

**GENEVA  
GRADUATE  
INSTITUTE**

# Research Bulletin

Upcoming events, latest publications and other research activities

**26 February 2024 (no. 2, 2024)**

## **VOICES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### **The Geneva Graduate Institute's Book & Podcast Festival**

The second edition of our festival will promote books and podcasts published in 2023, highlighting the research carried out at the Institute. Its objective is also to make this event a reflection on how academic productions contribute to addressing the complexity of transdisciplinary subjects. This year, the reflection will be on how art – specially photography – and research feed off each other, with a special collaboration of students.

[Join us in the Library on 7–8 March](#)

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## **Upcoming Research Events**

**26  
FEB**

**Monday**

AHCD | BOOK LAUNCH  
**Deval Desai | Expert**  
**Ignorance: The Law and Politics of Rule of Law Reform**  
18:30–20:30 hybrid

**27  
FEB**

**Tuesday**

VILFREDO PARETO  
RESEARCH SEMINAR  
**Esther Ann Bøler |**  
**Shock Therapy for a Greener Future: The Dynamics of Firms' R&D Investments**  
12:30–13:30 Room S5

**28  
FEB**

**Wednesday**

GENDER CENTRE  
RESEARCH  
WORKSHOP  
**(1) Decolonization, Development and International Organizations; (2) Peace and Violence**  
10:00–15:30 hybrid

**29  
FEB**

**Thursday**

GENDER CENTRE  
RESEARCH  
WORKSHOP  
**(1) Care Work and Social Reproduction; (2) Sexual and Reproductive Health and Justice**  
10:00–15:30 hybrid

**01  
MAR**

**Friday**

NO EVENTS

CCDP  
**Silvio Luiz de Almeida |**  
**Connections – Human**  
**Rights, Democracy,**  
**and the Internet**  
 18:15–20:30  
 Auditorium A2

LAUNCH OF THE 2024  
 GENEVA POLICY  
 OUTLOOK  
**How Will Geneva**  
**Remain Relevant?**  
 18:30–19:45  
 Auditorium Ivan  
 Pictet

INTERNATIONAL LAW  
 COLLOQUIUM  
**Steven R. Ratner |**  
**Reparations for**  
**Colonialism and the**  
**Perils of Legalization**  
 12:30–14:00 room  
 P1-745

THE HAITI SEMINAR –  
 MONEY, FINANCE AND  
 SOVEREIGNTY  
**Joelle M. Abi-Rached &**  
**Ishac Diwan | The**  
**Economic Legacy of**  
**the French Mandate in**  
**Lebanon**  
 18:00–19:30 online

**04**  
**MAR** **Monday**

NO EVENTS

**05**  
**MAR** **Tuesday**

NO EVENTS

**06**  
**MAR** **Wednesday**

CTEI  
**Small Businesses,**  
**Fragility, and Conflict:**  
**Solving the SME**  
**Puzzle**  
 12:15–13:45  
 Auditorium A2

**07**  
**MAR** **Thursday**

RESEARCH OFFICE,  
 THE FAB, LIBRARY &  
 COMMUNICATIONS  
**Book & Podcast**  
**Festival**  
 10:00–18:00 Library

INTERNATIONAL LAW  
 COLLOQUIUM  
**Elena Cima | Subsidies**  
**Reform, Trade and**  
**Sustainability**  
 12:30–14:00 room  
 P1-745

GENDER CENTRE &  
 CITY OF GENEVA  
**Agriculture, genre et**  
**environnement: les**  
**paysan-ne-x-s suisses**  
**aux prises avec des**  
**enjeux multiples**  
 19:00–20:30  
 Bibliothèque de la  
 Cité

**08**  
**MAR** **Friday**

RESEARCH OFFICE,  
 THE FAB, LIBRARY &  
 COMMUNICATIONS  
**Book & Podcast**  
**Festival**  
 10:00–18:00 Library

[See all events >](#)

## Gateway to Publications by Themes



Democracy,  
 Civil Society &  
 Sovereignty



Arts,  
 Culture &  
 Religion



Peace, War,  
 Conflicts &  
 Security



Sustainability,  
 Environment,  
 the Anthropocene  
 & SDGs



Diplomacy &  
 Global  
 Governance



Global  
 Health



Cities, Space,  
 Mobilities &  
 Migrations



Education,  
 Information  
 & Media



Development &  
 Cooperation



Trade,  
 Finance,  
 Economies  
 & Work



## Gateway to Other Relevant Information



Multimedia



Awarded Grants



Visitors



Calls for Papers



Awarded Prizes



Upcoming PhD Defences



# Publications by Themes



## Democracy, Civil Society & Sovereignty



ARTICLE

### **Broadening Perspectives on Inclusive Peacemaking: The Case of the UN Mediation in Syria**

Civil society inclusion has become a widely accepted norm in international peacemaking. Scholars have analysed the impact of inclusion on mediation effectiveness, mediators' rationales for broadening participation, and the different

modalities to include civil society actors. Drawing on the concept of the “agency of the governed” in norms research, **Sara Hellmüller**, SNSF Assistant Professor at the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP) at the time of writing and today Senior Researcher at ETH Zurich, examines the inclusion norm from the perspective of civil society actors (in *Third World Quarterly*, online January 2024). She conducts a case study of the United Nations (UN) mediation in Syria based on 41 interviews gathered between 2018 and 2020. She shows how Syrian civil society actors perceived inclusion and compares these views to the dominant international narratives on inclusion. She demonstrates that the link between inclusion and effectiveness is conditional, and that inclusion risks – under certain conditions – to lower legitimacy, disempower civil society, and entrench conflict lines. She thereby nuances arguments about how inclusion leads to effectiveness by broadening the perspectives on inclusive peacemaking. This has crucial practical implications because mediators may decide on whether and how to design inclusive processes, but civil society actors ultimately determine the effectiveness of such inclusion attempts.

[DOI >](#)

ARTICLE

### **A ira do homem branco: preditores do voto em Enéas e Bolsonaro (The Anger of White Men: Predictors of Votes for Enéas and Bolsonaro)**

After observing similarities between the presidential candidates Enéas Carneiro and Jair Bolsonaro, **Matias López**, Postdoctoral Researcher at the Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy, tests whether there is a common profile among their constituencies (article in Portuguese, in *Opinião Pública*, vol. 29, no. 3, Sep-Dec 2023). Using electoral and survey data, he shows how the territorial distribution of Enéas' vote converges with that of Bolsonaro and how the most efficient predictors of the vote for Enéas also predict the vote for Bolsonaro. The results point to a small but stable niche in support of radical right-wing candidates over time: young white men, with above average years of formal education and higher income. The study informs the debate about the existence of a core constituency of the radical right in Brazil, pointing to possible mechanisms related to the frustration and anger of young white men following redemocratisation.

[DOI \(open access\) >](#)

## **Empire Redrawn: Territorial States, National Economies and the Partition of British India, 1940–1950**

This dissertation examines economic implications of the decolonisation of British India in August 1947 by way of a rushed and under-defined partition that established two nation-states: India and Pakistan. The transnational analysis is grounded in a microhistory of the late colonial financial weekly *Commerce* and archival records of a Bombay-based nationalist business organisation, augmented by metropolitan archives including those of the Bank of England. In contrast to a seemingly inevitable political partition, Atiya Hussain finds that the economic division of the sizable British Indian economy in 1947 surprised many economic actors and observers and that postcolonial monetary policies may not have been entirely anticipated by Whitehall. State-formation was an unstable process mediated by the re-inscription of layered sovereignties cultivated by the British Raj, which in turn transformed economic linkages across the sub-continent and re-shaped fundamental tenets of economic nationalism, or *swadeshi*.

[Read more about Dr Hussain's research and findings >](#)

[Repository](#) (access restricted to members of the Institute community; others may contact the author at [atiya.hussain@graduateinstitute.ch](mailto:atiya.hussain@graduateinstitute.ch)).

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## **Arts, Culture & Religion**



### MONOGRAPH

#### **A Slow Reckoning: The USSR, the Afghan Communists, and Islam**

This book examines the Soviet Union's and the Afghan communists' views of and policies toward Islam and Islamism during the Soviet-Afghan War. Cornell (Cornell University Press, February 2024).

**Vassily Klimentov**, Faculty Lead for the Applied Research Projects, demonstrates that the Soviet

and communist Afghan disregard for Islam was telling of the overall communist approach to reforming Afghanistan and helps explain the failure of their modernisation project. During most of the conflict, Babrak Karmal, the ruler installed by the Soviets, instrumentalised Islam in support of his rule while retaining a Marxist-Leninist platform. Similarly, the Soviets at all levels failed to give Islam its due importance as communist ideology and military considerations dominated their decision making. This approach to Islam changed only after Mikhail Gorbachev replaced Karmal with Mohammad Najibullah and prepared to withdraw Soviet forces. Discarding Marxism-Leninism for Islam proved the correct approach, but it came too late to salvage the Soviet nation-building project. *A Slow Reckoning* also shows how Soviet leaders only started seriously paying attention to an Islamist threat from Afghanistan to Central Asia after 1986. While the Soviets had concerns related to Islamism in 1979, only the KGB believed the threat to be potent. The Soviet elites never fully conceptualised Islamism, continuing to see it as an ideology the United States, Iran or Pakistan could instrumentalise at will. They believed the Islamists had little agency and that their retrograde ideology could not find massive appeal among progressive Soviet Muslims. In this, they were only partly right.

[Publisher's page >](#)

*This book is entirely based on the [PhD thesis](#) Vassily Klimentov obtained from the Institute in 2020, which he presented in an [interview](#) and a [podcast](#) at the time.*

### – Making International Things: *Designing World Politics Differently*

Can we make international things – maps, algorithms, museums, visualisations, computer games, virtual reality tools? Objects that criss-cross global space, exert political influence, and produce novel forms of knowledge? In their introductory article to the special issue “Making Is Thinking: Design, Craft, and the Practice of International Relations”, Visiting Professor **Jonathan Luke Austin** and **Anna Leander** suggest that scholars of international relations can and should engage in the task of making concrete material, aesthetic and technological objects that exceed the epistemic, logocentric or textual (in *Global Studies Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 4, October 2023). The article joins a growing conversation focused on the potential of expanding the praxis of the social sciences into multimodal formats of design, craft, and making. The authors explore the intellectual, social and political stakes of beginning to make international things, unpack the disciplinary reticence to engage in this task, and the potential dangers it entails. Most importantly, they suggest five central benefits moving in this direction holds: (1) generating a future-oriented social science; (2) cultivating an “atmospheric” social science faithful to new materialist, feminist and practice theories; (3) embracing a radical collaborationist ethos more suited to the demands of the day; (4) investing us in sociopolitically committed scientific praxis; and (5) inaugurating a radically new disciplinary architecture of scholarly praxis.

[Repository \(public access\) >](#)

### – Making Political Science: Material-Aesthetic Approaches to Knowledge Production

Making represents an important practice in political science research, but the relative unfamiliarity of “making” within the discipline often pushes discussion of it to the margins. In her contribution to the special issue, **Michelle D. Weitzel** helps theorise the value of making in political science and questions the idea that moves away from writerly research modes undermine or otherwise erode standards of scholarship. She argues that making processes generate unique opportunities for intellectual discovery; for data collection; for analytic practices of reflexivity, associative thinking and the adaptation of multiple positionalities; and finally, for argumentation. As such, she suggests that boundary-pushing research that incorporates hands-on praxis to make aesthetic products may in fact augment systematicity and rigour according to established disciplinary norms.

[Repository \(public access\) >](#)

### – What If We Were There? A Counter-Factual Call for IR to Engage with Material-Technological Making

International relations (IR) shows growing interest in expanding its practical engagements into different domains: the visual, the artistic, the aesthetic, the diagrammatic and so forth. But a gap remains. Despite widespread acknowledgment of the political transformations caused by material and technological change across world politics, IR rarely fully integrates forms of material-technological praxis into its work such as digital, architectural, computational or other seemingly technical things. In their contribution to the special issue, Visiting Professor **Jonathan Luke Austin** and **Anna Leander** suggest we should start doing so, in direct collaboration with practitioners, applied scientists and technical experts. Specifically, engaging in material-technological making has the potential to (1) increase our basic scientific knowledge of politics, (2) augment our capacity to theorise politics and (3) radically expand how we normatively and politically intervene in politics. To make that argument, the authors conduct a speculative form of counterfactual analysis of the kind of “difference” that might have been made if scholars of IR had been involved in the development of three technologies designed by the International Committee of the Red Cross for humanitarian purposes. In doing so, they show that the exclusion of the material-technological from IR’s praxis is not only damaging to its vitality as an intellectual field, but also an abdication of what Haraway terms its ethico-political response-ability within politics.

[DOI \(open access\) >](#)

## Comparison through Collaboration: Dilemmas and Opportunities of Joint Ethnographic Research on Gangs in Nicaragua and South Africa

Steffen Jensen and **Dennis Rodgers** explore how and to what extent collaborative ethnographic fieldwork enables comparison both inherently and in practical terms (in *Current Anthropology*, vol. 65, no. 1, February 2024). More often than not, ethnographic comparison involves the juxtaposition of studies carried out separately by individuals and relates to comparing arguments rather than empirical incidents. This obscures important contextual specificities across research sites and dilutes the comparative endeavour. The authors argue that it is necessary to be transparent about the way empirical data are produced for meaningful comparative analysis to be generated. One promising way to ensure this is through a reciprocal engagement with each other's field sites by means of joint fieldwork. This form of collaboration iteratively produces a combination of empirical experiences of bafflement on the one hand and forces the dialogical integration of different epistemological perspectives on the other, which the authors label "epistemo-methodological disjunctures." Drawing empirically on their collaborative ethnographic research on gang dynamics in Nicaragua and South Africa, they describe how questions surrounding the nature of the object being studied, the practicalities of collaborative comparative ethnography including the importance of understanding each other's "ethnographic ground zero," and the need to reconcile epistemological differences all emerged as critical to shaping the possibilities of comparison.

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## Peace, War, Conflicts & Security



ACTES DE COLLOQUE

### Le Kremlin et les Occidentaux depuis la fin de la guerre froide: aux origines des guerres russo-ukrainiennes

Comment et pourquoi l'Europe est-elle devenue à nouveau le théâtre d'une guerre majeure, alors qu'elle semblait entrer, après la guerre froide, dans un «nouvel ordre international»? Pour dialoguer et nourrir le débat sur cette question

complexe, 30 chercheurs et chercheuses, spécialistes du monde slave et des relations internationales de la Russie et de l'Ukraine, de l'Europe centrale et orientale, des pays d'Europe occidentale et de l'Union européenne, de l'OTAN, des États-Unis et de la Turquie se sont réunis à Genève, du 11 au 13 mai 2023. Leurs contributions à ce colloque, organisé par Matthias Schulz, Nicolas Badalassi, Frédéric Bozo, **Jussi Hanhimäki** et Marie-Pierre Rey, sont réunies dans les numéros 196 (janvier 2024) et 197 (à paraître en avril 2024) de *Relations internationales*. Elles cherchent à expliquer les causes profondes des guerres russo-ukrainiennes qui ont débuté en 2014 et de l'invasion de 2022. À cette fin, elles explorent les éléments avérés et les mensonges des «récits russes», dont une partie retrouve la tradition de l'anti-américanisme répandue en Europe et dans une partie du «Sud global». Un examen par des historiennes et historiens professionnels, ainsi que par des juristes et politistes intégrant des méthodes de l'histoire des relations internationales, de l'histoire sociétale transnationale, de l'histoire des institutions et des relations économiques et sécuritaires, paraît d'autant plus impératif pour ancrer solidement dans la recherche le débat public sur les causes de ces conflits.

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## Sustainability, Environment, the Anthropocene & SDGs



ARTICLE

### “A Game Show at the End of the World”: The Currency of Youth in UN Climate Summitry

What do the lived experiences of young people tell us about the currency of youth in the United Nations (UN) climate summit, at a time in which youth is endowed with symbolic capital? Initially, self-representing as “youth” in and around UN

climate summits appears to open doors for young people, particularly since the creation of additional youth engagement mechanisms that followed the 2019 Fridays for Future protests. Based on four years of fieldwork, **Laura Bullon-Cassis**, Postdoctoral Researcher at the Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy, shows that youth can be both a limited and limiting currency in global climate politics (in *Journal of Youth Studies*, online January 2024). Indeed, the currency is finite, leading different youth groups to compete for speaking slots and visibility. Further, an increasing number of young people have come to realise that youth is a limiting currency to advocate for environmental justice claims. These findings, which would not have been possible without an ethnographic and collaborative approach, contribute to existing calls challenging the ways that theory, research and practice are oriented toward young people in climate politics.

[Repository \(public access\) >](#)

PHD THESIS IN INTERNATIONAL HISTORY AND POLITICS, 2024

### Landscape and Power in Mandate Palestine, 1917–1948

This dissertation examines three landscape changes during the British Mandate for Palestine (1917–1948), showing how environmental practices influenced the power relations between the British Mandatory government, the Zionist movement and the Arab Palestinian population. **Mona Bieling** demonstrates the importance of environmental history lenses to understand colonial areas of conflict, and adds to a new dimension of the study of Mandatory Palestine. She concludes that human-made landscape changes influenced human relationships in Palestine by manifesting and transferring power and revealing underlying cultural convictions and political goals. Landscape changes impacted human power relations as they helped Zionist and British actors make knowledge claims, take over land, and develop the land according to European colonial ideals. These arguments are developed based on three case studies, highlighting unique but overlapping dynamics. The first case study on land reclamation techniques examines British colonial thought about arid landscapes and the resulting policies. The second case study on the mineral extraction at the Dead Sea shows this industry’s impact on the landscape, local ways of life, and Zionist-British relations. The last case study on Hebrew University’s botanical garden explores the political importance of botany in the process of nation building.

[Repository](#) (file embargoed until January 2027; for access, contact the author at [mona.bieling@graduateinstitute.ch](mailto:mona.bieling@graduateinstitute.ch)).

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## Diplomacy & Global Governance

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ARTICLE

### Organizational Overlap and Bureaucratic Actors: How EU–NATO Relations Empower the European Commission

Organisational overlap is a ubiquitous feature in regional governance. Most studies have focused on member states, demonstrating that overlap enables states differently. We still know little about

whether and how overlapping organisations impact international bureaucracies and how this shapes the relationship between bureaucratic actors within organisations. Catherine Hoeffler and **Stephanie C. Hofmann** argue that overlap can empower international bureaucrats, but not equally (in *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, online January 2024). Those with autonomous resources from member states are the most attractive interlocutors for bureaucrats from other organisations and, hence, likely to become most empowered. Substantive expertise and formal competence are less consequential in this context. The authors unpack this argument by looking at a policy domain understood to be heavily guarded by member states, security and defence policy. Based on primary documents and interviews, they show that the European Union (EU)–North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) overlap has enabled the European Commission to leverage its position within the EU to its advantage and further encroach on the EU’s security and defence activities.

[Repository \(public access\) >](#)

ANNUAL

### Geneva Policy Outlook 2024

A finger on the pulse of Geneva’s global policy space, the [Geneva Policy Outlook](#) is a critical strategic partnership initiative by the Geneva Graduate Institute that shapes reflections on upcoming strategic and operational trends and aims to accelerate collaborative responses to global challenges. *Geneva Policy Outlook 2024* gathers a selection of 16 articles, including by Institute members **Andrew Clapham, Suerie Moon, Swetha Ramachandran, Lena Rieder-Menge, Claire Somerville, Fred Tanner, Achim Wennmann, Xinyu Yuan** and **Mark Zeitoun**, addressing topics such as gender trade-offs in multilateral negotiations, the weaponisation of water in Gaza, global governance of pandemics, and human rights and war.

Read [GPO 2024](#) – and don’t miss the [launch tomorrow!](#)

*The Geneva Policy Outlook is an initiative of the Geneva Graduate Institute in partnership with the Republic and State of Geneva, the City of Geneva and the Fondation pour Genève.*



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## Global Health

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DISCUSSION PAPER

### Understanding Pandemic Financing and Learning from Other Experiences

This paper by **Gian Luca Burci, David B. Evans, Suerie Moon, Daniela Morich**, Cristina Nakano, **Iulia Slovenski, Adam Strobeyko** and Vlassis Tigkarakis commences by providing an





overview of pandemic financing, addressing challenges associated with the concept of PPPR financing and delving into the complexities of estimating financing needs and gaps. It then explores prospects for countries' spending capacities on health and pandemic preparedness and response, considering the impact of projected macroeconomic trends on their abilities to allocate additional funds from domestic resources. The

paper also analyses examples of financing mechanisms from other global regimes, touching upon arrangements under the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control and Multilateral Environmental Agreements, including the Global Environment Facility and the Global Biodiversity Framework Fund. Finally, it shares lessons learned from the Global Fund's successful implementation of debt swaps through the Debt2Health initiative. For ease of reference, Annex I provides textual excerpts relating directly to financing from the three drafts of the Pandemic Accord released to date, and Member States' proposed amendments to the IHR regarding financing. Annex II provides excerpts from environmental treaties that serve as the legal basis for the Global Environment Facility, for ease of comparison.

[Repository \(public access\) >](#)

*The paper was crafted in preparation for the workshop titled "Understanding Pandemic Financing and Learning from Other Experiences: Exploring Key Questions for the Intergovernmental Negotiating Body (INB) and Working Group on Amendments to the International Health Regulations (WGIHR)", organised by the Global Health Centre and held on 22 November 2023 in Geneva.*

#### PAPER

### **Governing Pandemics Snapshot**

*Governing Pandemics Snapshot* is a periodic publication of the Global Health Centre aiming to provide a concise overview on the state of efforts to strengthen global pandemic preparedness and response. The latest issue includes:

- Updates on negotiations over the WHO Pandemic Accord by **Daniela Moric**
- Discussion on the relationship between the amendments to the International Health Regulations (IHR) and the WHO Pandemic Accord by **Suerie Moon**
- Insights into the possible transformation of the Pandemic Accord into a WHO regulation and its implication by **Gian Luca Burci**
- Insights into the significance of sharing of GSD/DSI by **Adam Strobeyko**

[Repository \(public access\) >](#)

#### WORKSHOP REPORT

### **Information and Discussion Session on One Health in the Pandemic Instrument**

As part of a workshop aimed at supporting WHO Member States by bringing expert perspectives on questions tied to One Health approach in the pandemic instrument, Nina Jamal and **Adam Strobeyko**, Postdoctoral Researcher at the Global Health Centre, drafted this report and **Gian Luca Burca** revised it (Permanent Mission of Canada to the UN in Geneva and Group of Friends of One Health, September 2023). The main messages that came across were:

- The pandemic instrument should support the implementation of the One Health approach. It should include regulation in line with midstream deep prevention, to address the drivers of zoonotic spillovers. A science-policy interface to support the adoption of standards is needed to bring together relevant international instruments and institutions. Such an entity should be established through the pandemic instrument.
- The regulation of international trade already takes into account relevant technical and scientific standards, which do not need to be reinvented. There is however a need to support and complement existing efforts. The WHO Pandemic Agreement should therefore include an

integrated One Health approach and ensure that a legal framework is in place for prioritising and enabling One Health implementation, including by means of relevant scientific standards related to intersections of human and animal health.

– Operationalising the One Health approach must be tied to the provision of technical support.

[Repository \(public access\) >](#)

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## Cities, Space, Mobilities & Migrations



ARTICLE

### Coerced Migration: Mobility under Siege in Gaza

This article, based on field research conducted between 2018 and 2019, centres on the role of Israeli state coercion in the migration of young Palestinians from Gaza. In recent years, migration from Gaza has been described by journalists and policy analysts as an “emerging phenomenon”,

with many Palestinians leaving with the intention to seek asylum in Europe and beyond. **Cailin Procter**, Research Fellow at the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP), maps existing data on international migration from Gaza, which has been under siege since 2007 (in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, online February 2024). She then draws from qualitative data gathered during fieldwork in Gaza to explain how migration in a context of a siege can best be understood. She applies a framework of coercion to explain the migration decisions of young people in Gaza, arguing that the siege has created an environment so coercive that it forces them to leave, while limiting them primarily to dangerous routes in doing so. Circumstances for leaving remain key to accessing international protection regimes. This article therefore contributes to the current debate of definitions and ways of understanding migration, in the context of Gaza.

[DOI >](#)

PHD THESIS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS/POLITICAL SCIENCE, 2023

### Why Host States Restrict Refugee Rights: A Comparative Inquiry into Refugee and Asylum Policies

This thesis examines how and why different host countries restrict the entry and post-entry rights of refugees differently. Despite burgeoning interests in pertinent topics, existing research has fallen short of a systematic account of the cross-country variation in policy (or policies) regulating a certain set of refugee rights. To enhance the yet limited understanding of related policy dynamics, **Hiroataka Fujibayashi** builds and expands on a theoretical framework aligned with the “number- vs.-rights” trade-off in refugee policymaking. Specifically, he argues that if, as with regular immigration control, a host country perceives that granting certain rights to refugees is costly, it tends to move for tighter restrictions on refugee rights as their number increases. He tests this argument using an original cross-national dataset on the de facto entitlement of refugee rights. The obtained large-N evidence supports his argument by documenting an enduring negative relationship between the “number” and post-entry “rights” of refugees. The results are complemented and further enriched through two separate sets of small-N case studies on pertinent policies of three Middle Eastern Arab countries (Jordan, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates). Altogether, through carefully executed empirical analyses, his thesis lays a solid foundation for comparative political studies of developing countries’ policies on refugee rights.

[Read more about Dr Hirotaka's research and findings >](#)

[Repository](#) (file embargoed until December 2026; for access, contact the author at [hirotaka.fujibayashi@eui.eu](mailto:hirotaka.fujibayashi@eui.eu)).

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## Education, Information & Media

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BOOK

### **Improving the Use of Evidence for Education Policy, Planning and Implementation: Strategic Review**

Policy-makers use solid and reliable data and evidence to ensure that countries progress towards their education targets and understand policies and programmes that could improve their educational outcomes. However, the use of

evidence is still limited in many countries due to two broken feedback loops: between researchers and policymakers, and between global and local levels. **Gita Steiner-Khamsi, Moira V. Faul, Chanwoong Baek**, Anna Numa Hopkins and Kazuaki Iwabuchi analyse the current practice and challenges in evidence use (UNESCO, 2024). They also provide recommendations for the Sustainable Development Goal 4 High-Level Steering Committee to promote evidence-based policy formulation and implementation as a critical lever for countries' advancement towards their education targets. Their review draws on a global survey, individual and group interviews and a comparator case study with the public health sector. It reveals that there is a surplus of research and evidence sources in education – the survey respondents identified 654 organisations and initiatives. The authors call for reforming existing research and evidence utilisation practices, by promoting the use of locally relevant evidence, fostering partnerships and building “regional bridges” between global and local levels. They also recommend using advocacy and resource mobilisation to support these activities.

[Read the book \(open access\) >](#)

EDITED BOOK

### **Achieving Equitable Education: Missing Education Data and the SDG 4 Data Regime**

This book, edited, **introduced** and **concluded** by Marcos Delprato and **Daniel D. Shephard**, the lead of NORRAG's **Missing Data project**, argues that critical gaps in education data are hampering the achievement of one of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals: “inclusive and equitable quality education ... for all” (Edgar Elgar, January 2024). Its chapters critically explore education data gaps across regions, themes and levels of education, highlighting key relationships and disconnects between national, regional and global data needs.

[DOI \(open access\) >](#)

WORKING PAPER

### **Mapping the International Geneva Education Ecosystem**

International cooperation is critical to realising the right to education enshrined in many global and national policies and agendas. SDG-focused organisations based in Geneva exist within an ecosystem which curtails or enables their decision making, priorities, funding and ways of knowing. NORRAG's **International Geneva project** focuses on developing understanding of the ecosystem of international cooperation for education located in Geneva, and its effects globally,

especially with the Global South. There is more work on education in international Geneva than might appear at first. **Leandro Gabriel Montes Ruiz** and **Bart Sebastiaan Gabriel**, PhD Researchers in International Relations/Political Science, **Maira V. Faul** and Eunsoo Lee reveal how these education-focused organisations experience, value and use the Geneva ecosystem in ways that further the achievement of SDG 4, and benefit – as they listen to – stakeholders in the Global South (Working Paper no 14, NORRAG, January 2024). International Geneva offers a unique geopolitical context for developing a positively functioning ecosystem that can accelerate decision-making, goal achievement and funding towards aligned endeavours (such as the Sustainable Development Goals). Despite the coexistence of organisations and individuals working on several interrelated SDGs, the authors conclude that it is a fragmented ecosystem. To leverage the relations already in place, systemic facilitation activities with International Geneva actors must be undertaken.

[Read the paper >](#)

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## Development & Cooperation



PHD THESIS IN DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS,  
2024

### **Turkana Oil Prospects: Petrosapes, Development Limbos and Self- Accomplishment at Kenya's Northern Frontier**

In 2012, the discovery of crude oil in Kenya suddenly placed Turkana County under the national and international spotlight. Eight years

later, a number of challenges led to the suspension of extractive activities, leaving behind unfinished roads, dry water pipes and pending CSR projects, all vestiges of imagined futures that did not unfold—at least, not as planned—due to the glaring absence of the main operator. Grounded in ethnographic research conducted during more than twelve months of fieldwork within the exploitation sites in the semi-arid Turkana East sub-county, this thesis by **Elisabeth Schubiger** explores how the truncated delivery of the bold development promised was experienced and navigated. In order to explore the “petroscape” and the “development limbo”, the author develops an original analytical framework that brings together the Anthropology of Development and the Anthropology of Morality. As such, her study focuses on how, despite the absence of the promised potentiality of oil, different actors within the proximity of the newly established oil well pads keep their life trajectory on track by taking into account new opportunities and challenges to pursue a self-accomplished life. It does so by giving a unique, intimate insight into the local dynamics of the affected community.

[Read more about Dr Schubiger's research and findings >](#)

[Repository](#) (access restricted to members of the Institute community; others may contact the author at [elisabeth.schubiger@graduateinstitute.ch](mailto:elisabeth.schubiger@graduateinstitute.ch)).

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## Trade, Finance, Economies & Work



PAPER

### **The Age of Reason?**

At age 25, the euro has been a historical success, but it has not yet reached an adult stage. The ECB has made much progress and can do more on its own. Its next monetary policy strategy, to be announced in 2025, is an opportunity that should not be missed. Much more is needed from member governments, which are still reluctant to

grant the ECB what it needs to become a normal central bank, argues **Charles Wyplosz** (Monetary Dialogue Papers, Economic Governance and EMU Scrutiny Unit, February 2024).

[Repository \(public access\) >](#)

*This document was provided by the Economic Governance and EMU Scrutiny Unit at the request of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs (ECON) ahead of the Monetary Dialogue with the ECB President on 15 February 2024.*

PHD THESIS IN DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS, 2023

### **Three Essays in Empirical Development Economics**

This dissertation comprises three empirical essays in development economics. **Radu Barza** conjugates the development approach with innovation economics to document new evidence on how changes in the local economic activity structure impacts labour market outcomes. Changes in the local economic structure result in more complex networks of companies, increased knowledge, and more knowledge-intensive economic activity. These structural changes in the local economy have a significant impact on local labour markets, which in turn affect the patterns of inequality. The results contribute to the literature linking economic agglomerations to gender gaps in labour market outcomes and the upward mobility of individuals in poverty.

[Read more about Dr Barza's research and findings >](#)

[Repository](#) (file embargoed until October 2026; for access, contact the author at [radu.barza@graduateinstitute.ch](mailto:radu.barza@graduateinstitute.ch)).

PHD THESIS IN DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS, 2023

### **Essays in Labour Migration and Child Labour: Evidence from Kerala, India and Kosovo**

This thesis by **Donika Limani** consists of three papers that focus on labour, migration and well-being challenges of developing countries. Using a 20-year panel of 242 households, the first chapter examines the motivations behind the migration and remittance decisions of migrants. A theoretical model for the household migration decision is developed and tested, finding that both pull and push factors influence the decision to migrate. The patterns in migrants' remittance behaviour reveal that migration can be understood as an investment decision made by the origin household. The second chapter estimates the impact of remittances on household consumption in Kerala, using a two-stage least squares (2SLS) model with various novel instruments. The results show that remittances significantly increase household consumption, particularly through the purchase of durable goods. Counterfactual simulations based on selection-corrected estimates reveal that remittances also decrease poverty and inequality in the origin community. The third chapter investigates the effects of child labour on children's educational outcomes in Kosovo, a country with a unique context compared to other countries with high levels of child labour. Both the extensive margin (using internationally recognised indicators of child labour) and the intensive margin (the marginal impact of hours worked) are examined, revealing negative effects on both numeracy and literacy skills. Robustness checks are also conducted to ensure the statistical validity of the results, which consistently show negative effects of child labour on children's numeracy skills, with less consistent effects on literacy skills.

[Read more about Dr Limani's research and findings >](#)

[Repository](#) (access restricted to members of the Institute community; others may contact the author at [donika.limani@graduateinstitute.ch](mailto:donika.limani@graduateinstitute.ch)).

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## Other Relevant Information



### Multimedia



RESEARCH DOCUMENTARY

#### **Missing Dollars: How Illicit Financial Flows Affect Developing Countries**

This documentary by Ghanaian filmmaker **Fiifi Koomsom** delves into the complex and often hidden world of illicit financial flows (IFFs) and their profound impact on developing countries. IFFs refer to the illegal movement of money or capital from one country to another. These flows are often associated with criminal activities, tax evasion, corruption, and money laundering, posing significant challenges to economic and social development. Against this backdrop, researchers from Switzerland, Ghana and Laos engaged in a six-year project, "[Curbing Illicit Financial Flows from Resource-Rich Developing Countries](#)", to study IFFs and consider the policy responses and innovations that could effectively curb them. *Missing Dollars* retraces this research collaboration.

[Watch the film and read an interview with project leader Gilles Carbonnier >](#)



DISCUSSION | INTERNATIONAL GENEVA GLOBAL HEALTH PLATFORM

#### **Can Midwifery Eliminate Maternal Mortality? Innovations from Indonesia**

Postpartum haemorrhage (PPH) affects 1 in every 6 women giving birth and is the leading cause of maternal mortality globally. Death from PPH is largely preventable and has been nearly eliminated in high-income countries, yet women in low- and middle-income countries continue to be disproportionately affected. While policymakers at national levels struggle with this problem, a group of midwives in a remote mountain village in Indonesia solved the problem and have sustained zero maternal mortality continuously since 2015. They achieved this remarkable accomplishment using simple innovations, at zero cost. We interviewed **Maya Hidayati**, the head midwife who spearheaded the effort, together with **Anna Kurniati**, Director of Workforce Deployment at the Indonesian Ministry of Health.

[Listen >](#)

*This podcast follows the panel discussion from 27 November 2023 "[Dying for Life: Are Mothers Still a Global Health Priority?](#)", which was co-organised with Concept Foundation, Geneva Health Forum, the Gender Centre of the Geneva Graduate Institute, and GENDRO.*



GLOBAL GOVERNANCE CENTRE

## From Freeze to Seize: Do Sovereign Immunities Prevent the Seizure of Central Bank Assets?

On 25 January 2024, the Geneva International Sanctions Network invited **Anton Moiseienko**, from the Australia National University in Canberra, to give a talk on his paper "Freeze to Seize?". **Bart Szewczyk**, lawyer at Covington & Burling, acted as a discussant.

[Watch the event recording >](#)



ALBERT HIRSCHMAN CENTRE ON DEMOCRACY & TECH HUB

## Exploring AI's Impact on Democracy at Davos: Insights from the Albert Hirschman Centre & Tech Hub

In January the Agora project **Stories of the Future** was displayed at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland, whose theme this year was "Rebuilding Trust". The project's theme, which looks at the nexus of artificial intelligence and democracy, resonated with the topics discussed in Davos as well as with the **panel** organised by the Institute. **Jérôme Duberry**, Managing Director of the Tech Hub and Senior Researcher, **presents the main insights** drawn from this unique opportunity to delve into the world of AI and its impact on democracy and technology.



EL PUENTE, E8 | CENTRO INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIOS POLÍTICOS Y SOCIALES (CIEPS) EN COLABORACIÓN CON AHCD

## ¿Para qué sirven las campañas electorales?

El 3 de febrero comienza la campaña para las elecciones generales de Panamá en 2024. Estos comicios determinarán la elección del presidente y vicepresidente de la República, 11 concejales, 20 diputados para el Parlacen, 71 diputados para la Asamblea Nacional, 81 alcaldes de distrito y 702 representantes de corregimientos. En este episodio de "El Puente", conversamos con la politóloga **Angélica Abad Cisneros** para comprender la importancia de las campañas electorales. Asimismo, la periodista e investigadora **Raisa Urribarri** analiza las particularidades más destacadas de la campaña electoral en Panamá.

Escúchalo el episodio en [Spotify](#) o [Youtube](#).



EL PUENTE, E9 | CENTRO INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIOS POLÍTICOS Y SOCIALES (CIEPS) EN COLABORACIÓN CON AHCD

## ¿Quién gana un debate presidencial?

Para las campañas electorales 2024, ha sido anunciada la organización de tres debates presidenciales antes de la celebración de las elecciones del próximo 5 de mayo. Así que en este episodio de "El Puente", en el que contamos con la participación de la analista de opinión pública **Paola Zuban**, se explica la importancia de los debates electorales, los criterios para identificar un buen debate. Además, nos preguntamos por el impacto que tienen sobre las campañas de los candidatos y resultados de las elecciones.

Escúchalo el episodio en [Spotify](#) o [Youtube](#).



DEMOCRACY IN QUESTION? S8:E2 | CENTRAL EUROPEAN INSTITUTE & GENEVA GRADUATE INSTITUTE

## Yanis Varoufakis on "Technofeudalism"

This episode explores the concept of technofeudalism and the role of digital platforms in governing the lives of individuals. How has the cloud

created a feedback loop that removes agency from those who produce data? And what are the effects of technofeudalism on democratic politics? [Listen](#) to consider what democratic societies must do to shift control of the algorithms toward the interests of the many.



DEMOCRACY IN QUESTION? S8:E3 | CENTRAL EUROPEAN INSTITUTE & GENEVA GRADUATE INSTITUTE

### **Dilip Gaonkar on the “Degenerations of Democracy”**

This episode explores contemporary fears about the decline of democracy. Is the current downward spiral actually part of a rhythmic oscillation of democracy? And given its centrality to modern political life, can democracy really be eradicated? [Listen](#) to hear about how the changing forms of the democratic project must be understood with reference to historical dynamics and logics of capitalism.

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## **Awarded Grants**

SNSF SOR4D | 1 March 2024–28 February 2027, CHF 873,773 | CIES

### **Scaling Agroecology in India, Bolivia and Burkina Faso**

Agroecology has proven to be a viable alternative for many to overcome the multiple challenges of conventional food systems. Given the multiple benefits inherent to agroecology, the question arises why it is not more widely adopted and under which conditions it can be successfully upscaled. This action-research project by **Christophe Gironde** (Centre for International Environmental Studies, Geneva Graduate Institute) together with **Ramanjaneyulu Gangula** (Centre for Sustainable Agriculture, India), **Amira Elvia Apaza Quevedo** (Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campo, Bolivia) and **Delwendé Innocent Kiba** (Institut de l'Environnement et de Recherches Agricoles, Burkina Faso) will explore this issue. It will identify, test and evaluate support schemes for farmers to turn to farming practices based on the principles of agroecology. Its final goal is to improve food security and nutrition while preserving ecosystems. The project's activities will be research, practical experimentation of support schemes, and advocacy and policy dialogue.

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## **Visitors**

📅 1 Feb 2024–31 May 2024

📍 CFD

### **Leonardo Weller**

Coming from the São Paulo School of Economics (EESP-FGV), Senior Fellow in Residence Leonardo Weller researches on “Domestic Public Debt in Emerging Markets from the First Financial Globalization to the Interwar: 1880–1945”, as part of a joint SNSF-funded research project with Professor Rui Esteves.

### **Alberto Isgut**



📅 15 Feb 2024–14 June 2024  
📍 CFD  
Coming from the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Senior Fellow in Residence Alberto Isgut researches “Climate Risk and Sovereign Debt: How to Manage Them to Boost Sustainable Development?”.

📅 15 Feb–30 June 2024  
📍 CCDP  
**Christel Mobeck**  
Coming from the United Nations, Senior Fellow in Residence Christel Mobeck is working on “The Securitisation of Climate Change: Human Rights as the Missing Link?”.

📅 19 Feb–17 May 2024  
📍 GMC  
**Deborah Francesca Casalin**  
Coming from the University of Antwerp, Visiting Fellow Deborah Francesca Casalin is doing research on “Realising Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced People: The International Legal Responsibilities of States and Other Duty-Bearers”.

📅 19 Feb–12 April 2024  
📍 GGC  
**Lena Herbst**  
Coming from Technische Universität Braunschweig, Junior Visiting Fellow Lena Herbst is researching “Non-state Actors in the UN Cybersecurity Complex”.

📅 1 March 2024–28 Feb 2025  
📍 IRPS Dep.  
**Camille Marine Barras**  
Coming from the University of Toronto, Visiting Fellow Camille Marine Barras will work on “Domestic Resource Mobilisation Reforms in Low-Income Countries: Political Economy Analysis, Sustainability and International Development Nexus”.

📅 1 March–30 June 2024  
📍 IL Dep.  
**Huaxia Lai**  
Coming from Peking University, Visiting Fellow Huaxia Lai will do research on “A Data-Based Study of the UNCITRAL Working Group III Negotiation on Investor-State Dispute Settlement Reform”.

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## Calls

CALL FOR EVENT PROPOSALS | INTERNATIONAL GENEVA GLOBAL HEALTH PLATFORM

### Side Events during the 77th World Health Assembly, 2024

The 77th World Health Assembly (WHA), to be held from 27 May to 1 June, provides the key convening space for the global health community to learn about and debate critical global health challenges. Continuing the tradition from previous years, the International Geneva Global Health Platform at the Global Health Centre (GHC) will organise four days of diverse side events during the 77th WHA. We invite you to submit a proposal for a 1.5 hour side event to the WHA, which should include a 30 minute Question and Answer session.

- **6 March 2024:** submission deadline

[More information and submission form >](#)

WORKSHOP CALL FOR PAPERS

### South-South Migration: The Venezuelan Case and Beyond

This one-day workshop, to be held on 16 May 2024 at the National University of Colombia (Medellín venue) and online, aims to examine South-South migratory movements within the Latin American region, with a particular focus on the Venezuelan case, but is also open to contributions from other migration cases from the region. Organisers, who include SNSF Research Fellow **Elena Butti**, invite short presentations (in English or Spanish) drawing on empirical insights on one or multiple case-studies.

- **15 March 2024**: abstract submission deadline

[More information \(in English and Spanish\) >](#)



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## Awarded Prizes

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### Master Student Paul Stewens Rewarded for Innovative Research

Paul Stewens, Master Student in International Law, went to the third edition of the [International Symposium on Cultural Heritage in War and Peace](#) in Italy to present his paper “A Classification Unearthed: The History of Palaeontological Objects as Cultural Heritage in International Law”. Fossils are an overlooked yet threatened category of cultural heritage. In his article, Paul Stewens traces how they became protected by international law under the League of Nations. Using archival materials and historical contextualisation, he adopts a material perspective and focuses on a class of objects to explore valuation processes in international law. He received the First Prize for the Best Overall Contribution to the Symposium for his innovative profile of research, outstanding presentation and excellent content.



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## Upcoming PhD Defences

📅 Tuesday 27 Feb  
🕒 15:00–17:00  
📍 Room S9, Pétale 2

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### Essays on International Trade, Technology Adoption, and Innovation

By **Anmol Kaur Grewal**. Committee members: Richard Edward Baldwin, Thesis Co-Supervisor; Marcelo Olarreaga, Professor, University of Geneva, Thesis Co-Supervisor; Julia Cajal Grossi, President and Internal Reader; Daria Taglioni, External Reader, Research Manager, Trade and International Integration, Development Economics, The World Bank, USA.

[More info >](#)

📅 Wednesday 28 Feb  
🕒 12:30–14:30  
📍 Online

DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS

### Three Essays in Agricultural Economics

By **Shijie Yang**. Committee members: Professor Jean-Louis Arcand, Thesis Director; Associate Professor Martina Viarengo, President and Internal Reader; Luis Felipe López-Calva, Global Director, Poverty and Equity Global Practice, World Bank Group, Washington

DC, USA, External Reader.

[More info >](#)

📅 Friday 1 March  
🕒 10:00–12:00  
📍 Room S9, Pétales 2

INTERNATIONAL HISTORY

### **Handling a Collective Interest: The G7 and the Euro-Atlantic Club's Interaction with the Rest of the World in the long 1980s**

By **Mattia Ravano**. Committee members: Jussi Hanhimaki, Thesis Director; Carolyn Biltoft, President and Internal Reader; Professor Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol, Department of History, European University Institute, External Reader.

[More info >](#)

📅 Monday 4 March  
🕒 10:00–12:00  
📍 Room S9, Pétales 2

INTERNATIONAL LAW

### **Culture and Culpability in International Criminal Trials**

By **Vera Piovesan**. Committee members: Professor Paola Gaeta, Thesis Co-supervisor; Honorary Professor Isabelle Schulte-Tenckhoff, Thesis Co-supervisor; Professor Vincent Chetail, President and Internal Reader; Professor Mark Antonin Drumbl, Transnational Law Institute, Washington, and Lee School of Law, USA, External Reader.

[More info >](#)

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For comprehensive information please visit the [Research website](#).

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