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SPECIAL ISSUE
ISA 2022 Convention, 28 March–2 April
"A Wider Discipline for a Smaller World"
held in Nashville, TN, USA, and online

Graduate Institute professors and researchers presented
45 convention papers
Read their abstracts below, divided into five thematic clusters:

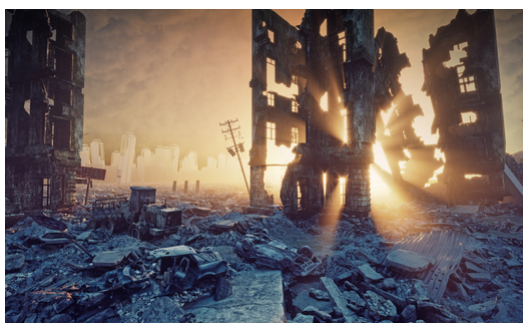|				
Conflicts, Violence & Peace ⌄	Security Studies, Technology & Institutions ⌄	Methodological & Theoretical Approaches ⌄	International Organisations, Global Governance & Norms ⌄	Political Economy, Foreign Aid & Migrations ⌄

Convention Papers

Conflicts, Violence & Peace

Surreal Tales: Tracing the Socio-Material Realities of War-Violence in Syria

The Syrian conflict has exploded into global public view. From hastily recorded footage of firefights to carefully orchestrated executions, its myriad actors have been "shooting" (Della Ratta 2018) the conflict. Through this user-generated content,

Asees Puri first explores the "Surreal" experience of war at the local, corporeal and experiential level and second, sees what this surreality reveals about the morphology of "war's incessant becoming" (Bosquet, Grove, Shah 2020). By creating an encounter between YouTube videos uploaded by a Polish foreign fighter (Archer) working with the SDF and the "Syrialism" collection (& interview) by the Syrian photographer Omar Imam, this paper seeks to investigate this surreality. Building on STS and feminist new-materialist literatures, an argument is made that this surreality reveals the assemblagic nature of war and, particularly, the actants' "partial connections" (Strathern 2005) to the "non-conflictual". Theorising the violence of war in this particular manner, focusing on its everyday machinations, implicates the "politics of the everyday" in the "politics of the exceptional", and vice-versa, since it allows for war-violence to be reimagined. This re-imagination moves away from figurations (Haraway 1985) of such violence as exceptional discrete instances to one of an interlinked collage à la Taussig's Nervous System (1995)

In Quest for a Great-Power Role in Peacebuilding: China's Dual Strategies in Peacekeeping and Development Finance

In recent years, China has become ever more active in peacebuilding. Though scholars contend that China is using its engagement in peace missions as an instrument to assert an image of great responsible power, our knowledge is limited when it comes to how China pursues its quest for a higher global status. Addressing this critical knowledge gap, **Xinyu Yuan** compares China's engagement in two sub-fields of peacebuilding – peacekeeping and development finance – and argues that duality is a key to understanding Beijing's peace diplomacy. In peacekeeping, China has focused on increasing its representational power within the international peacekeeping regime to challenge the Western-centric status-quo by providing well-disciplined peacekeepers, assuming leadership roles in various PKO missions, increasing its contribution to UNPKO budget, and launching the new Peace and Development Trust Fund. In development finance, in contrast, China seeks to enhance its normative power outside the international development regime. Through bilateral initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative and the China-Africa Cooperation Forum, Beijing advances its preferred norms of non-conditionality, sovereign equality, and an economic model centered on poverty eradication and infrastructural development. This article concludes that these dual strategies serve to enhance China's great power role in peacebuilding.

Is There a "Chinese Peace"? Insights from Comparative Analysis of Chinese, Japanese, and Russian Approaches to Peacebuilding and Conflict Management

The existing peacebuilding literature has been extensively criticised for failing to tackle the disconnect between the mainstream Anglophone "liberal peace" narratives and new state actors talking the talk but not necessarily walking the walk in practical peace/conflict interventions. Though the growing prominence of China as a major actor in global peace operations has attracted much scholarly attention, extant research tends to exaggerate the uniqueness of the "Chinese peace" model. **Kazushige Kobayashi** advances an alternative perspective by systematically comparing China's approach to conflict-affected states to those of other major "non-Western" actors: Japan and Russia. His comparative analysis is systematically guided by a new analytical tool of "norms matrix", which graphically visualises the dynamics of norm adaptation/contestation in the global peacebuilding order. Based on the wealth of comparative insights, the author concludes that, contrary to conventional views grouping China and Russia together as "authoritarian conflict managers", China's peace/conflict policy entails greater compatibility with Japan's policy, which

prioritises the norms of non-interference, socio-economic rights, and postwar reconstruction led by commercial investments. In this vein, his comparative investigation provides much needed nuances in deciphering peace and development policies of China and other "non-Western" actors.

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 travellers and dismantled educational facilities. In neighbouring Bati Kot, the Taliban levied religious taxes, ensured schools remained open and penalised teachers for absenteeism. This empirical diversity in governance reflects 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 social and political realities and imaginaries. This multiplicity is revealed through divergent sociopolitical practices that are produced when governance is de facto enacted by multiple groups, including armed non-state actors. **Eliza Urwin** explores politics in these spaces using Everyday Peace Indicators from 18 villages in Eastern Afghanistan to explore how rulemaking is experienced in everyday spaces of political multiplicity. She develops political multiplicity as a theoretical approach to better understand spaces that are understood elsewhere in political science literature as ungoverned, fragile, or failed. Taking seriously the diversity of lived experiences demonstrates these spaces not as "ungoverned", but instead populated by multiple parallel political realities, thus allowing a better exploration of how governance takes form.

Building a Peace We Don't Know? The Power of Subjunctive Technologies in Peacebuilding
Digital technologies for peacebuilding have largely been understood as a vehicle to enable a "sincere" attitude that is concerned with knowing the world as it really is. Yet, little attention has been paid to how technology also enables a "subjunctive" sensitivity for possible, future worlds. Yet, the latter perspective is particularly pertinent in peacebuilding contexts, because they are characterised by multiple, intertwined types of uncertainty that reach beyond the epistemic dimension, into politics and society. While sincere uses of technology face limits in contexts characterised by uncertainty, the subjunctive thrives in uncertainty, and thus harbours an unrecognised potential to shape peacebuilding dynamics. **Andreas Hirblinger** explores how the intended and unintended uses of technology help conflict stakeholders and peacebuilding actors to move on in the face of uncertainty: shepherding them along the process, detaching them from content, narratives and perceptions associated with conflict, reframing their perspectives on the world and envisioning possible futures, and, lastly, unlocking existing social structures and evoking new ones through enabling a form of digital communitas. This demonstrates that subjunctive affordances of technology enable peacebuilding practices that are powerful in their performative capacity to move their users away from the past and present, towards possible future worlds.

Policy-Oriented, but not Policy-Relevant? Knowledge Production on Mediation
The research agenda on mediation has been expanding, taking a central role in peace research. The focus of mediation research has been on how to make mediation more effective and it has thus had a problem-solving purpose. Yet, while mediation research is policy-oriented, it is not always policy-relevant. **Sara Hellmüller** shows that it has been dominated by positivist approaches using quantitative

methodologies and rationalist conceptual frameworks. While they have provided important insights and relevant meta-theories that form the core of mediation research, they lack three important elements for increased practice-relevance: critical research, qualitative and inductive approaches, and disaggregated findings. The author first analyses the knowledge that mediation research has produced, showing that its research agenda is directly influenced by the practical concern of rendering mediation more effective. In a second step, she points to the limitations of the main contributions to theory development in mediation in terms of their practical relevance and makes suggestions on how they could be overcome. Thereby, her article provides an up-to-date review of the mediation literature and makes suggestions for how to render it not only policy-oriented, but also policy-relevant.

Legitimation of UN's role in peacebuilding: 1991–2020

One of the major recent changes in international relations has been the shift from unipolarity to multipolarity in the post–Cold War era. **Fanny Badache** and **Sara Hellmüller** aim to understand whether changes in world politics have impacted the way the UN peacebuilding enterprise is legitimised. The central assumption is that changes in world politics lead to a change in the normative standards on which actors claim (or challenge) the legitimacy of the UN in peacebuilding. More specifically, we can expect that the shift from unipolarity to multipolarity leads to "legitimation contests" among states – especially between traditional and rising powers – on what a "good" or a "bad" approach to peacebuilding is. Empirically, the authors analyse statements made by diplomats in the Security Council from 1991 to 2020 for eight countries: France, the UK, the USA, Russia, China and Brazil, South Africa and Turkey. They engage with a comparative assessment (between countries and over time) of how these states legitimise the role of the UN in peacebuilding. The preliminary findings show that these states do not use the same narratives and that these narratives are strongly related to these states' conceptions of security threats and sovereignty.

Patterned Inconsistencies: Japan, the Global Peacebuilding Order, and the Logic of Multiversality

Extant research on state behaviours tends to rely on binary theoretical frameworks where interest-driven behaviours (cost-benefit calculus) are neatly differentiated from identity-driven behaviours (norm compliance). In this context, behavioural inconsistencies emerge when actors' material interests clash with normative ambitions. The applicability of this conventional framework, however, is limited when it comes to our increasingly multipolar world where state actors embrace competing identities. **Kazushige Kobayashi** fosters theoretical innovations by proposing an alternative logic of multiversality, where behavioural inconsistencies emerge as a result of the clash among multiple identities which drive state actors to seek conformity with contradictory norms. He applies this new framework to the case of Japan's peacebuilding policy and argues that the apparent "inconsistencies" in Japanese peacebuilding is structured by its struggle to satisfy two competing identities. As a major "Western" OECD donor, Japan seeks to conform to the mainstream liberal peace by promoting democracy, human rights, and the free market norms. As a major "non-Western" power, however, Japan also champions the subaltern norms of non-interference, Westphalian sovereignty, and state developmentalism. The author shows that these two competing identities have perpetually pulled Japanese peacebuilders towards two contradictory normative directions and produced a consistent macro-pattern of behavioural inconsistencies.

An Apomediated Peace? How Digital Technology Changes Peacebuilding

Practice

Efforts to build peace after a political crisis or armed violence are increasingly digitised, as conflict parties, conflict stakeholders, and peacebuilding actors use digital information and communication technologies (ICTs) to further their agendas. However, while considerable research exists on the role of these digital technologies in political mobilisation and armed conflict, their effects in peacebuilding remain little understood. **Andreas Hirblinger** therefore explores how the increasing digitisation of peace processes affects international peacebuilding efforts. Adapting the concept of "apomediation", he argues that the solutions to conflict are no longer simply supplied by human agents, but through a complex entanglement of human-machine networks. These assemblages apomediate the knowledge making on the conflict, the construction of options for conflict resolution, as well as their implementation. Drawing on empirical material from a range of conflict-affected contexts that are varyingly affected by digitalisation, the author suggests that apomediation takes place through the everyday and often tacit use of digital technologies by conflict stakeholders, but just as well through specialised methodologies and applications. Apomediation shapes who and what has agency and power in peacebuilding contexts, it influences peacebuilding practices and objectives, and finally the very notion of peace.

Addressing and Preventing Violent Extremism in Africa: A Regional Analysis

Alaa Tartir presents a regional analysis on the prevention of violent extremism in Africa, with a focus on the borderlands of Southern Libya, Northern Chad, Northern Niger, Northern Sudan and relevant communities in Nigeria. He highlights the key findings of a major original fieldwork that was conducted in the above-mentioned regions in 2021 that utilised a comprehensive survey/questionnaire examining pull and push factors in the domain of violent extremism. Around 7,500 households were surveyed and interviewed by a large team of field researchers in these regions. The original gathered data tackles issues related to local communities' experience with armed groups, recruitment dynamics, use, spread, trade, and ownership of small arms and light weapons, as well as on personal perceptions, dispositions, values with plausible effect vis-á-vis countering and preventing violent extremism. Approaching the policy-relevant issue of preventing violent extremism from a critical academic and scholarly perspective will challenge and problematise some key features of the commonly perceived "conventional wisdom" in this domain, and expand and explore other elements and features using the original and new qualitative and qualitative insights gathered from the field.

Do Regional Powers Have a Peacebuilding Agenda? Turkey as a Case

The role of emerging regional powers has been increased in the context of a shifting global order. Many studies have addressed the impact of these powers on the "liberal" international peacebuilding endeavours; however, beyond these attributions, less attention has been paid to how these powers are contextualising their role. **Bilal Salaymeh** unpacks the role of rising regional power in the context of peacebuilding from their perspective, by focusing on the case of Turkey. Beyond contributing to the UN peace operations and playing a mediator role, Turkey has been taking part in post-conflict recovery activities in Somalia, northern Syria, and most recently in Libya. Meanwhile, Turkey's activities are taking place in a context of regional competition, and sometimes contesting the UN-led processes. The author questions Turkey's role, as rising regional power, in peacebuilding and post-conflict recovery activities. He tries to question whether Turkey really has a peacebuilding agenda, by referring to the official discourse and on-the-ground actions. What are the

convergences and divergences between the "talk" and the "walk" of the Turkish role in this regard? How does Turkey frame its post-conflict activities? How is this role contextualised within, and in contrast to, the international peacebuilding agenda?

Security Studies, Technology & Institutions

The Origin of War Monuments: From the Gates of Cities to the Hub of War Experiences

How do war monuments shape the practices of warfare? **Raphaël Leduc** argues that the contemporary war monument is the central hub around which the practices of warfare are shaped, whether they happen on or off the battlefield. Understanding the becoming of war monuments is thus a pregnant entry point for the study of state-society relations. He conducts a genealogy of war monuments from their architectural predecessors – the gate of star fortifications – to today. This inquiry shows that war monuments are used by the state to shape not only perceptions about war but warfighting on the battlefield itself. His paper makes an important contribution to critical war studies by pushing the boundaries of the study of war monuments beyond their treatment as evidence of militarism or sites of memory. Instead, the conclusion proposes that war monuments should be understood as objects that can leverage different forms of symbolic capital and in doing so contribute to the co-constitution of war as a social field of practice.

Strictures and Escapes: The Infrastructural Design Work of Cybersecurity Certificates

Scientific experts "make up" the objects of their knowledge. Clinical classifications "make up people" (Ian Hacking). The objects through which scientists observe these objects in turn contribute to that making up. Depending on which instruments of observation we rely on, the "materialisation of reality" will take the shape of particles or of waves (Karen Barad). Objects occupy a central place in the "political ecologies" (Isabelle Stengers) of expertise that emerge through these materialisations of reality (in plural) and the making up of objects associated with them. Objects are part of the relational processes that underpin these political ecologies, that is, of their "infrastructures". But how and to what effect? Here, **Anna Leander** answers focussing on the infrastructural design "work" done by one specific object (of expertise): the cybersecurity certificate. Such certificates make the handles and footholds rendering work with the unwieldly cybersecurity expertise practically feasible, they draw up the forms that make it appealing to do so and they carve out openings fuelling shifts in this work. This design work is prefiguring expertise practices by solidifying the infrastructures of cunning, uncertain expertise. Cunning in its ambivalent consequence certainly. The uncertainty of expertise both sharpens strictures and affords escapes from them.

Speculative Designs against Global Detention

Detention has always been globalised. Filtered through colonial histories, commercial politics, and practices of marginalisation. More, this global system has been regularly augmented by shifting technological possibilities. The structure of detention has morphed as what originally seemed innocuous technical developments have been subsumed into its workings: fencing technologies, camera systems, novel building materials, and beyond. Against that backdrop, **Jonathan Luke Austin** discusses the possibility of imagining an "inverse" or counter-practice of technological design against global detention. To do so, he draws on a project co-developed with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), architects, speculative designers, social scientists, and locally situated activists militating against the global detention system (in, specifically, Iraq, Colombia, and the DRC). Drawing on the speculative design literature, his paper discusses a series of design proposals that seek to turn technology against detention. This includes – for example – proposals to re-design urban architectures in ways that prevent mass-detention exercises during counterinsurgency campaigns. These speculative designs against detention are presented in schematic (visual, aesthetic, etc.) form before the paper moves to theorising – with the architect Keller Easterling – an urgent need to develop "active" materially embedded, aesthetically resonant, and technologically oriented "forms" of disrupting globally oppressive systems such as – but extending far beyond – detention.

What's left of the Cold War in the United States and Russia?

The catchphrase that United States-Russia relations are akin to a "new Cold War" has become commonplace. In the US, the Cold War is the great American past in which Donald Trump was rooting his American Renaissance; it is also the "free world" of which Joe Biden wants to be the leader. In Russia, it is the idealised past to which many nostalgic of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet victory in the Second World War are rooting Russia's identity as a Great Power. There is not a single speech where references to the Cold War are not mobilised by Vladimir Putin to make his point. Using a poststructuralist analysis, **Vassily Klimentov** examines how political leaders in both the US and Russia mobilise memories of the Cold War in defining their identities and justifying policies in the present. He argues that in both countries the Cold War is still alive while its events and dynamics continue to be constantly renegotiated against the imperatives of the present. On the methodological front, he conducts a content and discourse analysis of Vladimir Putin, and Barack Obama, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden's televised addresses and interviews

Fence Eats the Crop? Simultaneous and Competing Security along the Indo-Myanmar Border

With a complex political order and a plethora of competing non-state and state actors, "security" along the Indian side of the Indo-Myanmar border manifests in many ways. **Shalaka Thakur** explores the multidimensional nature of security inductively, drawing on fieldwork conducted in northeast India and through interviews with Indian security forces (Indian Army and paramilitary) and with locals belonging to different tribes and ethnicities in the region. Alongside mapping how these securities conceptually exist in parallel, she aims to develop an understanding of how the formal securitising actors fit into local understanding of security and insecurity. Furthermore, in light of the recent political shifts in Myanmar, she investigates the internal contradictions of "security" within the Indian security forces by juxtaposing their formal relationship with the Myanmar army against their relationship with Burmese nationals who have fled Myanmar and are currently in northeast India.

Rebel Taxation as Extortion or a Technology of Governance?

Armed groups around the world frequently collect payments from civilians and businesses. Yet the nature of these payments – upon whom they are levied, in what manner and for what purpose – -remains relatively opaque. **Zachariah Mampilly** (Marxe School, Baruch College, CUNY) and **Shalaka Thakur** take advantage of the territorial variation in the tax practices of a single armed group, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak Muivah (NSCN-IM). By leveraging the subnational variation in the taxation system the rebellion is able to implement across four different areas, they identify the specific factors that shape armed groups' choices to implement distinct taxation regimes across space. Specifically, they suggest that two factors – the degree of political legitimacy combined with the degree of military control – shape the nature and form of taxes that a specific group will implement.

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Methodological & Theoretical Approaches

International Organisation Research Methods: A Systematic Review (1945–2020)

Scholars have studied International Organisations (IOs) in many disciplines such as law, history, political science, anthropology, among others. Despite important theoretical developments, IO studies are missing a complete and systematic assessment of the methods used to research these organisations. Which methods are used and how? Do we need a specific methodology applied to the case of IOs? What are the concrete methodological challenges when we research IOs? To explore these questions, **Fanny Badache** and **Lucile Maertens** (University of Lausanne) have conducted a systematic longitudinal study in which they have analysed a sample of articles pertaining to IOs from 1945 to 2020 drawn from seven influential academic journals in international relations. The analysis first examines the place awarded to methodological discussions in publications on IOs over time. Second, the authors test whether methods have evolved hand in hand with researchers' conceptions of IOs. Third, they explore the extent to which the field of IO studies has become more plural in light of the variety of the methods used. Finally, they provide descriptive statistics on the methodology adopted by scholars, the types of data and their methods of analysis. This overview intends to fill a gap in IO scholarship while calling for methodological dialogue and reflexivity in international relations.

Who Supports Change for Women in Human Rights Law? A Feminist-Institutionalist Analysis of the UN Human Rights Treaty Bodies

Equality and non-discrimination are obligations enshrined in multiple international human rights treaties, aiming to guarantee women's enjoyment of their human rights. To this end, independent experts monitor the implementation of these obligations. The experts are nominated and elected by states without quota for the composition of the treaty body. While it is broadly assumed that women's participation in international institutions increases the legitimacy of outcomes, recent

studies highlight the importance of critical actors to explain how institutions embrace or resist positive gendered change. Applying a feminist-institutionalist lens, **Nina Reiners** approaches human rights expert committees not as fixed structures but constructed through their members. Based on a mixed-method research design, she combines network analysis and case studies to analyse change in membership over time and identify critical actors who act individually or collectively to bring about women-friendly change through human rights treaty interpretations. Her paper finds an overall increase of the representation of women experts on human rights treaty bodies and, based on a content analysis of treaty interpretations, a correlation with gendered change in interpretations. Based on evidence from the case studies, she argues that only a focus on individual actors explains gendered change in human rights law.

No High Flyers: The Geography, Political Economy and Experience of Contemporary Circus

As an amateur aerialist with ten years of experience in static trapeze, **Keith Krause** has engaged in what could be called barefoot (literally) multi-sited ethnography. What began as a pastime turned into a hobby and evolved into a near obsession, providing him with insights into the ways and means of contemporary amateur circus, as practised around the world. "Site visits" to more than 20 circus schools (from Bogota and Mexico City to Barcelona and Bristol; from Manchester, London and New York to Beirut and Tampere) and consistent training in seven of them allowed him to witness (and in this paper to discuss) the different configurations of circus schools, their (shaky) economic foundations, their social embeddedness and marginality, and the globally networked ways of (learning and sharing in) the circus world. Performing circus (to diverse publics) also allowed him, experientially, to explore the (dis)connect between the everyday world of intellectual/scholarly pursuits and the physically demanding lifeworld of training, emotion/affect, and performance. His paper thus explores the global geography, political economy and experience of contemporary circus.

Foreign Policy and Journalistic Assumptions: Incorporating Background Semantics into Machine Learning Models of Event Interpretation

When journalists characterise events as part of a pattern – a speech, for example, seen as the latest escalation in a conflict, or a smiling joint press conference categorised as evidence that each side made concessions – the characterisation cannot possibly specify all the assumptions that underlie this interpretation. To some degree, this is because of writing conventions for how news stories are put together, but it is also due to journalists assuming a certain background semantics: about a country's history, for example, or a leader's political style, or for that matter, about the meaning of certain specialised words or phrases ("testing"; "sovereignty"). Thus, understanding how journalists interpret events is not in the first instance a matter of scholars slotting phenomena into pre-existing schemas such as "cold war" or "great power confrontation," but of specifying the background semantics assumed in who-what-where-when-why accounts of those phenomena. **David Sylvan** and **Ashley Thornton** illustrate the importance of this specification by building machine-learning models to generate elite newspaper summaries of policy announcements by the White House and the State Department about Russia, contrasting models with different types and degrees of semantic detail

Rebel Inc.: Tracing the Aestheticisation of State-Building

State-building is often represented as a "project" by those doing it – one with a linear framework and a definitive achievable outcome. The intended outcome – the

state – is increasingly represented as "processual" – non-linear, multiple and perennial. These representations interact (conflicting and complementing each other) in ecologies of academia and popular culture. **Eliza Urwin** traces this interaction and the aestheticization of state-building that is thus (re)produced, investigating the logic regimes that govern state-building initiatives. In order to conduct this investigation, she analyses the video game Rebel Inc., juxtaposing it with a narrative of speculative fiction written by a practitioner who participated in state-building in Afghanistan for 5 years. These representations are not just instantiations of the aestheticisation of "the state" and its construction, they also make visible the global circuits of (in)security logics that determine what state-building (and the state) "should" be, and the counter-narratives that push against these conceptualisations. The author argues that these conflicting visions render visible the continually negotiated horizons of possibility for the conceptualisation and practice of state-building.

Turkey's Accession to the EU: A Textual Analysis on the European Commission's Regular Turkey Reports

Drawing on the European Commission's (EC) Turkey reports between 1998 and 2020, **Buğra Güngör** explores how the EC's attitude toward Turkey's accession to the EU changes across years. To this end, the analyses include three applications of natural language processing: sentiment analysis, text segmentation, and topic modelling. The evidence shows that the overall positivity of the EC's attitude toward Turkey's progress shows a steady trend between 1998 and 2008, followed by a persistent decline between 2010 and 2018. After disaggregating across membership criteria, the author observes that EC's rising unpleasantness about political and legal developments in Turkey since the early 2010s is consistent with rising authoritarian practices by the JDP rule after 2013. Nevertheless, the EC has a more positive view toward economic developments in Turkey during the same years despite Turkey's financial underperformance since 2016. Lastly, he shows that the reports revolve around three themes: satisfying the EU acquis to initiate the accession negotiations (1998–2004), rights-based (2005–2013), and institutional (2014–2020) aspects of membership criteria. He concludes that multifaceted and temporally variant characteristics of the EC's attitude toward political, legal, and economic developments in Turkey over the last two decades have shaped the current status of Turkey's potential membership.

The Qrious Qase of Qanon: How the Unreal Wielded Legitimate Political Power

Qanon is perhaps among the best examples of weaponised disinformation: from its #pizzagate inception through Marjorie Taylor Greene's unopposed Q fuelled run for the US Congress and its contemporaneous following "waiting for the storm" after participation in the January 6th Capitol riots (Moskalenko & McCauley, 2021). **Bart Gabriel** evaluates Qanon in terms of its ability to be emblematic of the state of expertise in post-truth, mediatised societies, a currently unfolding academic project (Papasavva et al. 2020, Hannah 2020, Amarsingam 2020). Drawing on New Media, STS and Political Communication literatures and by means of netnography, he contends that we might well look towards a radical shift in the figuration of expertise, notably that of the expert raj (Jasanoff 2013), informed by the exponential growth of information production, compilation and circulation without such marked increase in information consumption. This enables the Unreal (Zuckerman 2019) to emerge into public debate without recourse as expertise and conspiracy theory appear inextricably intertwined. Hierarchies of information valorisation must then grow increasingly rigid and discriminatory to separate actionable information from virtual chaff, the legitimacy of contemporary primary experts becomes increasingly arbitrary

and thereby precarious, while secondary expertise proliferates behind so many digital doors and warrens.

The Circular, the Linear and the Suspended: Untangling Temporalities Performed at Azraq

Relying on interviews and participatory observations conducted by the author in Azraq, a refugee camp in Jordan, **Augusta Nannerini** inquires into the temporalities performed at the camp. She identifies a circular temporality when looking at an NGO's programme of "cash for work" for refugees, which creates job contracts perceived as a way of helping refugees by providing them with a stipend but that does not lead the refugees to tangible professional development, nor does it contribute to improving the overall condition of life at the camp. At the end of their contract, refugees and the reality within which they live are circularly brought back to their original condition. The paper contraposes this temporal circularity to the linear temporality performed by the NGOs' staff members in their annual planning and donors' reporting for the "cash for work" programme. It then considers the temporality performed in a special jail-like area of Azraq. As the high-security measures force refugees to wait for the authorities to decide over their legal cases and prevent them from taking part in any of the activities organised by NGOs, they also perform a suspended temporality. Remarkably, the circular, the linear and the suspended exist in the same space of Azarq.

The Rule of Law and State Capacity: Exploring Varieties of Authoritarianism

Today's authoritarians pursue illiberal ends using rule of law compliant means. Much of the research on this topic has been based on comparatively highly capacitated authoritarian states, such as Russia and China, or Hungary and Poland. The findings illustrate how these states seek to extend their control and enact illiberal political agendas, both domestically – for instance using law to narrow the space for political opposition and bolster the advantage of incumbency – and internationally – for instance by strengthening sovereign claims and undermining human rights norms. **Rebecca Tapscott** examines how authoritarians use law in lower-capacity states to make an empirical and analytic contribution to this emerging scholarship. Lower-capacity states may lack the ability to pursue authoritarian interests directly. As a result, they adopt strategies that indirectly weaken the rule of law. For instance, in addition to weakening institutions by subverting law, some authoritarians destabilise jurisdictional claims, thereby making it uncertain when a given institution will be the relevant legal authority. By identifying several ways that lower-capacity authoritarian states strategically use law, the author offers an initial approach to typologising authoritarian regime types and varieties of legal authoritarianism, with important implications for understanding variation in authoritarian states and their engagement with the international order.

Time, Mechanisms and Multilayered Processes

Most of the discussion on causal or social mechanisms has taken place in the context of their role in process-tracing. In particular, the role of causation, and hence the issue of "tracing", has acquired prominence in methodological and ontological inquiries. **Stefano Guzzini** explores the issue of "process", that is, the role of temporality in understanding the role of mechanisms in our analyses. Besides the classical concern with sequence, known from historical institutionalism, he explores the possibility of thinking process in plural, namely as the parallel, potentially multi-layered, interaction of processes that may not advance at the same speed.

More Civilian Pain than Political Gain (Again?): The Demise of Targeted Sanctions and Associated Humanitarian Impacts

Targeted sanctions were initially associated with an effort to limit the humanitarian consequences of sanctions. **Erica Moret** examines this relationship and discusses whether and in what way targeted sanctions have humanitarian impacts. HeR paper demonstrates that the assumption of a limited humanitarian impact for targeted sanctions does not always hold. As a result, global sanctions practice has hit a new crisis point that requires major re-thinking in how the sanctions tool should and can be best used.

One-Trick Pony to a Master of Multi-Tasking

International organisations (IOs) are brought into the world with a raison d'être, that is, with a mission or a sense of organisational purpose that justifies their existence. Born with narrow mandates, IOs often end up doing more than they were created to do. The questions that arise are then, Why and how do IOs successfully broaden their raison d'être into new sectorial territories? How do they successfully introduce, routinise, and legitimise practices that were not part of their original mandate? Through a historical case study of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and its operational activities in the postwar period, **Monique J. Beerli** explores the processual nature of mission creep. Far from being purely symptomatic of an IO's bureaucratic nature, mission creep is firstly situated as the result of intra-organisational debates across hierarchical levels. Secondly, in examining different internal interpretations of the ICRC's mission, the author examines mission creep as the by-product of interprofessional rivalries in organisational work environments. Contributing to knowledge on the ICRC, she also advocates for the need to historicise the operational activities of IOs and to give analytical weight to manifestations of intra-organisational heterogeneity as a condition of change.

Expected Benefits and Feared Consequences: The Role of International Research Collaboration and Data Exchange between Various Actors and the Impact It Has on Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons – Case Study: UNHCR's Global Compact for Refugees Framework

The number of refugees and internally displaced persons is increasing every year, due to ongoing or newly emerging armed conflicts, health pandemics, or natural disasters. The challenge of appropriately assisting those facing forced displacement is high on the development agendas of many countries and international organisations. As such, some organisations are arguing that there is a need for more collaboration across disciplines and among various international actors, in order to enhance research and provide better policy recommendations to states faced with the responsibility to care for the increasing numbers of refugees. In order to strengthen the international response to the large movements of refugees, in 2018, the UNHCR adopted a new framework called, the Global Compact for Refugees. **Sorina Crisan** utilises the UNHCR's example as a case study to showcase the

expected benefits and feared consequences of international research collaboration and exchanges of information between international organisations, donor countries, philanthropic organisations, academia, think tanks, etc., and the impact this has on populations of concern.

Navigating Institutional Complexity: New Actors and Institutions in Densely Populated Global Governance Spaces

The concept of regime complexity provides a useful lens through which to analyse the density of global governance institutions. A growing literature identifies clusters of overlapping institutions in many policy domains of world politics, including trade, intellectual property, crisis management/peace operations, and climate change. Yet, much of the regime complexity literature focuses on states and formal intergovernmental institutions as main actors and institutional forms. Non-state actors and informal and transnational institutional arrangements have remained under-explored. This neglect is at odds with the more general global governance literature, which emphasises the importance of these new actors and institutional forms for understanding world politics. To address this gap, **Stephanie Hofmann** develops a theoretically informed typology that accommodates these actors and institutional types in accounting for the politics within regime complexes. This typology enables researchers to systematically map the diverse actors and institutions within regime complexes and begin to characterise complexes based on variation in actors and institutions. The author also develops theoretical expectations about the conditions under which we observe what kind of regime complex, which strategies actors choose in what complexes, and with what consequences for the empowerment of different actors and institutions. Her paper illustrates these effects drawing on three important regime complexes: internet governance, climate change, and global health. By offering this framework, she aims to expand regime complex theory and align it more closely with the broader global governance literature to improve on cumulation across these two important fields of inquiry.

Do State Policies Converge around Judicial Rulings? Promotion and Demotion of Focal Rules by International Courts

Can international courts facilitate interstate cooperation by promoting focal rules around which state policies can converge? Existing literature argues that courts can clarify the law by interpreting vague treaty provisions and customary law. Especially in areas where states are required to coordinate their policies, court interventions may carry a particular importance by cultivating a focal rule which can help create focal points for interstate cooperation. Yet we know little about the extent to which states actually modify their conduct in light of court rulings, and whether, as a result, state policies become more harmonious. Examining state policies on the appropriate rule of maritime delimitation, **Umut Yüksel** and **Ezgi Yildiz** show that the courts do not always promote or endorse rules that have the potential to serve as focal rules. By discarding a potential focal rule in favour of more flexible approaches, court decisions may have unexpected consequences on state policies and legal predictability. Lacking a focal rule, state policies diverge as each state seeks to interpret the law to maximise their gains. The authors find that future attempts by courts to mitigate the damage are often not enough to harmonise state policies. These findings further our understanding of international courts and the impact of legalisation.

Protection in the Making: UNHCR, Internal Displacement and the Birth of "Responsible Sovereignty"

The Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) framework, a key normative development since the 1990s, says that states and the international community bear responsibility to protect populations from genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and ethnic cleansing. The practice of intervention in the last three decades was built on this definition of protection. However, for most of the twentieth century, protection has meant something entirely different. Granted for two organisations, the ICRC and the UNHCR officially, it meant protecting the legal status of a narrowly defined group of people. This model of "protection" came increasingly under challenge after the Cold War, and especially with the appearance of internally displaced people (IDPs). The internally displaced, although very similar to refugees in need, were "invisible" in an international order based on sovereignty and non-interference. Not having crossed an international border, they remained under the protection of their home state, while at the same time were often persecuted by these very same state authorities. As a result, IDPs fell into the so-called "vacuum of responsibility". **Erna Burai** tackles ethical leadership in addressing the vacuum of responsibility and first articulating the question of responsible sovereignty. She does so through tackling the ethical leadership of Sadako Ogata, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and Francis Deng, Special Representative for Internally Displaced People, who put internal displacement on the international agenda.

The Neutralisation of Critical Knowledge Claims by International Organisations

When IOs initiate dialogue, through processes of consultation or participation, with civil society groups or other marginalised voices who aim to share their own claims and knowledge, such possibilities may in fact work to the effect of neutralising critical voices. On the one hand, IOs and the recognised experts they work with work from a position of epistemic authority and can orchestrate the modalities of participation of critical voices in order to ultimately arbitrate whose knowledge is valid. On the other, critical voices themselves may practise self-restraint and calibrate their claims in order to retain access to IOs. This might be done through a taming of certain positions, adopting a more "scientistic" or technical terminology, abstaining from voicing certain views, or conforming to normalised views of what is "expert" or "competent", argues **Annabelle Littoz-Monnet**.

Alternative Paths around and away from Multilateralism

Multilateralism and international law have long been seen as deeply entangled, and the interaction of states in multilateral fora has been seen as crucial for the expansion of international law throughout the twentieth century, and especially in the 1990s. This leads us to expect that the decline of multilateral cooperation in the past two decades would have a significant effect on international law. However, we can observe that throughout this and earlier periods much significant change in international law has taken place outside the more visible fora – outside of treaty negotiations. Instead, change processes took to more informal ways through reinterpretation and transformation by a range of non-state actors (judges, experts in international organisations, private authorities). Their availability, **Nico Krisch** and **Ezgi Yildiz** argue, makes it possible for actors to shift away from, circumvent, or replace multilateral fora when they seek to effect change in international law. This move around and away from multilateralism opens up pathways for change with fewer (or different) hurdles. The rise of such alternative paths operating alongside multilateral arrangements over the past few decades has allowed international law to adapt even as state cooperation has met obstacles. The trajectory of international

legal order, hence, can only be understood by bringing both types of pathways into view side-by-side.

Built-In Productive Ambiguity in Order-Making: Peace Operations in the Name of Diverse Visions of Order

What kind of order exists in the name of "maintaining peace and security" and how fragile is it? While the UN's creators did not foresee the possibility to mandate military operations that would "keep the peace" within countries, with time not only did the UN launch such operations but also mandated regional organisations to do the same. It was able to do so by creatively using the wording of Chapter VI and VII of its Charter – legal gaps that produce order-making spaces. Since then, many principles have been ascribed to how actors "keep the peace". Most of them fall under the political liberal paradigm with emphasis on human rights. This has never sat easily with sovereignty-guarding states such as Russia. But Russia has made use of liberal ideational dispositions to intervene militarily in its neighbourhood. The institutional configuration in which this occurs, the UNSC, reinforces this ambiguity as it favours the P5 to voice their grievances. **Stephanie Hofmann** argues that the liberal discourse is not only open for interpretation but also can be combined with other ideational dispositions, thereby reconstituting what "liberal" means in the use of force. In short, she observes a dialectic between order-undermining and order-creating dynamics.

Private Actors and the Production of Metrics in Global Health

Annabelle Littoz-Monnet explores the role of private actors in the production of global metrics in health governance, with a specific focus on non-communicable diseases (NCDs) The global health metrics used in global health by the WHO, the World Bank or even global professional associations have been produced either for or by private actors. On the one hand, the WHO, concerned to attract private investments and private funders, sustained a governance mode in which digital data and algorithms were mobilised in order to set priorities and calculate the impact of existing interventions and eventually showcase the benefits of "investing" into NCDs. On the other hand, and because they also wanted to direct their own investments where most "cost-effective", philanthropic players found the production of large datasets highly appealing and created "data institutes" specifically designed to produce large data and estimates. These metrics and the models with which they have been "calculated" have resulted in the production of NCDs as a technical, individual, biomedical and marketable problem.

Institutional Layering in Practice: Emergent Multilateral Innovation in the SDGs Negotiations

In the 2010s, responding to a widely perceived crisis of multilateralism, practitioners pioneered more transparent, participative and deliberative processes. This includes the way the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were negotiated and the UN Secretary-General selected. However, the second half of the decade saw this reformist zeal stall, and the status quo reassert itself, a tendency yet to be systematically explained by scholars. Applying Pouliot's (2020) analysis of the Secretary-General case to the SDGs one, **Lucas Dias Rodrigues dos Santos** analyses the latter as a case of institutional layering, in which incumbents and reformists compromise by preserving old rules while tacking a layer of new ones on top. Here, profound North/South cleavages were (mostly) successfully mended through innovative procedure – but on a largely informal, improvised and impermanent basis that greatly limited its impact beyond this original remit. More broadly, this paper reinforces the applicability of Pouliot's approach to layering, which

factors in the web of everyday practices enmeshing social action. This allows scholars to account for the emergent qualities of micropolitics, instead of overly relying on macro-level forces. Thus, rather than ascribe such phenomena to multipolarity from the top down, for example, we can delve deeper and see how layering actually plays out in practice.

International Bureaucracies' Expansion Strategies: Exploring the Advantages of "Brokering"

International bureaucracies tend to expand their activities into new domains, which can be related, or not, to their formal mandates. While we know that they do this successfully, we do not know much about how international bureaucracies expand. **Annabelle Littoz-Monnet** explores the practices through which international bureaucrats develop their activities in domains already invested by other global governance actors, as is often the case in a global governance landscape crowded with organisations and their often overlapping activities. She develops the argument that in such circumstances, an effective strategy for international bureaucrats may consist in fashioning their organisation as a "broker", an apolitical forum and a neutral facilitator of debates. Acting under the guise of neutrality may be a strategy to gain control over a domain, as organisations can use their position as nodes through which multiple transactions coalesce in order to more efficiently set the agenda in a given domain, while pretending to be neutral facilitators. This is explored in the case of the WHO and the way it has expanded into the fields of bioethics and mental health.

Political Economy, Foreign Aid & Migrations

Rethinking Sovereign Default Decisions: A Computational Model of Two-Level Negotiations

A striking feature of sovereign debt governance is that repeated interactions between debtors and creditors create the potential for feedback effects that might nonlinearly aggregate. In the context of strategic interactions, such as that of debt talks, actors' behaviour indeed becomes non-separable: debtors' and creditors' negotiation moves depend on the combination of their counterpart's preferences and the preferences of their constituencies. Such interdependence triggers endogenous relations between system components that allow for multiple policy outcomes. Extant theories in political science and economics, however, typically assume that actors can learn about equilibrium play, which leads the theories to derive incumbents' policy decisions only from the comparative statics of equilibrium conditions. To overcome this limitation, **Alessandra Romani** develops a two-level agent-based model where fiscal policy decisions result from repeated interactions between the representatives of debtor and creditor institutions, based on the preferences that emerge from discussions within the two groups. In particular, she explores how the distribution of debtors' and creditors' preferences impacts the policy space over which they operate, thus the conditions under which

(non-)cooperation will emerge. The model seems to predict game outcomes that equilibrium-based approaches failed to explain, such as cases where multiple heterogeneous actors are involved.

What Do We Know (and Don't Know) about Turkish Foreign Aid? A Systematic Review of the Literature

Turkey as a rising donor has extensively used foreign aid as an important instrument of its foreign policy in the last few decades. In particular, Official Development Assistance (ODA) of Turkey has increased by 25 folds from $339 million in 2004 to $8.666 billion in 2019. This dramatic increase in ODA of Turkey, a traditionally aid recipient country and not an OECD-DAC member, has drawn scholarly attention over the last decade or so. Several scholars have hitherto studied the motivation behind and the spatial distribution of Turkish foreign aid. Drawing on academic works about Turkish foreign aid between 2005 and 2021, this study by **Buğra Güngör** and **Onur Sen** (Mersin University) is the first attempt to systematically review and analyse the accumulated knowledge on Turkish foreign aid policy. Despite a vast amount of research on traditional donors' aid behaviour, the authors have identified a dearth of the literature on foreign aid policies of emerging donors like Turkey. The purpose of their study is to shed light on what we know about Turkish foreign aid policy and to propose a research agenda for future studies on the topic.

Second Order Reflexivity in Late Capitalist Ruins: Disciplinary Discourse and the International Political Economy of the University

Literature on IR's disciplinary mythologies (Thakur 2017), its effigies and erasures (Tickner 2013, Tickner & Blaney 2014, Blaney & Inayatullah 2014) through its insular fractionalisations (EJIR 2013, Kristensen 2015, Kristensen 2018) is burgeoning. An array of critical voices intent on scrutinising the field's ontological commitments, theories and naturalised contingencies has offered invaluable commentary on the utility of a young and tempestuous social science (Dyvik et al. (eds.) 2017). The prerequisite to doing such work, as Waever puts it, is a second-order, disciplinary mode of reflexivity (2018) – only by objectifying the object can its relationalities begin to be interrogated (Bourdieu 1993). **Bart Gabriel** attempts to contribute to this second order reflexivity by considering one of the stickiest contours of the field: the relationality between ontological security of the researcher and the increasing marketisation of the university space (Tickner 2018, inter alia). The contention is that the subjectivity of the productive researcher underpins particular hegemonically common-sense truisms focused on research, innovation, productivity and transparency which each shape the discipline in turn, exacting a toll on teaching (Colgan 2016, Colgan 2017, Frueh (ed.) 2020), theorising marginal research agendas (Key & Sumner 2019), longitudinal/cooperative efforts and disciplinary self-awareness.

Ignite Your Senses: The Fracturing and Future of the Californian Aesthetic

Jonathan Luke Austin and **Anna Leander** make the argument that the material-aesthetics of commercial design plays a core role in the politics surrounding technology. It generates the "'resonances" and "atmospheres" around technology and so the politics associated with it. The authors make this argument with its point of departure in the decline of the resonance of what Barbrook and Cameron termed the "Californian Ideology" and the aesthetics associated with it. They draw on theorisations of resonance in the contemporary context (Rosa and Reckwitz in particular) to contextualise this decline. They make sense of it as a fracturing of the "resonance" of the Californian aesthetic that is currently being re-composed in novel ways. They look more closely at three such re-composings – those around aesthetics

of escape, erasure, and entanglement – and the political practices associated with them. They exemplify them drawing on the advertising and self-descriptions of Tech Companies. They argue that "aesthetic regimes‹" associated with these aesthetics result in profoundly different political practices associated respectively with nihilism, conservatism, and symbiosis. They conclude by discussing the futures for engagement and resistance opened by this fractured Californian Aesthetics.

Exploring the Variety of Refugee Policies: The Numbers vs. Rights Trade-Off Revisited

The ways states respond to refugee migration vary significantly. The existing migration policy literature has extensively discussed the cross-country variation in the national immigration policies. However, a similar scholarly endeavour remains underdeveloped in the context of refugee and asylum migration. **Hirotaka Fujibayashi** addresses this gap with a two-fold objective. First, he develops a two-dimensional typology for the classification of various refugee policies across the world. Specifically, he presents a 2×2 matrix that classifies a range of national governments' practices to deal with refugees and asylum-seekers, in light of two policy decisions concerning (1) the "openness" to refugee migration, and (2) the welfare "generosity" towards individual refugees after admission. Second, alongside the proposed policy typology, he further elaborates a political economy prediction of possible trade-offs between the numbers and rights of refugees admitted to a given country. While there is a long-lasting debate over the numbers versus rights hypothesis in both academic and policy literature on the (Western) developed countries' immigration policies, the author not only extends it into the refugee and asylum policy discourse specifically but provides a more thorough understanding of the dynamics of refugee and asylum policymaking with a global and contemporary outlook.

The Waxing and Waning of Ethnic Divides: Investigating the Drivers of Anti-Immigrant Legislation

Recent tides of anti-immigrant sentiment around the world have little to do with rapid changes in immigration flows. What is driving this sudden resurgence in the political attention to migration then? **Julia Greene** turns to the past for insight. She draws upon cognitive psychology to explain the heuristics used by proponents of anti-immigrant legislation in the early twentieth century to better understand whether the drivers of these attitudes stemmed from exogenous or endogenous factors. She asks: Under what conditions do latent markers of ethnic difference re-emerge to the level of political salience? Her historical analysis traces the waxing and waning salience of appearing Asian in the United States during this time period marked by a number of xenophobic national policies. She especially focuses on developments in California, as host to the largest Chinese diaspora of the time. Preliminary findings suggest that exogenous threats to the majority's status are the primary motivator, bearing significance for more contemporaneous issues as migration produces increasingly diverse societies.

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