

L'INSTITUT

Prix international  
Edgar de Picciotto  
2018

DOSSIER

Epidemia of Walls  
in an (Un)free World





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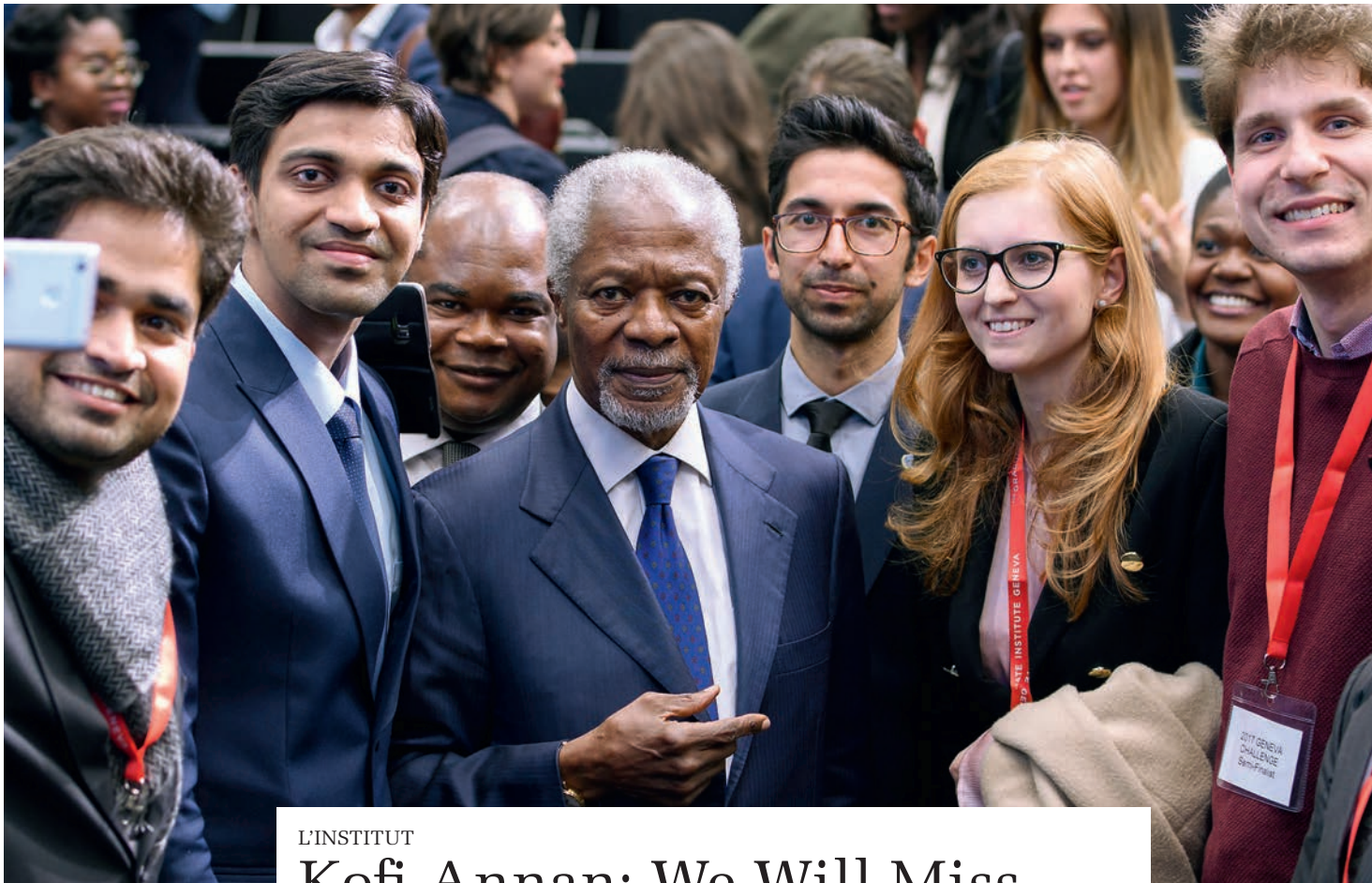
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## Kofi Annan: We Will Miss a Great Leader and Humanist

Kofi Annan during the 2017 Geneva Challenge International Student Competition at the Institute.

It is with immense sadness that we learned of the passing away of Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, on 18 August after a short illness.

The loss of a man who has worked tirelessly for peace in very difficult conditions is being deeply felt by all those who care about the need for international cooperation in a world of rising challenges.

Kofi Annan was an alumnus and long-standing friend of the Graduate Institute, and his spirit and elegance won him our hearts. He was dear to our community not only for what he achieved and symbolised as a global statesman, but as an illustration of what motivates and inspires many of our students.

At the time of his application to the Institute in 1961, the president of Macalester College (St Paul, Minnesota), where he was studying for his BA, wrote a letter of recommendation strongly emphasising his human qualities and the leadership position he had acquired among his fellow students.

In his letter of motivation to the Institute, Kofi Annan wrote: "I have chosen to come to Geneva for two definite reasons. Firstly, Geneva is an international city and could serve as a laboratory where I could observe international

politics in play. Secondly, my admission to the Institute would enable me to learn and polish my poor French." (His intention at the time was to work with the UN Economic Commission for Africa or the diplomatic service of Ghana.)

With the support of his foundation, Kofi Annan chose to celebrate his 80th birthday last April at the Institute by participating in a BBC HARDTalk interview. In December 2017 he also announced the move of his other foundation to Africa in an event which reflected on the ten years of the Africa Progress Panel.

On behalf of the Graduate Institute, I would like to express our heartfelt condolences to his wife, Nane, as well as his family and relatives.

**PHILIPPE BURRIN**

Director

# Designing Architecture for Education

Interview with Kengo Kuma,  
Architect of the New Student Residence

The Institute is undertaking the construction of a student residence that will add 650 beds to the existing 250-capacity Edgar and Danièle de Picciotto Student House. After an architectural competition in which 30 offices from around the world were invited to participate, the jury selected Kengo Kuma's project on account of its strength, sobriety and elegance. Kengo Kuma is a Japanese architect and professor in the Department of Architecture at the Graduate School of Engineering (University of Tokyo.)

## How would you describe your career to date?

It is always difficult to describe one's own career, but what I can say is that our practice at Kengo Kuma & Associates (KAAA) started small, at a time when the bubble burst. So we had to take things slowly and step by step. Actually I decided to focus on the countryside, where the economic recession had less impact than in the city, and this forged the direction of our interest during the following years in natural materials, talking to craftsmen and being especially sensitive to a site and the effect our architecture would have on it.



Throughout the years, our practice has grown gradually but steadily both in its size and diversity of views: concerning our company size, despite having over 200 people from over 20 nationalities, at KAAA we try to behave and create with the enthusiasm of smaller, newer architecture studios; and in terms of our architectural vision, although we work in many different countries and the range of project sizes and types is increasingly wider, we try to be consistent with those interests that have guided us since those early years operating in the countryside.

## Why did you accept our invitation to design and build the student residence?

We are always very interested in designing architecture for public functions, especially if related to education. We have completed a number of buildings for universities both in Japan and Europe, and it is always very gratifying to see such projects being used after completion. We recently completed the ArtLab for the École polytechnique

fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL) at their main campus in Lausanne. We were very happy to do another university-related building in Switzerland, actually in the same region. Besides this, Switzerland has very high construction standards, similar to Japan, so it is always a good place to develop and build challenging architecture.

## Could you define in a few words your concept for the residence?

The main concept is quite simple. It basically tries to redefine the usual typology of residences we have seen in the past, where the apartments form the main body of the architecture and the public functions stay grouped at the bottom as a podium or as an annex volume.

We wanted to avoid the usual vertical programme segregation (of public facilities on the ground floor and apartments on the above floors) that heavily depends on elevator circulations. Instead, we proposed an ascendant promenade "carved" into the building's volume, which would allow pedestrian access to all floors, from the ground floor all the way up to the rooftops. All the necessary public facilities would be allocated along this promenade.

In this way, the architecture encourages a more walking-conscious lifestyle and provokes encounters between its inhabitants. The hope is to offer a community-like experience to all these hundreds of students who will be coming from very different origins and cohabitating here in years to come.

## How does this project compare with your other current architectural projects around the world?

While many projects we do around the world focus on the use of materials and innovative construction methods to put them in place, in this project we wanted to investigate how the programme could be proposed in new ways that would lead us to a totally new architectural-dwelling typology. Indeed, no other building has been conceived in this way until now, to our knowledge.

→ <http://graduateinstitute.ch/new-student-residence>



The student residence imagined by Kengo Kuma.



L'INSTITUT

## Joan Wallach Scott Receives the 2018 Edgar de Picciotto International Prize

Joan Wallach Scott and Beth Krasna, Vice Chairwoman of the Graduate Institute's Foundation Board.

Joan Wallach Scott, Professor Emerita at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, delivered the Opening Lecture of the Academic Year on 25 September on "Gender Equality: Why Is It So Difficult to Achieve?". On this occasion she received the 2018 Edgar de Picciotto International Prize, the first woman

to receive it after Amartya Sen, Saul Friedländer and Paul Krugman. The Prize, which is awarded every two years, was created as a tribute of thanks to the late Edgar de Picciotto whose generous donation enabled the Institute to build the Student House that bears the name of Edgar and Danièle de Picciotto.



# The Persistence of Gender Inequality

Joan Wallach Scott

Why, despite decades (indeed centuries) of social protest, policy initiatives, educational reform, NGO activity, national and international legislation, does gender inequality persist? The most dramatic and disturbing examples of this persistence have come with the revelations of the #MeToo movement which, at its best, has unveiled the use of sex as a tool of power (in the workplace, the academy, sports, the arts...). Lest we be tempted to attribute this behaviour to a few individual bad actors, there are also statistics to document what some have called a culture of male entitlement: wage gaps, vast discrepancies in political representation, high rates of domestic violence, glass-ceilings at the highest levels of corporate leadership, a growing number of attacks on women's reproductive rights, and even now on gender studies programmes, by organised religious and political groups. Writing in the *New York Times* a few months ago, the US feminist Vivian Gornick expressed her despair at the lack of progress: "As the decades wore on, I began to feel on my skin the shock of realising how slowly – how grudgingly! – American culture had actually moved, over these past hundred years, to include us in the much-vaunted devotion to egalitarianism." It's not only American culture, of course, the evidence comes from all over the world: the project of gender equality remains to be achieved despite concerted efforts to achieve it. Modernity, secularism, democracy – these have not ushered in the reign of equality they promised, at least not when it comes to gender (or, for that matter, class or race). Why?

Some of the reasons usually offered to explain the persistence of gender inequality include patriarchy, capitalism, male self-interest, misogyny and religion. I suggest that,

however useful as descriptions, none of these can account for how deep-rooted these inequalities are in our psyches, our cultures and our politics. My alternative explanation, based on psychoanalytic and political theory, has to do with the ways in which gender and politics are intertwined: a naturalised notion of the necessary and immutable difference of the sexes provides legitimation for the organisation of other social inequalities. Whether taken as God's word or Nature's dictate, gender – the historically and culturally variable attempt to insist on the duality of sex difference – becomes the basis for imagining social, political and economic order. In this representation of things, to question the asymmetry of the sexes is to threaten the entire political order.

Interestingly, the term "gender" itself has become synonymous with a demand for equality because it maintains that culture, not biology, determines male and female social roles. The challenge "gender" thus poses to the established definitions of sex difference has resulted in campaigns to limit its meaning. For example, during the debates that led to the creation of the International Criminal Court in 1999, one commentator noted that if the word "gender" were allowed to refer to anything beyond biologically defined male and female, the Court would be in the position of "drastically restructuring societies throughout the world".

The current anti-gender campaigns, whether in the hands of religious fundamentalists or authoritarian rulers, claim to represent a return to stability (social, economic, cultural, political) in a disordered, global world by putting strong men in charge of protection and security and bringing women back to their rightful, natural or God-given place.

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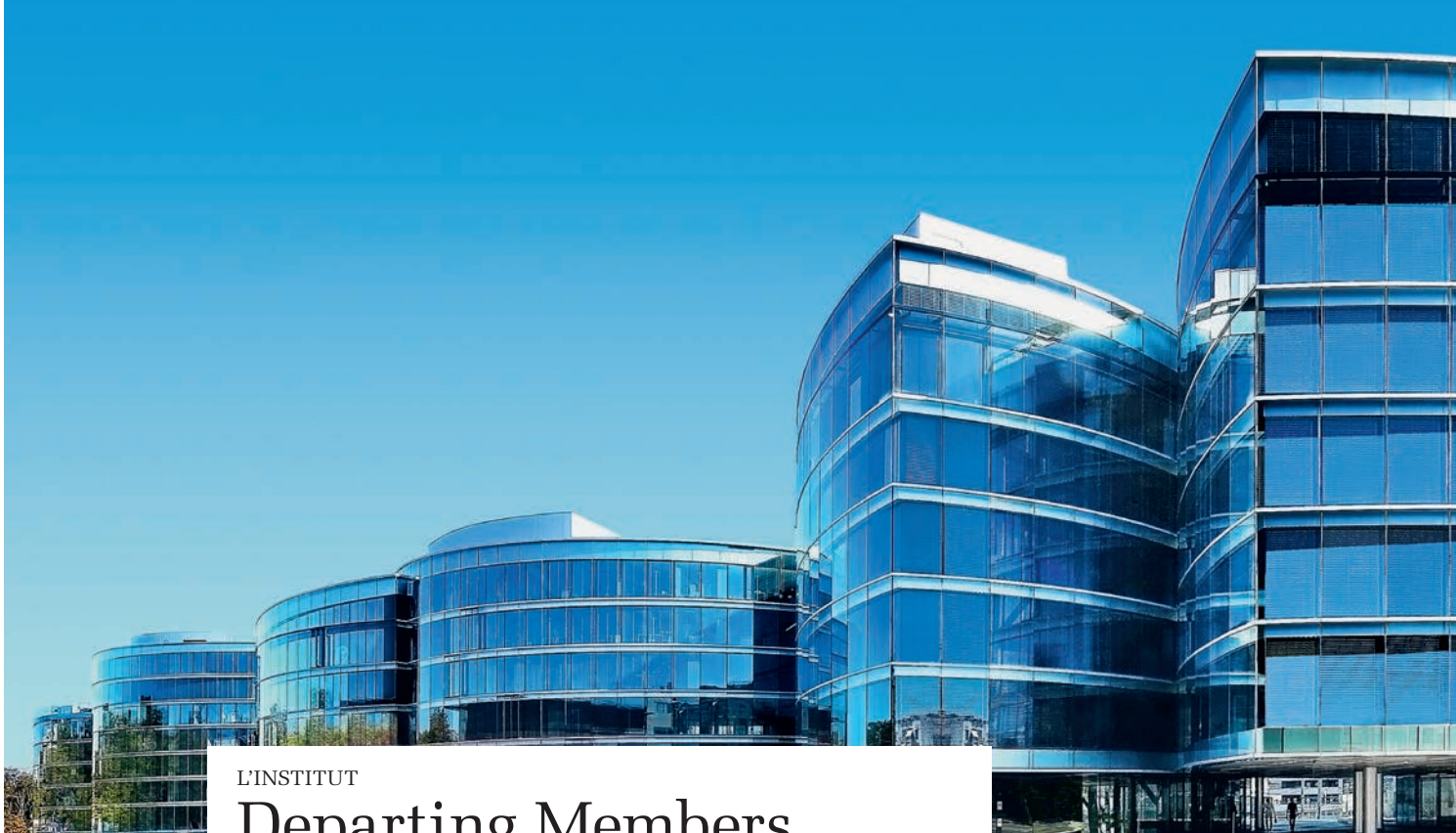
## Le prix international Edgar de Picciotto

Le prix international Edgar de Picciotto est attribué tous les deux ans à une personnalité universitaire de renommée internationale qui a contribué par ses recherches à une meilleure compréhension des défis mondiaux et dont les travaux ont influencé les décideurs politiques.

Le prix a été créé pour rendre hommage à M. de Picciotto, disparu en 2016, dont la générosité a permis à l'Institut de construire la Maison des étudiants qui porte son nom et celui de son épouse, Danièle.

Edgar de Picciotto était l'un des banquiers les plus écoutés dans le monde de la finance. Après avoir fondé la Compagnie de Banque et d'Investissements (CBI) en 1969, il procéda à plusieurs acquisitions qui donnèrent naissance à l'Union Bancaire Privée (UBP), l'une des plus importantes banques suisses de gestion d'actifs. Il aura marqué le monde de la finance en étant l'un des premiers à reconnaître le potentiel des *hedge funds*.

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L'INSTITUT

## Departing Members of the Foundation Board

A Decade of Success

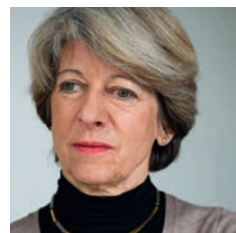
Isabelle Werenfels, Head of Research Division, Middle East and Africa, at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, and Annemarie Huber-Hotz, President of the Swiss Red Cross and former Federal Chancellor of Switzerland, have served on the Foundation Board for 10 years. Interview.

**You spent several years on the Institute's Foundation Board. What were the most striking changes during this time?**

**Isabelle Werenfels.** I would cite three developments. The first one relates to institutional culture and the Institute's identity. When I joined the Board in 2007, we faced the challenge of merging two institutes, HEI and IUED, with fundamentally different institutional cultures. Balancing the different interests and sensitivities took much of the Board's attention at the time. In hindsight, I find it quite miraculous how quickly a new and common culture emerged that built on the strengths of both institutes. The second change is the obvious one: the Maison de la paix. Apart from constituting a magnificent core of the Institute's campus, it reflects the choice of an entrepreneurial approach to financing the Institute. Finally, the convening power of the Institute is a striking development. It's impressive to

see who gives talks, who participates in conferences and who applies for academic positions.

**Annemarie Huber-Hotz.** First of all I would like to emphasise that it was a great privilege to be part of such an international and high level board, and a very considerate and friendly group. Particularly challenging were the discussions with the Swiss and Geneva governments regarding the now-decided general agreement on the next four years' contribution. One of the striking changes was of course the move to the new campus, the Maison de la paix, in 2013.





### Un nouveau membre au Conseil de fondation

M. Georg Nolte a rejoint le Conseil de fondation de l'Institut en juin 2018. Georg Nolte est professeur de droit international à l'Université Humboldt de Berlin et coprésident du groupe de recherche Berlin Potsdam «The International Rule of Law – Rise or Decline?». Il est membre de la Commission de droit international des Nations Unies et préside celle-ci depuis 2017. Il est également membre associé de l'Institut de droit international. De 2013 à 2017, il était président de la German Society of International Law.

### The Foundation Board is a model as far as gender balance is concerned. How was your experience as a woman on the Board?

**Isabelle Werenfels.** The fact that I never thought of myself as a woman on the Board but rather as a member of a very well functioning group is telling. And of course this perception has to do with the strong presence of women on the Board – at least 50%, at times even more. In my experience, discussion cultures in institutional settings with strong male majorities tend to be quite different, for instance, with a tendency toward longer inputs and fewer perspectives on an issue taken into account. For me the experience on the Graduate Institute's Board – not only with regard to gender balance but also to diversity in general – proved that group design matters and that with

regard to women, it is not a few token women but a critical mass that makes the difference. Last but not least, I see the Board's composition as an important signal to staff and students.

**Annemarie Huber-Hotz.** To be a woman was, in my whole career, never an obstacle, sometimes even an advantage. I am convinced that a gender-balanced group not only delivers better collaboration, but also better performance. For the Foundation Board, the gender issue has always been a key element in our discussions on recruitment of professors and academic staff.

### How do you view the evolution of the Institute on both national and international levels?

**Isabelle Werenfels.** Finding a place for the Institute in the Swiss university landscape was not easy. It was perceived as a "strange animal" due to its mode of financing, its small size and its independent governance. Today the Institute is included in the Chamber of Swiss Universities as a permanent guest and cooperates closely with other Swiss universities. But "official Switzerland" has yet to fully discover what an asset the Graduate Institute's knowledge production and international visibility could be for its foreign policies and international standing. As for the Institute's international visibility, ten years ago I often had to explain to my peers from universities and think tanks across the globe what "this institute in Geneva" was. Today those same peers are eager to speak at the Institute's conferences. However, despite the enormous

geographic diversity of the Institute's staff and students there remains a Euro-American dominance. I hope that in another decade the Institute will have become even more global and inclusive, particularly with regard to African students.

**Annemarie Huber-Hotz.** The Institute has developed very successfully over the last ten years. Its high-performing director and his team, excellent and internationally well-known professors and researchers, its special status with the UN Economic and Social Council as well as the close relations with the United Nations Office at Geneva contributed to consolidate its reputation nationally and internationally. And I think that the new buildings, above all Maison de la paix, and the interesting conference programme make the difference.

# Collaboration stratégique avec l'Institut européen de Florence



L'Institut universitaire européen de Florence (IUE) et l'Institut ont signé un accord pour structurer et développer leur collaboration en faisant fructifier la similitude de leurs profils (niveau postgrade et spécialisation dans les sciences sociales) et la complémentarité de leurs champs (études globales dans un cas, études européennes dans l'autre).

Pour l'Institut, cette collaboration s'inscrit dans le cadre plus large des relations entre la Suisse et l'IUE. Depuis 1991, la Confédération finance des bourses destinées à des chercheurs suisses souhaitant préparer un doctorat à Florence et, depuis 2001, une Chaire suisse d'études sur la démocratie, le fédéralisme et la gouvernance globale. Le Secrétariat d'État à la formation, à la recherche et à l'innovation (SEFRI) a renouvelé le financement de la chaire en octobre 2017 et invité l'Institut à servir de pont avec les hautes écoles suisses.

Outre le fait que le nouveau titulaire de la chaire, le professeur Elias Dinas, donnera un cours à l'Institut chaque année, la collaboration entre les deux institutions

prendra la forme d'ateliers pour encourager l'élaboration de projets de recherche communs. Elle portera également sur le domaine de la formation continue et pourrait inclure la création d'une double maîtrise avec la School of Transnational Governance créée récemment à l'IUE. Enfin, elle se manifestera par la création d'une bourse postdoctorale qui doit permettre à de jeunes docteurs d'étayer leur dossier scientifique en passant un an à Florence et un an à Genève.

L'Institut universitaire européen a été établi en 1972 par les États membres de la Communauté économique européenne qui souhaitaient doter l'Europe d'une institution de recherche spécialisée dans la formation au niveau doctoral et favorisant l'intégration européenne. L'IUE accueille actuellement environ 900 chercheurs et doctorants provenant de 50 pays.

« Il est difficile d'imaginer deux institutions aussi complémentaires. »

**PHILIPPE BURRIN**

Directeur



LES CENTRES CONJOINTS

## Entretien avec le professeur Marco Sassòli

Nouveau directeur de l'Académie de droit  
international humanitaire et de droits humains

### Quelles sont les raisons qui vous ont incité à accepter ce nouveau poste ?

J'ai pratiqué le droit international humanitaire (DIH) pendant 13 ans à Genève et dans les théâtres de conflits, je l'ai enseigné pendant 18 ans en Amérique du Nord et à Genève et j'ai publié des livres sur le sujet. On m'a proposé de diriger une équipe et des programmes qui, dans plusieurs sens, sont « au carrefour » : entre théorie et pratique ; entre DIH, droits humains, droit pénal international, droit des migrations et droit international public ; entre problèmes humanitaires spécifiques aux conflits armés et protection des plus vulnérables en général ; enfin, entre diplomates, enseignants et ONG pour stimuler un dialogue à Genève. Il était difficile de ne pas accepter ce véritable nouveau défi, d'importance à la fois académique et pratique !



### Quels sont aujourd'hui les principaux défis pour le droit international humanitaire et les droits humains ?

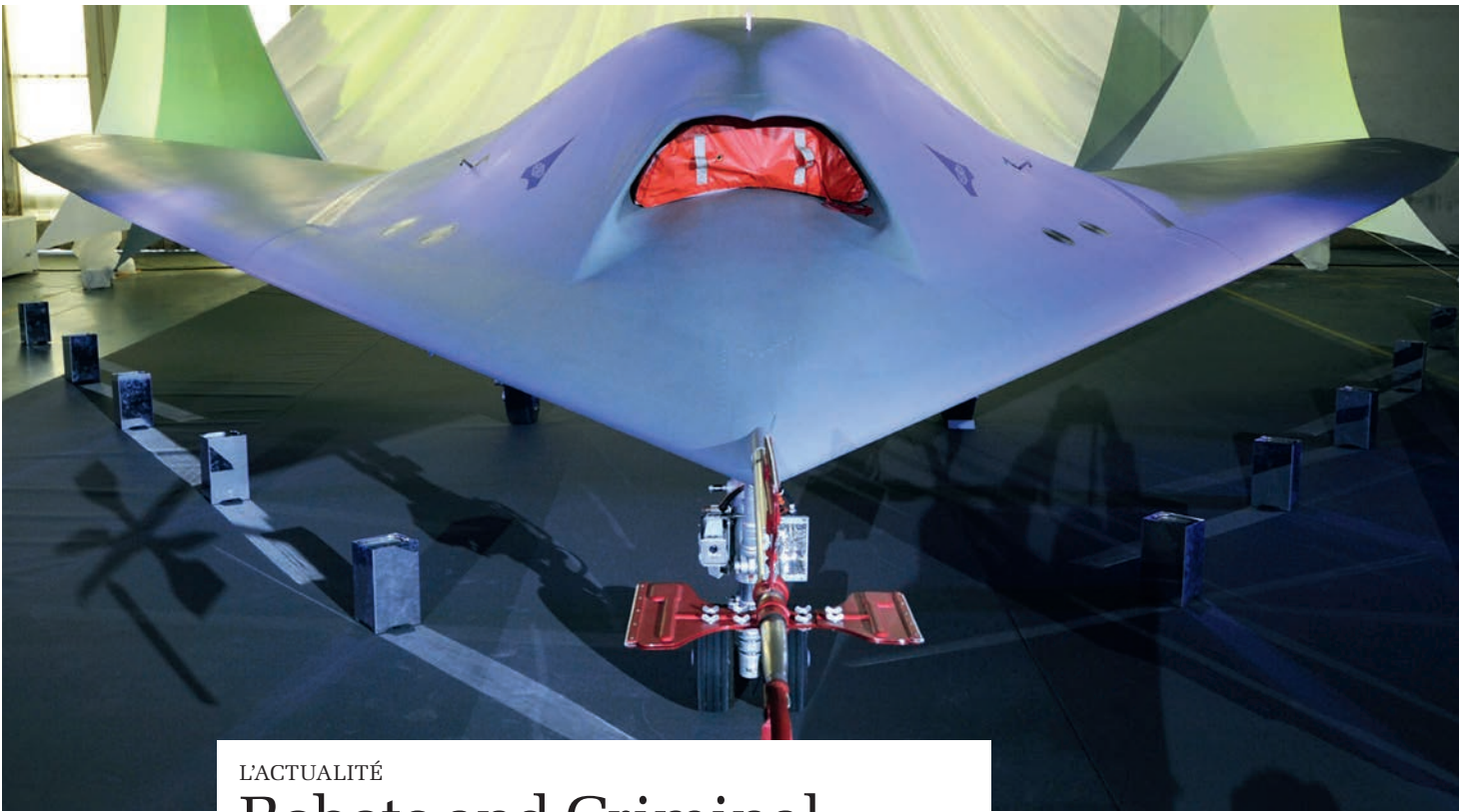
À de rares exceptions près, les États ne veulent plus développer le DIH et les droits humains. Ces derniers ne sont plus seulement violés, mais certains dirigeants et membres du public n'affirment même plus leur attachement à ces idéaux. Des dirigeants démocratiquement élus sont fiers de les ignorer. Le narratif a changé. Les droits humains sont souvent vus comme un souci d'élites. Quant à la doctrine dans les deux domaines, elle s'occupe souvent de questions théoriquement fascinantes, mais qui ne

touchent que rarement aux problèmes subis par la majorité des personnes vulnérables. Beaucoup d'universitaires croient en outre pouvoir s'affranchir de ce que pensent les États – ou plutôt les bureaucraties militaires et des affaires étrangères.

### Que peut faire l'Académie face à ce constat ?

En formant des jeunes et des professionnels, l'Académie leur permet d'acquérir les connaissances juridiques nécessaires pour relever ces défis en s'inspirant de principes et de règles sans céder à l'opportunisme politique ou personnel. Quant à la recherche, nous devons rester orientés vers les besoins de la pratique et trouver le bon équilibre entre des projets nouveaux et novateurs et la poursuite de projets qui ont fait leurs preuves. À cet égard, je mentionnerai un exemple : la base de données RULAC, qui est la seule dans le monde à classifier juridiquement les situations de conflit armé (international ou non international) et les autres situations de violence. C'est un travail crucial car le DIH s'applique uniquement aux conflits armés ; en dehors de ceux-ci, seuls les droits humains s'appliquent. Tout cela nécessite une équipe motivée et ayant un minimum de stabilité en dépit du fait que les financements sont temporaires et aléatoires. C'est par la formation, la recherche ainsi qu'en réunissant experts et praticiens que l'on réussira à contribuer à renverser le narratif.

→ [www.geneva-academy.ch](http://www.geneva-academy.ch)



L'ACTUALITÉ

## Robots and Criminal Responsibility

Paola Gaeta

Professor of International Law

The nEURon, an experimental Unmanned Combat Air Vehicle (UCAV) developed under a European consortium led by French defence group Dassault, is put on show at the Dassault factory in Istres on 19 December 2012. Boris HORVAT/AFP

Robots are part of our daily lives, for instance when we use the self-checkout lane at the grocery store. However, they are rapidly becoming more than the routine mechanical devices programmed to perform repetitive functions to which we are accustomed today. Vehicle manufacturers have begun testing self-driving cars that operate at the push of a button, taking their passengers wherever they want to go. The arms industry is developing similar technology to produce so-called lethal autonomous weapons systems (LAWS) that can find, track and fire on targets without human supervision.

The development of these new weapons raises a host of complex questions. Among the most pressing legal ones, there is the attribution of criminal responsibility in the case of malfunction. Due to the autonomy of LAWS, there is the possibility that these weapons could target people and objects in violation of the rules of international humanitarian law. Who should bear criminal responsibility for any subsequent war crimes? The issue of whether autonomous weapons themselves should bear criminal responsibility is problematic. It would require LAWS to be treated like human beings, thereby contesting the anthropocentric foundations of modern criminal law. Machines are not suitable recipients of criminal punishment, mainly because they are not morally

responsible agents and cannot “understand” the concept of retributive punishment. Ascribing criminal responsibility to the “user”, usually the military commander responsible for engaging the LAWS, is also problematic. In most cases, the commander does not intend to use the autonomous weapon system to commit a war crime. There is only an “acceptance of risk” that the machine may take the wrong targeting decision. It is then a question of whether this acceptance is sufficient in itself to consider the military commander a war criminal.

These legal issues are not limited to the arms industry, but equally apply to self-driving cars. Fatal crashes involving pedestrians have already been reported in the news and pose questions around the attribution of criminal responsibility. There is a pressing need to develop an appropriate legal framework to fill possible gaps emerging from these new technologies, including laws on war crimes. Though, clearly, the crux of the matter is not legal. Increasing automation brings many benefits to society. However, does robotism – the mindless automation of our lives – risk leading us to “insane societies”, as predicted by Erich Fromm in his book *The Sane Society* (1955): “The danger of the past was that men became slaves. The danger of the future is that men may become robots”?

# The Return of Racism

Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou

Professor of International History



Racism and racial discrimination are making a comeback. If such an epiphany has acuity today, it is because of the prevalence of a misleading narrative of continued social progress and tolerance within societies round the world. Such a narrative is ahistorical. If, undeniably, there have been significant milestones — such as, notably, the international campaign to end Apartheid in South Africa — the swiftness and breadth of the current wave of re-emerging racism is underwritten by a history of non-resolution.

Three overarching phenomena preside over the current revival of racism: *negative exemplarity* by a number of political leaders worldwide, *societal banalisation* masking the extent of the issue and *intellectual rationalisation* enabling its expression. The first, and most important, is the one of a “social jurisprudence” enacted by several leaders and according to which executive behaviour has explicitly introduced acceptance and mimetism, thus packaging racism in parameters of acceptability. Front and centre in this sequence are the actions of United States President Donald Trump. There is no overstating the negative role played by a head of state considered “racist” by 49% of Americans in a July 2018 poll, and whose pronouncements have importantly contributed to a standardisation of neo-racism.

The second phenomenon which in recent years has enabled the recrudescence of racism is its banalisation. Considering erroneously that the issue is no longer an urgent problem in need of attention and resources, many societies have trivialised the question. Such irresponsibility-cum-insensitivity is consequential as it hits doubly those facing the effect of racism: with denial of the issue and of the victims’ experience. Such dynamics also partake of the materialisation of an unexamined phraseology whereby the same experience is represented, processed and eventually dealt with differently depending on the identity of the person.

Thirdly, racism is back because discrimination has been intellectualised and increasingly conceptually authorised. Proliferation of hate speech has thus been facilitated by a bamboozling that makes such speech appear as a legitimate opinion. It is presented as a mere manifestation of free speech, and any questioning of its legitimacy is deemed censorship. Such intolerance in the name of tolerance is the single most insidious form of *nouveau* racism that wraps itself in the mantle of freedom, but which is in reality profoundly anti-democratic.

In truth, the rise of acceptable racism is one of the great ills of the troubled international affairs of our era.

FRANCE, Paris. A hundred of people, including some anti-fascist activists, hold placards depicting victims of right-wing extremists as they gather at the Carrousel bridge in Paris, where Moroccan national Brahim Bouarram drowned on 1 May 1995 after extremists threw him from the bridge into the Seine River.  
11 September 2018.  
Eric FEFERBERG/AFP

Dossier based on *Global Challenges* (no. 4, 2018),  
The Graduate Institute's series of research dossiers.

→ <http://globalchallenges.ch>





LE DOSSIER

# EPIDEMIA OF WALLS IN AN (UN)FREE WORLD





EPIDEMIA OF WALLS IN AN (UN)FREE WORLD

# WHITHER COSMOPOLIS: YEARNING FOR CLOSURE IN TIMES OF UNCERTAINTY

**Dominic Eggel**

PhD in International History; Research Adviser at the Research Office

A Palestinian boy walks along the wall destroyed near the border between Egypt and the Gaza Strip close to Rafah. 8 April 2008. Said KHATIB/AFP

**T**he world, after 11 September 2001, has been fracturing as, in direct contradiction to the liberal ethos of openness, a series of nations have reverted to immuring themselves in a context of increased migratory flows and populist animosity. While the world counted 16 walls at the beginning of the 21st century, today there are 55 walls totalling 40,000 km in length.

Walls are an anthropological constant. They epitomise human finitude. Our cells have walls, and our bodies an epidermal envelope separating us from the outside world. Our language and cognition are delimited by semantic walls and conceptual containers. Sociologically, walls and fences have

proven crucial as material and symbolic sites of inclusion and exclusion. Despite the early cosmopolitan utopias of the Greek and Roman Stoics, walls are omnipresent in, and perhaps constitutive of, human history. Walls have been integral to the major modes of human political organisation such as cities, empires or nation-states, serving as defensive structures, civilisational markers and means for regulating commercial flows.

As constitutive as they are for humans, walls entail a host of pernicious effects. They divide, segregate, reify and exclude. They reinforce the fault line between the privileged and the marginalised. Walls unleash new forms of – frequently lethal – violence.

They produce envy about what may be found on the other side. Walls force migrants to pursue more dangerous and costly routes or prevent them from returning to their home country. They hamper the circulation of fauna, flora and water flows. Walls, finally, put human rights out of reach of those who need them most.

In the seemingly “borderless” world of the (post)-modern/global era characterised by endless fluidity walls appear as something of an oddity, a relic of an ancient past. With the fall of the Iron Curtain, so the hope went, smaller walls would fall too. However, in the last two decades the exact opposite took place: around 30 nations have built

43 new barriers along their borders with 31 other countries. The list of the most prolific wall-builders includes India, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Uzbekistan, Turkey and many European countries such as Hungary, Greece and Bulgaria. The United States and its president's grandiloquent talk of a great and beautiful wall with Mexico further nurture this "International of Walls".

Walls, today, are usually built for a mixture of reasons combining security – mostly against terrorism – and migratory concerns, with an emphasis on the latter. If one looks at the *longue durée*, it rapidly appears that while in

its false certainties, identitarian illusions and fears of various types of "contamination". Thirdly, the new walls have been attributed to a regained vitality of sovereignty and confidence in the territorial state. Conversely, however, it has also been argued that they constitute a vain attempt to veil the incapacity of states to address terrorist and other global threats.

A wide range of political actors have indeed used the symbolic capital of walls to "look tough", to project myths of origin and ethnic purity, and to mask more prosaic intentions. Walls, in this sense, have become a dramaturgic act

and topographically uneven to be patrolled efficiently. All walls remain, ultimately, porous and ephemeral. They can be circumvented, tunnelled, crossed with ladders or ramps, or flown over. From such a perspective, walls mostly divert or canalise flows but do not prevent them from occurring.

Whatever their ultimate efficiency, walls – far from simply freezing the status quo – have real impacts. They create new borderland ecosystems and trigger strategies of appropriation and subversion. They attract economic entrepreneurs such as smugglers, drug couriers, human traffickers and cattle rustlers. They provide employment to border patrols and personnel and give a sense of purpose to the militias professedly defending it. For borderlanders inhabiting the messy reality of "liminal spaces", walls are lived experiences and part of their identities. Recent scholarship has hence drawn a more nuanced picture of walls, highlighting their capacity to foster opportunities, to act as catalysts of (ex)change and as vectors for aesthetic transgression such as graffiti.

The German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder once suggested that closure is good in young nations for purposes of identity formation but that mature ones were bound to openness, exchange and dialogue. Even though walls prove to be constitutive of – and necessary to – communal life and social organisation, it remains, after all, humanity's mission to transcend them.

## “All walls remain, ultimately, porous and ephemeral.”

the past walls were mostly built to keep hostile aggressors at bay, today their main purpose is to keep out migrants and refugees seeking shelter and opportunities for a better life. Walls therefore firstly reflect a general anxiety in the face of intensifying migration and rising global inequality: in times of crises people shut their doors (and blinds). Secondly, walls are the very flesh-and-bone manifestation of the growing right-wing populism with

– a show where various actors vie for the attention of an ever more ephemeral and fickle public. Beyond the rhetoric, however, it is much less evident that the new walls prove effective. In practice, walls often remain the product of improvisation and makeshift. In the era of airplanes, drones and heavy artillery, walls have lost their military relevance. Experts are also sceptical whether walls adequately curb migration as most borders are simply too long

# MUROPHILIE AMBIANTE

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Il est loin, le temps du démantèlement du Mur de Berlin et des prophéties sur la « fin de l'Histoire » que celui-ci a inspirées. Certes, la chute de l'empire soviétique et le triomphe de l'idéologie de marché ont décloisonné le monde. La Chine et le Vietnam se sont ouverts, l'apartheid a été aboli, l'Europe a institué la libre circulation en son sein. Mais ce mouvement a vite rencontré ses limites. La Corée du Nord est demeurée un royaume ermite, et Israël, faute de savoir trouver un accord de paix avec les Palestiniens, s'est à son tour emmuré. Surtout, les États-Unis et l'Union européenne ont mis en œuvre un prohibitionnisme migratoire de plus en plus contraignant, depuis le 11 Septembre et la montée électorale de l'identitarisme politique. En outre, l'emmurement du globe ne vise plus seulement à sanctuariser la souveraineté ou la sécurité de l'État-nation. Il segmente les sociétés elles-mêmes avec la prolifération de *gated communities*, dans les grandes métropoles urbaines, que ceignent des clôtures et contrôlent des compagnies privées de gardiennage.

Tout n'est pas neuf dans cette évolution. Après tout, la Chine avait sa Grande Muraille, et l'Empire romain s'y était essayé. Les villes du Moyen Âge et de l'Âge moderne étaient fortifiées, et ces dispositifs de défense n'ont été arasés que tardivement, sans d'ailleurs que soient toujours supprimés les octrois à leurs portes. Le capitalisme a titrisé la terre, ce qui s'est généralement traduit par sa clôture, sauf dans les pays de « vaine pâture ». En Angleterre, les *enclosures*

ont été systématisées au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Et la bourgeoisie du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle s'est plu à entourer les parcs de ses propriétés de belles enceintes de pierre.

Il se peut même que l'emmurement contemporain reprenne inconsciemment le vieux mythe selon lequel

et Apoc. 20:7-8). Aux yeux de l'Occident, les peuples dangereux, dans cette veine, ont été successivement les Scythes, les Mongols supposés Tartares, les Ottomans dits Turcs, et les Juifs, les uns se confondant souvent avec les autres, et animés de cette

**« S'imaginer que la majorité de l'humanité va rester sur le seuil du magasin de la globalisation, qu'on lui interdit de franchir, sans défoncer sa porte et faire voler en éclats sa vitrine relève de l'irénisme. »**

Alexandre le Grand aurait enfermé, quelque part entre le Caucase et le nord himalayen, derrière une muraille infranchissable, les peuples de Gog et Magog, les nations de l'Antéchrist et les dix tribus d'Israël, pour les empêcher de déferler sur le monde. Cette fable antique a ensuite fusionné avec les prophéties bibliques (Ezéch. 38:16

volonté commune de fondre sur l'*ecclesia* en acclamant l'Antéchrist. Notre temps continue de ruminer de très anciennes peurs millénaristes dont le « péril jaune », et aujourd'hui musulman, est un avatar.

Néanmoins, la murophilie actuelle revêt trois dangers inédits. Elle introduit une disjonction potentiellement



Un Palestinien longe le mur de séparation traversant le camp de réfugiés d'Aïda, dans la ville de Bethléem, en Cisjordanie. 12 février 2016. Thomas COEX/AFP

explosive entre, d'une part, une intégration forcenée de la planète dans les domaines de la finance, du commerce, de la technologie, du sport, des loisirs, de la culture matérielle ou spirituelle, et, d'autre part, le cloisonnement de plus en plus coercitif, voire militarisé, du marché international de la force de travail et de la circulation des personnes. S'imaginer que la majorité de l'humanité va rester sur le seuil du magasin de la globalisation, qu'on lui interdit de franchir, sans défoncer sa porte et faire voler en éclats sa vitrine relève de l'irénisme.

En deuxième lieu, l'endigement des barbares corrompt de l'intérieur la cité qu'il prétend protéger. Il implique des régimes juridiques dérogatoires au détriment des étrangers, assimilés à des ennemis. Ces législations progressivement s'étendent aux citoyens eux-mêmes, instaurent des états d'exception qui deviennent des États d'exception, et banalisent une abjection d'État, laquelle s'institutionnalise en États d'abjection. Au nom de la

lutte contre le terrorisme et l'immigration clandestine, les libertés publiques sont de plus en plus menacées dans les pays occidentaux; le droit d'asile et le droit de la mer sont bafoués; la politique de refoulement de l'Union européenne provoque chaque année plus de morts en Méditerranée et dans le Sahara que trois décennies de guerre civile en Irlande du Nord; les États-Unis séparent les enfants de leurs parents en attendant la construction de la barrière anti-*Latinos* sur leur frontière avec le Mexique; Israël a perdu toute mesure dans le *containment* des Palestiniens ou l'expulsion des Africains. Or, cet État d'abjection reçoit l'onction du suffrage universel et peut se réclamer d'une légitimité démocratique. Avec et derrière les murs prospère la « servitude volontaire ».

Enfin, l'emmurement du monde disloque de l'intérieur les sociétés. Il privatise l'espace public et la ville elle-même. Il externalise les frontières des États les plus puissants au sein d'autres États dépendants, à l'instar

de l'Union européenne au Sahel, et éventre leur souveraineté. Il recourt à la biométrie qui le rend invisible, et son immatérialité segmente à l'infini la cité. Dans la Chine orwellienne d'aujourd'hui, par rapport à laquelle le totalitarisme maoïste prend des airs de passoire, chaque escalier mécanique, chaque carrefour, chaque place, surveillé électroniquement, est un mur qui reconnaît en vous le bon ou le mauvais citoyen, et peut vous empêcher de monter dans l'avion ou le train. Il est à craindre que les marchands de peur et de biométrie n'appliquent vite la recette aux démocraties libérales. Murs de tous les pays, unissez-vous!



EPIDEMIA OF WALLS IN AN (UN)FREE WORLD

# BETWEEN SECURITY AND APARTHEID

Cinematic Representations of the West Bank Wall

Riccardo **Bocco**

Professor of Anthropology and Sociology

Palestinian boys walk past a mural painting on the Israel-built wall that separates the southern Gaza Strip town of Khan Yunes from the former Jewish settlement of Neve Dekalim. The wall has been painted by Palestinian artists. 13 September 2005. Roberto SCHMIDT/AFP

**T**he West Bank Wall has become dramatically popular in most Palestinian and some Israeli movies. Cinematography offers an important complement to the social sciences' research on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict narrative as it allows to uncover new strata of popular memory and social history. Documentaries, in their different forms, provide the sensuous experience of sounds and images organised in a way that stands for something more than mere passing impressions. They express emotions and concepts in their intricate nature but in a codified and at times abstract way. Moving images – as illustrated by the three examples below – tell the

daily consequences of the Israeli wall, and how these are represented and interpreted by one Israeli and two Palestinian filmmakers.

Three documentaries, all focused on the wall in the West Bank, look particularly compelling today in light of the new Israeli Organic Law adopted by the Knesset in July 2018. Conceiving the right to self-determination exclusively for its Jewish citizens, it paves the way to an official form of "ethnocracy" and risks turning Israel into an apartheid state. Encouraging the colonisation of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the law explicitly considers the Jewish settlements as an endeavour of national value.

*Wall* (2004, 96 min.), by Simone Bitton, is a documentary showing the rationale and mechanisms behind imprisoning and enclosing two people on both sides of the wall. That this almost 700-kilometre-long proposed stretch of asphalt, wire, trenches and concrete recalls the Berlin Wall is just one of its many wrenching paradoxes. The wall is part of a larger matrix of control over the Palestinian population and their territory, combining different kinds of checkpoints, watchtowers and separate roads for the Jewish settlers and the Palestinian laymen. Officially justified by the Israeli need of security, the wall is a real *dispositif* in Foucauldian terms, aimed at breaking the people's

will to resist occupation and destroying their livelihoods. The documentary is also a powerful cinematic meditation on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by a French-Israeli film director of Jewish Moroccan origin.

Palestinian film director, performer and photographer – but also officer in the Presidential Guard of the Palestinian

night on weekends. Some attempts end in failure, and others in success. It's a cat-and-mouse game, in which failure seems to lead to more persistence.

Jordanian-Palestinian filmmaker Mohammad Alatar's *Broken* (2018, 94 min.) tells the juridical debate on the wall, across three continents and through the testimonies of judges and

The three movies, each in its own way, cast doubt on the official reasons advanced by Israel for building an "anti-terrorist" barrier. *Wall* clearly exposes the policy of land grabbing separating farmers from their land and Palestinians from their places of work, healthcare and educational facilities; *Infiltrators* demonstrates the wall's permeability and reveals the business between Palestinian smugglers and Israeli collaborators who bring the "illegal" workers to selected sites. Finally, *Broken* reassesses the illegality of the wall according to international law.

In his *Introduction to Documentary* (Indiana University Press, 2001), Bill Nichols reminds us that documentaries shape collective memories and historical narratives by producing photographic records and visual perspectives of more or less distant events. As such, they become one among many voices in an arena of social debate and contestation. The fact that documentaries are not a straightforward reproduction of reality but the expression of particular points of view and visions of the world makes them potent speech acts in the social and political arena.

The three movies retrospectively document the (untold) annexation plan of the West Bank pursued by Israeli authorities over the past decade. A plan that, with Trump's America support, is materialising in spite of the dangers Israel is facing: will its label of a "democratic state" still be meaningful? The Israeli settler colonial project may finally become reality, but it will not be without a price, that of killing the dream of a peaceful coexistence with the Palestinians. More than that, it risks polarising the Jewish communities both in Israel and abroad...

**“Officially justified by the Israeli need of security, the wall is a real *dispositif* in Foucauldian terms, aimed at breaking the people’s will to resist occupation and destroying their livelihoods.”**

Authority – Khaled Jarrar shot *Infiltrators* (2012, 70 min.) as a "road movie" with a handheld video camera over four years. It chronicles the daily attempts of Palestinians seeking routes through, under, around, and over a matrix of barriers erected by Israel, including the 7-metre-high concrete wall. According to the film director, between 200 and 400 workers try to sneak out of the wall each weeknight, and almost 1,000 per

international lawyers. Upon request of the UN General Assembly about the legality of the wall – mainly built on the Palestinian side of the 1949 "Green Line" – the International Court of Justice declared in 2004 the wall contrary to international law, and called upon Israel to desist from constructing it and to make reparations for damages caused. To date, no action has been taken by Israeli authorities.



EPIDEMIA OF WALLS IN AN (UN)FREE WORLD

# THE “GREAT WALL” OF AMERICA: HISTORICAL OPPORTUNITIES

**Samuel Segura Cobos**

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A young Mexican helps a compatriot to climb the metal wall that divides the border between Mexico and the United States to cross illegally to Sunland Park, from Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua state, Mexico. 6 April 2018. Herika MARTINEZ/AFP

**M**exican public opinion is incensed. The source of this public uproar are the controversial declarations and actions of US President Donald Trump against Mexico and the Hispanic community at large. The list of grievances encompasses the outrageous claims that Mexican migrants are rapists, the detention of minors in deplorable conditions, and, of course, the plans for building a wall. For many in Mexico, the source of this problem dates to the fateful invitation by Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto to both US presidential candidates in

the summer of 2016. An invitation only taken up by Trump and rejected by the frontrunner, Hillary Clinton.

The pharisaic aspect of the Mexican outrage lies in the fact that the border wall between the United States and Mexico is over 60 years old. Between San Ysidro, California, and Tijuana, Mexico, a fence was first erected in the 1950s, only to be reinforced with recycled military landing platforms in the 1990s. In 1994, President Clinton launched Operation *Gatekeeper* in California, Operation *Hold-the-Line* in Texas and Operation *Safeguard* in

Arizona to strengthen border security. In 1996, a Democratic Congress and President approved further barriers on the border. In 2006, President Bush signed into law the Secure Fence Act with the support of Senators Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and Joseph Biden. By 2015, about a third of the US–Mexico border (1,078 km out of 3,140 km) already had some type of man-made physical barrier. Contrary to popular belief, a Great Wall between Mexico and the United States has been a long-cherished American bipartisan project predating the Trump era.



## “A consolidated border wall between Mexico and the US may become an opportunity for both countries as a more diverse world order emerges.”

The Great Wall of America is thus a brainchild of the liberal world order established under *Pax Americana* in the aftermath of WWII. It is therefore no coincidence that as the world moves towards a post-Western order, the border wall poisons the already difficult bilateral relation between Mexico and the US. While the American political elite has been rather dysfunctional in addressing popular anxieties over the last decade, the Mexican business elite experiences difficulties to imagine a world beyond American dominance. After all, since the late nineteenth century the Mexican economy has chiefly relied on capital flows stemming from Wall Street, and since the adoption of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994 nearly 80% of Mexican exports head to the US despite the most determined efforts to facilitate investments and trade flows from other countries. Such is the power of habit.

While American dominance has contributed significantly to Mexican development, the power of habit has become deadly as of late. Since the internationalisation of a prohibitionist regime by the Reagan administration, the pressure borne by Mexico's justice system from illegal CIA and DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) operatives in Mexican territory has resulted in a lethal war on drugs. Notwithstanding close governmental collaboration, 22 million American residents still get their illegal substances smuggled across the border while over 200,000 Mexicans have been murdered and over 34,000 have disappeared since 2006. Unsurprisingly, these numbers have influenced much of the discourse motivating the US bipartisan consensus on wall-building as Mexican

immigration became entangled with this public security crisis in Mexico.

Despite this convoluted past, a consolidated border wall between Mexico and the US may become an opportunity for both countries as a more diverse world order emerges. After all, Mexico has 15 free trade agreements covering 45 countries around the world, 31 investment promotion and protection agreements, and 9 commercial agreements. It possesses the tenth most traded currency in the world and second most traded emerging market currency, only after the Chinese renminbi. Based on estimates by the International Monetary Fund, PricewaterhouseCoopers forecasted that Mexico would emerge as the seventh largest economy in the world by 2050. Mexico also welcomed over 39 million tourists in 2017, becoming the sixth most visited country. Aware of its responsibilities in fighting climate change, Mexico now taxes carbon, possesses a voluntary carbon trading scheme and offers one of the world's seven environmental stock markets facilitating a transition to a low carbon economy. As per the OECD,

Mexico also pursues policies conducive to gender equality, and the pay gap is lower than in Switzerland. In short, Mexico is far removed from the Hollywood stereotypes of border town movies. Instead, as Claudia Ruiz Massieu – Mexican Foreign Minister at the time – made clear in 2016, Mexico is willing to share in the costs and responsibilities that a post-Western world order entail.

At first sight, the political instrumentalisation of the border wall issue by President Trump appears as a strident break from the American-led liberal order. In a more careful consideration, however, it stands in the continuity of the American political elite's failure to explain the ramifications of the liberal world order to its domestic constituencies. The Great Wall of America now offers a test to the perpetuation of the unquestioned American dominance and a respite to reflect on the emergence of a post-Western world order. It is therefore a wall full of opportunities.

# LA TURQUIE ET LE MOYEN-ORIENT : DE LA TENTATION IMPÉRIALE À L'EMMUREMENT

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**A**u début des années 2010, la Turquie amorçait une diplomatie « néo-ottomane » qui, profitant des printemps arabes, devait lui redonner un statut de leader au Moyen-Orient. Les rivalités régionales et les questions identitaires ont eu raison de cette

Ce n'est qu'à la fin de la Guerre froide que la Turquie moderne s'est intéressée au Moyen-Orient, cherchant à devenir une puissance régionale dans l'ancien espace ottoman (« néo-ottomanisme »). Le gouvernement de l'AKP – le Parti de la justice et du développement, arrivé au pouvoir en 2002 – poursuit cette politique. L'AKP joue un rôle actif dans la création d'un espace « Chamgen » (par référence à *Cham*, « Damas » en arabe, et à l'espace Schengen), supprime les visas, organise des réunions interministérielles, intensifie les relations économiques et culturelles et, avec la Syrie, la Jordanie et le Liban, met sur pied un Haut Conseil de coopération, conçu sur le modèle de l'Union européenne.

Barack Obama soutient cet activisme d'une Turquie soucieuse de réconcilier islam et démocratie. Des voix s'élèvent pour la promotion du « modèle turc » dans le monde arabe. L'arrivée au pouvoir de partis islamistes avec lesquels l'AKP a une certaine proximité idéologique encourage sa volonté de leadership régional. Lors des mobilisations populaires en Syrie, la Turquie, convaincue d'un renversement rapide du régime, rompt avec le gouvernement syrien, ouvre ses frontières aux réfugiés et aide l'opposition – se heurtant

rapidement à un axe Damas-Bagdad-Téhéran soutenu par la Russie.

En outre, l'islamisation de la rébellion syrienne conduit les États occidentaux à refuser de soutenir la position turque. Le nombre de réfugiés atteint des millions et, en mars 2015, la Turquie ferme sa frontière avec la Syrie. En août 2015, la première partie du mur frontalier est construite à Reyhanli. Les tirs de roquettes depuis la Syrie et les attentats d'organisations djihadistes sur son propre territoire la renforcent dans son repli. Le néo-ottomanisme touche à ses limites.

Tout en promettant une solution politique à la « question kurde », l'AKP refuse d'accorder des droits politiques aux Kurdes et se concentre sur le désarmement du PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan), auquel le chaos régional offre une plus grande marge de manœuvre. En été 2012, profitant du retrait de l'armée syrienne, les Kurdes de Syrie créent une zone autonome. L'hostilité du gouvernement turc envers cette dernière et sa complaisance pour les mouvements djihadistes, notamment lors du siège de Kobané, radicalisent la mobilisation kurde en Turquie, avec pour résultat la quasi-disparition de la frontière entre les Kurdes des deux pays. Aux élections législatives de

« Le mur turc symbolise les contradictions d'un État qui s'emmure à grands pas tout en dénonçant une "Europe citadelle". »

ambition. Témoin de son repli sur elle-même, le mur de 764 kilomètres qu'elle a achevé de construire à la frontière syrienne en juin 2018.



Des réfugiés syriens arrivent au poste frontalier d'Öncüpınar, près de la province turque de Kilis, le 28 août 2017. Ils ont reçu l'autorisation des autorités de Kilis de rentrer chez eux pour la fête de l'Adha à condition de revenir en Turquie d'ici le 15 octobre suivant. Bulent KILIC/AFP

juin 2015, le Parti de la démocratie des peuples (HDP), pro-kurde, dépasse le quorum de 10% et prive l'AKP de la majorité absolue au Parlement. Le gouvernement turc craint des tentatives d'une autonomie kurde en Turquie d'autant plus que, simultanément, des groupes de jeunes affiliés au PKK s'engagent dans des combats et des expériences d'autogestion dans plusieurs villes kurdes. Mettant fin au processus de paix entamé en 2009 et repris en 2013, la Turquie reprend la répression des revendications kurdes, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur du pays. La tentative de coup d'État de 2016 constitue le point culminant de cette évolution : pour renforcer son pouvoir et assurer la direction du pays pour la majorité conservatrice, le président évoque un danger existentiel pour la Turquie présenté par les Kurdes et les gülenistes, soutenus par les États-Unis et Israël cherchant à morceler le Moyen-Orient, consolide son alliance

avec les ultranationalistes et procède à une refonte du système politique à travers sa présidentialisation.

Pays de transit à la fois pour les djihadistes européens se rendant en Syrie, pour les djihadistes allant commettre des attentats en Europe et pour les réfugiés syriens rejoignant l'espace Schengen, la Turquie subit de fortes pressions internationales pour qu'elle ferme sa frontière avec la Syrie. L'accord qu'elle conclut avec l'Union européenne en mars 2016 renforce dès lors l'objectif de rendre infranchissable sa frontière avec la Syrie à travers la construction d'un mur. En juin 2018, elle annonce la réalisation de 764 kilomètres de la « muraille turque » qui, à terme, longera toute la frontière syrienne de 911 kilomètres. Un autre mur est en construction à la frontière turco-iranienne, et des discussions se poursuivent sur un troisième mur à sa frontière arménienne. La frontière avec la Grèce est déjà fermée par un

mur de barbelés et un dispositif de sécurité auquel participe l'agence Frontex. Et la frontière bulgaro-turque est elle aussi fermée par un mur de barbelés construit par la Bulgarie.

Comme les autres murs à travers le monde, le mur turc symbolise le repli et la fermeture. Il est aussi l'expression des contradictions d'un État qui s'emmure à grands pas tout en dénonçant une « Europe citadelle » et un « mur de la honte » israélien. L'UE, qui condamne l'autoritarisme et les violations des droits humains en Turquie, contribue à cette approche sécuritaire des migrations en fournissant une aide financière et des technologies de surveillance au pays. Selon Human Rights Watch, qui critique le silence de l'UE, le mur est le symbole des violations massives des droits des demandeurs d'asile, de ceux qui perdent leur vie sous les balles des gardes-frontières ou sont expulsés vers des zones de guerre.



EPIDEMIA OF WALLS IN AN (UN)FREE WORLD

# COMBATING TERRORISM ON THE SOMALI BORDER: THE IMPROBABLE KENYAN DREAM

**Marc Galvin**

PhD in Development Studies; Executive Director of the Research Office

A boy looks through a fence as newly arrived Somali refugees wait outside a registration centre at the Dadaab refugee camp in eastern Kenya, where the influx of Somali's displaced by a ravaging famine remains high, on 23 July 2011.  
Tony KARUMBA/AFP

In early 2015, the Kenyan government announced the construction of a 700-kilometre-long wall along its border with Somalia, which was to put an end to the infiltration of al-Shabaab terrorists. In the desert province of Mandera, where the first few kilometres have been constructed, the security situation has seriously deteriorated in recent years. Since 2013, more than 300 villagers have died as a result of regular incursions by al-Shabaab mercenaries, against whose constant harassment the Kenyan soldiers have proved powerless. Far from being limited to the north, al-Shabaab attacks have also affected the east of

the country, from Lamu to Mombasa, the heart of the tourist industry.

The al-Shabaab armed group first appeared in the Horn of Africa in 2006. After being forced from power and from the capital, Mogadishu, in 2011, these 3,000 radical Islamists are now refugees in the south of Somalia. In addition to looting Kenyan villages and recruiting their inhabitants by force, they seek revenge against a neighbouring state that declared war on them in 2011, likely with logistical support from the French and Americans.

Nonetheless, it was only in 2015, in the wake of the appalling siege of

Garissa University – leading to the execution of 148 Christian students – that the Kenyan government announced the construction of this wall, anxious to propose a measure that was immediate, reassuring and popular. After the attack on the Westgate shopping centre in Nairobi in 2013 (68 victims), this was Kenya's deadliest terrorist act since the bombing of the US embassy in 1998.

The original plans for the construction of the wall have nevertheless been revised downwards. Initially intended to be built out of concrete, the wall has transformed into a double wire fence topped with barbed wire. As

## “Under the pretext of fighting the Shabaab, the Kenyan government aims to stop the uninterrupted flow of migrants.”

planned, the project is expected to cost the Kenyan government more than CHF 2 million per kilometre. In this context, the wall is now also a business concern: the Israeli company Magal Security Systems, approached for the construction work, has seen its share price explode since Trump's electoral victory.

There appears to be a consensus in the Kenyan press that the wall is an appropriate option for the purposes of ensuring the country's security. The Kenyan government, meanwhile, has seen in the wall an opportunity to kill two birds with one stone. Under the pretext of fighting the Shabaab, it aims to stop the uninterrupted flow of migrants who have been fleeing Somalia for the past 10 years, many of whom arriving at Dadaab, a UNHCR-managed refugee camp in a semi-arid region along the Somali border. With 350,000 occupants, including a large majority of Somalis but also Sudanese, Ethiopian, Congolese, Rwandan and Ugandan, it is the world's largest refugee camp. The authorities' decision in May 2016 to close the camp was then an attempt to put an end to the suction effect of Dadaab. Nonetheless, a judicial ruling, following a complaint by Kenyan activists, has prevented the camp's closure, with the Kenyan government's decision

having been declared “null and void” by one of its own courts.

However, to date only 8 kilometres have been constructed at Mandera in the north, and the project is at a standstill. Officially, this is a response to the need for negotiation between the public authorities and the Somali populations wishing to be compensated for the planned demolition of their houses located in no man's land. Unofficially, the task is proving more complicated and more expensive than expected. In addition, Somali nomads on both sides of the border have family connections and very close ties. Accustomed to crossing these territories to graze their livestock, some perceive these borderlands as communal rather than state property.

Unsurprisingly, the separation wall has been condemned by the Somali government, which welcomes the recent suspension of construction work and views the wall project above all as a pretext for Kenya to put pressure on the International Court of Justice, which is to decide on a dispute over the maritime border between the two countries. The measure is perceived as ineffective against the Shabaab attacks since, as Somali Minister of Internal Security Abdirizak Mohamed Omar declared in 2015, “most of them are already in

Kenya”, referring to the potential terrorists infiltrated among the refugees.

Then, likely in a bid to appease its opponents, a Kenyan government spokesman stated at a press conference that the wall would not cover the whole 700-kilometre border, keen to put the cost of the construction into perspective in a country still lacking public infrastructure.

In the words of Abdiwahab Sheikh Abdisamad, a researcher at the Southlink think-tank in Nairobi: “The government is not addressing the root causes of the problem. Al-Shabaab is not only in Somalia. Projects need to be created for those who have become indoctrinated, the trust of the populations needs to be regained. Otherwise this wall will only be a plaster on a gaping wound.” He adds: “You don't bury an ideology with concrete.”<sup>1</sup>

In Kenya, should it one day become operational – which is far from certain – the barbed wire border will perhaps reduce attacks by al-Shabaab armed groups. But it will also affect the way in which the two nations perceive and interact with each other. Born from a security concern, it could paradoxically increase instability in the region. For walls rarely solve problems. They reinvent them.

<sup>1</sup> In Mélanie Gouby, “Le Kenya érige un mur contre al-Chebab”, *Le Figaro*, 27 March 2015.

# BATTLE OF IDENTITIES AT THE INDIA-BANGLADESH BORDER

Anuradha **Sen Mookerjee**

PhD Candidate in Anthropology and Sociology

**T**he steady influx of Bangladeshi migrants in India's north-eastern state of Assam led to major ethnic backlash in the late 1970s. In reaction, the Indian government decided to fence its border with Bangladesh, which, ever since, has become the site of national identity politics and contestation over the status of irregular migrants.

British-ruled state of Bengal – and people historically connected by customs, kinship and trade – into the sovereign states of India and East Pakistan. Subsequently, the Assam Accord of 1985, which accommodated the claims of the sub-national Assam Movement to keep out irregular migrants, prompted the construction of a fence by India

Bengal borderland into a high-security surveillance zone, punctuated by countless border outposts and watchtowers, patrolled 24 hours a day by India's Border Security Force (BSF) and sustained by a host of intelligence agents.

The border fence stands 150 yards inside Indian territory, often on agricultural fields of farmers who need to identify themselves daily at the border gates to go to work. A high volume of informal trade, mostly cattle and goods of everyday use, takes place across the India-Bangladesh land border, frequently with the tacit consent of anti-smuggling enforcement agencies. Playing an endless cat-and-mouse game, BSF border guards run behind "infiltrators" or "smugglers" into India. Instances of major violence and shootings by BSF guards of "infiltrators" have caused popular uproar. Migrants, traders, smugglers and locals visiting family or friends nevertheless subvert the border on a daily basis with the support of borderland people on both sides.

A combination of political and economic factors, including local insurrections, religious persecution, social insecurity, governmental apathy and environmental issues, sustains the steady flow of irregular migrants from Bangladesh. Though no exact figures are available, Indian government sources estimate the number of "illegal Bangladeshi migrants" in India at 15 to 20 million. The Bangladesh government,

**“The India-Bangladesh border fence stands as a site of identifying India's ‘unwanted’ and ‘others’ while stemming the flow of irregular migrants.”**

India and Bangladesh share a 4096.7-kilometre international border along the Indian states of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. It resulted from the 1947 Radcliffe Award of the Bengal Boundary Commission that divided the

along the India-Bangladesh border.

Raised on the edifice of multi-scalar politics of control centring on the issue of curbing irregular migration from Bangladesh to Assam, the fence now covers more than 3,000 kilometres. The border fence has transformed the



An Indian BSF soldier (R) stands alert as a farmer leads her cow alongside border fencing marking the India-Bangladesh border in the village of Jaypur, some 5 kilometres west of Agartala, India. 17 November 2006. STRDEL/AFP

for its part, has remained in denial of the flow of its citizens to India, limiting itself to stripping the migrants of their Bangladeshi citizenship and ignoring their existence.

The discourse on irregular migration from Bangladesh has markedly evolved from the time of the Assam Accord in 1985, when it was mostly a local issue framed in sub-nationalist terms, to a national issue mobilised for political and electoral purposes.

The Hindu right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), currently forming the largest part of the national government in India, has played a crucial role in raising “unchecked illegal infiltration” in northeastern India as a national issue. In the operational understanding of Indian law enforcement agencies, the “illegal migrants” from Bangladesh are largely coterminous with “Bengali-speaking Muslims”, identified as India’s “others” on the basis of their language, behaviour and dress.

Such production of ethno-religious boundaries has rendered vulnerable all

Bengali-speaking Muslims, both Indians from West Bengal and Bangladeshis. The Citizenship Act of 1955, amended in 2003, grants citizenship to every person born in India on or after 3 December 2004 “if both of his parents are citizens of India” or one of his parents “is a citizen of India and the other is not an illegal migrant at the time of his birth”. The new Citizenship (Amendment) Bill brought in by the BJP government in 2016 plans to make Indian citizenship accessible to non-Muslim illegal migrants from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan, while withholding it from Muslim illegal migrants. The Assamese have, however, protested against the bill on the ground that it would make Assam a “dumping ground of Hindu Bangladeshis”.

The border has been further politicised with the update of the National Population Register (NPR) in Assam, seeking to detect and remove “foreigners” from the state’s electoral rolls if they fail to prove that they came to Assam before the midnight of

24 March 1971. This process may disqualify from citizenship over 4 million people living in Assam, which has led to a huge outcry in the country. With the BJP leading the state government in Assam, concern has been growing that the Assamese contention with Bengali-speaking “foreigners” might be reframed through the Hindu-Muslim lens.

The India-Bangladesh border fence stands as a site of identifying India’s “unwanted” and “others” while stemming the flow of irregular migrants. It is nurtured by electoral politics centring on Indian identity, with the government promoting narratives of national purity while agitating the spectre of terrorism and regional dissent. It stands as a symbol of fear, separation and domination, dangerously orienting the discourse on Indian citizenship in a direction which may prove highly detrimental and hard to undo for future generations.



LES PROFESSEURS

## Nouveaux professeurs

### MICHAEL GOEBEL

(Allemagne)

Professeur adjoint d'histoire internationale

Chaire Pierre du Bois L'Europe et le monde

Doctorat de l'University College de Londres

Après avoir été professeur d'histoire globale à la Freie Universität de Berlin, Michael Goebel a été *John F. Kennedy Fellow* au Centre d'études européennes de l'Université Harvard en 2012 et 2013 et Marie Curie Fellow à l'Institut européen de Florence de 2008 à 2011. Bien que de formation il soit historien de l'Amérique latine, il a été amené, par le biais de son livre sur l'anti-impérialisme dans le Paris de l'entre-deux-guerres (qui a reçu en 2016 le prix Jerry Bentley d'histoire mondiale de l'Association américaine d'histoire), à s'intéresser aux liens entre l'histoire globale et l'histoire urbaine aux XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles. Michael Goebel est également spécialiste d'histoire européenne. Il parle couramment l'anglais, le français, l'allemand et l'espagnol.

### RUI ESTEVES

(Portugal)

Professeur adjoint d'histoire internationale

Doctorat de l'Université de Californie à Berkeley

Rui Esteves a occupé divers postes académiques à l'Université d'Oxford et à l'Université Simon Fraser. Il est spécialiste d'histoire monétaire et financière, croisant les champs de la finance internationale, de l'économie institutionnelle et des finances publiques. Ses recherches offrent des perspectives sur la globalisation de la finance, les crises financières, la dette souveraine, l'architecture du marché financier, le choix des régimes de taux de change et les envois de fonds des migrants, ainsi que la maximisation de la rente et la corruption dans la fonction publique. Il parle couramment le portugais, l'anglais, l'italien et le français.

### DENNIS RODGERS

(Suisse, France et Royaume-Uni)

Professeur de recherche en anthropologie et sociologie

Doctorat de l'Université de Cambridge

Dennis Rodgers a travaillé aux Universités d'Amsterdam, de Glasgow et de Manchester et à la London School of Economics. Ses recherches portent sur les dynamiques du conflit et de la violence urbaine en Amérique latine (Nicaragua et Argentine) et en Asie du Sud (Inde). Outre l'économie politique du développement, les politiques de ségrégation socio-spatiale, les processus de gouvernance participative et l'historiographie de la théorie urbaine, il a principalement étudié les gangs de jeunes au Nicaragua. Une bourse de cinq ans obtenue récemment du Conseil européen de la recherche lui permettra d'élargir cette recherche à l'Afrique du Sud et à la France («Gangs, Gangsters et Ganglands: Towards a Comparative Global Ethnography»). Dennis Rodgers parle couramment l'anglais, le français et l'espagnol.



# Teaching at the Graduate Institute “See One, Do One, Teach One”

**Vinh-Kim Nguyen**

Professor of Anthropology and Sociology

I’m a bit atypical at the Graduate Institute in that my background is in medicine. I developed my approach to teaching with small groups of medical students and residents on hospital wards in Canada, where the adage “see one, do one, teach one” summarises the pedagogical style – learn by seeing, by doing, and then by teaching. This may not seem directly applicable to the kind of classroom teaching we do at the Institute. But if we think of specific academic skills that can be acquired and honed in the classroom, it is not such a stretch after all.

In anthropology and social theory, students are expected to acquire knowledge – concepts, facts, etc. – as well as specific skills in reading, writing, and discussing. “See one, do one, teach one” could be translated into “read, discuss, write”. I try and focus, particularly in the social theory course where we read difficult texts such as Marx’s *Capital* or Foucault’s *The Order of Things*, on how to read texts in social thought – superficially, closely, symptomatically – and why, when and how these different reading strategies make sense.

Similarly, I encourage students to discuss actively – what did they understand, what questions came up, how might this link to experiences they have had? This is the “doing”, learning to think through and explain ideas, testing theories for fit with experience, and beginning to use experience to develop concepts; and most importantly, listening to others as they do the same. Reading, talking and listening require careful choreography – I try and design courses around key concepts, linked together both by their intellectual genealogy and logical links: concept maps.



Professor Vinh-Kim Nguyen (second from L) with his students.

The incredibly diverse backgrounds of our students mean that many are initially uncomfortable with a more participatory approach, in contrast to those who have had some education in North America or the UK. This is a challenge for learning, particularly as many of our students have considerable professional experience, making them a valuable resource. At times it feels like I am trying to coax a symphony out of an orchestra composed of largely shy violinists and a few brash bassists! The key is to ensure a supportive, respectful and even playful environment in the classroom.

I adapt my course syllabi every year to take into account the lessons learned from previous years, to update readings and explore new avenues. The last fine-tuning is done when I meet the students for the first time: I explain the course objectives and teaching philosophy, ask what they want to get out of the course and what they bring to the table, and adjust the syllabus accordingly. But this is only a road map because every class offers unexpected and exciting opportunities to go off the beaten path.



LES PROFESSEURS

## The Institute: A Great Place to Intellectually Grow

**Charles Wyplosz**

Honorary Professor of International Economics

Charles Wyplosz celebrating his retirement with some of his students.

I have just retired from the Institute where I have spent more than two happy decades, during which the Institute has reinvented itself. From a small school with some great scholars and a stellar history, it has become an important node in the world of international relations.

I joined the Institute in 1995 because it then housed a few macroeconomists of great talent and because it offered many advantages. It was small and congenial, it attracted great students who were more interested in policy issues than in mathematical prowess, and it offered nice working conditions, including a moderate and flexible teaching load and easy access to resources such as data, research assistants and funding through the Swiss research foundation. The downside was that I would be away from Paris and from policy debates in France, my own country. Being a member of the CEPR (Centre for Economic Policy Research) network of excellent economists, I was not worried about losing touch with the profession at large. Willy-nilly, I became more European, more international, and I found myself more easily thinking out of the box of conventional wisdom. The flexibility of the Institute allowed me to travel the world and to advise governments – like the first post-Soviet government in Russia – and international organisations, a great source of inspiration for research and teaching.

Being small, the Institute could not cover the whole gamut of graduate training and research in economics at top level. It wisely chose to focus on international issues. Crucially, the Department of International Economics decided not to compete for students who intended to pursue high-level academic careers, focusing instead on preparing them for

positions in international organisations or national institutions like central banks and finance ministries. This perfectly aligned with my research and teaching interests, a source of intense satisfaction. It naturally led me to produce two textbooks, one on macroeconomics with my former INSEAD colleague Michael Burda and one on European economics with my Institute colleague Richard Baldwin. More importantly, it allowed me to “produce” students that have moved on to highly successful careers in places like the IMF and central banks, another source of intense satisfaction.

Early on, Jean-Pierre Roth asked me to succeed Hans Genberg as Director of the International Center for Monetary and Banking Studies (ICMB) that Alexandre Swoboda had created. Bringing together academics, policymakers and practitioners is now commonly practiced but it was not at all the case at the time. This allowed me to invite to Geneva top people, many of whom would eventually lead the world.<sup>1</sup> The Geneva community recognised the value of these encounters and allowed me to convene an annual conference that produced the Geneva Reports on the World Economy, many of which have become quite influential.

My decision to join the Institute has changed my life in every dimension. I still marvel at how lucky I have been. Of course, the years have caught up with me and I have to move on. But my passion for economics, and what it can do to better people’s lives, remains undimmed, so I am not really retiring. My formal professional status is changing but I very much hope to be able to continue reading, writing and attending conferences around the world. I have so many projects in my head.

<sup>1</sup> Among them, Ben Bernanke, Jean-Claude Trichet, Mario Draghi, Larry Summers, Philipp Hildebrand, Mark Carney.

# Thank You, Charles!

## Xavier Debrun

Division Chief, Research Department, International Monetary Fund (PhD, 1999)

Coming to Geneva to celebrate Charles Wyplosz was a must, an “O Captain, my Captain” moment, intense, full of joy, pride and emotion. Still, I left Geneva without asking him if he had any sense of his deep influence on us, his PhD students. Charles completely changed my life; I trust I am not alone.



Working with Charles was transformative in many ways. For brevity, I wrote down “commandments” I think I received from him and kept:

1. Make a point. “Macroeconomics is fun”, he said. It is fun because it cannot be separated from policy, and ultimately politics. Today, making a point to improve policy advice is what motivates my research.
2. Be consistent. Proximity to policy and politics comes at a price: rigor, openness, self-questioning, and a lot of hard thinking.

3. Trust yourself. My life literally changed when Charles said: “I liked the idea in your presentation; finish the paper, so I can read it.” While others had obsessed over theoretical niceties, he had seen the message and convinced me it was important.

4. Be balanced. Charles showed that macro was about navigating trade-offs, finding the right balance. He always found that balance between letting us develop our ideas and providing guidance. I wrote each dissertation chapter twice: one for Charles to read, and after incorporating his many insightful comments, one I could feel proud of.

Charles struck us in many other ways: integrity, empathy, enthusiasm, motivation, and for some, a resemblance with Indiana Jones! Thank you, Charles!

## Sebastien Wälti Senior Advisor, International Monetary Fund (PhD, 2004)

and Ghislaine Weder Head, Economics and International Relations, Nestlé (PhD, 2010)



Saying a few words about Charles is no easy task. Surely, the student-supervisor relationship goes the other way – a supervisor is entitled and expected to say things about you and your work. Saying things about your supervisor and his work seems to be a rather risky proposition...

Let us make a few recollections, as two former PhD students of Charles.

Charles has a reputation, inside and outside the Institute, for being demanding and no-nonsense. A lot of “healthy” reading was expected and he rarely left your ideas unchallenged. Yet he is warm, soft-spoken and charismatic. In class, he presented economics as a subject embedded in its real-world implications, full of interesting questions, not least policy-related ones. Even more crucially, Charles always stressed the importance of hard thinking and intuition when answering these.

Significantly, this was not economics for the sake of economics. The first half of the battle of doing research under Charles’ supervision was about asking a relevant question – “Why is this important?” is a phrase we heard more than once and one that continues to haunt many

former students, consciously and subconsciously. The second half was about explaining what your results meant and why they even mattered at all. The better the paper, the harder the grilling and the more red ink you were likely to find. These were all life-long lessons that have served us well in our respective careers.

Charles seemed to demonstrate a balanced approach to life and economics. To be sure, hard work counted for a lot, but passion and fun did too. His own passion for wine helped – nothing better to unite student with supervisor...

Most of all, however, his dedication to economics and his brilliance in transmitting his own interest and understanding of economics to others cannot be over-emphasised. It has truly been a privilege to have Charles as a teacher, a supervisor, and a mentor.

“Keywords: intuition, policy, wine, did we mention intuition?”





LES ÉTUDIANTS

## To Trespass or to Gaze

### PhD Activities to Foster Interdisciplinary Communities

**Shalini Randeria** Professor of Anthropology and Sociology and Director, Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy  
**Deval Desai** and **Rebecca Tapscott** Postdoctoral Research Fellows, Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy

PhD colloquium organised by the Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy.

*"Trespassing is often used in a negative sense in [the United States]: for example, in notice boards that say 'No Trespassing!'; viewing it as a violation of private property, but in my view it can have a positive value: it can mean stepping over the borders between one discipline and another, without seeing them as rigid divisions."*

Mercedes Botto and Agustín Rojo,  
"Entrevista a Albert Hirschman sobre su vida y obra",  
*Desarrollo Económico* 35, no. 140, 1996, p. 658.

The Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy has launched a series of activities for the Institute's PhD community. Inspired by the belief that interdisciplinary work for tomorrow's scholars will involve collaboratively generating ideas and commenting on work across disciplines, the Centre's PhD programme includes a bi-annual colloquium series, a regular reading group, and a methods café.

The bi-annual colloquium series allows post-MPT doctoral candidates to share their work with faculty and colleagues. PhD candidates share an in-progress chapter of their dissertation, and each chapter is discussed with a visiting professor at the Centre and with colloquium participants, who come from each department at the Institute.

The PhD student reading group meets twice or more each term. Student participants select short methodological

texts that exemplify and tackle the challenges of thinking in an interdisciplinary fashion about politics. Students discuss how the author's approach to method, style, and theory could inform our own research, writing, and reading. Last year's readings included Marx's *On the Jewish Question*, Foucault's *The Order of Discourse*, and Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations*. The reading group is open to new participants, and new suggestions for readings.

The methods café provides a structured opportunity to explore how to develop interdisciplinary research agendas as an early career researcher. It offers PhD candidates and postdoctoral researchers the opportunity to discuss a work in progress by a visiting professor, and interrogate the professor's methodological strategies. It also seeks to catalyse interdisciplinary research foci on democracy, and support researchers in the early stages of developing postdoctoral research projects. Participants present short abstracts of potential new projects.

These three activities aim to foster an interdisciplinary community at the Graduate Institute, helping us to bridge disciplines and methods for ongoing, robust, and rewarding intellectual engagement. Whether we "trespass" or simply gaze at other disciplines, methods, and styles, doing so with colleagues offers a rich opportunity for insight, companionship, and possibly even collaboration.

→ [graduateinstitute.ch/democracy](https://graduateinstitute.ch/democracy)

# Fighting for the Rights of Women and Girls in Haiti

**Sophia Pierre-Antoine**

Master in Development Studies, majoring in Power, Conflict, and Development

Sophia Pierre-Antoine is co-chair of the Board of the FRIDA Young Feminist Fund and a member of the Young Women's Global Advisory Council of the World YWCA.

For most of my life, Haiti has been going through socio-economic and political difficulties with growing debt, a degradation of life conditions, riots, and frequent changes in government. After all, I was born in 1991, shortly after a coup d'état, and I lived through another one in 2004. Growing up, I became aware of the impact of these cycles on the wellbeing of women and marginalised communities. That's how my feminism took shape.

After getting a Bachelor's degree in Sociology and in Women and Gender Studies at Stony Brook University (New York), I moved back to Haiti, where I managed a centre for girls, many of whom were living below the poverty line, out of school, or survivors of gender-based violence. Our goal was to provide tools to enhance their self-esteem and leadership, so that they would be able to fight for their rights and get out of abusive situations. In a few years, we grew from 80 to almost 200 girls – proof that such a safe space is essential for girls.

I've also maintained an engagement in international advocacy through UN mechanisms and in civil society spaces. Although I wanted to support girls at the centre directly, I also wanted to push for international processes which would allow girls to claim their rights, and access services and funding globally. This led me to spend a year in Geneva with the World YWCA, where I focused on sexual and reproductive health and rights, and on child, early and forced marriage projects in India, Ethiopia, DRC and Cameroon. When two of these countries experienced civil unrest, I realised that I wasn't as equipped to handle that context as I wanted to be. I decided to return to school and choose a degree that would combine development, conflict and gender, which is how I selected the Graduate Institute! As a student, I am increasing my



theoretical, legal, and practical knowledge and skills, which will allow me to better support and amplify the voices of marginalised populations in oppressive contexts.

I am a full-time student, but also a feminist activist. That's why, between essays and exams, I continue my duties as board co-chair of FRIDA and as an advisor of the World YWCA. This way, I can support and be connected with young women and trans-youth around the world who are doing incredible things. I also contributed to the Progress Study on Youth, Peace, and Security for UN Security Council Resolution 2250. All of this led UN Women to name me one of "six young women leaders to know" for Youth Day 2017. Recently, in April 2018, I was one of three young women peacebuilders who briefed the Security Council about the Progress Study. I am excited to combine what I learn in classes, research, and my work experience to write my thesis on young feminist activism and peacebuilding.

→ <https://youtu.be/Vnq3YM6ag44>



LES ÉTUDIANTS

## Agathe Schwaar ou la passion d'aider les autres

Agathe Schwaar, nouvelle diplômée du master en études du développement, est l'heureuse lauréate du Student Leadership Award, qui a été décerné par l'Institut en mai 2018. Ce prix, créé sur la proposition de l'Association des étudiants de l'Institut, récompense un étudiant pour son engagement exceptionnel au sein d'activités ou d'initiatives étudiantes.

### Où avez-vous étudié avant de rejoindre l'Institut ?

Après mon lycée en France, je suis partie vivre au Japon pour une année d'échange. Puis j'ai décidé d'y rester pour poursuivre mes études et j'ai obtenu un bachelier en relations internationales de l'Université Ritsumeikan à Kyoto. Pendant mes quatre années d'études, je suis aussi partie une année en Chine pour un échange linguistique.

### Pourquoi vous êtes-vous engagée dans des activités de bénévolat ?

Lorsque j'étais au Japon, j'ai réalisé que je pourrais m'intégrer beaucoup plus facilement à travers le bénévolat. Les Japonais ont vraiment cette notion d'apporter aux autres, que ce soit au niveau local (activités de quartier) ou international (il y avait beaucoup de clubs de bénévolat international dans mon université). Avec le temps et l'âge, cet engagement m'a aussi permis d'acquérir une expérience professionnelle et de m'engager dans des actions qui me tenaient à cœur. J'ai pu non seulement participer

à des événements TEDx (Youth@Kyoto et Kyoto), mais aussi aider des étrangers à s'intégrer dans la communauté japonaise.

### Pourquoi avez-vous continué à l'Institut ?

C'était pour moi une évidence de poursuivre des engagements bénévoles. Dès mon arrivée à l'Institut, je me suis donc investie dans plusieurs associations. Je pense vraiment que si chacun donne un petit peu de son temps, on peut accomplir de très grandes choses ensemble. Surtout que nous avons la chance d'être dans un institut qui encourage les activités associatives et soutient les projets de plus grande envergure. Mon rôle de coordinatrice des cours de français pour les réfugiés au sein de l'Initiative Migration est celui qui est le plus reconnu à l'Institut. Mais le mérite n'en revient pas qu'à moi car je n'aurais pas pu y arriver sans la participation active des bénévoles et le support continu des services administratifs de l'Institut.

### Quel est votre sentiment après avoir reçu ce prix ?

Je suis enchantée car ce prix montre que mon travail a eu un impact sur la vie des étudiants et de l'Institut, et j'espère que ma passion d'aider les autres en inspirera quelques-uns. Les activités de bénévolat m'ont rendue très heureuse et m'ont permis de découvrir d'autres horizons, d'acquérir de nouvelles compétences et de trouver mon orientation professionnelle. Je vais d'ailleurs continuer à m'investir dans ce genre d'activités.

# I Am Grateful for the Job Opportunities Provided by the Institute

**Umut Yüksel**

PhD Student in International Relations/Political Science



I am currently in the fourth year of my PhD in International Relations/Political Science (IR/PS). I was born in Ankara, Turkey, but I have lived abroad since my high school years in Helsinki, Finland. Before arriving at the Institute to pursue a Master in IR/PS, I completed my Bachelor in Political Science in Belgium, at Université catholique de Louvain. I have been a PhD student here since 2014, working on conflict and cooperation in the management of maritime boundaries under the supervision of Professor Cédric Dupont.

For the past three years I have been serving as a contributing editor to the *Journal of Public and International Affairs*, a student-run journal published jointly by the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University and the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA). As the Graduate Institute's representative on the editorial board, my job involved promoting the journal at the Institute, guiding interested students through the submission process, and working together with my fellow editors to select the best articles for each issue. For the past six years, every issue of the journal has included one article from an Institute student, attesting to the quality of the work done by our students. I am excited to pass the torch to Mona Bieling, a

PhD student in the Department of International History, who will be taking over as contributing editor.

Serving as a contributing editor has not only allowed me to meet and work together with people from other prestigious universities, it has also usefully complemented my academic pursuits. It has prepared me for peer-reviewing activities for scholarly journals and publishing houses, and made me aware of some of the important considerations that editors have in selecting articles. I am confident that what I have learned while serving as an editor will be of immense help for me as I send my own work out for review.

Apart from my experience at the *JPIA*, I have also had the opportunity to serve as a teaching assistant for the past four years, and have been involved in student affairs by being a class representative and Graduate Institute Student Association (GISA) vice president for PhD programmes.

My time at the Institute has been highly enriching and I am grateful for the opportunities provided by the Institute to work on behalf of the student community. I am looking forward to completing and defending my doctoral research in September 2019, after spending the last year of my PhD at Stanford University as a Swiss National Science Foundation fellow.



LA FORMATION CONTINUE

# Individualised Learning Journeys for Professionals

**Cédric Dupont**

Professor of International Relations/Political Science  
and Director of Executive Education

The demands of current world dynamics are dramatically changing career and employment paths for individuals and organisations. In addition to traditional skills, the capacity to build a vision out of complexity and develop an agile practice is a must today. In this context, taking a lifelong approach to learning is key. Executive Education should not be perceived as the next step after a university degree, but as the continuation of personal and professional development through ongoing learning. The context also calls for more flexibility in terms of length, content and frequency of learning opportunities.



Executive Education courses offered by the Graduate Institute have been redesigned to respond to this demand for individualised learning journeys.

Our participants in degree programmes can combine learning blocks at their own pace, starting with a short Executive Certificate, moving on to the next level of qualification, up to a 60-ECTS Master of Advanced Studies in International Strategy and Adaptive Leadership. Individualisation is also offered in the form of modular training blocks as well as new online modules in several programmes. For professionals interested in frequent but condensed training experiences, Executive Education has launched its “Action Days”, one-day workshops focusing on a specific tool or skill applied to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

All courses and programmes aim to help participants develop a future-ready mindset and a visionary, empathetic

and adaptive leadership style. We provide a combination of skills, knowledge and critical thinking. Participants gain experience in innovative practices such as strategic foresight, systems thinking or design thinking, enabling them to embrace today’s complexity. Insights gained from multi-disciplinary research carried out by the Institute’s faculty, and from practice of a broad range of practitioners, provide a basis for a comprehensive and holistic understanding of issues, pushing participants to reframe questions and develop innovative solutions to professional challenges.

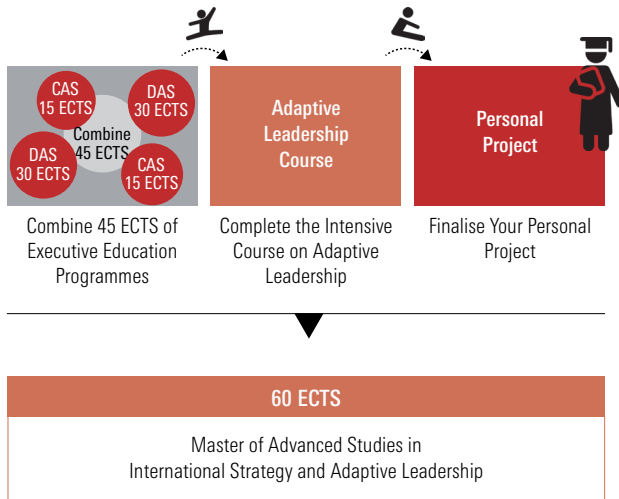
Beyond skills and knowledge, we believe values are essential for anyone aspiring to lead in a world of networks and partnerships. We nurture and cultivate independence of thinking and action, as well as a sense of responsibility to a broad group of stakeholders. Participation in our programmes gives access to a vibrant international community of practice that spans across five continents and multiple generations. At a time of global uncertainty and rapid change, Executive Education at the Graduate Institute is both a safe haven and an innovation hub enabling students to develop the right mindset, come up with a solid vision, build trust and inspire teams.

→ <http://graduateinstitute.ch/executive>



## Design Your Own Degree

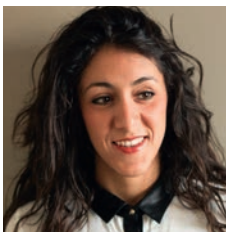
Each Degree-granting Programme of the Executive Education Portfolio is a Building Block Towards Your Executive Master.



“ Before joining my Executive Certificate programme at the Graduate Institute, I was in a sort of dead end, unhappy with my job, and unable to change that. The programme helped me realise my potentialities by opening new doors, strengthening my knowledge in the field of environmental governance, and finding a new spirit that allowed me to start the change. I could use that knowledge to develop my project.

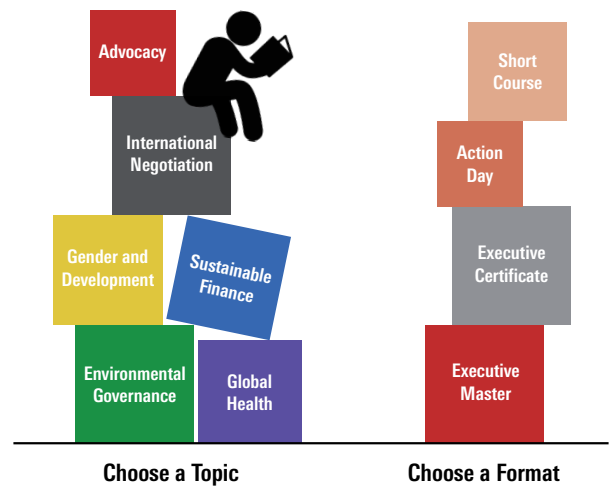
A key benefit from my executive programme has been the interaction with speakers and fellow participants. Their diversity represented a big opportunity to extend my professional network and to speak about my project idea. They helped me develop it, concretise it, and were even interested in helping build partnerships with their organisations.

From a substantive viewpoint, the programme provided a holistic view to current issues of governance, improving my capacity to navigate the fields of international relations and global governance. Thinking systematically about environmental governance was the prominent take-away from the programme as it helped me connect the dots between sustainability and business, enabling me to give my professional project an international dimension. I enjoyed the balance between conceptual and practical sessions and the mix of professors and practitioners. I valued the engagement of instructors, their open-minded attitude and their constant encouragement to reach the next level.”



**ALICE LUNARDON**  
Project Manager and Sustainability Consultant  
Executive Certificate in Environmental Governance

## Combine Learning Blocks at Your Own Pace



“ As an alumna from the Institute, at one point I felt the need to get back to school as I realised that the world in general had changed and it was time to adapt my analytical thinking to it. I decided to participate in the Graduate Institute programmes because you get a real combination of skills, mindset and knowledge. The certificates and masters are designed to trigger questions, give you the freedom to reflect on them and open your mind. This learning journey enabled me to continually fill up and improve my toolbox.

I learned to take a helicopter view and started connecting dots in a more agile way to turn obstacles into opportunities.

The professors and lecturers know how this world works, and are attuned to ongoing changes. In the discussions with people you meet, there is substance in the talk, and also humanity. It's not just about showing business cards and titles.

I can compare the Graduate Institute with the MBA I accomplished. I have to say the MBA was really flat, and I had to adapt to a rigid framework. Here, the certificates and masters give you a framework, but you are not squeezed inside it. The teaching team not only accepts the fact you come with a certain experience, but also welcomes it and draws upon it.

The Graduate Institute connects us to the real world, the world we live in today, and not just theories. That's a reason I never got bored. It's as if it upgrades you, like an IT system. Once you are at the Graduate Institute, you are part of a family, you feel part of something.”



**SOFIA FERREIRA**  
Regulatory Affairs Manager  
Executive Certificate in Advocacy in International Affairs,  
Executive Master in International Negotiation  
and Policy-Making, Licence HEI

# Interview with Abdulqawi Ahmed Yusuf

President of the International  
Court of Justice (PhD, 1980)



At the 2018 Alumni Reunion on 15 September 2018, Judge Abdulqawi Ahmed Yusuf received a prize for Lifetime Professional Achievement. The prize is awarded to former students who have excelled in their chosen career, demonstrate leadership in their field, make a positive contribution to the reputation of the Institute and play a positive role in the local community.

## What are the challenges for the International Court of Justice and for you, as President, today?

There are multiple challenges facing the International Court of Justice. To give you a couple of examples: first, there are great expectations attached by states to the work of the Court and to its mission of settling disputes through the law. However, these great expectations cannot always be met by the Court because, although the Court is a court of general jurisdiction, the basis of its jurisdiction is the consent of states and that consent is neither easily given nor is it broad enough. Thus, the Court's ability to deliver does not always correspond to the expectations of those who come before it, particularly the applicant states.

A second example, which is linked to the issue of the increase in the case load of the Court, is that the Court needs to update its methods of work and its rules of procedure in order to deal with this increase in case load. We have already greatly improved our methods of work over the last 10 years but we need to do more because times have changed. There are new ways of accomplishing judicial tasks through the

utilisation of modern technologies which will increase efficiency and improve the work of the Court.

A third example is that the increase in the case load is not matched by an increase in resources at the disposal of the Court.

Regarding the challenges faced by the President of the Court, I will say that a major challenge is to manage a global court like the ICJ, as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, in an era of unstable and unpredictable international relations. This may lead to increased recourse to judicial mechanisms, due to the failure of diplomatic mechanisms, but given the limited role that was originally envisaged for the Court, it is not easy to manage expectations in such circumstances.

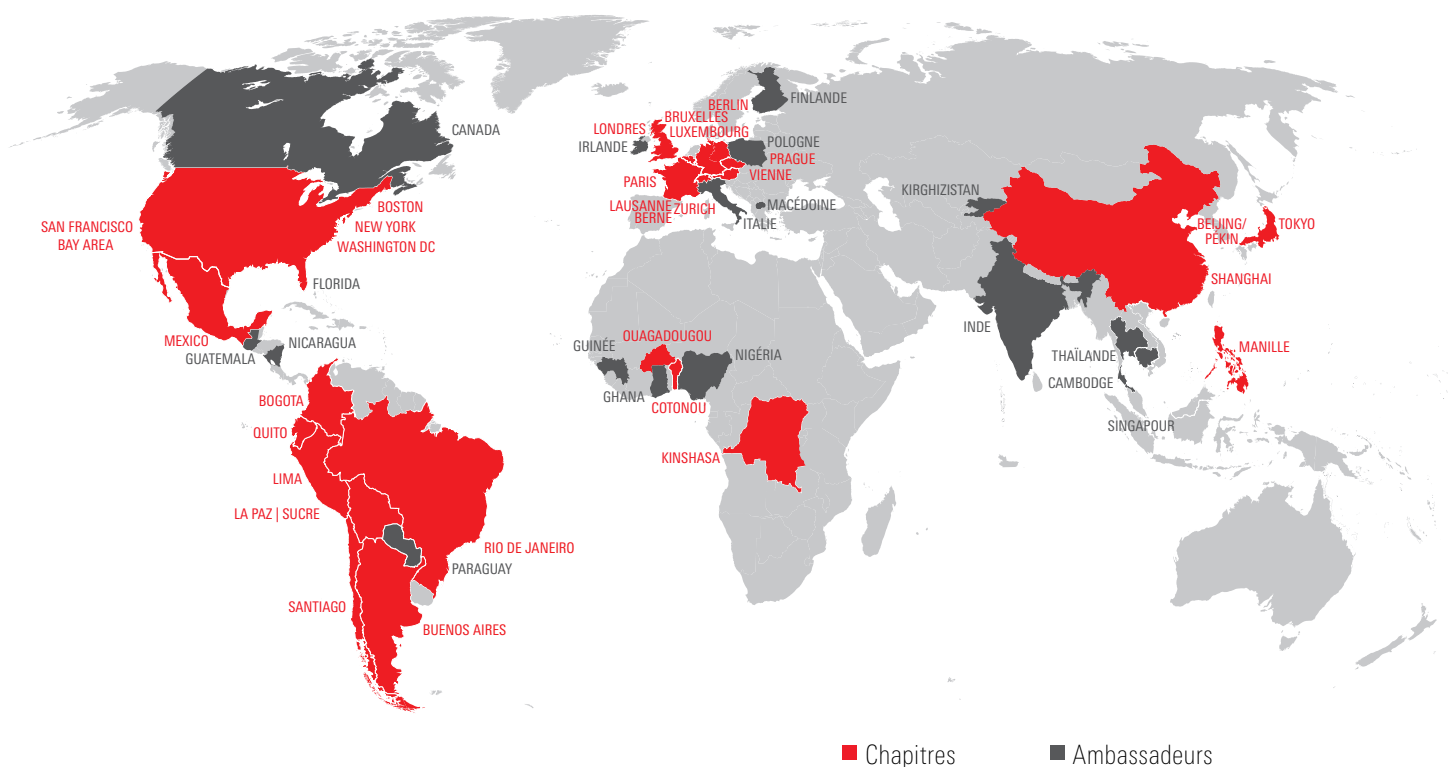
## Were your studies at the Institute useful?

My studies at the Institute were very useful. They helped me to become an effective international lawyer. This does not mean that I did not know anything about international law before coming to the Institute. I was already a young lecturer in international law at the Somali National University and therefore I had a good knowledge of the discipline, but I was able to consolidate my knowledge, add rigour and acquire analytical capacity while I was at the Institute. I learned a lot and benefitted greatly from my studies. My studies later enabled me to compete internationally with others to occupy important posts in international organisations, particularly as legal adviser to several international organisations and, of course, to be elected more recently to the Court. I think they are all linked and I don't think that I would have been able to do what I have done without my studies at the Institute.

## What advice would you give to our students today?

My advice to students is that they should try to make the best of the opportunity they have. They are in a unique institution. For me, one of the most interesting aspects of the Graduate Institute is its multidisciplinary nature. As an international lawyer, I also had to study the history of international relations and international economics, and this was of great benefit to me. The multidisciplinary approach which characterises studies at the Institute is very useful. The other thing the Institute offers is that it is based in Geneva where students can find international career opportunities, both in the public and private sectors. My advice to them is to make the best of this wonderful opportunity.

Soyez des alumni actifs  
en rejoignant un chapitre ou  
en devenant un ambassadeur !



L'Institut compte près de 19 000 alumni dans le monde,  
29 chapitres et 21 ambassadeurs.

Pour en savoir plus

[graduateinstitute.ch/alumni](https://graduateinstitute.ch/alumni)



# Portrait

## MARIE OWENS (USA)

PhD in International Economics, 1991

Chief Economist at CA Indosuez (Switzerland) SA



I came to Switzerland after my studies in Gothenburg, Sweden, with a view to learning to speak French. After a few years with IKEA in Aubonne, work permit issues pushed me to enrol in further studies. I shopped around and found this great doctoral programme in International Economics at the Graduate Institute! Marvellous years ensued: lectures in the pink villa with a view of Mont Blanc; studying in the Rigot pavilions. Rigot created something of a Stockholm syndrome as I was actually sad to see those makeshift buildings go. Learning in this environment was an utterly privileged affair; there were five students in my year, and we received very personal instruction from Hans Genberg and Alexander Swoboda, both most inspirational, as were the rest of the faculty and the guest lecturers, including Robert Mundell – I remember the day well.

Leaving Geneva for a job as economist at HSBC in London, I immediately appreciated the network of other former HEI (as we then said) students who were surprisingly numerous and seemingly everywhere. I then moved to Paris as Chief Economist for France at Merrill Lynch, before taking ten years out of the markets to be able to see more of my three sons, and to run my own small company working with horses and their equipment. In 2011 I returned to economics and now run the global research department of Indosuez Wealth Management, the private-banking arm of Crédit Agricole. For this I feel very fortunate because joining the labour force after such a long period away, having just turned 50, and being a woman to boot, is by no means a foregone conclusion.

In my current role I continue to benefit from alumni connections, many of whom have had amazing careers and occupy key posts of great relevance for global economics and finance, such as at the IMF, the BIS, central banks, and also in the private sector. The Institute itself is obviously a heavy hitter in terms of thought leadership and agenda setting. It has been very exciting to explore areas of collaboration, and we jointly organised one event. I hope and trust that we will be able to pursue other common causes.

Causes close to my heart are improving data and making economics and finance more accessible to a wide audience. As a data user, I often find myself constrained to work with the data I have, rather than the data I need – an oddity, one might think, in this era of big data. How we talk about economics and finance also matters. On my level, I strive to empower rather than to impress. I think I caught that bug at the Graduate Institute.

I am also the founder and the chair of the International Steering Committee of the AIMS Next Einstein Forum, a global forum for science and the first ever to take place on African soil.

→ [graduateinstitute.ch/alumni](https://graduateinstitute.ch/alumni)

# J'ai beaucoup aimé le contact avec nos étudiants

Entretien avec Danièle Avanthay, ancienne responsable du Service des étudiants

## Quels souvenirs gardez-vous de vos années à la villa Barton ?

J'ai commencé il y a 29 ans au secrétariat du programme de licence, dont le nombre d'étudiants a doublé entre 1986 et 1988, passant de 44 à 80. Je me souviens que j'utilisais une IBM à boule pour notre correspondance et que je remplissais les PV d'examens de la licence à la main, environ trois heures avant l'annonce des noms des diplômés sur le tableau d'affichage. Quel stress ! Les étudiants passaient souvent à la réception car c'était le moyen le plus rapide pour obtenir des informations. Nous étions aussi très proches des professeurs, qui nous donnaient à préparer les examens des programmes et à dactylographier les documents de l'année. Dans la villa rose, il était facile de rencontrer les collègues et les personnes qui la peuplaient grâce à l'escalier central. Le concierge de l'époque était un personnage important de la villa, qui savait se faire respecter des étudiants. Il portait, à la rentrée ou en fin d'année, un uniforme de la Ville de Genève très impressionnant.

## Quelles sont les spécificités d'un service des étudiants dans une institution académique comme la nôtre ?

Le service des étudiants se trouve à la croisée de l'académique, qui définit la stratégie, et de l'administration, qui la met en application. Le défi est de répondre à ces doubles exigences avec agilité et diplomatie, ce qui rend le travail très intéressant.

Les gestionnaires du service doivent avoir de l'empathie et de l'écoute pour les étudiants tout en faisant respecter les règles et en restant équitables. Il faut aussi répondre aux attentes des professeurs tout en les informant sur les obligations réglementaires. Il s'agit là d'un vrai métier.

## Comment voyez-vous son évolution ?

L'activité de recrutement de nouveaux étudiants va prendre de plus en plus d'ampleur. Auparavant, la prospection des nouveaux étudiants se faisait sur la réputation de l'Institut, de ses anciens étudiants et de ses professeurs de renommée internationale. La concurrence à l'échelle mondiale nécessite désormais des actions de promotion plus importantes.



## Votre rapport avec les étudiants a-t-il évolué avec les années ?

Notre mode de communication avec les étudiants a beaucoup changé puisque nous communiquons essentiellement par courriel. Auparavant, les étudiants venaient directement au secrétariat et nous avions un contact plus personnel. J'ai pu constater que certains anciens étudiants gardent des souvenirs très vifs de mes collègues et de moi-même.

J'ai beaucoup aimé le contact avec les étudiants de tous les continents car comme ils étaient loin de chez eux, nous savions que nous avions un rôle important à jouer pour le bon déroulement de leurs études.

Danièle Avanthay, récemment partie à la retraite après 29 années, entourée de l'équipe du Service des étudiants (presque au complet).

# Nouvelles publications



London: Routledge.  
2018. 202 p.

## THE COMPARATIVE POLITICS OF TRANSNATIONAL CLIMATE GOVERNANCE

Edited by Liliana B. **Andonova**,  
Thomas N. **Hale**  
and Charles B. **Roger**

Following the 2015 Paris climate agreement, the global politics of climate change depends more than ever on national climate policies and the actions of cities, businesses and other non-state actors, as well as the transnational governance networks that link them. *The Comparative Politics of Transnational Climate Governance* explores how domestic political, economic and social forces systematically shape patterns of non-state actor participation in transnational climate initiatives. The contributing chapters explore the role of cities, non-governmental organisations, companies, carbon markets, and regulations, as well as broader questions of effectiveness and global governance. Bringing together some of the foremost experts in the field of global governance and environmental politics, this book significantly advances our understanding of transnational governance and provides new insights for policymakers seeking to address the problem of climate change.



Nouvelle édition avec  
une préface inédite.  
Paris: Fayard. 2018.  
320 p.

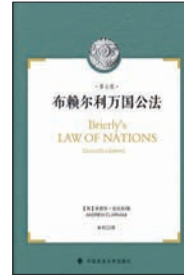
## L'ILLUSION IDENTITAIRE

Jean-François **Bayart**

Dans le contexte du néolibéralisme, et sous la pression idéologique de l'extrême droite, l'identité s'est imposée comme l'horizon indépassable des démocraties. Il en résulte une sourde angoisse : le marché, la globalisation, l'immigration menaceraient notre identité, notre culture. Or, cet essai mordant démontre que l'une et l'autre sont des illusions. Il n'est que des actes d'identification, politiquement construits, historiquement situés, socialement contradictoires, culturellement polémiques. La culture n'a jamais rien expliqué : elle n'est pas la cause de l'action des hommes, mais son effet. Elle n'est pas une donnée, mais une production permanente.

Les conflits dits identitaires déchirent les cultures plutôt qu'ils ne les opposent les unes aux autres. Comment penser les raisons culturelles du politique sans être ni culturaliste ni identitariste ? Une contribution majeure à la réflexion sur le sujet.

L'édition originale de cet ouvrage a obtenu le prix Jean-Jacques Rousseau de la Ville de Genève en 1997.

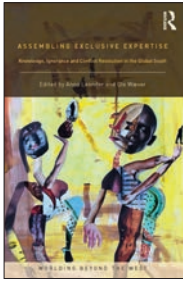


Beijing: China University  
of Political Science and  
Law Press. 2018.

## BRIERLY'S LAW OF NATIONS AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Edited by Andrew **Clapham**  
New Chinese translation by Zhu **Lijiang**

Andrew Clapham's fully updated and revised edition of *Brierly's Law of Nations*, published in 2012, is now available to Chinese-speaking readers. Written for lawyers and non-lawyers alike, the book first appeared in 1928 and attracted a wide readership. It remained the standard introduction to its field for decades, and was popular in many countries. This edition builds on Brierly's idea that law must serve a social purpose. Providing a comprehensive overview of international law, it retains the original qualities and is again essential reading for those interested in learning what role the law plays in international affairs. The reader will find chapters on traditional and contemporary topics such as: the basis of international obligation, the role of the UN and the International Criminal Court, the emergence of states, the acquisition of territory, the principles covering national jurisdiction and immunities, the law of treaties, ways of settling international disputes, and the rules on resort to force and the prohibition of aggression.



London: Routledge.  
2018. 228 p.

## ASSEMBLING EXCLUSIVE EXPERTISE, KNOWLEDGE, IGNORANCE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Edited by Anna **Leander** and Ole **Wæver**

This book looks at the worlding of the Global South in the process of assembling conflict resolution expertise. Anna Leander, Ole Wæver and their contributors – among whom Thomas Biersteker and Keith Krause – pursue this ambition by following the experts, institutions, databases and creative expressions that are assembled into conflict resolution expertise in the Global South.

Expertise shapes how conflicts in the Global South are understood and consequently dealt with. Yet, expertise is always and necessarily exclusive. The exclusivity of expertise refers both to the fashionable, the sophisticated and what counts, and also to the exclusion of some people or views. Assembled from a wealth of competing knowledges, expertise is always both knowledgeable and ignorant. The ambition of the volume is to explore how this exclusive expertise is assembled and in what ways it is therefore knowledgeable and ignorant of knowledges in/of the Global South.



London: Routledge.  
2018. 238 p.

## DEMOCRATISATION IN THE 21st CENTURY REVIVING TRANSITOLOGY

Edited by Mohammad-Mahmoud **Ould Mohamedou** and Timothy D. **Sisk**

The 2010s was a critical period in the continuing, established trend of the spread of democracy worldwide: from the Arab Spring countries of Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Yemen to the unfolding turmoil of Myanmar and Ukraine, by way of the upheavals in Burkina Faso, Senegal and Ivory Coast, social mobilisation against autocratic, corrupt, or military regimes has precipitated political transitions that are characteristic of “democratisation”.

This book examines the state of democratisation theory and practice that reopens the democratic transition debate, exploring the factors that lead to the demise of autocracy, the pathways and processes of change, and the choice for an eventual consolidation of democracy. For all its insights and shortcomings, the framework of transitology – a body of literature that has, comparatively and through case-study analysis, examined common patterns, sequences, crises and outcomes of transitional periods – has been largely eschewed. The essays, written by international democratisation specialists, tackle the series of questions raised by a body of literature that remains highly useful to understand contemporary political turbulence and transformation.



Paris: Presses  
Universitaires de  
France. 2018. 265 p.

## HOMO ITINERANS LA PLANÈTE DES AFGHANS

Alessandro **Monsutti**

La société afghane a été marquée par la guerre et l'exode d'une partie de sa population, mais également par la présence d'une myriade d'organisations internationales et non gouvernementales, ainsi que de forces armées provenant de nombreux pays du globe. *L'Homo itinerans* se décline ainsi de plusieurs façons : certains fuient la violence ; d'autres vont d'un pays à l'autre, au gré des crises et des emplois qu'elles suscitent. Aux déplacements des réfugiés qui essaient de se rendre en Europe, en Australie ou en Amérique du Nord correspond la circulation d'experts qui exercent leurs talents en Afghanistan après avoir été en République démocratique du Congo, en Palestine ou au Timor oriental. Ceux-ci se rendent du Nord au Sud et promeuvent des normes sociales et politiques censées être universelles ; ceux-là se déplacent en direction inverse du Sud au Nord et démasquent par leur mobilité la répartition inéquitable des ressources, que ce soit le bien-être économique ou la possibilité de vivre en sécurité.

Adoptant la mobilité comme clé de lecture privilégiée, cet ouvrage offre une ethnographie globale de l'Afghanistan ouvrant une perspective décentrée sur le monde contemporain.

# Nouvelles publications



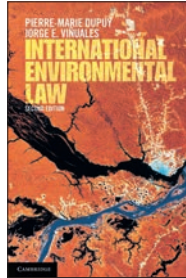
London: Routledge.  
2018. 278 p.

## SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST MEN IN GLOBAL POLITICS

Edited by Elisabeth **Prügl**, Marysia **Zalewski**, Paula **Drummond** and Maria **Stern**

Sexual violence against men, while widespread, is an under-theorised and under-noticed topic. Especially in conflict and post-conflict zones, efforts to understand its causes and develop strategies to reduce it are hampered by a dearth of theoretical engagement. One of the reasons that might explain its empirical invisibility and theoretical vacuity is that sexual violence (when noticed at all) has historically been understood to happen largely, if not only, to women, allegedly because of their gender and their ensuing place in gender orders. This begs important questions regarding the impact of increasing knowledge about sexual violence against men, including the impact on resources, on understandings about, and experiences of masculinity, and whether the idea and practice of gender hierarchy is outdated.

Addressing those questions, this volume offers fresh analysis on the incidences of sexual violence against men, thereby formulating new questions about the vexed issue of masculinities and related theories of gender hierarchy.



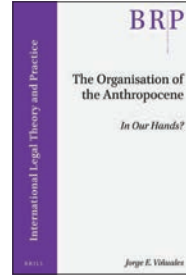
Second edition.  
Cambridge:  
Cambridge University  
Press. 2018. 594 p.

## INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL LAW

Pierre-Marie **Dupuy** and Jorge E. **Viñuales**

This book offers a concise, conceptually clear, and legally rigorous introduction to contemporary international environmental law and practice. It covers all major environmental agreements, paying particular attention to their underlying structure, main legal provisions, and practical operation. It blends legal and policy analysis, making extensive reference to the jurisprudence and scholarship, and addressing the interconnections with other areas of international law, including human rights, humanitarian law, trade and foreign investment. The material is structured into four sections – foundations, substantive regulation, implementation, and influence on other areas of international law – which help the reader to navigate the different areas of international environmental law.

*International Environmental Law* is suitable for practicing and academic international lawyers who want an accessible, up-to-date introduction to contemporary international environmental law, as well as non-lawyers seeking a concise and clear understanding of the subject.



Leiden: Brill.  
2018. 82 p.

## THE ORGANISATION OF THE ANTHROPOCENE: IN OUR HANDS?

Jorge E. **Viñuales**

This essay introduces the legal dimensions of the Anthropocene, i.e. the currently advocated new geological epoch in which humans are the defining force. It explores in this context two basic propositions. First, law as a technology of social organisation has been neglected in the otherwise highly technology-focused accounts by natural and social scientists of the drivers of the Anthropocene. Secondly, in those rare instances where law has been discussed, there is a tendency to assume that the role of law is to tackle the negative externalities of transactions (e.g. their environmental or social implications) rather than the core of the underlying transactions, i.e. the organisation of production and consumption processes. Such focus on externalities fails to unveil the role of law in prompting, sustaining and potentially managing the processes that have led to the Anthropocene.





*International Development Policy.*  
Issue 10, online (and print version by Brill/Nijhoff).  
November 2018.

## AFRICAN CITIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT CONUNDRUM

Edited by Carole **Ammann** and Till **Förster**

Thematic issue number 10 of *International Development Policy* e-journal explores some of the complex development challenges associated with Africa's relatively recent and rapid urbanisation. Analysing urban settings through the diverse experiences and perspectives of inhabitants and stakeholders in large cities like Addis Ababa and Johannesburg, and in mid-sized cities, such as the mining boomtowns of Eastern Congo, this collection of 13 articles invites readers to ponder the evolution of international development policy responses across the region.

→ <https://journals.openedition.org/poldev/2576>



*International Development Policy.*  
Issue 10.1, online.  
2018.

## INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY ARTICLES

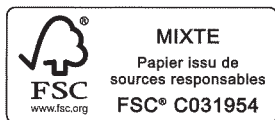
This electronic issue features articles on topics such as financial inclusion as a driver of state building in India and Mexico (Cyril **Fouillet** and Solène **Morvant-Roux**), China and African governance in the extractive industries (Neil **Renwick**, Jing **Gu** and Song **Hong**) and the link between globalisation and conflict in sub-Saharan Africa (Carolyn **Chisadza** and Manoel **Bittencourt**), and forthcoming articles on infrastructure investment in developing countries (Daniel **Gurara**, Vladimir **Klyuev**, Nkunde **Mwase** and Andrea **Presbitero**) and policy design for social protection in Burkina Faso (Kadidiatou **Kadio**, Christian **Dagenais** and Valery **Ridde**).

→ <https://journals.openedition.org/poldev/2503>

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*International Development Policy* was launched in 2010 as a peer-reviewed open-access e-journal on global development and international cooperation. A thematic print edition is published each year with Brill | Nijhoff, along with e-issues that feature peer-reviewed articles by policymakers, academics and practitioners.  
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**Responsable d'édition:** Sophie Fleury, [sophie.fleury@graduateinstitute.ch](mailto:sophie.fleury@graduateinstitute.ch)

**Crédit photographique:**

Couverture : Palestinians walk along part of Israel's controversial separation barrier as they head towards the Qalandia checkpoint to cross from the West Bank to Jerusalem for Friday prayers at the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound.  
3 July 2015. Abbas MOMANI/AFP

**Impression:** Imprimerie Nationale

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