Moreover, although a fracture often exists in discourses between the *Realpolitik* of interests and the police management of anonymous numbers (Brinkbauer, 2006), is it possible to think without critical detachment that the scientific, political, cultural, and ethical construction of Europe should be focused as a result of the polices of migration and development,¹⁸⁶ science and technology, on a cohabitation be-

184 Mireille Delmas-Marty insists on this aspect of the plurality of the *chronia*, of the time in the construction of international rights.

185 The word comes from an ethnologist. See Marcus (2005).

186 A few figures to strengthen the debate: 780 billion (dollars), world military spending (if one adds indirect costs such as: the wounded, education etc. double this figure); 50 billion, public aid to development; 50 billion, for the cost of September 11th. 2001; 150 billion, the cost of Hurricane Katrina; 50 billion, the cost of the battle against money laundering; 30 billion, the cost of cancelling the debt for poor countries; 24 billion, the cost of the battle against soil

tween a “chosen” migration policy and the delegation of politics to an administration and police force whose aim is the strict control of populations and who are accompanied by a mercenary and cynical utilitarianism? At this very moment that is what is being debated with the directive on the return and the pact of migration surrounding the launching of The Mediterranean Union (UPM)¹⁸⁷ on July 14th 2008 (France) just as 58 bodies washed up on the coasts of Spain and without anyone knowing the number of fatalities from the four boats packed with illegal immigrants that sailed for five days without food or water before sighting the Spanish coast. Just one case amongst so many others.¹⁸⁸

To begin to reconsider the Universal and the border, philosophy and political theory would do well to envisage the question of scientific diasporas by clarifying the link between movement (populations, thought, knowledge, learning), scientific diasporas, politics and citizenship. Before examining the views from innovative work of which we now have a general idea after reflecting on the aporia of the Universal and the notion of border, we should first remind ourselves briefly of some historic discourses in philosophy and political theory. This will allow us to see the marks of the old debates in the tradition of political philosophy.

Political theories and the discourses they inspire at a moment in history when the need arises for a new holding environment and for a new dynamic for politics (the State), oscillate at different levels in various combinations between “the state of nature” and “political demands. Hobbes and Rousseau, who developed diverse philosophies of the State and the social contract, both recognised nevertheless the revolution of the passage from the state of nature to the social state. For Hobbes in his *Leviathan*, the “natural human condition” (chap. 13) is governed by the famous sentence “a war of all against all” through trickery and violence, for one’s own necessary self-preservation. From their perspective, the state of nature may be defined in terms of a lack of holding and political contract. Government, civilisation, the political holding, contract, laws and common power are missing. The reference “thou shalt not kill” doesn’t exist. Nothing can stop “sad passions” (Spinoza) and the progression which leads to open violence. In the state of nature nothing can contain brute force. Human beings have to yield to the “war of all against all,” to an incessant struggle for power in order to defend their lives.

erosion; 19 billion, the cost of the fight against epidemics (AIDS, malaria); 18 billion, the cost of the struggle against malnutrition; 15 billion, the cost of the struggle for access to water; 8 billion, the cost of the struggle against illiteracy; 2 billion, the cost of anti-personnel mines; (source: France Culture, 31st October 2005).

187 In particular see: Bensaad (2008); Chérif (2008); Belkaïd and Orsenna (2008).

188 See the reporting of the newspaper *El País* of the 12th July 2008.

The universalism of the Enlightenment has been caught in two contradictory currents: liberal French and English Revolutions and nationalisms sometimes reinforced by *jus sanguinis* theories, the racial theories at the root of modern racism. It has also been seized by Hegel's dialectic, overthrown by Marx, but not totally overtaken in its determinism where hybridisation and otherness remain prisoners of a monistic and partitionist Universal.¹⁸⁹ The dialectic between state of nature and political creation within a holding to be reinvented – the State – has been developed by social contract philosophers (Locke, Rousseau, etc.) and also, as we saw, by Hannah Arendt, a philosopher and political theorist who experienced the condition of exile and diaspora, and who was inspired by Kant in particular. We examined earlier how she was sensitive to certain aspects of philosophical and political theories related to migration, forced displacements of populations, exile, the stateless, diasporas, and overcoming various aporiae regarding the system of nation-states and the movement of populations. These tendencies, these trends are present in the tensions which are never pure and simple between essentialisation and naturalisation, domination and democracy, individual, people, minorities and nation-state. They exert weight on the holding and limits of the State in its dominant form as a system of nation states. They also exert weight on diasporas and scientific diasporas. Reconsidering what constitutes a State, a border, hospitality and the right to have rights (Arendt) allows us to open their dialectical process so that we may reformulate the concept of sovereignty and citizenship, the pluriversal form of which might serve as a cosmo-political citizenship.

In the history of sciences, the cosmopolitan universe has been explored beginning with the thesis of the “war of the sciences” (Stengers, 2003), by an order of knowledge which excludes social sciences and studies, by the ambitious dream that science alone (physics, chemistry, biology) can penetrate the enigma of the world. Critical debates in social studies related to modernity take place today around the concept of *cosmopolis*; Stephan Toulmin (2001) is one of its spokespersons in the history of ideas. In short, Toulmin thinks of the notion of *cosmopolis* as a place of critical historical information on the transition from tolerant 16th-century humanism in search of an authoritarian rationalism and unified in the 17th century into the nation-state. He reads there in a

189 “The moral universalism of the Enlightenment finds, beyond the ordeal of the French Revolution, its magisterial discourse with the reasoned aspiration of Kant for a universal peace. As a counterpoint, the romantic inversion, the emergence of German nationalism and quite especially the notion of Herder's *Volksgeist*, but above all the negativity of Hegel – which at the same time rehabilitates and systematises, unchains the power of the Other, against and within the conscience of the Same – will be able to be thought of as stages in preparing for the ‘Copernican revolution’ which was the invention of the Freudian unconscious.” Kristeva (1988).

mirror the reconstruction of the transformation that was put to the test by European society after the Thirty Years War and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes when the relative tolerance it had represented comes to an end.

Other researchers who take on modernity from other points of view utilise, more or less critically, the contributions of the republican internationalist Kant who placed himself in a finite world, rejected colonies and was concerned with the law of the people (Belissa and Gauthier, 1999)¹⁹⁰ (and not only the State) and even questioned the idea of private property. So Kant allowed us to think of the extensive and intensive universalism in history and reality (since it exists) (Balibar, 1993) in order to formulate the need for hospitality (Schérer, 2005) at the root of the “right to have rights” (Arendt) and for a more effective law (Tosel, 1988). He enables us to give a shape to the aspirations for a modernity that could not be hemmed in by the fractious jurisdictions of an inter-state system (Habermas, 1987) nor by the “new cosmopolitan community of humanity” (Walker, 2003). In a critical dialogue with other authors (Marx, Spinoza, etc.), researchers proposed theoretical openings to link justice with global governance (Marti, 2007),¹⁹¹ putting the emphasis on “ega-liberty,” cosmopacifism (multilingualism, mediation, translation) (Cassin, 2004; Balibar, 1997, 2001, 2003; Ivekovic, 2007), and opening perspectives for transforming the power of knowledge, citizenship,¹⁹² hospitality and peace. Those last approaches to cosmopolitanism enable us to identify “identity tensions” surrounding the appropriation of the holding location by certain groups, classes, the transformation of nation-states,¹⁹³ and to overcome the aporiae of the dominant political system of nation-states. Above all, it allows us to identify the places and knots of conflict – not so much in Kant’s too abstract universalism, but in a concrete pluriversal world, in movement at the borders. Placing the accent on plurality, relational movement and conflict as a positive creative element, refers us to the dialectic operating at borders and the invention of democracy (in Greece and elsewhere). It implies that we take into account the dynamic of the conflict in exchanges. The conflict inherent in the creation of a cosmo-political citizenship incorporated in the “germ” of a radical democracy (Castoriadis) may articulate various types, qualities, levels and political diversification of exchange relations in societies rather than the consensus where there is the risk of favouring homogenisation in which diasporas and scientific diasporas would be at pains to find visibility and a place.

190 See also Belissa (1998).

191 My thanks to the author for having sent me this article.

192 From this perspective the place of women is primordial. On this topic, in connection with one of the countries under research, see Hames (2006).

193 In particular, see Beitz (1979); Brown and Shue (1983); and Dowty (1987).

3.3.1 Cosmopolis, *Cosmopacifism*, *Hospitality*

We saw with Monique Chemillier-Gendreau the implications for international law of a location for a neutral and open public political holding (State) which takes into account the dialectic of Oneness and plurality and of hybridisation. We saw with Immanuel Wallerstein what the critical analysis of Western universalism implies for a historian. Taking into account the etymology and common usage of the term *cosmo-polis*¹⁹⁴ allows us continue that line of thought. The word *cosmos* is often translated by *world*, found in the French world for globalisation *mondialisation* (*monde* being the French for *world*). In everyday usage there is the danger of reducing the notion of world to that of economic globalisation in modernity, i.e. the neo-liberal market. In philosophy, *world* refers in part to *cosmos* (ordered world out of the chaos). In political philosophy, *cosmo-polis* refers to the link between *cosmos* and *polis* (city in Greek), one of the political forms of democracy invented in human history. It is the root of a cosmo-political citizenship. In political terms, we must understand the word *cosmopolis* in the Aristotelian sense and in its use by other writers on political philosophy who have clarified its links with governance, project and the democratic imaginary (Castoriadis). It expresses the political form of the *polis* (city-state in ancient Greece), a political way of life in the city includes a possible (but not necessarily practical) open relationship at its borders, a relationship to the world (*cosmos*) and to the others, seen as a sort of common area, a public space in and at the borders of the *polis* extended to the *cosmos*. The relationship, the passage, articulation from *polis* to *metropolis*,¹⁹⁵ *cosmopolis* and even more radically to *demopolis* (city of the people) bring up a number of political questions which I am unable to examine here (levels, articulations between city, the system of nation-states, world, the mode of construction from above, from below, disagreement and sharelessness (Rancière) at the root of every political relationship, the link to recent technological discoveries which support cyber networks, etc.). But these questions do not remove the ever open desire for a project that is always possible – namely, to construct a *cosmopolis*, a city of the world. In other terms, those words that are heavy with legacies, foundations, debates, desires, passions refer to experiences and actions in the

194 This term is taken from the Greek *kosmos* which designates the world: “This world, which is the same for all, no one of gods or men has made.” Heraclitus, Fragment 30 *Encyclopédie philosophique universelle*, “Les notions philosophiques,” vol. 1, Paris, PUF, 1990, p. 500.

195 Ever since Walter Benjamin was walking in Paris with a nostalgia for a bygone era, described also by Musil “The Man without Qualities,” urbanization has assumed global proportions (52% of the world’s population lives in towns that have more than a million inhabitants). In 2008 there was an exhibition in Beijing of the 12 largest cities in the world; most of them are not in Europe. One of the interests of the scientific diasporas is their connection with towns.

long history of humanity whose contradictions, difficulties and deadlocks must also be defined.

The creation of a *cosmopolis* (Hassner, 2004), a right to a city in the most general sense, i.e. a world citizenship (Kriegel, 1998; Schnapper, 1998) at the present stage of globalisation considered as *a power, an agency* is consequently caught in a pincer movement between state of nature and political state, between State and nation-state, between chaos and political creation. When there is neither a political holding nor a *polis* (political community) where every individual on the planet is able to forge multiple bonds of belonging and participation, individuals and groups are deprived of any place in the world, and in politics, there is a lack of *cosmos* (self-organised world). Chaos takes over. Kant, who met with nationalist passions in his time (Beitz, 1983), had integrated the historical stage of a finite world after the *Conquista*. He was preoccupied with setting up a universal system of States, an international law based on hospitality and peace. For Kant, the *raison d'être* of a *cosmopolis* and of *cosmopacifism* is evident when the planet is entirely conquered and the world is in a finite space. "A violation of human rights at any point on the planet is felt everywhere" (Kant, 1986: 350–353). For Kant, hospitality is the place where war is banished and where peace is worked for, since hospitality allows for relationships between individuals, countries and continents. Hospitality is a place for working on the ambiguous definition of what is foreign (god and monster, Aristotle). Thinking about peace, Kant creates a prescription for cosmopolitan law that must be restricted to the conditions of universal hospitality (*allgemeine Hospitalität*) connected with respect for the human being. For Kant, it is not a question of philanthropy but of peace, law and politics. Kant argues from the discovery of the earth, which is round and therefore finite, and thus belongs to everybody and to nobody in particular (the right to a common ownership of the surface of the earth). The end of discovering and populating virgin lands, a planet entirely conquered by the West leads him to infer that hospitality, coexisting in tolerance, is a necessity to prevent war. As René Schérer (2005) shows, he imposes another condition which leads us to the heart of politics, far beyond migration policies, towards the political requirement for a political community without appropriating resources and with the necessity for justice in the area of what has been called, since the Sixties, North-South relations. Kant the republican comes to question the right of property in order to permit hospitality and to prevent war. He prefigures debates that will develop later in the debates on international public law, the appropriation of resources, the shape of political holding, the dialectic between Universal and Pluriversal (Chemillier-Gendreau) fueled by the famous process of hybridisation, and the debates about human rights and sustainable development.

3.3.2 *Choosing to Create Cosmo-political Citizenship*

After Kant, in a completely different historical context, in her famous chapter about the decline of the nation-states and the end of human rights (Arendt, 1972),¹⁹⁶ then in her philosophical and political analysis written during the tragic 20th century, Hannah Arendt has described the emergence of a totalitarian political power without precedent, defined by its nihilist destructiveness and the *superfluity of human life*. She has shown how in the wake of specific political circumstances, the loss of State (the holding), the appropriation of the State by the nation and the radical deprivation of political belonging (statelessness) led to millions of individuals becoming superfluous, to mass murder and to world deprivation (*worldlessness, acosmia*). She showed that the right to a city was challenged by overtaking the constraints of the nation-states system to rethink an open political holding, to rely on the “right to have rights” which is at the root of belonging politically and belonging to the world, that which is guaranteed to every human being. The concept of *cosmopolis* is rooted in a holding environment for the common good, the foundation stone for Arendt’s “right to have rights.” It is not juridical but political. It implies that every human being is entitled to a political holding and a location recognised by others where he or she can exercise liberty and plurality wherever they reside on the planet. And where history (memory, generations) and their space on earth may be integrated. It has at the same time the recognition of the importance bestowed on a holding and involves a relational approach to power in terms of evolutionary movement, of the *power* of creative action rather the force of war.

Arendt’s approach leads to *cosmo-political citizenship*, even if she did not define it in her work. The choice of the term *cosmo-politic citizenship* relies on a choice which is both semantic and strategic. To anchor the creation of the world city in the cosmos, which is envisaged as an open, dynamic, evolving and pluriversal order, and in the historical experience of the *polis* that is to be created, is better than anchoring citizenship in the diaspora itself, a word which means “dispersion.” The chosen anchorage is concerned with the general rather than attaching itself to particular situations. It articulates the general and the particular. It is at the same time historical (memory), material, imaginary, and utopian. Furthermore, such an anchorage in the cosmos and the *polis*, i. e. that which is of the most general nature in social-historical Being, and of existence (world, politics) underlines the fact that cosmo-political citizenship concerns every individual on the planet, in the world (in the philosophical meaning of being contemporary with a world where every individual is living): the entirety of all human beings and therefore the entirety of migrants too (and not some category

196 For the analysis of the “right to have rights” see Caloz-Tschopp (2000).

of privileged people who would be “chosen”). In short, *cosmo-political citizenship* is a kind of political citizenship of the world, or if you prefer the entirety of all the populations moving about on the planet. It concerns all human beings and therefore migrants, diasporas and particularly scientific diasporas here. To exist as an effective project, it must be articulated as a neutral political holding (which can no longer be a sovereign nation-state), but a holding able to contain a pluriversal dynamic of political creation integrating the movement of the living conditions of human beings on the planet. However, its creation does not bring about economies in the material anchorage of the system of existing nation states and in the invention of the means to surpass it (European citizenship, multilateral agreements, the awareness of conflicts at borders, etc.). Cosmopolitical citizenship must enable us to define rights and duties that are under tension here and now and in the future (who defends the rights of an Indian, Colombian, or South African researcher? Who ensures that the laws are respected? Who verifies that the criteria of planet survival and basic needs are upheld?) It must enable us to identify the consequences of citizenship actions that are linked to living conditions in the broadest sense, to public action that will favour the survival of the planet and cater to the basic needs in several places on the planet.

The concept of cosmo-political citizenship proposed contains the legacy of complex debates which are equally present in the diaspora option (Brown). It is a matter of separating the question of citizenship from nationality and dispersion alike, and by putting the emphasis both on the necessity of a holding environment and on the future in movement at all kinds of borders. This implies, unequivocally, that we take into account at the same time bonds with the country of origin, passage, residence in other countries and above all strength in the form of *power of action connected with the individual and collective future* (Spinoza). Thus, the perspective of a cosmo-political citizenship is directly in accordance with the “right to have rights” (Arendt) (Balibar, 2005a). Thus, cosmo-political citizenship integrates at the same time the reality of concrete and multiple movements of populations and knowledge, theoretical notions of “social capital” (Robert Putnam) and sustainable *human* development, by refusing to incorporate political anthropology and politics into utilitarian exploitation and the dominating force of war. This cosmo-political perspective leads to openings that are at the same time theoretical and equally present in partnerships (not only State, the UN, the international institutions), but also in networks made up key players who are not connected with the State, with professionals and with others. It induces transformations, shifts (philosophical, theoretical, epistemological and logical alike) in the formulation of questions, problems, needs in the sense of the construction of *cosmopolitanism at borders* (cosmos, belonging to the world) linked with knowledge workers and their living conditions taken together, in particular their status and working condi-

tions. Knowledge and its transformations into cognitive capital are part of the cosmo-political citizenship (where the open creation of a neutral public holding might be located along with exchange networks and partnerships).

In other words, the notion of diasporas, scientific diasporas and the concepts of cosmopolitanism, cosmo-political citizenship and sustainable *human* development signify the transformations of the theoretical and conceptual holding, of the content of and of the relations between *migration/development/science/technology, society* and *politics* such as they appear, as the result of the intervention of transformations of the human condition and consequently, of migrants in diaspora. Knowledge workers may be the chief protagonists in the construction of a concrete cosmo-politanism around learning, the exploration of concrete conditions for a cosmo-political citizenship, the forging of political bonds at the level of the common world where knowledge is connected with their country's basic needs. Following on from the construction of knowledge, science and learning can be viewed as a social capital (Putnam) to be connected with a new *right to a city* incorporated in sustainable *human* development.

Consumed by the multiple necessity of transformation of the State framework into a pluriversal holding, an open political location and of power in the form of action, concepts of *cosmopolis, cosmo-political citizenship* and sustainable *human* development are much more radical in their numerous implications of ontology and political anthropology, holding, political location, law, practices, and including scientific activities, than what is called the right to live in one's place of residence (the right to leave) (Liskofsky and Vasak (eds), 1976), or to return to the country of origin or even to have access to a vote. Such a conceptual holding contains a heavy theoretical, historical, spatial, political, and cultural burden. These precise definitions are essential at a time when we see not only the limits of nation-states system but also the elimination of the holding of the State and rights, the appropriation of politics by restrictive criteria (gendered nation, ethnicity, race) rather than its necessary transformation. We live in a time where politics amounts to market competition mechanisms and to security policies evading any political regulation. To what extent do human beings and migrant human beings reduced now to objects for utilitarian use or temporary service, to temporary work assignments in the place of contracts, or to being regarded as illegal criminals, disposable persons, to what extent do these people have a guarantee of being considered in their condition as human beings defined by freedom (spontaneity) and plurality (relationship)? H  l  ne Pellerin evokes the question of political anthropology in her analysis of the new world migration order. We may object to her requirement of a pluriversal public holding (State) reinvented on radically democratic bases, the creation of the *cosmopolis* environment, a city of the world on the same scale as the planet, a cosmo-

political citizenship that would also be granted to diasporas and scientific diasporas in order to ensure a sustainable *human* development.

Conclusion, Propositions

Thirteen Propositions for an Effective “Diaspora Option”

Q: What is the human experience in conditions of globalisation?

A: Don't the elite *globetrotters* and travelers in cyberspace have more in common amongst themselves (nevertheless without forming a *Gemeinschaft* in the sense of the word as used by Ferdinand Tönnies) than with the local community which suggests their postal address (and not their e-mail address)? And to what extent (if that is the case) do the ideas generated by interpersonal exchanges, the flesh and blood of this 'local community' have a chance of competing with their virtual counterpart which freely flows, floats and drifts, and which ignores the distance and the transport costs? After all, globalisation means that speed and acceleration and the ability to travel light will carry it onto the body of the land, the volume and the mass.

Bauman, 2005

From the perspective of philosophy and political theory, listed in the conclusion is a synthesis of some of the ideas, some global and specific propositions¹⁹⁷ which have in mind a more effective link between migration, development and scientific diasporas. They are anchored in human rights and sustainable *human* development¹⁹⁸ and in the choice of a *diasporic scientific citizenship*. In this sense, knowledge workers, scientific diasporas, the States and the NGO's in Europe and Switzerland and in the countries of origin are key players in the creation and mediation efforts to banish ignorance, inequalities and violence and to promote peace in the world.

To illustrate the creative process of the *cosmopolis*, the city of the world, we may quote the example of dynamic exchange networks such as *Red Caldas*

197 The propositions have been formulated in the same coherent line of thought taken by the research work. At the conclusion there are calls for specific action. It has not been prejudiced by a systematic inventory of all the existing propositions that have been already set out in the contexts of various debates (national and international arenas, ONG, etc.). In particular we should cite Barré (2003) (synthesis, p. 65 onwards).

198 Alain Supiot, a professor of labour law, underlines a logic which is present in a new test case of the European Court of Justice (the cases of Viking and Laval). It has just limited the unions' right to act against companies which use the economic liberties guaranteed by the Treaty of Rome to lower salaries or work conditions. See Supiot (2008).

(Colombia) established by the State of Colombia (Colciencias)¹⁹⁹ 1992 with the goal of encouraging knowledge transfers to Colombia by appealing to Colombian scientists outside the country. Switzerland gave support to this network in the form of collaboration projects.²⁰⁰ This shows us an example which articulates national experiences (Colombia, Switzerland) and world experiences with the support of the State of origin calling for the support of other States and other key figures in migration, development and in the world of science in connection with the activities of the scientific diasporas (de Haas, 2006; Turner, 2004). There are numerous other examples of networks in other countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa which illustrate the exchanges and the transfer of knowledge and capital through various actions (education and research support, creation of technology parks, etc.). In these examples, one can see at work various modes of production, of the movement of exchanges and cognitive capital between different parts of the world, its producers, its products, and frameworks not only for regulation but also for inspiring scientific and citizen action. To carry on university education projects (including post-graduate) and research themes in connection with EU research projects into the subject of scientific diasporas, considering that migrant workers and migrant knowledge workers can contribute to their origin countries basic needs in connection with human rights and sustainable *human* development:

- it is a basic necessity to integrate diasporas and scientific diasporas into scientific action and citizenship, and by using incentive policies to encourage links and remote mobilisation and movement (trajectories) with the countries of origin and their innovative projects;
- it is imperative that migration, development and science (education, research, circulation) policies integrate gender issues at all levels of action by scientific diasporas;
- in the case of scientific diasporas what is at stake is the production of knowledge, practice and universal and public right to an access to basic needs, in particular access to education, research, knowledge, results, de-

199 The debates organised in the Red Caldas show that they are presented as a “strategic benefit” for the country, that cooperation from a distance is searching for innovation, that science is defined in the broad sense and approached in connection with social debates: environment and development; territories, regions, towns; science, technology and society; communication and culture. See website Red Caldas. See also Chaparro (2004).

200 Federal Department of the Interior, State Secretariat for Education and Research, service order, (contract model between the Swiss Federation and the HEIG-Vaud, no date given). See also Kapil, Sibal and Charles Kleiber *Visit of State Secretary for Education and Research, Ch. Kleiber, to India, 27.4.2007* (cooperation agreement, instruments, application of cooperation, mechanisms, financing, structures). See too the document for agreed cooperation enacted with South Africa in March 2007.

- cisions in the field of planetary scientific policy. It is a matter of public property, rules, rights, public contracts of collaboration between scientific workers, NGO's, States and companies in a context of globalisation. Therefore it is neither a matter of the simple incorporation of politics, migration rights, development, education, research in "South" and "North" States in international private competition that runs the risk of weakening any political and public framework in globalisation, nor of simple economic mobility, nor of the transformation of scientific work into the circulation of services, of the simple granting of private rights;
- at the level of references, the pleasure in producing scientific knowledge and exchanges combines at the same time with an anchorage in the different strata of historically built human rights and in sustainable human development (in the sense of 1987);
 - at the level of the political holding, the existence and the reinforcement of scientific diasporas and the exercise of a scientific right to a city require a pluriversal public statist holding environment which is at the same time local, national, regional and world-wide and linked with active opposition forces – in particular scientific diasporas organised as collective protagonists – of regulation and control, public rights and working conditions, movement of produced goods as public property;
 - a policy linking migration, development and science is put to the challenge of identifying cognitive capitalism (Moulier Boutang) specific constraints in "South" and "North" countries (there are several Souths and Norths), so as to convert the mechanical concept of "return" in migration policies into *durable links sustaining the movement of human beings and knowledge* in the reorganisation of the world market of knowledge (education, research);
 - such policy is not limited to the so-called exact sciences or ICT (Information and Communication Technology) transfer, but takes the concept of science in the broad sense by integrating the so-called hard sciences, technical sciences (engineers, specialised high schools – HES-Hautes Ecoles Spécialisées), social science and social studies in the programs and questions which the latter ask of science practices (cultural diversity, history, languages, translation, etc.). We also understand that it is important to integrate education and research into international and scientific work and exchanges (support given to the educational needs of "South" countries' by all knowledge workers taking part in scientific diasporas).²⁰¹

201 One thinks of the broadening of the notion of the mobility of the North towards the South, of all the categories of students, of researchers and of knowledge workers and even the integration of the resource that is represented by retired teachers and researchers.

Ten general propositions

Within the limits of what could be developed at this stage of the research, knowledge *networks* may really become *scientific diasporas* under several conditions:

1. starting from the “diaspora option” (Brown) to situate scientific diasporas resources, a place should be given in education, interdisciplinary research, particularly research in philosophy and political theory, international law and history²⁰² and into the concepts of human development sustainable *human* development in its relations with cosmo-political citizenship, to the examination of their legal and practical status in the EU, in Switzerland,²⁰³ in the countries of origin and immigration on the planet, their genesis and their theoretical referents in the perspective of building a new political anthropology. It would be a matter of analyzing their conditions, means and theoretical and practical implications, linked with the tradition of human rights and sustainable *human* development (1987)²⁰⁴ enriched with new questions arising from the presence of knowledge workers and cognitive capitalism observable in scientific networks and diasporas;

202 At this stage first contacts in philosophy and political theory and history for network building have started on the occasion of this work with the director of IEPRI (Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales), Universidad Nacional, Bogota (Colombia), professor of philosophy André Tosel, CNRS, Nice, professor of international law Monique Chemillier-Gendreau, Paris 8, Barnita Bagchi, Associate Professor in Human Sciences, Institute of Development Studies Kolkata (India), professor Urs Marti, from the University of Zurich, and CNRS researchers, professor Jean Batou (economic history), University of Lausanne. The list is open.

203 A legal evaluation in international law would be useful to analyze the eventual inscription in the Constitution and in European and Swiss application rules of a legal status for the notions of diaspora, scientific diaspora and diasporic citizenship (with a special attention to the texts of law and application rules regarding education and professional and academic research).

204 Sustainable development criteria imply that we return to the spirit of the 1987 Declaration and distinguish markets interests and development needs. One point in connection with the choice of projects that worth noting is taking into account fields of activity excluded from the sustainable concept and scientific discussion of criteria fixed for climatic changes (extraction of fossil energy, exploitation of fossil energy plants, car manufacturing, plane manufacturing), destruction of the ozone layer (production of substances destroying ozone), the diversity of species (production of persistent organic polluting agents (POP [pollutants organiques persistants] according to the Convention of Stockholm), non-sustainable silviculture (without FSC label), non-sustainable fishing (without MSC label), nuclear energy (exploitation of nuclear plants or final stocks of nuclear material, nuclear reactors manufacturers), genetic engineering (creation of GMOs), other environmental risks (production of PCV or vinyl chloride) and social problems (arms production, tobacco and goods for smokers production). Source: Suisscanto quoted in *Le Temps*, 21.1.2007.

2. the consideration of sex/gender should be systematically integrated and evaluated by research into the establishment of human rights and sustainable *human* development, in apparatuses, tools, budgets, the measures taken in migration, development, science and in scientific diasporas policies;²⁰⁵
3. in order to go beyond a restrictive Eurocentrism the referents of the varied and rich canon of human rights and sustainable *human* development should be taken into account, built, and expanded with research into scientific diasporas in the context of international academic freedom involving all interested parties. Research in science, technology, history, philosophy, political science, international law, economics, education and science should undergo a reorientation of research in general to include ecology and urgent economic questions and basic needs. How future generations will consider human rights and how to broaden them, implies involvement in the requirements for the survival of the planet, reinforcement of public property, public law and autonomy in relation to private commercial law. Scientific innovation does not necessarily spring from the marketplace, as is shown by an analysis of scientific discoveries and the twenty-three Nobel Prizes for Science awarded in Switzerland between 1901 and 2003.²⁰⁶ The objective is to clarify the criteria of public needs for policies to be put in place which link migration, development and science (financing, evaluation);
4. the links between States, international intergovernmental organisms, diasporas²⁰⁷ and knowledge workers should become horizontal and regional links of *scientific partnership*²⁰⁸ in the philosophical and political

205 In a perspective of equality integrating transnationality and gender in the field of scientific diasporas, would it be possible for instance to apply the attestation procedure of salary equality between women and men called Equal-salary to the sites where diasporas researchers are used (at different levels of career) by introducing the national-foreigners and intercontinental foreigners variable, in connection with the Observatoire universitaire de l'emploi (OUE) in Geneva headed by professor of political economy Yves Fluckiger. In his work he attempts to attach the salary to the office and not to the person.

206 Federal Department of the Interior (DFI), Higher education and research. Comparative table Switzerland-India, state November 2006.

207 At this level one of the measures could be to encourage diaspora's remittances toward scientific projects of public development in countries of origin.

208 In scientific innovation, the thesis advancing the idea that the concentration of science and the system of research accompanies globalization, a vertical hierarching of the political system may perhaps be discussed in countries which have a federal structure (German, Holland, Switzerland). In these countries globalization has been articulated by regionalization (Länder, cantons, provinces), into a reconfiguration of the power of the State. And the territorial division of power has a large role to play in regional innovations. See Braun (2000). One can add to this estimate that for research and actions concerning scientific diasporas, the problem of integration of the regions and also of the "domestic" key players is important and that this point must be integrated in the European Research Area (ERA).

sense of the term. This implies a pluriversal holding, the principles of liberty, plurality, reciprocity and equality, of opposing forces and not the unequal relations of allegiance and the power of a confiscated sovereignty. In this holding, the diaspora option translated into education and research policies with migration and development takes on its full meaning in close connection with academic freedom. The heart of the matter is not to cater to individual interests, or to particular groups, nor to the private, financial interests of trade. What is at stake is the making of a *pluriversal right to a city of sciences* (Lévy-Leblond) for the international scientific community linked with planet survival, international scientific community basic needs²⁰⁹ and peace in the countries of origin of knowledge workers in scientific diasporas and in Switzerland and in Europe as well;

5. examining appropriateness of setting up in Switzerland with the help of the Confederation a *diasporic scientific council*,²¹⁰ along with an *evaluation and research observatory* linked with “South” countries grouping together scientific diasporas, rooted in the right to a city, composed of States, NGOs working for migration, development and science, countries of origin, local and migrant knowledge workers’ networks, entrepreneurs, etc. and with EU, ILO and UN. At this stage, continuing with the research would imply that we draw up a systematic and complete inventory of students, researchers and “South” scientific networks connected with Switzerland (and vice versa);
6. wanting the per cent for development (0.8%)²¹¹ to be applied in Swiss international cooperation budget and its targeted display toward reinforcement of public link between migration, development and scientific diasporas; encouraging migrants’ private funds transfer toward public interest projects in the countries of origin, being sure that they don’t substitute development public funds; encouraging labour public conventions respecting fundamental rights in the networked countries. We can understand that development and cooperation policy cannot depend on the closed duality market/politics under the influence of transnational companies’ networks, but that it must be global, is subjected to human rights and sus-

209 See also “Scientific Diasporas,” *Science*, vol. 312, 16.6.2006.

210 I don’t begin to discuss here the matter of the creation of a Diasporic Council grouping together migrants in several diasporas, a movement which is increasing in extent after other historical experiences. I limit myself to the organization of scientific diasporas.

211 The 0.8% for development has been decided within the framework of UN in 1970. Some comparative numbers: Denmark, 0.6%, Netherlands, 0.82%, Sweden, 0.81%, Norway, 0.8%, Luxembourg, 0.7%. A current Swiss Churches’ campaign is calling for the 0.7% to be reached in 2008.

tainable human development and cannot place certain categories of migrants' right to a city in conflict with others' without causing prejudicial fractures and inequalities;

7. developing a product and patent policy explicitly related to planet survival, basic needs, justice, common good, public interest, sustainable *human* development (retrospective analysis and integrated evaluation of the actions) (Tansay et al., 2004). We understand that links State/industry in Switzerland and between Switzerland and the involved countries are formed on the basis of collaboration in connection with survival urgency and all the population's needs, human rights, sustainable *human* development and not industrial and financial markets' particular interests or private multinationals competition or even individual interests. The list of the countries chosen by Switzerland²¹² for a scientific collaboration must be opened to the three countries part in the research (it is not yet the case for Colombia) and also to other countries where we see a pluridisciplinary scientific diaspora activity at the level of HES (Hautes Ecoles spécialisées in technical, social, artistic education) and academic activity connected with Switzerland and Europe;
8. increasing the number of South knowledge workers (level master, doctorate, post-doctorate, and research teams), with a particular attention to the gender perspective and the integration of migrants present in the country (we should make visible the education social capital the costs of which have been the origin countries' responsibility). A consistent scholarship and visas policy,²¹³ compensating origin countries for the education cost before leaving,²¹⁴ an exchange policy (Erasmus and other programs) favouring exchanges with knowledge workers from "North" to "South" (particularly support to teaching and research tasks) so that scientific diasporas are set up on a collaboration basis rooted in laboratories, faculties, units,

212 Russia, China, India, Japan, South Africa, South Korea, Brazil and Chile are the countries Switzerland first accepted to reinforce bilateral partnerships in the context of the federal policy encouraging education, research and innovation for the years 2008 to 2011.

213 Several persons and organisms, in particular Professor Neyrinck at EPFL, propose to grant "South" young researchers permanent resident permits as soon as they complete their doctorates. Such a proposition illustrates the similar migration needs of Switzerland and Europe for highly skilled professionals caught up in the international competition of the knowledge market. We should include criteria regarding origin countries' needs and partnership relations between Switzerland and those countries.

214 This public social capital might be directly reinvested to reinforce public universities in the links with scientific diasporas (support for teaching and research for young researchers who are starting their careers, laboratory equipment, organization of symposiums with members of scientific diasporas from various parts of the world).

- here and there networked universities, for the revaluation of jobs and relations between researchers from all involved countries;
9. demanding quick ratification of the Convention on Migrants' rights by immigration States and not only emigration States. We must emphasise that just like all immigration countries to date Switzerland did not ratify this Convention;
 10. taking part in the efforts for the creation of a World Court of human rights (a proposition publicly stated in Geneva during another GIAN research)²¹⁵ by the international law jurist Monique Chemillier-Gendreau (Paris) and carrying out a critical analysis about such Court's relations and implications with scientific practices and the theme of scientific diasporas.

Three local operational propositions

11. analysing at the level of Lausanne academic campus (Switzerland, where the project is based) the opportunity of networking the Federal Polytechnic Institute in Lausanne (EPFL) UNESCO Chair (education, research) with the Club of Rome²¹⁶ grouping together scientists from all the world. At this stage, when Al Gore is awarded an EPFL honorary doctorate, the City of Lausanne might establish a close collaboration with the EPFL and the Club of Rome set up in Winterthur (Switzerland) to develop its international opening. We have to underline that at this stage of development of its activities, the Club of Rome wants to direct its work towards connections between sustainable development and science;
12. in the field of research into scientific diasporas, by instituting a structural scientific collaboration between the EPFL and the UNIL Institut d'Etudes Politiques Internationales de Lausanne (IEPI-UNIL) and between the EPFL and the Institut d'histoire économique et sociale de Lausanne (UNIL-IHES) that received the archives of the University of Geneva's Emeritus Professor Paul Bairoch²¹⁷ (1930–1999, one of the great economic historians of post-war years with an honorary doctor of the Swiss Federal Institute of

215 See on the GIAN website information about the research *Mondialisation, migration, droits de l'homme*.

216 Reference book, *Limits to Growth*, 1972; the Club of Rome wants to move towards sustainable development to give globalization a "human face," *Le Temps*, 18.1.2007.

217 Among about twenty books and more than 120 articles, he has written *Le Tiers Monde dans l'impasse*, Gallimard, Paris, 1992. For a more complete reference, see *Victoires et déboires: historique économique et sociale du monde du XVI^e siècle à nos jours*, Gallimard, Paris, 1997; *Mythes et paradoxes de l'histoire économique*, La Découverte, Paris, 1999.

Technology (1983), research director at the EHESS (Paris), Collège de France foreign scientists Chair, 1983) to integrate both historical and social approach to sciences and techniques enabling to situate historically the emergence of the scientific diasporas issue in Switzerland as a research matter;

13. proposing in a possible second step of the EPFL research project the installation of scientific collaborations:
 - 1) In Switzerland with NGOs such as Geneva International Peace Research Institute (GIPRI)²¹⁸ reinforcement of the links with State organisms like Swiss Forum for Migration of the University of Neuchâtel.²¹⁹ A link should materialise with the Swiss research project Mobilités vers l'Excellence (MOVE) (Zürich, Berne, Lausanne, Neuchâtel) under the co-management of professors G. d'Amato and O. Söderström and finally the theme of scientific diasporas should be developed as a research field at the EPFL and within the framework of European research outline programs for development;
 - 2) In India setting up a scientific collaboration with Indian researchers and research centers and researchers with whom collaborations took place in an anterior GIAN program (Globalisation, migration, human rights) and the ongoing research into scientific diasporas: Institute of Development Studies Kolkata, Calcutta University, Profs. Amiya and Barnita Bagchi, Economy and Human Sciences; Dr. Ranabir Samaddar, Dir., Political Science, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, Kolkata/Calcutta;
 - 3) In Colombia, with the Universidad Nacional, and in particular the Instituto de Estudios Políticos de Relaciones Internacionales (IEPRI), dir. Prof. Gabriel Misas Arango (Economics).

218 It is an example among others regarding education, research, science, scientific diasporas connected with post-conflict situations requiring a systematic inventory of the initiatives in Switzerland concerning scientific diasporas. GIPRI (dir. Gabriel Galice), International Peace Research Institute and RISIPRI (<<http://www.gipri.ch/risipri>>) are developing synergies between Iraqi researchers, researchers in diaspora and the Universities of Geneva, Grenoble and Brussels. From support to the restoration of higher education in Iraq, the GIPRI finds three lessons to be learned: 1) in uncertain situations, it is essential to tip the scales in favour of peace through scientific support connecting researchers in the country, diaspora and Swiss researchers; 2) relying on diasporas researchers who received their education and doctorates in Switzerland and in Europe is fundamental (and in this sense, scholarship in foreign countries and visas are very important); 3) support to academic women in the country and in diaspora is a key-stone of the collaboration.

219 Regarding database, bibliographic references (books, reviews, websites, etc), a reinforcement of the Forum Documentation Centre in order to integrate the scientific diasporas issue would be very useful. For the moment this centre has only one post at 70% (Mr Giovanni Casagrande) for the migration issue as a whole.

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