

**GENEVA  
GRADUATE  
INSTITUTE**

# Research Bulletin

Upcoming events, latest publications and other research activities

28 April 2025 (no. 4, 2025)

## RESEARCH FESTIVAL AT THE GENEVA GRADUATE INSTITUTE

**Tuesday 13 May 2025, 12:00–18:00**

Join us for an afternoon dedicated to showcasing the depth, creativity, and collaborative spirit of research at the Institute. *(NB – This is an internal event.)*

[Read more >](#)

## Upcoming Research Events

**28  
APR**

**Monday**

INTERNATIONAL  
HISTORY AND  
POLITICS BRUNCHES  
**Fernanda Conforto de  
Oliveira | Who Gets a  
Program? IMF  
Sentiment towards  
Argentina and Brazil,  
1956–64  
12:15–13:15 Room  
P1-547**

**29  
APR**

**Tuesday**

INTERNATIONAL  
HISTORY AND  
POLITICS BRUNCHES  
**Fernanda Conforto de  
Oliveira | Who Gets a  
Program? IMF  
Sentiment towards  
Argentina and Brazil,  
1956–64  
12:15–13:15 Room  
P1-547**  
**VILFREDO PARETO  
RESEARCH SEMINAR  
Stefano Caria |  
Mitigating the  
Consequences of Job**

**30  
APR**

**Wednesday**

**YVES OLTRAMARE  
CONFERENCE  
Jean d'Aspremont |  
Fascist International  
Law: the Governance  
of the Thing  
12:15–14:00 Room  
S2**  
**CFD | INTERNATIONAL  
MACRO HISTORY  
SEMINAR  
Jonathan Chapman,  
Tim Besley, Dan Bogart  
& Nuno Palma |  
Justices of the Peace:  
Legal Foundations of**

**1  
MAY**

**Thursday**

NO EVENTS

**2  
MAY**

**Friday**

**ANTHROPOLOGY AND  
SOCIOLOGY  
Boris Pétric | The  
Globalization of Wine  
10:00–12:00 Room  
S4**

Loss: Experimental the Industrial  
Evidence from Ethiopia Revolution  
after a Tariff Shock 17:00–18:00 online  
14:15–15:30 Room  
S5  
ANTHROPOLOGY AND  
SOCIOLOGY  
Sultan Doughan | The  
Minor Detail of  
Palestine in Holocaust  
Archives: On Refusal  
in Times of Genocide  
Denial  
16:15–17:45 Room  
S5

5 MAY Monday	6 MAY Tuesday	7 MAY Wednesday	8 MAY Thursday	9 MAY Friday
YVES OLTRAMARE CHAIR Maria Birnbaum   Before Recognition: How the Politics of Religion Shaped the International Order 16:00–17:30 Auditorium A2	RESEARCH CAFÉ   GHC Gabriela Costa Chaves   Are Middle-Income Countries Reshaping the Approach to Intellectual Property on Pharmaceuticals? Lessons from Brazil 13:00–14:00 The Fab, Petal 2, 4th floor GENEVA CENTER FOR PHILANTHROPY & AHCD Guest Lecture by Michèle Lamont 18:00–20:00 Room U259, Uni-Dufour, & online GENDER CENTRE & CCDP   BOOK LAUNCH Aiko Holvikivi   Fixing Gender: The Paradoxical Politics of Training Peacekeepers 18:30–20:00 Auditorium A2	UNIGE, IHEID & HETS- HES-SO   PHD WORKSHOP Michèle Lamont   Seeing Others: How Recognition Shapes Research and Society 09:00–11:00 Maison de la paix INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS/POLITICAL SCIENCE   BOOK TALK Wendy Pearlman   The Home I Worked to Make: Voices from the New Syrian Diaspora 16:00–17:30 Room S11 UNIGE, IHEID & HETS   SÉMINAIRES INTERMIGRA 1) Gauri Saxena   Finding Respect as High-Skilled Minorities: British South Asian Doctors in the Historic and Contemporary Landscapes of Belonging; 2) Valérie Baggi   Appartenir quand même: les descendants de personnes migrantes entre désir de se sentir “chez-soi” et dynamiques d’altérisation et d’exclusion 17:30–19:00 HETS salle C004	LIBRARY & TECH HUB Research Café 09:00–10:00 The Fab, Petal 2, 4th floor INTERNATIONAL HISTORY AND POLITICS FORUM Eiko Kuwana   Curiosity, Disillusionment and Admiration: Austrian Diplomats in Meiji Japan 12:00–13:00 (online) INTERNATIONAL LAW   BOOK LAUNCH Francesco Romani   Belligerent Reprisals from Enforcement to Reciprocity 12:15–14:00 Room S5 HOFFMANN ADVANCED RESEARCH SEMINAR With Namrata Kala 12:15–13:30 P2 S8 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS/POLITICAL SCIENCE Ann Towns   Imperial, Familial and Bureaucratic: Global Gender Logics of Bilateral Diplomacy 16:00–17:30 Room S2	NO EVENTS

[See all events >](#)

## Gateway to Publications by Themes



Arts,  
Culture &  
Religion



Gender,  
Diversity,  
Race &  
Intersectionality



Education,  
Information  
& Media



Sustainability,  
Environment,  
the Anthropocene  
& SDGs



Diplomacy &  
Global  
Governance



Cities, Space,  
Mobilities &  
Migrations



Global  
Health



Trade,  
Finance,  
Economies  
& Work



Peace, War,  
Conflicts &  
Security



Human Rights,  
Humanitarianism,  
Justice &  
Inclusion



## Gateway to Other Relevant Information



Multimedia



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Grants



Calls for  
Papers



Awarded  
Prizes



Upcoming  
PhD Defences



## Publications by Themes



### Arts, Culture & Religion



#### ARTICLE

#### Dialogues subversifs: redéfinir le musée occidental par des interventions performatives

In recent years, large museums have increasingly become sites for subversive performances articulating diverse aesthetic and political claims. These actions challenge norms within museum spaces, disrupting their purpose of passive

collecting and cultural contemplation. **Laura Bullon-Cassis**, Postdoctoral Researcher at the Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy, and Nataliya Tchernalykh examine such performances through feminist, postcolonial, and ecological critiques, exploring how they disrupt the museum's symbolic order and spark debates on colonial provenance, patriarchal representation, and climate justice (article in French, in *Marges*, no. 40, April 2025).

[DOI >](#)

PHD THESIS IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY, 2025

#### Imagining Palestine

Through multi-sited ethnography, **Dorota Kozaczuk** analyses the practices of Palestinian planners and, more broadly, the language of representation in the context of Israeli settler colonialism. Her study explores the history of Palestinian planning, emphasising the administrative and regulatory frameworks that have shaped Palestinian urban designs, and traces the emergence and management of the Palestinian ministerial geospatial dataset. The findings are examined through a linguistic lens, revealing in rich detail the semantic strategies employed by

Palestinian engineers against the backdrop of existing inequitable power relations with Israel. The author discusses the significance of the geodetic signs and colours utilised by Palestinian civil engineers and planners, suggesting that their expertise and commitment to objectivity serve as forms of aesthetic activism. While ethnographically investigating the potential for boundless imagination in Palestine, the author conceptually unveils how orthographic representations of future Palestinian lives are constrained at the level of syntax — geospatial dataset. The author also explores how Palestinian master plans in contact with the Israeli Administration inadequately reflect the realities of surveyed Palestinian land, and as such, cannot support the futures envisioned by planners. Her thesis argues that Palestinian logic and creativity are not safeguarded by intuition, resulting in either a lack of representation or a drift into unrestrained imaginative excess. Nevertheless, she also demonstrates how planning practices in Palestine contribute to fortifying their epistemology, institutions, and the horizon of a conceivable future.

[Read more about the PhD thesis in this interview >](#)

[Repository](#) (file embargoed until January 2028; for access, [contact Dr Kozaczuk](#)).



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## Gender, Diversity, Race & Intersectionality

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PHD THESIS IN DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS,  
2025

### Three Essays on Welfare

This thesis by **Maria Kamran** explores welfare outcomes, primarily focusing on the well-being of women and children. In the first chapter, titled “**A Touch of Violence: Welfare Outcomes under Bride Exchange and Child Brides**”, she delves into the effects of marital customs on household

welfare. The second chapter, “**Hot Flashes: Theory and Empirics of Optimal Menopause**”, delves into the evolutionary underpinnings of menopause in human beings. Lastly, the third chapter, “**On the Complementarity of Pollution and Population Management under Economic Growth**”, delves into the ramifications of population control measures and market-driven environmental policies on economic growth and overall development.

[Read more about the PhD thesis in this interview >](#)

[Repository](#) (file embargoed until January 2028; for access, [contact Dr Kamran](#)).



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## Education, Information & Media

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DATABASE

### Student Financing Resource Database

This database presents information on student financing for higher education in the Global South, especially Sub-Saharan Africa (NORRAG, 2024). It is divided into two main sections:

- (a) Literature on the challenges and innovations around student financing
- (b) Cases that show elements of innovative finance and novel partnerships for student financing.



The database has been developed by a research team including Yageshree Moodley, Allan Kimaina, and Kamlesh Goyal, students of the University of Cape Town, for the **Innovative Financing for Education To Leave No One Behind** project, for which **Maira Faul**, Senior Lecturer and Executive Director of NORRAG, is the Principal Investigator, and **Arushi Terway**, Senior Lead Research Associate at NORRAG, is the Project

Director. It offers a synthesis of, and interface to, publicly available resources about higher education student financing with a focus on the Global South. It is hoped that the database will be a hub of information for the global education community, who may use it for research and policy analysis purposes.

*The database is part of ongoing research activities, with relevant literature and cases still emerging. Therefore, data may be incomplete, inaccurate or not up to date. Please verify any data before using it.*

[Dedicated page >](#)

#### ARTICLE

##### **The Philanthropic LLC: Business Influence over/via EdTech**

This paper by **Lara Patil**, Advisor at NORRAG, and Dana Brakman Reiser presents a specific legal vehicle for for-profit philanthropy, the limited liability corporation, and analyses: to what extent the philanthropic limited liability corporation is blurring the lines between high-net-worth individuals and the corporations they found and lead; how new modes of engagement are shifting dynamics between corporate capitalist business rationales and philanthropic endeavours and, in turn, impact the nature of education technology solutions made available; and how technology and philanthropic sector convergence is affecting power relations, educational inequalities, and global North/South relations (in *International Journal of Educational Development*, vol. 115, May 2025). The theoretical framing draws from contemporary comparative education research, where scholars are comprehensively unpacking transnational education transfer processes, and contributes to a growing body of critical EdTech scholarship rethinking the presence of technologies in our lives and schooling. The findings demonstrate how the autonomy of for-profit philanthropy is increasingly linked to the institutional profit rationales of affiliate corporations, with elite philanthropists leveraging philanthropy to advance their own business development and growth impact.

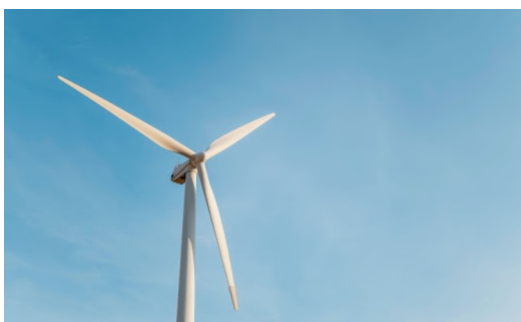
[Repository \(public access\) >](#)



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## **Sustainability, Environment, the Anthropocene & SDGs**



#### ARTICLE

##### **Contracts and Effective Inter-Organizational Collaboration: The Case of the Galápagos Wind Partnership**

Over the past three decades, the establishment of partnerships between public and non-state actors has become a leading mechanism of inter-organisational collaboration for sustainable development. The presence of productive



collaboration inside a partnership, as well as a partnership's ability to influence collaboration and institutions outside the immediate partners, are usually considered important pathways to partnership effectiveness. The conditions which facilitate or undermine such collaboration, however, are still widely debated. Dario Piselli and **Liliana B. Andonova** draw on the literature on institutional and partnerships effectiveness to explore how the institutional design of a partnership, and more specifically the quality of its contractual arrangements, may influence the ability of the partners to come together, articulate partnership goals, gain access to additional sources of financing, and manage reputational risks and gains (in *World Development*, vol. 191, July 2025). They do so through a case study of the Galápagos San Cristóbal Wind Project partnership, which was established in 2003 to reduce the Galápagos Islands' dependence on imported fossil fuels, while simultaneously protecting the region's fragile marine ecosystem from the risk of oil spills and contributing toward the transition to cleaner energy sources. Overall, they find that the high quality of contracting used in the partnership, including the supporting role of domestic legislation, was instrumental in shaping the effectiveness of the project activities and also served as a catalyst to facilitate adaptability and the credible commitment of resources by the partners. While the authors note the importance of considering contextual factors and conditions before applying our findings to other types of more informal collaborative relationships, they argue that the theoretical focus on contractual arrangements emphasised in their article is likely to remain important for understanding the effectiveness of global partnerships for sustainable development.

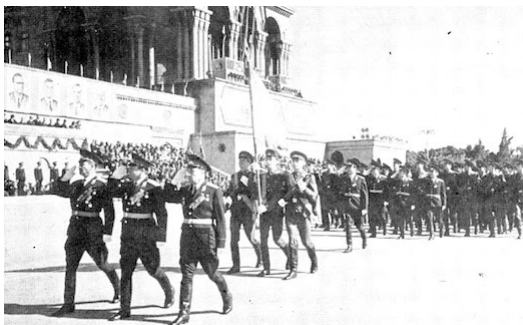
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## Diplomacy & Global Governance



### ARTICLE

#### **Between the Domestic and the Foreign: The KGB and Soviet Muslims in the Late USSR**

**Vassily Klimentov**, Research Associate at the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP), examines the ambivalence of the Soviet authorities' attitude to and policy toward Soviet Muslims in the 1970s

and 1980s (in *Journal of Contemporary History*, online March 2025). Soviet Muslims were an asset for Soviet foreign policy in Muslim countries, serving as KGB operatives and as diplomats in the Middle East, Iran, South Asia, and Afghanistan and proved generally loyal to the Soviet state. However, some Soviet officials, notably in the KGB, did not fully trust Soviet Muslims. They kept them in junior positions abroad, suspected them of foreign sympathies, and continued to monitor their activities at home. This dichotomy was incarnated in Soviet Muslim border regions such as Azerbaijan. Azerbaijanis were key to Soviet intelligence operations in Iran, but the KGB suspected them of sympathies for the Iranian Islamic Revolution. Some Soviet Muslims, including those in Azerbaijan, did root their opposition to the Soviet state in Islam.

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Image: Batalion4, [CC BY-SA 4.0](#), via [Wikimedia Commons](#).

PHD THESIS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS/POLITICAL SCIENCE, 2025

### **Localizing Regime Complexity in the Central African Republic: An Ecosystem of Interveners**

In recent decades, a growing number of international and regional organisations have sent personnel and resources, in various parts of the world, to prevent, halt conflicts, or to rebuild institutions afterwards. This multiplication of actors and interventions almost mechanically leads to intersecting, combining, and competing interests in sites of operations. **Juliette Ganne** asks: How do external actors interact when they intervene simultaneously in the same sites? To study this phenomenon, she coins the term *localised regime complex* (LRC). LRCs are the geographically bounded extension of regime complexes that develop around a specific subject matter. They encompass the international, regional, and bilateral actors that intervene with staff and material resources in the same space, as well as the formal and informal agreements that link them together. Examining how interveners navigate this complex environment, attempt to achieve their goals, and invest material and immaterial resources is crucial in understanding how their strategies affect populations, which are deeply impacted but also tend to have little influence over international affairs. Empirically, this project looks at three iterations of the LRCs, which emerged from the interactions among external interveners in Bangui, the Central African Republic.

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

#### MONOGRAPH

##### **An International Anomaly: Colonial Accession to the League of Nations**

It is often assumed that only sovereign states can join the United Nations. But this was not always the case. At the founding of the United Nations, a loophole drafted by British statesmen in its predecessor organisation, the League of Nations, was carried forward, allowing colonies to accede as member-states. Colonies such as India, Ireland, Egypt, and many more were afforded a tokenistic representation at the League in Geneva during the interwar years, decades before their independence. Alumnus **Thomas Gidney**, today Research Associate at the Global Governance Centre, unites three geographically distinct case studies to demonstrate the evolution of Britain's policy from a range of different viewpoints, exploring how this policy came into being, and why it was only exploited by the British Empire (Cambridge University Press, April 2025). He argues that this membership shaped colonial norms around sovereignty and international recognition in the interwar period and to the present day. Although historical, his book is pertinent to current events, with Ukraine having been a member of the UN even as part of the Soviet Union, as well as current attempts by Greenland to accede to the UN even as an autonomous region of Denmark.

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

*This book is based on the author's [PhD thesis \(2021\)](#).*

#### YEARBOOK

##### **Annuaire de l'Institut de droit international = Yearbook of the Institute of International Law**

**Marcelo Kohen**, Emeritus Professor of International Law, and Iris van der Heijden are the editors of this IIL yearbook (*81e Session d'Angers, Sesquicentenaire — Délibérations*, vol. 84, Pedone, February 2025).

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## **Cities, Space, Mobilities & Migrations**

#### ARTICLE

##### **Becoming a Rescuer in the Pyrenees: Border Guides Who Took Jews from France to Franco's Spain (1940–1943)**



During the Holocaust, thousands of Jews in France fled Europe via Franco's Spain. When leaving France, refugees who lacked the required travel documents avoided police and customs officers at the Franco-Spanish border by walking over the Pyrenees. Guides (*passeurs*) led them through the mountains to the border, choosing trails and times that would make encounters with police patrols less likely. Most charged large sums

of money, but some worked without payment. **Jacqueline Adams**, Visiting Research Fellow in the Department of International History and Politics, explores why the latter group engaged in this dangerous form of rescue, by examining how they became border guides (in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3, Winter 2024). She focuses on two French farmers, a French Christian brother at a sanatorium, and an antifascist activist from Germany. The sources analysed include the memoirs, unpublished accounts, diaries, letters and oral history interviews of the guides, their work associates, and the refugees; as well as official correspondence between French police and government officials in the Pyrenees region, and the archival records of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The author's primary research finding is that the border guides considered in this study undertook the dangerous task of guiding refugees because they had had a series of experiences and had engaged in a series of actions that made it more feasible for them to do so when asked. Their values and understanding of their work also help explain why they became guides. Reflections on the implications of this research for our comprehension of bystanders' actions conclude the article.

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

#### ARTICLE

### **Structural Discrimination as a Barrier to the Socio-Economic Inclusion of Migrants: Deepening the Impact of Human Rights Law**

Most of the barriers migrants face in achieving socio-economic inclusion are the product of lack of adaptation of the institutions in the host community to migrants' particularities and needs, often reflecting a scenario of structural discrimination. Yet, migrants' predicament is rarely ever framed as such, and complaints of discrimination against migrants tend to be dismissed under the assumption that non-nationals can be treated differently from nationals. **Mariana Ferolla**

**Vallandro do Valle**, PhD Researcher in International Law, argues that the notion of structural discrimination can and should be used more actively in contexts of migration, and that it leads to a more effective protection of migrants' rights in the application of positive human rights obligations (in *International Journal of Discrimination and the Law*, online April 2025). She explores the concept of structural discrimination and the reasons why discussions on migrants' rights hesitate to engage with it. She then examines how different international human rights bodies have interpreted states' positive obligations of non-discrimination in eliminating barriers to the enjoyment of socioeconomic services and opportunities. Finally, she shows that reference to structural discrimination can play a role in heightening the scrutiny of review bodies towards these obligations and help tackle barriers to migrants' socio-economic inclusion.

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

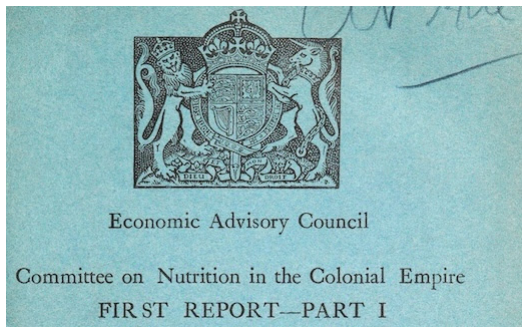


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## **Global Health**





## A “Meat-Hungry” People: Nutrition Science and the Colonial Discovery of Animal-Protein Malnutrition in Nigeria

Following the discovery of vitamins in the 1910s, nutritional deficiencies began to be increasingly identified as crucial factors in disease causation. This development partly inspired many colonial doctors and scientists who moved into the Nigerian area and other colonial territories during

the interwar years to undertake ethnographic and biochemical dietetic studies in relation to locally prevalent health problems. Fundamentally, these “colonial experts” pathologised tropical diets as lacking in essential nutrients, especially protein. Impelled by their works, the colonial government launched various initiatives to “improve” and “modernise” local diets to achieve the “promotion of public health” and “native welfare”. On the strength of a close reading of germane archival data, **Oluwaseun Oṭosedę Williams**, PhD Researcher in International History, explores the development of nutrition science and the colonial discovery of animal-protein malnutrition in twentieth-century Nigeria (in *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, online March 2025).

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

### POLICY BRIEF

#### What’s New in the Draft Pandemic Agreement?

This publication of the Governing Pandemics Initiative provides a preliminary analysis of the innovative aspects of the draft Pandemic Agreement’s “green text,” the interlinkages among articles, and its connections with existing legal frameworks, including the amended International Health Regulations (Policy Brief, Global Health Centre (GHC), 2025). Its authors are GHC members **Gian Luca Burci**, **Ava Greenup**, **Ricardo Matute**, **Suerie Moon**, **Daniela Morich**, and **Adam Strobeyko**.

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

### DOCUMENT DE TRAVAIL

#### Comprendre le financement en cas de pandémie et tirer des enseignements d’autres expériences

Ce document de **Gian Luca Burci**, **David B. Evans**, **Suerie Moon**, **Daniela Morich**, **Cristina Nakano**, **Iulia Slovenski**, **Adam Strobeyko** et **Vlassis Tigkaraki** sur le financement des pandémies est la traduction en français de [Understanding Pandemic Financing and Learning from Other Experiences](#) annoncé dans le [Research Bulletin](#) du 26 février 2024.

### DOCUMENT DE TRAVAIL

#### De la négociation à la mise en œuvre: élaborer une gouvernance efficace pour l’Accord de l’OMS sur les pandémies: entretiens avec Juliette Voinov Kohler, Malgosia Fitzmaurice et Fuad Zarbiyev

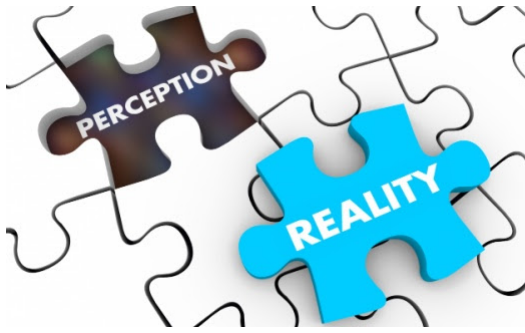
Ce document est la traduction en français de [From Negotiation to Implementation: Crafting Effective Governance for the WHO Pandemic Agreement: Interviews with Juliette Voinov Kohler, Malgosia Fitzmaurice and Fuad Zarbiyev](#), annoncé dans le [Research Bulletin](#) du 9 décembre 2024.



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**Trade, Finance, Economies & Work**



#### ARTICLE

### **Dynamics of Change in International Investment Law**

This article examines the ways in which international investment law evolves. Thomas Schultz and **Cédric Dupont** argue that its initial focus on prosperity and security, at the expense of justice and freedom, coupled with the system's social and political dis-embeddedness, led to its

current state of disenchantment (in *Current Challenges in International Investment Law*, Special Issue, *Journal of International Dispute Settlement*, vol. 16, no. 2, June 2025, online March 2025). That current state of affairs is not as easily remedied as it seems. Treaty renegotiations and procedural reforms have largely been ineffective in altering the system's actual operation, reflecting a disconnect between our law-in-books perception of it and its law-in-action reality. Society has to some extent lost control over the system, and never really has had. To understand these dynamics, to facilitate meaningful reform, and ultimately to ensure that the regime better aligns with broader societal values, the authors emphasise the need for an approach drawing on complexity theory: a holistic understanding of the complex interdependencies within the system.

[DOI >](#)

#### ARTICLE

### **Dictators and Finance: The Argentine Military Regime's Nationalization of the Italo Electric Company in 1978**

The ascent of Argentina's civilian-military dictatorship in 1976 heralded a significant transformation in the country's economic policies and prompted a neoliberal turn. Focusing on the acquisition of the Compañía Ítalo Argentina de Electrificación (CIAE) in 1978, **Sebastian Alvarez**, Research Fellow at the Centre for Finance and Development (CFD), and Isabelle Lucas explore the relationship between the dictatorship, private enterprises, and foreign capital (in *Journal of Contemporary History*, online March 2025). They reveal intricate connections between Argentine officials and Swiss private owners, shedding light on the interplay of international finance and national policymaking. Additionally, they unveil an unexplored dimension of Switzerland and Argentina's diplomatic and financial ties, underscoring the significant role of Swiss business interests in the country and their impact on international relations. They also shows the longstanding partnership between crucial binational members of the domestic political and economic elite with Swiss business interests in Argentina.

[DOI >](#)

#### STUDY

### **Unpredictable Tariffs by the US: Implications for the Euro Area and Its Monetary Policy**

Were the US to impose large and lasting tariffs on its imports from the EU, the effect on the euro area (EA) would be substantial and far-reaching. Cinzia Alcidi, Ignazio Angeloni and **Cédric Tille** expect the direct impact to be inflationary in the US and contractionary on EA aggregate demand and output (Monetary Dialogue Papers, European Parliament, March 2025). The indirect impact through an appreciation of the dollar (partly already occurred) tends to transfer inflation from the US to Europe. The ECB should be mindful that both deflationary and inflationary influences may ensue, and be ready to adjust monetary policy promptly if necessary to maintain price stability. *This document was provided by the Economic Governance and EMU Scrutiny Unit at the request of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs (ECON) ahead of the Monetary Dialogue with the ECB President on 20 March 2025.*

[Dedicated page >](#)





ePAPER

### **An Israeli-Palestinian Federation: An Alternative Approach to Peace**

This paper suggests a possible pathway towards ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, not as an immediate solution, but as a viable option once the parties are motivated to seek compromise.

**Riccardo Bocco**, Emeritus Professor of Political Sociology, and Nigel Roberts plead for federation

of the two peoples: one that preserves their distinct identities and self-rule, while sharing essential common functions like defense, foreign relations, monetary policy and the management of the economy and water/the environment (Graduate Institute ePapers 58, Geneva Graduate Institute, April 2025). A federation offers practical possibilities for addressing two major stumbling blocks to peace: Israeli settlements and the return of Palestinian refugees. Two options are worth considering. Under the first, any federal citizen would have the right to live anywhere in the federation but would remain, for federal and territorial voting purposes, a resident of their “own” Israeli or Palestinian territory, while bound by the laws and local taxes levied in the territory in which they live. A variant of this would allow a more limited number of Israeli settlers to remain in the West Bank, while also permitting refugees who lived in Israel before 1948 to return to the Israeli territory. Either option would ensure that Israelis and Palestinians maintain control of their “own” respective territories.

Support for a federal solution is not widespread at this juncture. The purpose of this paper is to disabuse policymakers of the tired old two-state option, and to help introduce the case for federalism into the mainstream of policy and diplomatic debate.

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

*This publication was commissioned by the Arditi Foundation for Cultural Dialogue, and supported by the Geneva Graduate Institute. It will be launched on 30 April at 12:15.*

EDITED BOOK CHAPTER

### **The African Union**

**Dèlidji Eric Degila** and Mustapha Osman Elamin examine the fundamental challenges of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) by studying its institutional structure, including the relationship with Regional Economic Communities (RECs) (in *The Handbook of African Defence and Armed Forces*, E. Kleynhans and Marco Wyss, ed., Oxford University Press, February 2025). They review the obstacles faced by APSA to effectively achieve its goals as a regional framework comprising the Peace and Security Council, Panel of the Wise, Continental Early Warning System, African Standby Force (ASF) and Peace Fund. Thereafter they examine two AU-led peace operations, the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the AU Mission in Burundi (AMIB), to assess its effectiveness. The authors focus on the ASF as a mechanism to react and prevent the escalation of conflict situations in the region. Importantly, they critically analyse challenges related to the Westphalian nature of modern African states and highlight how pan-Africanism offers a way out of this impasse. Finally, they argue that the ASF can catalyse regional integration.

[DOI >](#)

ARTICLE

## Obligated to Hate: The Successful Stigmatisation of Anti-War Voices in Azerbaijan

In International Relations (IR) scholarship, there is a growing body of research on the connections between emotions, stigma, and norm violations. It is often presumed that for stigma imposition to be successful, norm violators should feel shame. **Cesare Figari Barberis**, now Postdoctoral Researcher at Leiden University and PhD Researcher at the time of writing, and Mirkamran Huseynli argue instead that the emotional dynamics that inform the management of stigma are more complex and involve overlooked emotions such as anxiety, sadness, and hopelessness (in *Review of International Studies*, online April 2025). They substantiate this by analysing the successful stigmatisation of anti-war voices in Azerbaijan during the 2020 Karabakh war. While the vast majority of the Azerbaijani population supported the war, a small minority contested its legitimacy and the related emotional obligation to express hatred against Armenians. However, these anti-war voices became stigmatised as “traitors to the homeland”, and were ultimately pushed to self-silence. The authors contribute to the growing IR scholarship on emotions and stigma in two ways. First, they show how successful stigmatisation of norm violators may involve emotional dynamics that go beyond shame. Second, they discuss the power of emotion norms of hatred, which, especially in times of war, can push “ordinary people” to pro-actively and vehemently stigmatise norm-violators. In conclusion, they elaborate on the potential future implications of stigma on peacebuilding activities between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

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

### ARTICLE

## Agency during Armed Conflict: Everyday Life under Competing Authorities in Myanmar’s Rakhine State

This article looks at the relationship between ordinary people and competing authorities during armed conflict. In particular, **Florian Weigand**, Research Associate at the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP), Riyad Anwar, Tony Neil and Abellia Anggi Wardani investigate the sources of agency that enable civilians to engage with armed actors, for instance, to ensure their own protection (in *Journal of Global Security Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3, September 2025, online April 2025). The analysis rests on extensive fieldwork conducted in Myanmar’s Rakhine State, where the Arakan Army, the armed wing of the United League of Arakan, was in active conflict with the military government, the State Administrative Council, at the time of research in 2023. Drawing on Bourdieu, the authors show that people’s agency is shaped by their ability to access and mobilise different types of capital. What type of capital matters is influenced by structural dynamics, especially how armed actors exercise control within their often-overlapping spheres, but can include economic resources, social networks, and other types of capital. In the context of Myanmar’s Rakhine State, economic capital in the form of bribes, social capital in the form of personal connections to the armed actors, and ethnic capital in the form of belonging to a specific group are particularly crucial. Different types of capital enable civilians and communities to employ different practices for their engagement vis-à-vis different armed actors. However, many people in Rakhine State lack any relevant capital and therefore try to be as friendly or inconspicuous as possible, avoiding any interaction — especially with the SAC — as much as they can.

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



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## Human Rights, Humanitarianism, Justice & Inclusion

### ARTICLE





## Humanization, Dehumanization, and Spectacularization: The Semiotics of UNICEF's Unfair Tales

Pablo Victor Fontes Santos, **Victoria Motta de Lamare França**, PhD Researcher in International Relations/Political Science, Cristina Rego Monteiro da Luz and Mônica Leite Lessa examine the three Unfair Tales advertising videos as part of the United Nations Children's Fund's (UNICEF)

Act of Humanity campaign, which depicts the stories of Syrian refugee children fleeing armed conflict (in *International Political Sociology*, vol. 19, no. 1, March 2025). Shared on UNICEF's digital platforms, these videos sensibilise the audience to the challenges these children have faced in their migrations and stimulate the adult public to contribute with donations. The authors argue that the advertisements' obvious critique when contrasting the pain and despair with a fairy tale storytelling style reinforces obtuse elements. Following a semiotic approach based on postcolonial readings of the Other, they explore how the Unfair Tales humanise, dehumanise, and spectacularise the three Syrian refugee children who narrate their experiences as it mediates the audience's engagement with these stories. They suggest that the Unfair Tales mediate the spectator's relationship with these children-characters to orient political action toward maintaining a Western representation of childhood and accepting UNICEF's role in managing humanitarian and migration "crisis" related to children. Their article stimulates a dialogue between the critical literature on humanitarianism, childhood, and migration, promotes interdisciplinary discussions on semiotics, and contributes to critical engagements with digital humanitarian advertising.

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

### ARTICLE

## Imperial Durabilities of Debt: Indigeneity, Racial Capitalism and the "Tribal" Figure in Finance

With increased acceptance of credit as a "solution" for socio-economic challenges, financial inclusion has risen as a top agenda point for international organisations and state governments alike. This has invited large financial institutions as investors who extend loans to unbanked populations in ever-growing numbers. Political economy scholarship explains this in "economic" terms of profit accumulation or in Marxist conceptions of capitalist overaccumulation and financial spillover to new markets. Departing from solely economic explanations, **Tanushree Kaushal**, PhD Researcher in International Relations/Political Science, examines financial inclusion among tribal populations in West Bengal, India, revealing continuities of colonial policies that privatise public goods and perpetuate racialised hierarchies (in *Globalizations*, online March 2025). Privatisation contributes to making credit an essential feature of sustaining everyday life. Through historically attentive ethnographic methods with financial inclusion institutions in West Bengal, the author highlights the centrality of indigeneity, the "tribal" and racial capitalism undergirding contemporary financial inclusion. The enduring legacies of colonial finance showcase the racialised politics of financial inclusion and credit markets for underbanked communities.

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

### ARTICLE

## Silencing Palestinian voices: On Freedom of Expression and Gaza

The right to freedom of expression is currently facing a global crisis unleashed by the conflict in Gaza. The conflict has led to a high polarisation of public opinion, with opposing factions supporting either Israel's actions or the Palestinian cause. Yet, the right to freedom of expression of Palestinian activists and their supporters is facing systematic suppression worldwide. **Stefania Di Stefano**, PhD Researcher in International Law, sheds light on how state and non-state actors have been active vehicles for the restriction of the right to freedom of expression by targeting voices in support of the Palestinian cause and I consider the application and scope of the right to freedom of expression in this context (in *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, online March



2025). She concludes that the failure to protect the right of Palestinians to have their voices heard contributes to the erosion of our collective right to freedom of expression and has wider repercussions on the promotion and protection of human rights more generally.

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## Other Relevant Information



### Multimedia



VIDEO | UNESCO CHAIR SERIES ON COMPARATIVE EDUCATION POLICY & NORRAG

#### **Manuel Enrique Cardoso | How Do Countries and International Organizations Value Education Policies? Introducing the 6 “E”s framework**

In developing countries, the design and implementation of education policies rely on a pool of financial and technical assets available in the country itself; or coming from bilateral and multilateral organisations. Both domestic and external actors “value” policy options in two ways: they assign worth to them; and do so according to values that transcend specific policy debates. Crucially, different actors, both domestic and external, assign different value to different values. Also, given the complex global landscape, domestic actors, despite limitations, enjoy some autonomy in choosing external partners. **Manuel Enrique Cardoso** (PhD, Comparative and International Education, Teachers College/Columbia; Ed.M., International Education Policy, Harvard) examines the role of these different value criteria in education policy discussions.

[Watch here >](#)



VIDEO | NORRAG

#### **Professor Gita Steiner-Khamsi on Her Tenure as Academic Director of NORRAG**

**Gita Steiner-Khamsi**, former Academic Director of NORRAG (2017–2022) and Professor of Comparative and International Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, talks to Executive Director **Moir V. Faul** about NORRAG's achievements in the past five years.

[Watch here >](#)



VIDEO | BOOK LAUNCH | GLOBAL GOVERNANCE CENTRE

#### **Digital and Data Sovereignty: Definitions and Technologies for Independence and Resilience**

On 24 March 2025, Environmental lawyer and legal scholar **Arpitha Kodiveri** presented her book *Governing Forests*, which shows how traditional owners in the Global South are responding creatively to the pressures of modernisation. Discussants were **Stella James**, Environmental Lawyer and Social Justice Advocate, **Marie Petersmann**

from the LSE Law School, and **Rahul Ranjan** from the Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh.

[Watch here >](#)



VIDÉO | CONFÉRENCE DE LA CHAIRE YVES OLTRAMARE RELIGION ET POLITIQUE DANS LE MONDE CONTEMPORAIN

### **Les droites catholiques, le changement social et le sacré en France**

Les dernières élections en France montrent que désormais les catholiques ne sont plus un frein à la montée de l'extrême-droite, voire qu'ils y participent. Comment expliquer que les courants catholiques les plus centristes, porteurs de valeurs plus compatibles avec le changement social, déclinent au profit des courants plus conservateurs, voire réactionnaires, en résistance à celui-ci? Le 19 mars dernier, **Yann Raison du Cleuziou**, professeur de science politique à l'Université de Bordeaux et chercheur à l'Institut de recherche Montesquieu, a livré son éclairage sur cette question.

[Regardez ici >](#)



VIDÉO | CHAIRE YVES OLTRAMARE RELIGION ET POLITIQUE DANS LE MONDE CONTEMPORAIN

### **Jörg Stolz | Religion through the Social Game Theory**

**Leïla Joutet**, Master Student in International and Development Studies, interviews **Jörg Stolz**, Professor of Sociology of Religion at the University of Lausanne, author of the insightful article "[The Theory of Social Games](#): Outline of a General Theory for the Social Sciences", about social games in the context of religion.

[Watch here >](#)



PODCASTS | RESEARCH BY STUDENTS | ANTHROPOLOGY & SOCIOLOGY and INTERNATIONAL LAW

### **Nine Podcasts by Students on Human Rights and Humanitarianism**

As part of the course "Human Rights and Humanitarianism through the Concepts", co-taught by Professor **Andrew Clapham** and Professor **Julie Billaud** in 2024, students produced high-quality podcasts based on interviews with professionals working in the humanitarian field. They cover a broad range of notions such as "nakba", "state of emergency", "self-determination", "apartheid" or "environmental justice" and their applications in various geographic and political contexts.

[Abstracts and access to the videos are available here >](#)



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## **Awarded Grants**

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SNSF PROJECT FUNDING | 01.09.2025–31.08.2029 | CHF 886,570

**Digital Humanitarianism: Governing Vulnerable Populations in an Age of Technological Innovation**

While policy research on the use of digital technologies in humanitarian operations is primarily concerned with assessing their alleged successes and failures, this project will instead consider the theoretical, practical and ethical issues related to the extensive reliance on digital technologies for detecting humanitarian needs, measuring vulnerability, and anticipating crises. Conceiving digital innovations as the manifestation of a new mode of governing vulnerable populations at a distance, it will aim to better understand how scientific knowledge and corporate practices structure and influence humanitarian action and, conversely, to explore how humanitarian action relies on such knowledge.

Led by **Julie Billaud**, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, with an international team of anthropologists, the project will be conducted across four sites: Stanford University and the tech-philanthropies of the Silicon Valley, the laboratories of EPFL in charge of engineering digital solutions for humanitarian organisations, and refugee settlements in Uganda and Jordan.

[SNSF project page >](#)

SNSF PROJECT FUNDING | 01.09.2025–31.08.2029 | CHF 599,229

### **Assessing the Economic and Environmental Implications of the Electricity Crisis in South Africa**

Reliable electricity is essential for everyday life and a well-functioning economy, but many countries still face regular power shortages. In wealthier countries, power cuts do happen, but they're usually less common and don't last long. In contrast, developing countries often experience more frequent and longer outages, mainly because of underinvestment, old infrastructure, and problems in how the power system is managed. Despite how widespread these issues are, we still don't fully understand what causes them or how they affect people and businesses. When these shortages become severe or prolonged, they can lead to an electricity crisis, with far-reaching social, economic, and environmental consequences.

This project, led by **Imelda**, Professor of International Economics, will investigate the root causes and consequences of electricity crises by analysing supply disruptions in the power sector, examining how firms and individuals adapt, and estimating the broader economic and environmental impacts. Using South Africa's serious electricity shortages and access to unique, anonymised tax data, the study will provide a micro-founded analysis with macroeconomic implications, offering insights for policies aimed at building a more resilient and sustainable electricity grid.

[SNSF project page >](#)

SNSF SAR | 01.10.2025–30.09.2026 | CHF 75,000

### **Hosting Prof. Svitlana Ovcharenko at the Geneva Graduate Institute**

The Geneva Graduate Institute's application to support Scholar at Risk Svitlana Ovcharenko, a professor from Ukraine, has been accepted by the SNSF. The application was kindly supported with matching funds from the IRPS Department. Prof. Ovcharenko will be the third SAR scholar that the Institute has welcomed since joining the SAR Network.



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## **Calls for Papers**

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CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS | *NORRAG POLICY INSIGHTS*

### **The Triple Nexus at 10: What We've Learned and Where We Go from Here**

A decade after the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit introduced the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus, NORRAG invites you to contribute to a new collection exploring its relevance to education in emergencies.

- **31 May 2025:** submission deadline

[Read more >](#)

CALL FOR PAPERS | *INTERNATIONAL FEMINIST JOURNAL OF POLITICS*

### Digitalisation, AI, and Feminist Futures

The *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, of which **Elisabeth Prügl** is one of the editors-in-chief, invites proposals for a special issue on “Digitalisation, AI and Feminist Futures”. This call prioritises participants from the journal’s [joint conference with Feminist Africa](#) in Maputo (July 2024), but new submissions — especially from scholars and activists from the African continent and the African diaspora — are welcome.

- **1 August 2025:** submission deadline

[Read more >](#)



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## Awarded Prizes



### Dr Ginevra Le Moli Wins the 2023 Guggenheim Prize

Now a part-time professor of international law at the European University Institute (EUI) and a researcher at the Centre for Environment, Energy and Natural Resource Governance (CEENRG) at the University of Cambridge, **Ginevra Le Moli** has been recognised for her book *Human Dignity in International Law*, published by Cambridge

University Press in May 2022 and based on her [PhD thesis](#) at the Geneva Graduate Institute. The jury praised an outstanding and original study of a concept that has become central to international law over the years.

[Read more >](#)



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## Upcoming PhD Defences

📅 Friday 9 May

🕒 09:30–11:30

📍 Pétales 2, Room S9

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS/POLITICAL SCIENCE

### The Rise of Women’s Organizations of Diplomats (WODs) and the Possibilities of New Imaginings for Diplomacy, Statecraft, and Foreign Policy

By **Amena Martins Yassine**. Committee members: Professor Anna Leander, Thesis Supervisor; Professor Elisabeth Prügl, President of the Committee and Internal Reader; Ann Towns, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg, Sweden,

External Reader.

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