Research Bulletin EXTRA!

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SPECIAL ISSUE
ISA 2021 Convention, 6–9 April | Virtual Platform

**Graduate Institute professors and researchers presented 40 convention papers at ISA.
Read their abstracts below, divided into seven thematic clusters:**

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Convention Papers

Conflicts, Violence and Peace Processes

Wind of Change: UN Mediation in a Shifting World Order – the Case of Syria

Recent failures by the UN to end conflicts in Syria, Libya and Yemen have led to a questioning of its role in peacemaking in

contemporary armed conflicts. When analysing mediation outcomes, scholars usually focus on microlevel aspects analysing either conflict or process factors. While both play a crucial role, **Sara Hellmüller** argues that they are embedded in macrolevel dynamics related to world politics that the mediation literature has so far neglected. Her paper fills this gap by analysing how current changes in world politics influence UN mediation outcomes. It argues that the shift from unipolarity to multipolarity has led to a resurgence of geopolitical competition and a crumbling of the liberal international order. This, in turn, has affected UN mediation in two main ways. First, it has led to disunity in the UN Security Council, limiting the UN's role in mediation. Second, it has facilitated the emergence of alternative approaches to liberal peacemaking in which UN mediation is firmly embedded. The author shows how these developments manifested in the UN mediation in Syria and how the Syrian case is, at the same time, the driver of these changes.

Shadow Liberalism of an "Illiberal" Conflict Manager: Russia and the Transformation of Global Peacebuilding Order

To date, mainstream scholars have treated Russia as a challenger to the liberal peace paradigm. Yet the simplistic labelling of Russia as an "authoritarian" or "illiberal" conflict manager, whose ideas and interests are presupposed to oppose those of Western liberal peacebuilders, obscures the complex processes of norm contestation. **Kazushige Kobayashi** proposes a matrix-based theoretical framework which emphasises dynamic interactions among and between different peacebuilding norms, with a particular focus on state sovereignty, governance models, and human rights. His paper applies this framework to analyse three illustrative cases (Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Syria) and to unpack how Russia has influenced the transformation of global peacebuilding order. The conventional narrative asserts that Moscow is opposed to robust peace operations conducted by regional security organisations and to liberal peace missions defending cultural pluralism and decentralised governance. While this appears to be the case in Syria, the Tajik and Ukrainian cases show the opposite tendencies. In light of this, the author argues that the Russian "challenge" to liberal peace does not only come from the promotion of "illiberal" norms, but also from the tactical mobilisation of liberal norms to advance its strategic interests in conflict-affected states.

Developmental Peace? Investigating China's Approach to Peacebuilding in Fragile and Post-Conflict Contexts

From Myanmar, Sri Lanka and South Sudan to Liberia, Mali and Afghanistan, among others, China's engagement in fragile and conflict-affected contexts is on the rise, mainly through political mediation, UN peacekeeping missions, economic investment, as well as massive development cooperation projects via the China-Africa Cooperation Forum and the Belt and Road Initiative. Although China does not label its various activities as peacebuilding in light of the potential contention with the long-held principle of non-interference, it has exhibited some important normative and programmatic characteristics in its approach to conflict management and peace consolidation, leading to the emergence of concepts such as *developmental peace* or *Chinese peace* in pertinent research. There has been a consensual acknowledgement of Chinese emphasis on state sovereignty and the development-security nexus in peacebuilding processes. However, our knowledge is extremely limited when it comes

to the origin and underpinnings of this emerging Chinese approach and how it complements and/or contests the mainstream liberal peace. Based on a matrix-based methodology of normative investigation, **Xinyu Yuan** attempts to unpack the logics and practices of China's peacebuilding paradigm from 1978 onwards, adding to our understanding of normative evolution and contestation in the field of international peace and security.

A Child of Its Time: The Impact of Globalized World Politics on UN OPeacebuilding

How does the recent shift from the US-dominated unipolar world order of the immediate post-Cold War years towards multipolarity influence United Nations (UN) peacebuilding? **Sara Hellmüller** conceptualises this shift towards multipolarity as empirically manifested in increased geopolitical competition and a crumbling of the liberal normative order. She assesses how these changes have influenced the conception and execution of UN peace missions since the end of the Cold War. Her paper presents findings from a new data set on UN peace missions between 1991 and 2019 that systematically codes their mandates by distinguishing three approaches to peacebuilding. First, a minimalist approach contents itself with the absence of renewed armed conflict and thus focuses on negative peace. Second, a maximalist approach sees peacebuilding as addressing root causes and aims at positive peace. Third, a moderate approach aims at no renewed armed conflict and decent governance without specifying the precise governance model. The data set is complemented with a literature and document review on the implementation of the coded UN peace missions. Together, they give an indication of how the conception and execution of UN peace missions changed during the shift from unipolarity to multipolarity.

Perpetual Peace Reloaded: Counteracting Linear Framing of Peace Processes

Evidence shows that peace processes are non-linear and complex. However, standard international responses in peacemaking and peacebuilding apply linear sequenced strategies. As a consequence, they achieve limited impact on establishing peaceful, just and inclusive societies. **Thania Paffenholz** argues that a new framing of peacemaking and peacebuilding is needed as perpetual negotiations of the social and political contract. These negotiations take place in a variety of formats and spaces and timings. Such a framing challenges the notion of success or failure of peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts and allows to introduce new ways of planning and evaluating interventions along the goals of creating pathways to perpetual peace.

Researching Peace: Process-Tracing of Critical Junctures as an Innovative Methodology

This paper aims to introduce a research methodology with a new understanding of how to research the pathway from negative to positive peace. **Thania Paffenholz** starts from two assumptions. First, positive peace is a utopian concept that can never be achieved. As such, the objective of peacebuilding is to get closer to peace. Second, the current paradigm of peace being achieved in a linear way has led to a false understanding of peacemaking and peacebuilding. She offers a different understanding of how to achieve peace based on the acknowledgement that peace constitutes perpetual (re)-negotiations of the social and political contract. These negotiations take place at historical, critical junctures. She then presents historical process-tracing of multiple critical junctures as an innovative methodology to study peace, which she will apply in two case studies. The conclusions will show the

advancements for researching peace when applying this methodology, e.g., the notion of success and failure in peace processes is not working, peace processes are circular and repetitive, each critical juncture presents achievements and setbacks assessed differently by different actors involved

Designing Perpetrators/Designed by Perpetrators

How do people "kill their neighbours" (Fuji, 2009)? There are many stories we tell about how "ordinary" people enact violence in conflict settings (and why). However, recently, user-generated content of violence from across the world has "exploded" into global public view, addressing this question differently. "Ordinary" people that enact violence are sharing stories about how (and why) they do so. Arendt, Hatzfeld, Nordstrom, Oppenheimer, Moreh and many others have previously attempted to craft (almost) similar intimate accounts of political violence, but hardly have we ever heard from the "perpetrators" themselves at this scale and in this visual form. **Asees Puri** traces the impact this content has on the design(ing) of the figuration (Haraway) of a "perpetrator". Borrowing insights from STS, particularly Felt et al.'s (2017) notion that people (re)make their bodies, identities, societies and material surroundings through interaction with science and technology, we begin noticing that this "impact" finds expression through a double movement: the figuration of a perpetrator is designed by this content and/but the perpetrators themselves participate in this design process. A tracing of this form opens up "new" (or rather, previously less visible) avenues for research about political violence, particularly its corporeal, experiential and local aspects.

Countering Hegemony From Within: Limitations and Potentials of Jewish-Israeli
Activism for Palestinian Rights

Based on extensive fieldwork in Israel-Palestine, **Alice Baroni** provides an assessment of Israeli groups for Palestinian rights today, and asks what they can tell us about (1) the possibility of building solidarity from within the system that generates theoppression, and (2) the chances of imposing alternative visions for the future in a society pervaded by a strong hegemonic discourse. Having highlighted the criticalities and problems, she moves beyond a nostalgic assessment of "what could have been, and yet is not" of Jewish-Israeli activism to find, precisely among these criticalities, some bases for a constructive rethinking of the possibilities of radical critique at one of its darkest hours.
Read the paper

More-Than Fictitious Tech Realities: Beheadings as an International Political Practice

Syria, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Brazil – what ties these places together? Drawing from current work on Critical Security and Science and Technology Studies, **Asees Puri** aims to discuss the relations established between the visualities of the beheadings carried out by (in)security-performing organisations. By publicising this kind of violence through social-technical networks, groups such as DAESH, drug cartels (Mexico), legal institutions in Saudi Arabia and criminal gangs (Brazil) enact more-than fictitious tech-mediated realities. By focusing on the violence practices publicised by these groups through social media networks such as Instagram and WhatsApp, we hope to see how STS as an onto-methodological tool can help us better understand political violence, particularly beheadings, as an international practice responsible for assembling a visual-digital security landscape intertwined by (in)visibilities and (in)visualities. We hope to tackle beheadings as an assemblage-enactment (DeLanda, 2006) of – among other things – spectacle-performances,

"mundane"-isation, regimes of "disciplines and punishments" (Foucault, 1977), and social-media (re)produced (in)visualities. Focusing on all *actants* partaking in those activities allows us to answer two questions. First, what does this approach allow us to say about beheadings, and political violence more broadly? And second, how do these videographic practices connect different places enacting a grotesque "Global South"

Prospects of Response: Theorizing Political Will in Mass Atrocity Prevention
How do external actors in international relations respond to impending or ongoing violence against civilians? **Mark Whitlock** explores a persistent theoretical blind spot in the literature on mass atrocities in international affairs: the centrality of political will in preventive and responsive action. While multiple domain scholars have explored the internal causes and consequences of mass killing and genocide since at least the end of the Cold War – including both relatively recent insights into microlevel patterns of violence and resistance, and developments in sophisticated machine forecasting of potential events – to date there has been limited conceptualisation of external political will, what accounts for variation in response among observers in the face of violence against civilians, and its uneven role in the production of mass atrocities. The author targets the gap by first conceptualising political will, and then leveraging insights from one theory of decision-making, Prospect Theory, to develop a theoretical framework of risk and reward for atrocity response.

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 Security Studies and Institutions

Continuity and Change after the USSR: Russia's Changing Perceptions of Islamism in Tajikistan and Chechnya
The Afghan War has fostered the collapse of the Soviet Union, leading to a political transition that saw some Soviet elites be removed while others stayed in place in the newly independent countries. This led to both continuities and breaks in policies and perceptions from the Soviet Union to Russia. **Vassily Klimentov** examines to which extent the Afghan War has shaped Russia's perceptions of and policies in subsequent conflicts in Tajikistan and Chechnya. In both cases, the Red Army either supported government forces against, or itself fought Islamist insurgents. The article shows that while among Russian political elites centred on President Boris Yeltsin there were initially little parallels being made between Afghanistan and post-Soviet conflicts, perceptions were different in the Russian military and intelligence services. The latter saw the conflicts in Tajikistan and Chechnya as the continuation of the one in Afghanistan. The principal reason explaining that dichotomy was that unlike at the highest political level, elites' continuity from the Soviet to the Russian period was stronger in the security bureaucracies.

Honeymoon, Peak and Degradation: The Three Phases of Islamic State's Rebel Governance Effectiveness in Iraq and Syria

Following the declaration of an Islamic Caliphate in June 2014, IS began a concerted period of rebel governance across its Iraqi and Syrian territory until its decline in 2018. In spite of the mass academic and policy attention on IS in the intervening five years, the issue of IS's governance effectiveness remains understudied. **Matthew Bamber** addresses this gap by addressing how IS's governance effectiveness varied over the duration of its rule. Using an adopted framework from the rebel governance literature, he finds that there was a three-phase pattern of governance effectiveness across IS's territory: "honeymoon", peak and degradation. These phases are characterised by varying effectiveness across the three governing criteria of public security, laws and public services. The author provides a detailed case study of these phases in IS's Ninavah and al-Furat provinces and is based on analysis of both interviews with IS members and civilians and of IS provincial governing documents.

The Many Talibans of Afghanistan: Navigating Political Multiplicity with Armed Actors

In a village in Rodat district, Eastern Afghanistan, the Taliban erected roadblocks to extort travelers and dismantled educational facilities. In neighboring Bati Kot, they levied religious taxes, ensured schools remained open and penalised teachers for absenteeism. This diversity in empirical governance reflects an under-researched phenomenon, the concept of political multiplicity, where different rules – codified and customary legal systems, or parallel government and non-state political systems – force inhabitants to navigate a multiplicity of complex political realities and imaginaries. This multiplicity is revealed through microcosms of divergent socio-political practices that are produced when governance is de facto enacted by multiple groups, including armed non-state actors. To explore the concept, **Eliza Urwin** and **Pamina M. Firchow** (Brandeis University) analyse a data set gathered from 18 villages in Eastern Afghanistan. Critically, they place the inhabitants navigating these spaces as agents; villages are not the mere recipients of supralocal policies, but active participants in the negotiation of political realities that are entangled with politics and authority in national and global spaces. Their paper develops the concept of political multiplicity to better comprehend spaces that are understood elsewhere in the literature as ungoverned, fragile, or failed

Chechnya, Crimea, Syria: Putin's Securitisation of Russia's Territorial Integrity

Vassily Klimentov examines how Vladimir Putin, the Russian national leader, securitised the idea of Russia's immutable territorial integrity, postulating that any loss of Russian territory represented an existential threat to the country's survival. From 2000 to 2020, this securitisation, which englobed threats of international terrorism, separatism, and increasingly expanded to include the loss of Russia's influence in Ukraine, validated the adoption of exceptional measures that broke the established norms in Russian society, including (1) domestic authoritarian reforms, and (2) military campaigns in Chechnya, Ukraine, and Syria. The author applies the Copenhagen's School Securitisation Theory to 103 televised statements by Putin and, for the period 2008–2020, by Dmitry Medvedev. His paper suggests that the securitisation model used in Russia may be a blueprint for other semi-democratic regimes.

Checkpost Chess: Insurgents and Illicit Trade at the Indo-Myanmar Border

While conflict and transnational crime often make for a heady mix, the role of non-state armed groups in the smuggling economy remains understudied. **Shalaka Thakur** draws on the case of Moreh at the Indo-Myanmar border, home to various

non-state armed groups and a vibrant smuggling economy. Firstly, she looks at the effect the presence of non-state armed groups has on incentivising smuggling. Secondly, she looks at how different kinds of territorial control and public authority determine the ways in which non-state armed groups get involved in smuggling. Finally, she looks at how the relationship with the state/state actors, including ceasefires and political agreements, shape the role of non-state armed groups in the smuggling economy, often enhancing their role in it.

The Vitality of Regional Security Organizations
An important way through which states attempt to advance security cooperation is regional international organisations that tackle common security concerns and challenges directly. These so-called regional security organisations (RSOs) are not equally active and some of them have ceased to exist altogether. **Stephanie Hofmann** and **Yoram Haftel** (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) aim to explore and account for variation in the vitality of RSOs in a number of ways. First, they develop a measure of vitality and demonstrate that some RSOs are active, but some have vanished. Still others are zombie-like, alive but largely inactive. Such RSOs may abandon their initial purpose and resurrect with a different one, e.g., economic or social. Second, the authors develop several conjectures to account for RSO vitality. They propose that RSOs are less likely to survive and thrive in the long-run when they face competition from other RSOs and when they suffer from strategic rivalries among their member-states as they are heavily resource dependent. Interestingly, however, these competitive dynamics can lead to an initial revitalisation before a decline in activity occurs. On the other hand, RSOs are more likely to remain active or adjust their purpose when they have a strong and independent bureaucracy.

French and US Responses to Middle Eastern Crises
Salomé Tulane examines French and American responses to political crises and security threats in the Middle East endangering the liberal international order under the Obama Administration. In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, terrorism emerged as a major challenge for the liberal international order. The United States responded by sending troops on the ground, first in Afghanistan, then in Iraq. Although the French strongly condemned the military intervention in Iraq, their foreign policy in the region progressively became more and more pro-American and eventually more interventionist than US foreign policy itself. The author seeks to understand the reasoning behind this strategic cross-over and to evaluate the extent to which France's foreign and security policies were determined by the perception of an American strategic withdrawal from the Middle East under Obama's presidencies and the willingness to attempt preserving a weakened liberal international order. To that end, she concentrates on French and American responses to the Syrian crisis and the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).

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Methods, Theories and Data Sets

Out of Use: Waking the Lethargic Prototypes of Political Designe

"Fatigue testing" is a design procedure that involves attending to an object's response and resistance to repeated actions. **Thomas Gmuer** examines how this approach can inform a theory of politics. In devising and conducting fatigue tests, designers anticipate how objects will intervene in a material world. They must be concerned with the mutual process through which users use and get used to the objects. They imagine and assess how the latter inevitably become used, and how users might also grow tired (*usés*) of using them. The practice of "crafting" thus involves continually experimenting with the entanglement of habit and obsolescence, adaptation and deterioration, which contrasts starkly with the often Manichaean way in which politics, from the Polybian theory of anakyklosis to early-twenty-first-century diagnoses of "democratic fatigue", conceives of functioning versus dysfunctional orders. Here, the author addresses the challenges and implications of reconceptualising politics as a debate in which certain forms of life come about, (con)tested through their usage. He argues that the subject of political design is neither teleological prototypes nor universal archetypes for mass production, but contingent samples, which take shape as they strain distinctively against the stresses of their cyclic loading

Designing-With/In World Politics: Manifestos for an International Political Design

How is world politics designed? What combination of form and object composes the world in all its human, material, technological, and aesthetic multiplicity? And can that be changed? Is it possible to re-design world politics? To actively alter the fabric of world politics? Building up, quite literally, a different set of material-aesthetic infrastructures around which its events might flow? **Jonathan Luke Austin** and **Anna Leander** introduce a set of answers to these questions that cumulatively propose the emergence of a field preliminarily termed International Political Design (IPD). IPD explores the (extant, possible, and future) relationships between International Relations (IR), International Political Sociology (IPS), Science and Technology Studies (STS), critical, speculative, and transnational design studies, ergonomics, and artistic or aesthetic praxis in order to ask how scholars of world politics might not simply study, but actively ally-with, subvert, and re-tool design and engineering praxis to make critical world political interventions. In doing so, IPD calls for a radical extension of the praxis of IR beyond the textual (or "alphabetical") and the epistemic and towards imagining very different modes of knowledge-production, intervention, and modes of being political.

In the Face of a Changing Global Order: The Role of Psychological Distance in States' War Justification

How does political elites' justification to join military interventions against common enemies change from before versus after the end of the Cold War? In the face of a changing global order, **Sorina Crisan** shows that factors like technological progress (i.e., transportation, military, etc.) and globalisation have made the emergence of conflicts in any geographical location more likely to be perceived by states as threatening global security. Thus, nations located even geographically far away from a conflict zone become more willing to engage in joint military interventions to attempt to minimise the threats these physically far-away, yet psychologically close-by conflicts might inflict on their own constituencies. With the help of a mixed-

methods approach, the author analyses the rhetoric employed by hundreds of political elites representing the US, France, and Australia, to justify their military interventions in South Vietnam and Iraq, in the early 1960s and 2000s. Emphasis is placed on presenting a new theory and framework of analysis that combines International Relations literature with Social Psychology and Mathematics. Psychological Distance is employed to explain the differences in the justifications made, before versus after the end of the Cold War, by political elites when their nations chose to engage in joint military interventions.
More info

Russia, the Federal Reserve, and the *New York Times:* Machine-Learning Models of How Elites Interpret Policy Announcements

How do elites understand foreign and monetary policy? In the past, scholars have explored this question by modeling it as a psychological mapping process: elites focus on particular features of policies and map them onto particular psychologically relevant categories, such as adversary or danger, each of which usually has one or more action implications. The problem with understanding policy interpretation in this way is that it requires specifying multi-level rules by which particular words or phrases, in order to be mapped onto categories, are first mapped onto context, with the contexts themselves being mapped onto higher-level contexts, and so on ad infinitum. As an alternative, **David Sylvan, Jean-Louis Arcand,** and **Ashley Thornton** reconceive of policy interpretation as a matter of nonhierarchical textual entailment, in which different combinations of syntactic and semantic information will be associated with stylized accounts of what is, or might, or should not be happening and why. Specifically, we use machine learning techniques to generate newspaper interpretations of two streams of policy announcements: one, from the White House and State Department about Russia, and the other, from the Federal Reserve, about monetary policy. Preliminary results suggest that our approach is good, in a non a priori way, at capturing the hypothesized issue domain specificity of foreign policy as opposed to monetary policy.

Buddy System: A Methodology for Assessing Military Access in Politics

The extensive literature on civil-military relations deals with the influence of the military on politics by attending to either specific policy outcomes, such as budgetary allocations, coups, or decisions to employ force; or to prerogatives, such as legal privileges, high office, or control of state enterprises. However, more structural, background forms of influence are not reducible either to policy outcomes or to prerogatives: for example, if the military is able to set the political agenda, or if certain civilian politicians owe their advancement to their ties with the military. This latter possibility, which Jean-Louis Arcand and David Sylvan call access, is the focus of this paper. The authors propose a dyadic methodology for assessing access, based on long-term geographical proximity between particular civilian cadres and particular military officers; their measurement argument is that civilians who for many years have had "buddy" ties with officers are, *ceteris paribus,* likely to advance more rapidly up the ladder than counterparts who lack such ties; and vice-versa for military officers with civilian buddies. This argument is tested using a sample from a very large-scale data set of party cadres and military officers in China, with results pointing toward mutual effects of members of each group on the other.

Shades of Sovereignty: A Comparative Study of the Meaning of Sovereignty by Regions

As a core concept in International Relations theory, sovereignty has received significant scholarly attention. Moving beyond ahistorical definitions of sovereignty,

Erna Burai, Anamarija Andreska, and **Juanita Uribe** offer an alternative conception that accounts for the various temporal and spatial dimensions of sovereignty. It does so by comparing how the meaning of sovereignty has changed over time and how it differs across different regions. By adopting a comparative research design that analyses different propositions across the Americas, Europe, Eurasia, and Africa since the 1990s, the authors compare the competing regional meanings of sovereignty both in terms of what they perform and what political configuration of authority they enable.

The State of a Field: Triangulating the Power and Politics of Vietnam Scholarship in International Relations

According to **Bart Gabriel,** a nexus of methodologies is required to adequately grasp the politics of knowledge valorisation in International Relations scholarship. His paper focuses on the way in which the Vietnam War has been drawn upon in International Relations and its myriad subfields to illustrate or contest conventional wisdom and incremental science. He follows the triangulation research design, conducted by combining a Bourdieusian relational sociology with inferential network modeling, in order to first quantitatively map the relative importance of potentially seminal texts (i.e. the most cited texts as recorded by the Web of Knowledge) and their relation to their sources, to then qualitatively interpret both the ontological commitments of these texts, as well as the quantifiable characteristics of the scholarship these texts cite. Preliminary findings suggest that following a relational sociology informed by notions of doxa, field and classificatory struggle within an intersubjectively constructed field is crucially informative in grasping how networks of cited references play a role in assembling the credible authority that Social Sciences thrive off of (Van der Ree, 2016).

Post-Modern Warfare: Militainment, Netnography and Empire through Popular Culture

Though not without growing pains as a form of cultural expression, the gaming industry has surged from relative obscurity to the largest entertainment industry worldwide in some 25 years. This newly mainstreamed artform is not without its political commitments, and some literature has been dedicated to gaming culture and its reproduction of (counter-)hegemonic narratives (Dyer-Witheford & de Peuter, 2007; Stahl, 2009). However, the ties between empire and gaming appear to become ever tightened, with actors such as the Dutch Ministry of Defence and the United States Navy actively looking to develop software to recruit through online gaming communities, and the US army's sponsorship of several first-person-shooter titles through the years. Even outside the grasp of these actors, the visualities and systems of video games offer complex avenues for player engagement with (geo)politics in a fashion that closely resembles real life, such as EVE online's border skirmishes and balancing practices. Games and virtual reality offer promising new avenues to understand the (re)production of (in)security, asymmetrical/conventional warfare, climate change, sovereignty and diplomacy that conventional literature on the subject overlooks. This paper by **Bart Gabriel** aims to conduct a netnography (Kozinets, 2009) to chart the many narratives and politics of online gaming's entanglement with empire.

Financial Documentation in the Judicial Right against Impunity: A New Methodological Approach to Analysing Court Practices

How do criminal courts read financial documents and make sense of them in war crimes trials? How do courts perceive financial data? At first glance, courts seem to be reluctant about utilising financial data in the fight against impunity. However,

Nina Teresa Kiderlin demonstrates the importance of closely reading financial documents utilised in these trials in order to infer meaning of that data to the different actors, as opposed to analysing how data is utilised in trials solely through court ethnography. She proposes a new systematic way of analysing financial data and documents used in court cases involving non-state armed groups in efforts to combat impunity for war crimes. She analyses why actors within courts often seem to view financial data as flat and not meaningful, whilst it carries great meaning in private sector efforts in combating impunity. Through documents used in court we can develop a novel understanding of how judicial actors interact with and position themselves within the financial system at large.

Governance, International Organisations and Norms

Losing Control: When IO Member-States Refuse to Put Their Money Where Their Mouth Is

Member States continue to place high demands on International Organisations, yet many simultaneously reduce, or fail to pay, obligatory and voluntary financial contributions. The resulting financial deficit leaves many IOs with no option but to diversify their sources of financing. Yet, little analysis exists to guide IOs and Member States as they weigh different financing options. **Cecilia Cannon** examines the different effects produced when IOs receive different types of financing. She first traces the different types of financing (assessed contributions, voluntary earmarked contributions, and private individual giving) across time within the World Health Organization and the UN Refugee Agency. She then overlays this data against (1) the IOs' programme of activities approved by Member States; (2) IO activities that fall outside the approval of Member States; and (3) different types of outputs generated through the IOs. Findings show that as both IOs move towards earmarked voluntary contributions from private donors and private individual giving, collective Member State control over the IO activities and outputs diminishes. In the case of the UN Refugee Agency, control has increasingly transferred to the IO secretariat and private donors, while at the World Health Organization control has primarily transferred to private donors.

Influence through Funding at the African Union: Why IO Secretariats Allow External Agenda-Seeing and Institution-Building

Why do IO secretariats turn away from member states, their principals, to mobilise resources from external actors? By accepting resources from funders other than member states, an IO secretariat risks worsening the constitutive relationship with its member states and getting into a situation of coercive influence from external resource providers. **Ueli Staeger** argues that these risks notwithstanding, IO secretariats diversify their resource mobilisation because they pursue agency maximisation strategies. He traces these strategies through agenda-setting and institution-building relationships. Through a comparison of case studies in peace and security as well as infrastructure development at the African Union, he teases out the

financial management-driven, bureaucratic and functional determinants of influence through funding. In weighing in on the role of IO bureaucracies in a wider policy and social space, he speaks both to recent IR scholarship on IO funding and secretariat expertise. His paper's contribution lies in an explicit mechanism of how variegated funding sources affect organisational financial allocations, based on extensive qualitative data (interviews and participant observation at AU headquarters). Furthermore, it contributes to extending the study of IO funding from Global North-based organisations to the innovative financing practices of IOs such as the AU.

Paths of Norm Change in International Politics

Norm emergence, contestation, and change are central elements in any broader account of transformation in world politics today. Yet the frames through which norm change is theorised remain surprisingly schematic and focused on states as well as norm entrepreneurs. They tend to ignore the social contexts in which attempts at norm change are embedded and through which they do (or do not) gain traction and generate success. **Nico Krisch** and **Ezgi Yildiz** aim to remedy this omission by focusing on the role of authorities such as international courts and institutions. Understanding their role, they argue, is key to explaining why some attempts at change flourish while others fail, and why norm change in some contexts occurs rapidly while in others it moves at a slow pace. They illustrate their argument with three cases: the creation of norms around crimes in internal armed conflict, the emergence of positive obligations to protect women from domestic violence, and the adoption of regulations for illegal unreported and unregulated fishing. These cases show that change cannot be explained without an account of the role of authorities and help the authors explore the conditions under which norms are validated and consolidated.

How New Laws Shape the Preferences of the Undecided and the Silent

How do states adapt their policies in light of new law made by international treaties and court rulings? **Ezgi Yildiz** and **Umut Yüksel** argue that new law will have the greatest effect on those states that have not yet formulated a clear policy on a given issue. Such undecided states are likely to be influenced by new law even when it is incongruous with existing broader state practice or the states' prior commitments. Focusing on international courts as the main lawmakers, the authors empirically examine the influence of judicial decisions on state practice with regards to maritime delimitation. Using a data set of state policy preferences on the continental shelf delimitation rule since the end of World War II, they use computational text analysis to show that the prevalence of equidistance as the preferred rule was hampered by an early court decision that permitted delimitation methods other than equidistance. This change appears to be driven by the undecided states which were influenced by this decision. While they adopted alternative delimitation methods, those states with existing delimitation policies at the time were relatively less influenced by this decision. This contribution highlights the disproportionate influence of new judicial inputs on states that are undecided or silent.

Following the Rules Straight into Disputes: How Legal Uncertainty Affects Maritime Boundary Making

This paper by **Umut Yüksel** examines the differential effect of legal uncertainty on how states delimit their maritime boundaries. The law of maritime delimitation has seen periods of more or less uncertainty over the course of its development, notably due to inconsistent rules arising from various multilateral treaties and judicial decisions. Legal uncertainty is high when custom, treaties, and decisions from international courts provide various different rules and interpretations that can be

used by states as they formulate their maritime boundary claims. The author argues that when law is uncertain, states have the opportunity and incentives to put forward maximalist boundary claims which are likely to lead them into maritime boundary disputes with their neighbors. He shows this to be the case using a data set that covers all dyadic maritime boundary relations after World War II. In particular, new disputes are more likely to arise between two states that have several boundaries to delimit and when a different delimitation rule clearly favors each state in their future delimitations with other states. The author further shows that when these conditions are not met, states can approach their maritime boundaries with more flexibility, successfully negotiating and signing maritime boundary agreements even when law is highly uncertain.

Global Crisis and International Organisations: Selective Politicisation of International Authority

International governmental organisations (IGOs) have not emerged as the primary authorities to deal with the coronavirus crisis in 2020. Powerful states have dominated the politics of crisis management, confining IGOs to operational and coordinative tasks. Drawing on considerations of postfunctionalism, **Stephanie Hofmann** and **Christian Kreuder-Sonnen** (Friedrich Schiller University Jena) submit that the coronavirus crisis has led to a peak in contentious politicisation of international authority that put a "constraining dissensus" on IOs' range of activities. In line with this reasoning, they expect that focal IGOs such as the WHO, UNSC or the EU that are endowed with legal authority to deal with aspects of the global crisis will face the greatest contestation. On the other hand, IGOs with less focality such as NATO, the World Bank or the AU are likely to encounter less politicisation, enabling them to step up their crisis response. Ultimately, less focal IGOs use the crisis to their advantage, tapping the authority gap left by more focal IGOs. The authors illustrate their argument with six comparative case studies (WHO, UN, NATO, EU, AU and the World Bank) that include global and regional, task specific and general-purpose IGOs, as well as those with and those without a clear mandate to tackle selected aspects of the crisis.

🐠 Environment Politics, Institutions and Norms

Checking for Updates: Design, Participation, and Environmental Regimes' Adaptation

Although most multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) are concluded for indefinite periods, the environmental issues they address and parties' preferences and behavior are constantly evolving. In some cases, parties close the growing gap between negotiators' expectations and the changing context by updating or modifying their original agreement to the new circumstances. States have several formal tools at their disposal to do so, such as protocols, amendments, and addendums. **Noémie Laurens** (Laval University), **James Hollway** and **Jean-Frédéric Morin** (Laval University) refer to this process as institutional adaptation.

While some agreements, such as the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species or the Montreal Protocol on the Ozone Layer, are adapted numerous times during their lifetime, others like the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques are never amended. The authors investigate this variation and, as such, depart from the existing literature on international agreements, which tends to analyse them as static objects of study. They argue that learning is a major driver of institutional adaptation and focus on two key elements allowing for learning to operate. The first consists of unexpected variation in MEA participation. Failing to secure ratifications or attracting several accessions sends a signal to the parties that adaptation might be desirable. The second concerns the design features of the agreement itself. Institutional mechanisms favoring interaction among parties and external feedback from stakeholders are likely to facilitate learning and adaptation. Relying on event history analysis and an original data set of design features and membership of 371 MEAs, the authors find that low levels of ratifications, high numbers of accessions, and highly institutionalised agreements are associated with institutional adaptation. These findings provide important lessons for the design of future dynamic MEAs.

Distributional Effects, Regulatory Preferences and Business Strategy in Private Sustainability Standards

This paper by **Ellen Alexandra Holtmaat** aims to provide a more generalised theory on business interest in private sustainability standards. In this theory standards are presented as tools used strategically by businesses. Until now, private standards are either not taken very seriously and dismissed as "greenwashing" or are taken quite uncritically as a contribution to sustainability, particularly where businesses cooperate with NGOs. The author uses a rational choice perspective to show that under certain circumstances strictly controlled, demanding standards are in some businesses' self-interest, particularly when firms have their reputation in common, care about relative costs of regulation vis-à-vis their competitors or want to create a level playing field with competitors who receive lower regulatory pressures. A first dimension that matters for regulatory preferences is thus the extent to which firms have a reputation in common and are dependent on their reputation. A second dimension is their relative costs vis-à-vis competitors of living up to standard's/society's requirements. A third dimension are the relative regulatory pressures they receive vis-à-vis competitors. The logic and real-world applicability of this theory is shown by examples from standards in the cut-flower sector in Kenya.

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Gender Studies

Practicing Gender Expertise in International Governance

Gender mainstreaming in international governance has produced a cadre of professionals that are increasingly recognised as "gender experts". There is considerable literature debating whether the development of gender expertise is favorable to feminist goals. In contrast,

there is remarkably little research that explores gender expertise as a sociological phenomenon. **Elisabeth Prügl** draws on Bourdieusian practice theory and on the sociology of the professions in order to describe gender expertise in international governance as a solidifying professional field. Based on a 2012 survey of gender experts working in international organisations, and about 80 interviews conducted over the past eight years with gender experts in different issue areas, the author seeks to outline core dimensions of the field, including entry requirements and boundaries, hierarchies of knowledges, organisations, and other structural dimensions. The purpose is to identify key dynamics and contestations in the field that can move the literature beyond discussions of co-optation or emancipation.

Gender Mainstreaming Cambodian Food Security Policy: Encountering the Patriarchal State

This paper critically interrogates how gender mainstreaming is implemented in food security policy in Cambodia. Through an analysis of policy documents, **Saba Joshi, Muy Seo Ngouv** (University of Oxford) and **Elisabeth Prügl** first identify two contradictory logics: a neoliberal logic of increasing agricultural productivity leads to a framing of women farmers as unequal, lacking resources, and held back through their reproductive labour. In contrast, a focus on women as providers of food leads to a celebration of their reproductive labour. In a second step, they draw on interviews with policy actors and government officials to analyse the bureaucratic processes involved in the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the area of food security. They find that a combination of cultural constructions of women's subordination to a male household head, paired with male patronage networks, achieves the exclusion of women from the public sphere. They conclude with a discussion of the role of the Ministry of Women's Affairs in reaching out to civil society actors and beginning to poke holes into the patriarchal state.

The Politics of "Genderwashing" in Non-State Armed Groups

Many insurgent groups skillfully use gendered language to recruit and retain their combatants. Leftist groups in particular rely on language of women's rights and gender equality to base their legitimacy partially on being more humane and just than state armed forces. Indeed, women combatants in these groups are active in community relations, political negotiations, and propaganda to recruit other men and women – even though the majority of mid- to high-level commanders are almost always men. This "genderwashing" – using women's rights or gender equality language and imagery to further political goals, without implementing actual equality – has been a critical tool for many non-state armed groups run by men while claiming to be egalitarian. Using Colombia as a case study, **Rachel Schmidt** (Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver) and **Mia Schöb** draw on over 200 interviews with ex-combatants from the FARC and ELN, as both groups have consistently used gender equality language in their public communications. They examine the gap between the groups' gender equality language and actual practices within the ranks, arguing that genderwashing can strategically benefit a rebel group while complicating – and potentially hampering – the reintegration process for women ex-combatants.

Techno-Medicine and Power in the Clinic: Practicing Surgical Tubal Ligation

From the birth of eugenics in the early twentieth century up to the present, state technologies of reproductive control have violently targeted the bodies of gendered and racialised others. These biopolitical interventions affect the intimate space of reproduction, yet are profoundly shaped by global politics of race, gender, and colonialism; they are markedly violent but take place in hospitals and clinics,

seemingly places of care. As such, **Ximena Osorio Garate** explores the health and techno-medical dimensions of reproductive violence, and in particular, the socio-material practice of surgical tubal ligation. Focusing on the forced sterilisations of indigenous women in Peru, the author analyses the different elements that constitute and enact a sterilisation: the techno-medical procedure, the health professionals, the clinic and its tools, images and symbols, and the body. Engaging with feminist and decolonial theory, and Science and Technology Studies, she traces how everyday elements and practices are assembled in a situated context in such a way as to enable the production of intervenable bodies and the forced sterilisations of thousands of women. In doing so, the partial connections tying sterilisation practices around the globe appear, compelling us to rethink and reflect on the interconnectedness of reproductive violence, bodies, and technologies of control.

International Political Economy

Packages and Routines: The Diffusion of Policy Innovation across Cities

A key aspect of globalisation, extending significantly beyond flows of goods, money, information, and persons, is the diffusion of policies across countries, firms, and, importantly, cities. Over the past three decades, intricate and multi-component policies such as "quality of life policing", waste management policies, and enterprise zones have been adopted by numerous cities. In some cases, this adoption has been almost clone-like – cities have implemented others' policies down to the finest detail – whereas in other cases, implementation has been much more partial. To explore this policy diffusion asymmetry, **Laura Schenker** investigates the role of local institutions in facilitating or hindering implementation. Her argument is that different implementation trajectories are due to the confluence of (1) policy-specific factors – namely the degree to which policies are designed as tightly connected wholes, made of interdependent subcomponents – and, (2) adopting units' characteristics – namely the degree of synergy between preexisting and newly implemented organisational routines. Applying the model to the policing case mentioned above, her paper sheds light on related phenomena in international political economy such as capital flows and the concentration of technical expertise.

Trade-Labor Linkage and Domestic Coalitions: Evidence from Interest Group Submissions

Do firms and labor unions unite forces to promote stronger labor provisions in preferential trade agreements (PTAs) as a form of disguised protectionism? Assuming that factors of production are not mobile, if labor provisions in PTAs are promoted as a form of disguised safeguard against import surges, it would be logical to see both labor unions and firms from import-competing sectors pushing for trade-labor linkage. **Rodrigo Fagundes Cezar** theorises, however, that domestic interests have updated their preferences vis-à-vis labor provisions in PTAs since the 1990s and that the lack of enforcement of those instruments changed the configuration of domestic

coalitions on trade-labor linkage vis-a-vis traditional trade remedies. By means of (1) a quantitative text analysis of more than 200 interest group submissions from firms and unions that would have been expected to lobby in favor of safeguards in PTAs, followed by (2) the analysis of five most-likely cases from the perspective of a sectoral cleavage, his expectations are preliminarily confirmed. The findings show that the rise of class/sectoral coalitions in trade depend not only on factor specificity but also on the characteristics of PTA provisions. In the conclusion, the author drafts some scenarios of change following the renegotiated NAFTA.

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