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L'ÉDITORIAL

Osons la bienveillance !

Marie-Laure **Salles**
Directrice

Être humain, c'est être ensemble. Le regard anthropologique souligne l'importance de la coopération comme mécanisme de résilience pour notre espèce. Et la coopération est impossible sans un minimum de reconnaissance mutuelle et de bienveillance réciproque, nourries par ce sentiment flou mais puissant d'appartenance à un destin commun, du plus local au plus global.

La notion de bienveillance a une double étymologie. Le latin *benevolentia* fait référence à une disposition favorable à l'égard d'autrui. Mais il est possible que l'origine du terme « bienveillance » soit plutôt la combinaison de *bona* et *vigilantia* – bonne vigilance ou le fait de bien veiller. Les deux sens se rejoignent dans l'idée d'une préoccupation active et positive envers l'autre. Aujourd'hui, la bienveillance n'est pas un mot à la mode. Avec la gentillesse, elle est vue comme naïve et peut-être même comme le signe d'une faiblesse que l'on peut utiliser ou dont on pourrait abuser. Dans notre monde où la compétition reste le modèle dominant, la bienveillance apparaît potentiellement comme une vulnérabilité au combat et, partant, un obstacle au succès. L'un des problèmes majeurs des dynamiques compétitives est leur horizon à court terme. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de regarder l'état de notre planète et des ressources rares et vitales pour la survie de notre espèce.

L'antidote à cette dynamique de destruction – et donc d'autodestruction – à courte vue est la bienveillance. Il faut ici penser la notion dans son acception la plus large, celle qui sait « embrasser l'immensité de l'univers » comme le disait Adam Smith dans la *Théorie des sentiments moraux* (1759). La bienveillance, comme préoccupation active et positive, est à déployer envers l'autre en général, humain ou pas, et par extension envers notre biotope, notre *oïkos* – cette planète qui est notre maison commune. Ce faisant, c'est aussi d'une bienveillance envers nous-mêmes qu'il s'agit – notre intérêt personnel dépend aujourd'hui de notre

capacité collective à prendre soin les uns des autres et à veiller activement sur cette planète, cet *humus* qui constitue fondamentalement notre espèce. C'est sur le temps long, sur plusieurs générations, que l'on peut mesurer l'impact de la bienveillance.

Loin d'être une faiblesse individuelle, la bienveillance est ainsi un principe collectif positif, un atout indispensable à la survie de notre espèce. C'est aussi, de manière plus pragmatique, un mécanisme qui permet de rendre nos quotidiens moins durs et moins violents. Le physicien Ilya Prigogine et la philosophe Isabelle Stengers soulignent dans leur travail commun que plus le monde est complexe, chaotique et incertain, plus il nous faudra d'îlots de stabilité et donc de sécurité. La bienveillance réciproque à destination de l'autre, humain ou pas, est l'un des mécanismes permettant de créer des espaces de communauté, de sécurité, de stabilité et de bien-être, quelle que soit l'échelle à laquelle nous nous plaçons, de la plus locale à la plus globale.

Gardons finalement à l'esprit, en guise de post-scriptum, que la contrepartie naturelle de la vie est la mort. Notre humanité est mortalité – et ici l'égalité de destin est complète. Cette humanité fragile, mortelle, furtive devrait nous rendre humbles. Et parce qu'elle est partagée, elle devrait aussi nous rendre bienveillant-es. Sans cette bienveillance qui est au cœur du lien – celui qui nous rend vivant-es, celui qui nous rend heureuses et heureux, celui qui nous régénère – quel destin absurde que le nôtre !



L'INSTITUT

Introducing the Maria Rosario Lazzati Niada Scholarship for Afghan Women

In order to support the education of Afghan women at a time when access to higher education is highly restricted for women, the Geneva Graduate Institute has partnered with the association Arghosha Faraway Schools to establish a postgraduate scholarship to help talented Afghan women develop their studies in international relations and development. These scholarships are awarded without distinction of ethnic origin or religion to Afghan women who already have undergraduate university degrees.

The scholarship is named in memory of Maria Rosario Lazzati Niada. Lazzati Niada was a high school history and literature teacher. She graduated *magna cum laude* from the State University of Milan with a degree in the History of Christianity. Her research focused on the woman's condition, in particular the persecutions and mass murders of tens of thousands of women in Europe accused of witchcraft between the 13th and 17th centuries.

In 2005, Lazzati Niada was a driving force in establishing a charity in Afghanistan focusing on women's education: the Comitato Arghosha Faraway Schools. Since then, the organisation has funded the construction of 15 schools for 8,000 primary and secondary students, mostly girls. Until 2019, when Covid paralysed international mobility, Lazzati Niada visited Afghanistan every year to assess the project's implementation around the country and plan future initiatives.

Lazzati Niada passed away in 2022, and the establishment of the scholarship in her name will allow her dedication to furthering Afghan women's education to live on in a world that needs it now more than ever. Following the Taliban's return to power in 2021, women were progressively barred from classrooms. Banned from continuing education beyond puberty, girls and women formally lost access to secondary education and universities, while also discouraging younger girls from feeling secure in their schools. According to UNESCO, 80% of school-aged Afghan girls and young women are now out of school.

The master programmes at the Geneva Graduate Institute aim to broaden the reach of Afghan women's university education abroad, giving them a competitive advantage in the global community. The scholarship aims to provide its students with access to an academic or diplomatic career, a job in international and non-governmental organisations or in international corporate companies. Successful scholarship applicants will have the opportunity to enrol in a two-year master programme at the Institute.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/afghan-scholarships

AFGHANISTAN.
Bamiyan city,
Bamiyan Province.
Christophe
CERISIER / iStock

Conseil de fondation : départ de Carlos Lopes et arrivée de Claire Baribaud



Monsieur Carlos Lopes s'est retiré du Conseil de fondation qu'il avait rejoint en 2013 pour se consacrer à d'autres activités. L'Institut le remercie pour son engagement et son travail durant ces dix années.

Professeur à l'Université du Cap et chercheur invité à l'Oxford Martin School de l'Université d'Oxford, Carlos Lopes a été secrétaire général adjoint des Nations Unies et secrétaire exécutif de la Commission économique pour l'Afrique.

Mme Claire Baribaud a rejoint le Conseil de fondation en février 2023. Elle est directrice de la Haute école du paysage, d'ingénierie et d'architecture de Genève (HEPIA) depuis 2021, après 11 ans à la tête de la Haute école de gestion de Genève (HEG).

Claire Baribaud est au bénéfice d'une solide expérience de management, d'enseignement et de recherche. Après des études en mathématiques à l'Université de Genève, un doctorat ès sciences à l'EPFL, elle rejoint l'Université d'État de Floride puis l'ETH à Zurich en qualité d'enseignante-chercheuse. En 2000, elle est engagée comme enseignante à la HEG dans la filière Informatique de gestion, dans laquelle elle enseigne les mathématiques, les systèmes d'exploitation, ainsi que les réseaux et la sécurité informatiques pendant 11 ans. Membre du Conseil de direction de la Haute École Spécialisée de Suisse occidentale – Genève (HES-SO), elle participe activement à la vie et à la politique de l'institution. Elle est également membre du conseil de fondation de l'Ifage (Fondation pour la formation des adultes).

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/conseil-fondation



On Founding the Geneva Challenge

Jenö Staehelin
Former Swiss Ambassador

I am frequently asked how I came up with the idea of a worldwide contest between students, related to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). As so often happens, this initiative is the result of a mix of experiences and observations that I have made throughout my life.

As a Swiss law student, I had difficulties in connecting the university lectures I was given with real-life challenges. How relevant is the theory I was introduced to in practical life? At Harvard Law School, I got to know the student contest called "Moot Court", which is a simulated court proceeding that involves drafting memoranda and participating in an oral argument. Top students spend a semester or more preparing for the intellectually challenging contest. Yet, what is the practical benefit to society of all of it?

Early in my career, I was given the opportunity to carry out tasks that some people thought I was too young to assume whereas others put trust in my aptitude to successfully handle the responsibilities I was given.

Further seeds were planted when, as a Swiss diplomat, I was confronted with the disparity of living conditions between people coming from privileged parts of the world, compared to others living in less favourable areas. As the Swiss Ambassador to the UN, I was able to put action behind my concerns and was involved in the negotiations on the Millennium Development Goals that later were replaced by the SDGs.

In that same position, I followed the activities of the Graduate Institute of International Studies (HEI), its role in helping to solve global challenges and its approach as an educational institution. Upon my retirement I was asked to join the Foundation Board of the Institute, which gave me the possibility to discuss how to combine theoretical and practical learning.

It is in that context that I suggested to the then Director to launch a student contest related to the SDGs, interconnecting

theoretical and practical education. Credit must be given to him that he was willing to accept. At that time, nobody knew whether the idea would be a success. There was a reputational risk for the Institute, in case of failure. Nonetheless he accepted.

That was more than 10 years ago. Thanks to him and to the unreserved support of his successor, of the Academic Steering Committee, of the Jury, of the Team of the Geneva Challenge and of thousands of students from all over the world, the contest has been thriving from its very first year and on. Reason to be grateful!

But that does not mean that we should congratulate ourselves and lean back. We all read and listen to the news. So much needs to be done. To achieve the goals set for 2030 we must persevere. This is a marathon and not a sprint. Like in a relay run, the "baton" has to be passed on to the next runner, to the next generation. And the younger, the faster one runs. Isn't that a source of hope?

The Geneva Challenge, created thanks to the vision and generosity of Swiss Ambassador Jenö Staehelin and the patronage of the late Kofi Annan, is an international competition bringing together graduate students from diverse disciplinary and contextual perspectives to provide innovative and pragmatic solutions to some of the world's complex challenges. Ambassador Jenö Staehelin served notably as Switzerland's first Permanent Representative in New York and as President of the Executive Board of UNICEF. He is an honorary member of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and was Interim Chair of the Kofi Annan Foundation Board.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/thegenevachallenge

Ambassador Jenö Staehelin at the Geneva Graduate Institute on the occasion of the Geneva Challenge Closing Ceremony. November 2021. Éric ROSET



L'ACTUALITÉ

Les accords d'Oslo : faux espoirs de paix

Riccardo **Bocco**
Professeur émérite, anthropologie et sociologie

Il y a trente ans, Yasser Arafat, leader de l'Organisation de libération de la Palestine (OLP), et Yitzhak Rabin, premier ministre israélien, signaient à Washington les accords dits d'Oslo, fruit de négociations secrètes qui s'étaient tenues en Norvège. Ces accords visaient la rédaction d'un traité de paix devant aboutir cinq ans plus tard à la création d'un État palestinien dans les territoires occupés depuis 1967 (Cisjordanie et Gaza). Inaugurés selon le principe de « la terre en échange de la paix », les accords prévoyaient la création d'une Autorité palestinienne (AP) dotée de services de sécurité et administrant les zones urbaines (20 % du futur État) ; une partie des zones rurales (20 %) serait placée sous administration mixte, et le reste (60 %) sous contrôle israélien.

En 1998, les espoirs suscités par les accords s'étaient évaporés. Les États-Unis – le parrain politique – avaient adopté une approche incrémentale : la feuille de route ne prévoyait pas d'intervention en cas de dérapage car elle ne prenait pas en compte la relation de pouvoir asymétrique entre Israéliens et Palestiniens. Après l'assassinat de Rabin et l'installation du premier gouvernement Netanyahu en 1996, la confiscation de terres et la colonisation en Cisjordanie reprirent pour atteindre un pic historique sous le gouvernement d'Ehud Barak. Les attentats terroristes de part et d'autre et la répression par l'armée israélienne, mais aussi par les forces de sécurité palestiniennes à l'encontre de leurs concitoyens, eurent raison du projet de paix.

Avec le déclenchement de la deuxième intifada en septembre 2000, la confrontation armée a repris le dessus. Du côté palestinien, le décès d'Arafat en 2004, la victoire du Hamas aux élections législatives de 2006 et la prise de pouvoir à Gaza en 2007 ont marqué la fin de l'unité nationale. La corruption de l'AP, qui ne représente plus

qu'elle-même, y est pour beaucoup. Le seul aspect positif est la reconnaissance par l'ONU des Territoires palestiniens comme État observateur permanent en novembre 2012. Du côté israélien, la « déshumanisation » du Palestinien s'est intensifiée à travers plusieurs guerres à Gaza (de 2008 à 2021) et les stratégies de déplacement forcé de la population palestinienne en Cisjordanie, où les colons juifs orthodoxes, ultranationalistes et suprémacistes sont devenus majoritaires.

Faut-il parler d'un échec israélo-palestinien commun ? Certainement, mais c'est beaucoup plus que cela. C'est surtout une défaite de la communauté internationale, Amérique du Nord et Europe en tête, qui n'ont pas su accompagner le processus en veillant à l'application du droit international. De 1967 à aujourd'hui, ce ne sont pas les dénonciations des violations du droit international qui ont fait défaut : ce sont les décisions politiques qui auraient dû suivre pour freiner la *hubris* sioniste...

ÉTATS-UNIS, Washington. Le président américain Bill Clinton encadre le premier ministre israélien, Yitzhak Rabin, et le chef de l'OLP, Yasser Arafat, après la signature des accords d'Oslo. 13 septembre 1993. David AKE / AFP



L'ACTUALITÉ

A Critical Juncture in the War in Ukraine?

Vassily **Klimentov**
Research Associate, Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding

Started in June 2023, the Ukrainian army's counter-offensive has been progressing with difficulties. As of late October, limited additional territory, mostly in the south-eastern Zaporizhzhia region, had been liberated from Russia. These results contrast with the substantial gains Ukraine had made in autumn 2022, and are a far cry from Kyiv and its NATO allies' hopes that it could break the land bridge connecting Crimea with Russian territory.

Unlike in 2022, Ukraine must now slowly fight through layers of Russian fortifications reinforced during several months with trenches and anti-tank obstacles and mine fields. These defences have been staffed by the conscripts that Russia has mobilised last year, bringing the number of Russian troops in Ukraine to over 400,000 according to Ukrainian intelligence. Diverting attention from Zaporizhzhia, Kyiv must moreover maintain forces in the East, near Bakhmut, to pin down Russian troops and respond to Russian attacks there.

The war in Ukraine seems to have now reached a critical juncture. Several factors weigh on Ukraine to achieve a quick breakthrough before the onset of the rainy season in November, and then winter complicates offensive operations. Moscow, by contrast, may be assessing that if it holds until 2024, it will be able to consolidate its land gains after as it settles in a long positional war.

There are at least three reasons why Ukraine's window to achieve territorial gains is shrinking. First, it is unlikely that the West will be able to replenish Ukraine's stocks of advanced weapons for another counter-offensive next year. While military aid will continue, Western stocks are limited. NATO countries will want to retain some weapons for their own military, and it would take several years for them to increase production rates.

Second, although support for Ukraine is strong in NATO, politicians in the United States and Europe have floated the possibility of curtailing support to Ukraine. They have pointed at the need to give priority to the difficult economic situation at home, as well as to other issues. Support for Ukraine is further challenged in the United States amidst infighting between Republicans and Democrats and the concern with the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Third, Ukraine can now exploit the Russian military's weapons shortages and disorganisation, exacerbated by Yevgeny Prigozhin's coup attempt. It also benefits from the Kremlin's refusal, so far, to conduct a new mobilisation in fear of domestic backlash prior to the next year's presidential election. In 2024, Russia may, conversely, build additional fortifications in Eastern Ukraine and replenish its military resources and personnel.

Kyiv is thus pressed to make territorial gains now before next year potentially sees a consolidation of Russia's hold on Eastern Ukraine.

UKRAINE, Kharkiv region. A sapper defuses an anti-tank mine as a consolidated squad of the Explosives Service of Ukraine carries out demining work. 24 October 2023. Vyacheslav MADIYEVSKYY / Ukrinform / NurPhoto / AFP



L'ACTUALITÉ

Star Wars 2.0? The Privatisation of Outer Space and Its Impact on War and Peace

Annyssa Bellal

Senior Researcher, Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding, & Executive Director, Geneva Peacebuilding Platform

In September 2023, Elon Musk tweeted he had denied access to his Starlink satellites in Russian controlled zones, thus preventing Ukraine from targeting the Russian fleet anchored in Crimea. Should he have agreed to the request, he argued, his company would have been “complicit in a major act of war and conflict escalation”.

Elon Musk’s satellites have been active in Ukraine since 2022, following the request of access to the service from Ukrainian authorities after the Russian invasion of the country. His satellites now play a crucial role in the conflict, being used for various types of military operations by the Ukrainian armed forces. He offered the same service in October 2023 in the context of the war between Israel and Hamas, promising access to his satellites for humanitarian purposes amidst the blackout ordered by Israel in Gaza.

Over the years, advanced technology allowed Elon Musk to launch a huge number of small but efficient satellites in outer space and made him almost unrivalled in the market. *The New York Times* reports that over 4,500 of his satellites are currently in orbit, constituting more than 50% of existing satellites. In other words, millions of people around the world, whether in peace or war time, rely daily on Starlink. In Ukraine, around 42,000 Starlink terminals are used not only by the military, but also by the civilian population, hospitals and aid organisations. Elon Musk’s power to shut down the satellites at his own whim is thus highly problematic.

This raises key legal questions: What law regulates satellite use, especially in situations of armed conflict? Can Elon Musk (or his company) be held accountable? What about the role of states?

International law applies in outer space. Under the law of armed conflict, the use of satellites is regulated by the same

principles as land or maritime warfare. For instance, only military objects can be targeted. Satellites, including Elon Musk’s, if they bring a military advantage to a party to an armed conflict, could then arguably be the object of an attack.

The Outer Space Treaty regulates satellites and provides that states are responsible for national space activities carried out by private entities. The purely commercial use of satellites is however not covered by the convention and public international law does not oblige private actors. So far, Elon Musk’s control over his satellites thus remains largely unchecked.

The launch of satellites will continue to increase and the consequences for the military and civilian population will need to be clearly evaluated. From a strategic point of view, one should definitely question the extensive reliance of states on technologies developed and owned by private companies, even more so when their leaders are as erratic as Elon Musk. In the 2024 Summit of the Future, the UN will discuss space governance. The regulation of satellites, in war and peace, including those privately owned, needs to be a core part of the conversation if we want to avoid a potentially catastrophic *Star Wars* scenario.

TURKEY, Antalya. A single line of light beams belonging to Elon Musk’s Starlink satellites launched by SpaceX is seen in the sky. 24 July 2022. Fatih Afsar OZTURK / Anadolu Agency / AFP

L'ACTUALITÉ

L’Afrique dans le monde : une approche dialectique nécessaire

Dêlidji Eric Degila

Professeur de pratique, relations internationales

Alors qu’on célèbre avec enthousiasme le sixantième Anniversaire de la création de l’Organisation de l’Unité africaine – aujourd’hui Union africaine – en psalmodiant un discours optimiste sur l’Afrique émergente, il convient de porter un regard distancié sur la place qu’occupe ce continent longtemps perçu comme l’angle mort du système international. Pour ce faire, répondre à l’appel du philosophe ghanéen Kwasi Wiredu en initiant une « décolonisation conceptuelle » permet de se libérer des schèmes de pensée *mainstream* pour se tourner vers un universel pluriel propice à une juste appréciation de la contribution de l’Afrique au système-monde.

Si les pères fondateurs de l’organisation régionale ont consacré en mai 1963 à Addis-Abeba l’État moderne africain sous une forme westphalienne à travers la consécration du principe juridique d’*uti possidetis juris*, il convient de s’interroger sur la pertinence de ce modèle d’organisation politique qui n’a pas toujours favorisé sur le continent l’enracinement d’un sentiment d’appartenance à une nation. Ceci s’explique sans doute par une configuration où se juxtaposent des communautés identitaires transnationales aux allégeances multiples. Par exemple dans la corne d’Afrique, il n’est pas surprenant que les Somalis soient disséminés entre l’Éthiopie, Djibouti, le Kenya, le Yémen et la Somalie, sans oublier le quasi-État du Somaliland. De ce point de vue, l’Afrique présente un intérêt heuristique pour les relations internationales en ce sens qu’elle engage à appréhender avec nuance le signifiant de l’État.

Souvent dépeints à l’aune de la métaphore du lointain « autre » ou comme archétypes d’un néopatrimonialisme



endémique entretenu par des élites prédatrices, les États africains ont pourtant réussi à mieux s’insérer dans un système international en pleine mutation au sein duquel ils tentent de contribuer à la fabrique d’une gouvernance globale plus juste, que ce soit en matière de changement climatique, de migration, de santé ou de promotion de la paix. En outre, ils constituent des terrains privilégiés pour étudier les changements structurels à l’œuvre au sein de nos morphologies sociales marquées par une tentation grandissante de repli.

En ces temps d’incertitude, l’Afrique peut être source d’inspiration pour construire un autre ordre mondial. De même que le projet panafricain a pour pierre angulaire la doctrine solidariste « ensemble nous sommes plus forts », la philosophie *Ubuntu* – « je suis parce que nous sommes » – offre une perspective différente d’un *cogito ergo sum* consacrant la primauté du « je » et qui mérite d’être prise en compte. Ainsi, une meilleure inclusion des contributions et spécificités de l’Afrique peut permettre d’opérer un décentrement sur la manière dont nous appréhendons le monde. Comme le souligne l’écrivain nigérian Chinua Achebe, l’Afrique n’est pas simplement un espace géographique exotique, elle représente « une certaine vision du monde » perçue à partir d’une position particulière. Dès lors, une approche dialectique qui valorise les vision et contribution d’une Afrique plurielle à la fabrique de notre futur pluriversel est plus que jamais nécessaire.

ÉTHIOPIE, Addis-Abeba. Le président de la Côte d’Ivoire Félix Houphouët Boigny et l’empereur d’Éthiopie Haile Selassie le jour de l’ouverture de la première conférence des chefs d’État africains. 22 mai 1963. AFP (film)



L'ACTUALITÉ

La France face à sa « réalité impossible »

Fuad Zarbiyev

Professeur adjoint, droit international, & codirecteur, LL.M. in International Law

Le meurtre du jeune Nahel M. en France par un policier à la suite d'un refus d'obtempérer a donné lieu à des réactions fermes de la part des instances onusiennes. La porte-parole du Haut-Commissariat des Nations Unies aux droits de l'homme a donné le ton le 30 juin en invitant la France à « s'attaquer sérieusement aux problèmes profonds liés au racisme et à la discrimination dans le contexte du maintien de l'ordre ». Le 7 juillet, c'est le Comité pour l'élimination de la discrimination raciale qui s'est dit « préoccupé par la pratique persistante du profilage racial combinée à l'usage excessif de la force dans l'application de la loi. »

La patrie autoproclamée des droits de l'homme n'a aucune raison de s'étonner de ces prises de position. En effet, la France est constamment pointée du doigt à l'ONU pour le racisme au sein de ses forces de l'ordre. La défense principale de la France contre ces accusations est qu'il n'y a ni discrimination structurelle ni profilage racial en France, car ces pratiques sont contraires au principe constitutionnel d'égalité. C'est sur une base relativement similaire que la France nie l'existence de minorités dans le pays et refuse la collecte de données ventilées par origine ethnique ou raciale: la France étant proclamée une république indivisible dans la Constitution, il ne peut y avoir de subdivisions au sein du peuple français.

Cette attitude rappelle le célèbre poème du poète bavarois Christian Morgenstern. Un citoyen allemand très respectueux des lois se fait renverser par une voiture dans

une rue où la circulation est interdite. Blessé, il se relève et réfléchit: puisque la circulation est interdite, les véhicules ne peuvent circuler, donc ils ne circulent pas. Il déduit de son raisonnement que l'accident n'a pu avoir lieu et que c'est une « réalité impossible »: il a dû rêver car « ne peut pas être ce qui ne doit pas être ».

Ce raisonnement est fallacieux car il repose sur une confusion entre le monde de l'être et celui du devoir-être. On ne saurait inférer un être d'un devoir-être. Ce n'est pas parce que la République est proclamée indivisible qu'elle est en fait indivisée; ce n'est pas parce que la discrimination raciale est prohibée qu'elle ne saurait se pratiquer. Après tout, il serait difficile de trouver aujourd'hui un seul pays dans le monde où la discrimination raciale serait formellement autorisée. On ne peut pas se cacher derrière des interdictions formelles pour nier une réalité tout simplement parce que le gouvernement l'a décrétée impossible.

Il est temps que les dirigeant-es politiques tirent des leçons des dernières émeutes et prennent des mesures abordant le problème de la discrimination à la racine au lieu de s'engager dans une surenchère sécuritaire à des fins basement électoralistes. Le premier pas serait d'admettre que ce que le discours officiel s'acharne à présenter comme une réalité impossible est bel et bien la réalité de la France d'aujourd'hui.

FRANCE, Paris. Rassemblement place de la Concorde interdit par la préfecture et manifestation sauvage à la suite de la mort de Nahel. 30 juin 2023. Amaury CORNU / Hans LUCAS / AFP

L'ACTUALITÉ

Redesigning Political Participation for a Social Generation

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In 2007, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution declaring that 15 September would be formally recognised as the International Day of Democracy (IDD). The IDD provides an opportunity to remember that “democracy is as much a process as a goal”, which requires manifold support to be made effective. This year's theme, “Empowering the Next Generation”, stresses the importance of engaging young people and emphasises that their active participation is crucial in nurturing democracy.

At a time of increasing polarisation and disconnection between citizens and institutions, some key questions come to mind: Why do young people engage or disengage with politics and political participation? Which means do they take into consideration to bring about social and political change? What can inspire them to participate in democratic politics?

Capturing young people's political contributions calls for a broad and dynamic framework. Youth participation in formal politics seems to decrease when we assess voter turnouts in a number of democratic countries. Yet, youth movements have played an essential role in democratic debates, for example in articulating environmental justice claims. Not only have they placed the issue in a framework of intergenerational justice, but they have also done so at a broader international level. Protest and engagement need to be looked at jointly in order to make sense of youth democratic practices – and those of the citizenry at large.

Furthermore, new digital public spaces have been redefining and redesigning political participation. Young people actively take part in these spaces and directly experience the vulnerabilities linked to the online environment. As social media tends to reinforce existing social inequalities, social inequalities in civic engagement may be deepening over time for young people. At the same time, innovations that have an impact on democratic processes may, precisely, arise from youth engagement in this digital space.

Finally, while framing youth political participation, it is important to go beyond “generationalism”, which suggests that young people of a certain age constitute a homogeneous group. It is more accurate and productive to think of a “social generation”, which is not about age, as such, but about shared social, political and economic



contexts and understandings that differ from the previous generation.

These debates on youth participation are key not only in reflecting on the state of democracy, but also in thinking about the social fabric of a democratic polity.

In Geneva, the Canton marks the IDD through a dedicated “Democracy Week” scheduled this year from 9 to 14 October. The Graduate Institute's Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy is an active partner and hosted a series of events with a particular focus on youth political participation.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/communications/events/democracy-week

A group of young adults march together to strike against climate change. Filippo BACCI / iStock

LE DOSSIER

THE FUTURE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Over the last decades, neoliberal globalisation has not only transformed the role of the state, but has also shaken up the internal “DNA” of education policies, from schools to universities. The factors behind these changes are numerous. Technologies that are so easily assimilated by pupils and students (online courses, information made available by AI, ChatGPT, etc.) have paved the way for new forms of transmitting knowledge, while traditional teaching methods are being called into question. Furthermore, in the countries of the North, doubts have arisen about the usefulness of knowledge in a post-Covidian world, where the anxieties linked to climate change justify a return to a simple life.

Paradoxically, these phenomena are occurring at a time when diplomas are becoming increasingly important in establishing a place for oneself in society. Didactic sciences are changing rapidly, as they increasingly emphasise the importance of the construction of knowledge by the individual rather than by institutions, in a knowledge economy that is still in the making.

The North/South divide remains a structuring element in the competition between universities for a share of the global education market. The 2020s – and the Covid pandemic – have brought about a further upheaval in the reconfiguration of this economic reality. In addition to the impact on international student migration, new issues have emerged in universities, such as the decolonisation of curricula. In the South, many countries face the challenge of financing public education policies in an era of new public management, while the model and transfer of these policies have become a key problem, compounded by the exclusion of historically marginalised populations and the advance of private and religious players.

Against this backdrop of criticism of the public education model, marked by increasing privatisation, competition and continuous evaluation, the following Dossier seeks to better apprehend what could be done to restore the purpose and meaning of education and universities.

Dossier produced by the Research Office in collaboration with NORRAG and based on *Global Challenges* (no. 14, 2023), a series of dossiers designed to share with a wider public the ideas, knowledge, opinions and debates produced at the Geneva Graduate Institute

→ <https://globalchallenges.ch>

REIMAGINING EDUCATION IN THE KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY

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The unprecedented growth of information and technology, globalisation and changing social systems have not only given rise to but also propelled the emergence of a knowledge society. This social transformation implies that there is an increased production of and access to knowledge across institutional, geographical and systemic boundaries. However, knowledge society should not be characterised as a mere production and transfer of information; instead, it should be acknowledged as the meaningful and effective transformation and translation of information into *knowledge* that can enrich human lives. As we now find ourselves immersed in a rapidly evolving knowledge society, education takes on different purposes and confronts new challenges.

In the knowledge society, there is an abundance of information readily available through diverse channels and platforms. It therefore becomes crucial for individuals to learn how to identify and locate the information they need, while also being able to critically analyse and evaluate its quality. Only through these competencies can they transform information into knowledge beneficial to them. This highlights the importance of incorporating information literacy and digital skills into education, in addition to proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic. Moreover, learning should not be limited to the acquisition of tools and techniques; it should also focus on the purpose for learning, empowering students to question and

assess its relevance and usefulness and to synthesise information from a myriad of sources.

Furthermore, the accelerated production and widespread dissemination of knowledge lead to rapid changes in social, political, economic and cultural norms and institutions. This relentless pace of changes necessitates individuals to adapt and remain open to continuous learning, which will help them cultivate a mindset of flexibility. Indeed, the concept of life-long learning and education, advocated by the international community for decades (as exemplified by UNESCO's 1972 report *Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow*), emphasises that education should not be limited to formal schooling.

While the wealth of information and new technologies could be perceived as an opportunity for social development, their potential for generating positive change for all depends on the integration of all members into society. Education thus should equip individuals with empathy, compassion and an appreciation for cultural diversity. In addition, to address the prevailing societal challenges, education should underscore the principles of democracy and social justice and instil a sense of civic responsibility.

Unfortunately, there are several challenges that hinder the realisation of the evolving purposes of education. Neoliberalism, deeply embedded both ideologically and discursively within the knowledge economy, has led to the commodification of knowledge and

education. This has resulted in learners being perceived and treated as potential knowledge workers rather than individuals with unique needs and aspirations. To address this challenge, we should move away from the notion of education only as a means to achieve economic imperatives and instead place greater emphasis on personal well-being and holistic growth. Furthermore, a knowledge society should not be solely based on the knowledge economy, which often favours particular forms of knowledge (e.g., scientific and technological knowledge) and benefits certain socio-economic groups. UNESCO's 2005 annual report, *Towards Knowledge Societies*, warns that excessive commodification of knowledge risks undervaluing local and indigenous knowledge, potentially leading to their eventual disappearance, and also constrains meaningful and relevant knowledge sharing for all.

Another formidable challenge is the unequal access to and utilisation of information and communication technologies. The disparity known as the digital divide is influenced by factors such as age, gender, education, socio-economic status or geographic location. For example, UNICEF and ITU's report *How Many Children and Youth Have Internet Access at Home* (2020) presents that while high-income countries have 87% internet coverage, low-income countries only have 6%. However, the more disconcerting issue is the



knowledge divide, which is further exacerbated by the digital divide. Not everyone enjoys equal access or possesses the skills and capacity to seek, produce, evaluate and apply knowledge. The gap is most noticeable between the global North and the global South, but it also exists within countries and societies. Simply providing access to information and communication technologies will not be sufficient to address the knowledge divide; it also requires education that prepares individuals for the knowledge society.

The purposes and challenges of education in a knowledge society discussed here are not new. Many international organisations such as UNESCO, OECD and the World Bank as well as policymakers, scholars and practitioners have explored, debated and written about the topic. Despite the efforts, it is evident that we have unfortunately yet to make much progress. There are indeed many challenges related to funding, infrastructure, governance

and institutions that were not even discussed here. However, what should come first is reimagining education beyond traditional and neoliberal models of education. Only then can education be a catalyst for building a genuine knowledge society for all.

“What should come first is reimagining education beyond traditional and neoliberal models of education.”

CHINA, Shanxi Province. A teacher is teaching in a classroom, using online teaching apps and tools. 9 February 2020. JIANG HUA / Imaginechina / AFP

EDUCATION POLICIES: FOUNDATIONAL RESEARCH BEYOND AGENDA SETTING

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How do reforms travel from one country to another? Does it matter which country first adopted the reform? What explains a government's receptiveness for reforms that circulate around the globe? Are there country-specific differences in the policy transfer process and, more specifically, is there a divide in how governments from the Global North versus governments from the Global South promote or resist, respectively, policy transfer? These are some of the research questions that preoccupy scholars of policy transfer in academic settings.

As with most other research topics, considerations of space and time

constitute key analytical categories to understand policy transfer processes in public policy, including in those that relate to the education sector. Both concepts have undergone a major transformation process over the past few years, which generated a renewed interest in navigating the complicated relation between place and space, and triggered a host of important research questions that require a comparative transnational perspective.

Regarding space, a recurrent question is the following: Which other countries and which international organisations do governments choose as their reference points for policy

decisions, including when they make a case for international comparison and lesson-drawing? From a transnational perspective, it can be seen that national policy actors tend to use transnational actors – such as the EU, the OECD, the UN organisations, the World Bank but also any issue-centred international non-governmental organisation – as a quasi-external force to authorise controversial domestic reforms. Externalisation or the quasi-external stamp of approval for domestic policies has become a norm and is no longer the exception. There exist of course political reasons that explain the popularity of “externalisation” as a policy strategy.

INDIA, Bengaluru.
Nikhita S. /Unsplash

“A stronger involvement of policy experts in countries of the Global South in foundational public policy research would be beneficial both for developments in their own country as well as for the field of public policy studies.”

The act of externalisation – references to elsewhere or to international standards broadly defined – has a salutary effect on coalition building.

Similarly, the temporal dimension in comparative policy research has also experienced a remarkable journey of continuous refinement over the past few years. In policy transfer research, the timing or, more concretely, a government's receptiveness towards reform or the “window for change”, has been relatively well investigated. John Kingdon's multiple streams framework (problem stream, policy stream, politics stream), for example, or any other punctuated equilibrium theory offer themselves for conceptualising timing issues. Likewise, researchers with a leaning towards diffusion of innovation studies and network theory have convincingly documented some of the factors that have a salutary effect on the global spread of a reform. The diffusion of a reform picks up speed with every new country adopting a global reform because, to quote Robert Cowen, “as it moves, it morphs”. Eventually it becomes deterritorialised and consequently is regarded as simultaneously nobody's and everybody's reform. It matters, among others, which countries were the early adopters of a reform and whether international organisations broker knowledge or lend money for the adoption of a reform.

There exist vast differences in how the policy process and, as a corollary, the policy transfer process operate in different political systems, and which instruments of policy-making are

chosen. Unsurprisingly, the great bulk of research in policy studies investigates the process of policy-making in countries of the Global North, and is not necessarily applicable to the rest of the world. That said, there is of course a vast body of studies, or rather technical reports, that identify challenges and reform priorities in the education sector of low-income and lower middle-income countries as well as fragile and conflict-affected states. However, in most cases funded by international donor agencies, these analyses are purposed to fulfil two of the requirements for loans and grants: a data-based sector analysis and a data-based, multi-year education sector plan. Rephrased in the terminology of policy studies, these studies or technical reports are merely used for agenda setting. Naturally, the critique of agenda-driven, donor-driven and finance-incentivised policy research is as voluminous, if not larger, than the technical reports themselves.

The reasons for the scarcity of “agenda-free” policy research in the Global South (and for that matter also in the Global North) are multifaced and an object of great academic curiosity and debate. Nevertheless, there is agreement that a stronger involvement of policy experts in countries of the Global South in foundational public policy research would be beneficial both for developments in their own country as well as for the field of public policy studies. For example, critical analyses of the spatial and temporal aspects of policy transfer may be useful for understanding the politics and economics of wholesale policy import in their country.

Establishing graduate- and post-graduate-level study programmes in public policy studies at universities of the Global South would not only help advance but also sustain the national expertise and ownership over reform processes. In this respect, the UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education Policy, recently established by the Geneva Graduate Institute, is specifically aimed at forging institutional partnership with interested universities in the Global South.

AI IN EDUCATION AND RESEARCH: TOWARDS A MORE ETHICAL ENGAGEMENT

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There is a large amount of public writing about the promise of artificial intelligence (AI). What is less well understood is where AI comes from and whose oppression is needed for it to succeed¹. In the case of AI and education, we will show what is at stake in seemingly user-friendly AI interfaces by answering three interrelated questions about large language models (LLMs) and algorithms.

What lies behind AI?

AI relies on datasets scraped from the internet in large language models (LLMs) and algorithms (which are just sets of rules to be followed in calculations). These large – but narrow – datasets encode the values of privileged members of WEIRD (Western/White, educated/English-speaking, industrialised, rich, democratic) societies who design them and profit from them. A minority of humanity is represented on the web; the majority is not.

Students cannot give consent to their data being profited from by platforms that are mandated by their institutions. Moreover, the contribution of African scientists who collected data during the 2020 Covid pandemic was not recognised even as their data were

analysed to benefit us all. How do we break with practices of coloniality where raw materials – now data – are extracted and sent to distant elites for value-added manufacture?

AI is also environmentally extractive since the data centres hosting LLMs require enormous amounts of electricity and water for cooling, diverted from humans and places that need it. AI tools reinforce and promulgate dominant epistemologies, further marginalising other ways of knowing and doing. Datafication introduces new actors – digital platforms – as powerful intermediaries in educational processes and decision making. Recent advances appear to owe more to business practices than technical breakthroughs. What research agendas can investigate these new education actors and their opaque value creation models and motivations?

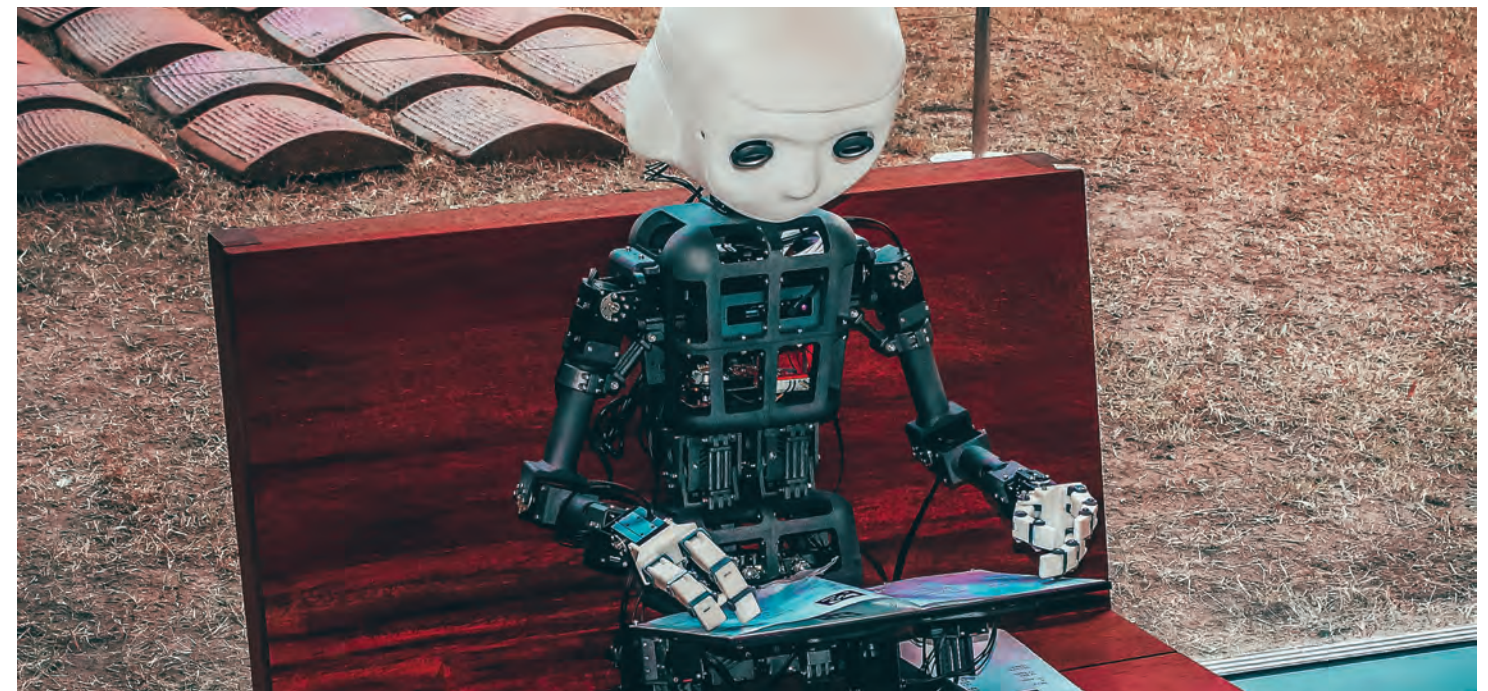
Your open access or pirated articles and books are fodder for LLMs, but you will not be cited. “CAPTCHAs” on web-sites identify you as a human, and also train LLMs. Voluntary human efforts to produce public goods are reused without permission to generate profits as well as answers to your questions. Even more exploitative are the working conditions

of data workers in low-income countries without whom AI tools would not be marketable to schools. AI needs HI (human intelligence) to nudge it – but in which direction?

What is data used for and with what effects?

Historical and contemporary biases are captured by data, encoded in LLMs and perpetuated by algorithmic outputs. This matters since AI is used in selection decisions for colleges and jobs, and to monitor humans in work, exams and society, despite evidence of significant failures and injustices built into these systems.

LLMs generate a silicon ceiling – an imperceptible, but systemic, barrier to opportunity for marginalised peoples – through biased algorithmic decision making. AI facial recognition systematically misidentified Black women but not White men, and ChatGPT predicted “terrorist” as the word to follow “Muslim” in 23% of test cases. AI replicates, reinforces and exacerbates historical disadvantages and human biases under a veneer of objectivity and scientificity. Actual harms now are as much existential threats to marginalised people as future harms are to us all.



SOUTH KOREA, Seoul.
Andrea DE SANTIS /
Unsplash

AI benefits those who resemble its techno-optimistic, corporate designers. It is not by chance that most of the research we draw on in this article is produced by people who do not.

How to move towards more ethical engagement with AI?

– Move from values based on extraction and exploitation towards values more usually found in education (ethics of care) and research (informed consent, precautions against causing harm).

– Centre humans – and education and research – and then consider how technologies support human flourishing for “tech on our terms”.

– Urgently address AI governance to redress existing inequalities and regulate how technology industries structure human choices and make it harder to “click wisely”.

– Recognise the corporate origins and capture of AI narratives, purposes and governance.

– Teach age-appropriate digital literacy (and general literacy) to teachers and students without adding to teachers’ workload.

– Demand algorithmic transparency and ethical audits.

– Use language carefully: generative

AI generates; it does not think, predict, decide or hallucinate.

– Change citation practices and institutional and funding incentives to avoid the compound effect of rewarding privileged groups and further marginalising others.

– “Imagine and craft the worlds you cannot live without, just as you dismantle the ones you cannot live within” (Ruha Benjamin).

Drawing attention to issues that AI generates for education does not deny that digital technologies can, and might, be used for the common good. Even if the genie is out of the bottle, it is still bound to it and can be put back in. In November 2021, 193 states adopted UNESCO’s global standard on AI ethics. Governments, international organisations and the private sector could govern this technocosm in the common interest to overcome allocational and representational harms.

Using technology is as essentially human as ethics; let’s lead with ethics. Governance and regulation need to be based on the duties of decision makers to safeguard human rights, and ensure that human and planetary purposes guide AI.

Now that would be intelligent.

“Using technology is as essentially human as ethics; let’s lead with ethics.”

¹ T. Gebru, “Race and Gender”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Ethics of AI*, ed. M. D. Dubber, F. Pasquale and S. Das (2020), 251–69.



THE FUTURE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

HIGHER EDUCATION, DECOLONISATION AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH

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Over the past two decades, global gross enrolment rates have doubled in higher education, a trend that also holds true for the Global South. However, the state of higher education in this part of the world is marked by a complex mix of successes and challenges. While numerous obstacles persist, there is one crucial aspect that demands special attention: the decolonisation of higher education. Primarily, the landscape of higher

education exhibits significant variations among different regions within the Global South. Notably, East Asia and the Pacific, as well as Latin America and the Caribbean, have undergone remarkable shifts, evidenced by enhanced accessibility and improved financing mechanisms in higher education. In contrast, South and West Asia, along with sub-Saharan Africa, portray a less optimistic scenario.

Traditionally, in the literature that examines higher education in the Global South, several core challenges have been pinpointed, ranging from digital transformation and accessibility (inclusive of gender parity) to affordability, curriculum development, international collaboration, research and innovation, quality assurance, inclusivity, financing and infrastructures. Beyond these fundamental concerns, various contextual

BRAZIL, Brasília. Indigenous people from various ethnic groups take part in the Day of Mobilisation of Indigenous Students. They protest against cuts in public universities' budget. 5 June 2019. Luciano CLAUDINO / Agência Estado / AFP

“All approaches have spotlighted the significance of decolonial strategies in fostering epistemological diversity.”

factors can profoundly shape the higher education landscape; they include political stability, fragility, migration dynamics, and the degree of access to labour markets for higher education graduates. Simultaneously, in the past two decades discussions have emerged regarding the decolonisation of concepts like “development” or “knowledge”, and of education systems on a broader scale. These debates are not entirely new, they draw upon earlier works such as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s *Decolonising the Mind* (1986), which challenged the dominance of colonial languages within cultural frameworks. More recently, authors such as Boaventura de Sousa Santos in *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against Epistemicide* (2014) have discussed the significance of embracing diverse knowledge systems. Researchers discussing decolonisation in education actively confront the prevailing dominance of Western epistemologies and underline the need of cultivating a global knowledge landscape that is not only more equitable but also more inclusive. The discourse on the decolonisation of higher education is certainly multifaceted and encompasses a whole range of perspectives. The contours of this discussion have been shaped by diverse approaches, but all have spotlighted the significance of decolonial strategies in fostering epistemological diversity. Reimagining higher education in the Global South requires rethinking the essential pillars of how higher education

institutions operate and how they are designed. Among these pillars, the decolonisation of the curriculum deserves priority consideration. It involves reevaluating existing course materials and content to ensure that they represent a wide range of perspectives and knowledge systems. In doing so, decolonisation also challenges the historical dominance of Western knowledge systems in academia by recognising and valuing other ways of knowing, such as indigenous and local knowledge. This involves acknowledging that different cultures have unique ways of understanding the world and that these ways should be incorporated into education systems. Traditional pedagogies and research methodologies constitute another important area to be decolonised. They may not be appropriate when working with indigenous or marginalised social groups. Decolonised research involves collaborating with the communities studied, using participatory research methods and ensuring that research outcomes benefit the communities. These more interactive and participatory methodologies reflect diverse knowledge constructions. They also prompt a critical examination of fundamental values in education – and particularly in higher education – such as “meritocracy and competitiveness”, which must be revaluated not as abstract ideals or myths, but as values intricately tied to culture and context. To ensure that the process is inclusive and representative, decolonisation efforts

also involve open dialogue and collaboration with various stakeholders: students, faculty, indigenous leaders, community members and marginalised groups, as well as other higher education institutions in the South (South-South cooperation) for an increased diversity of knowledge production. As colonialism has caused trauma and cultural loss, reimagining higher education in the Global South should also be seen as a source of reconciliation and healing, both within educational institutions and beyond. However, in a global landscape where knowledge production systems are interdependent but often built upon asymmetric relations between higher education institutions, narrowing the focus solely on the Global South would simply neglect the other side of the story, the Western world. Thus, the decolonisation of higher education also requires a thorough re-examination of the Western higher education institutions’ *modus operandi*.

UNIVERSITY AND MIGRATION: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR AFRICAN STUDENTS?

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International student mobility has shown a steady upward trend over the past two decades, from 2.2 million to 6.4 million. Historically, student flows have been from the South to the North and from low-income to high-income countries. Today, however, more and more students, especially from sub-Saharan Africa, are also choosing to study in China. While France remains the most popular destination, with more than 137,000 students from the African continent

different educational systems. For instance, despite their diversity, European education systems are characterised by a strong emphasis on theoretical knowledge and research. The United States encourages broader knowledge and critical thinking, but also practical training, while China's education system insists on the accumulation of knowledge in the STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) subjects. Besides educational systems, students also get in contact

imperative for us to reflect on how exposure to diverse educational, social and political systems might impact developmental challenges and international relations in the future.

From an *economic perspective*, one can expect that the diversification of student destinations will be only beneficial to African countries. Students returning from Europe, the US and China may have acquired different skill sets. For instance, students educated in China could be equipped with the technical skills needed for infrastructure development, while students from the US could use their broader knowledge and innovative thinking to drive entrepreneurship. Students trained in Europe could provide sector-specific and research-based expertise. The main challenge will undoubtedly be to match these different skills so that they complement each other. Furthermore, as research has demonstrated¹, studying in different countries will also diversify economic relationships. Students who graduate from European, American or Chinese universities will have set up distinct networks and acquired unique expertise about their host country, with which they might be more inclined to develop business relationships. This diversity can potentially benefit African nations, while also serving as a valuable lesson for host countries. Beyond providing education, the latter need to maintain connections

“Students who have studied abroad may find themselves grappling with a complex interplay of Western and Chinese ideologies alongside their own.”

in 2022, China is now a strong contender, from a few hundred in 2000 to 80,000 in 2020 with the United States hosting 40,000 in the same year. This surge in student mobility will only continue to increase over the next 20 years.

Therefore, students from Africa will be more and more exposed to

with different political, social and economic systems.

Given the tendency of African students to return to their home countries after their studies—for example, 70% of MBA students want to return to Africa after their studies in the top 10 European and American universities—it remains



with their graduates, recognising the substantial economic advantages that can emerge from such relationships.

From a *socio-political perspective*, however, the diversification of student destinations may have more complex implications for Africa. Unlike the different skill sets mentioned above, whose complementarity may well be beneficial to economic development, the different social and political values taught in European, American and Chinese institutions may prove harder to reconcile. For example, if more students study in China, it will certainly diversify global perspectives and strengthen China's soft power in Africa. At the same time, it will also create competition with the values and social ideas taught in American and European universities. Resulting from this, students who have studied abroad may find themselves grappling

with a complex interplay of Western and Chinese ideologies alongside their own. For instance, when it comes to collaborating with international development partners, returning students may find themselves struggling to find an elusive middle ground between Western and Chinese perspectives. This could potentially hinder the efficiency of decision-making and execution in international development efforts.

In the quest to advance their own interests, we should anticipate a growing competition between Europe, the United States and China to attract African students. This competition will offer various opportunities for the economic, political and social development of African states, provided they know how to leverage the many educational experiences that their students gain abroad while ensuring that diverse political and social perspectives contribute

to African long-term development goals. In that respect, platforms could be created where returning, but also leaving students might share experiences, perspectives and insights into various issues that are relevant for the development of their countries. In addition, government negotiations with development partners should guarantee a collaborative and integrative approach that allows all perspectives to be heard before key decisions are taken.

CHINA, Xinyu. An African student learns embroidery at Xinyu University. The university sets up courses of embroidery and martial arts to introduce African students to Chinese culture. 5 September 2018. SONG ZHENPING / Xinhua / AFP

¹ See J. Wahba, *Who Benefits from Return Migration to Developing Countries*, IZA World of Labor 2021: 123v2; OECD, *Return Migration: A New Perspective*, in *International Migration Outlook* (2008).

THE SINO-AMERICAN COMPETITION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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In Trump’s administration, the Chinese economy, when adjusted by purchasing power parity, surpassed that of the US, posing an unprecedented challenge in terms of political, ideological and socio-economic models far exceeding what the Soviet Union or Japan had achieved in the Cold War, or what led the European Union (EU) to be the world’s largest single market prior to the European debt crisis or the Ukrainian war.

Education serves as a vehicle for hidden competition between China and the US on several levels:

– *Education as a public spending competition:* US government expenditure on education remains at 5%–6% of GDP (6.1% in 2020), higher than the EU (5.1%) and OECD members (5.2%). In China, this figure increased from 2% before 2000 to 4% since 2001, similar to upper-middle-income countries (4.1%). With its purchasing power advantage, China produces twice as many university graduates as the US (3.94 million vs 2.01 million).

– *Education as a political ideology competition:* leading universities in both countries run cooperation with governments through think tanks. In 2020, the US and China had 2,203 and 1,413 think tanks respectively. The Chinese government funds them through the National Social Sciences Foundation at USD 400 million each year for about 10,000 projects. Think tanks generate over USD 1 billion per year in revenue in the US, employed in expensive political elections

averaging over USD 100 billion every two years.

– *Education as a science-and-technology (S&T) competition:* China’s public universities are subsidised by the government, leading to low tuition fees (USD 700 per year). Of the 851 public and 424 non-public universities and 2,000 other higher education institutions in China, 116, 39 and 36 best public universities were generously funded by the central government in Project 211 in the 1990s, Project 985 in 1998–2017 and “World’s First-Class Universities” programmes since 2017, respectively. The renowned US universities are privately run, relying on alumni donations (e.g., around 45% at Harvard). Tsinghua University has a similar fiscal revenue to Harvard, with S&T funding for 20% and tuition fees contributing 55%, both mainly paid by government. The National Science Foundation in the US funded 13,800 projects with USD 10.17 billion in 2022, while the National Science Foundation of China funded 45,700 projects worth USD 4 billion in 2020.

– *Education as a socioeconomic competition:* families in both countries provide generous support for education. In China, 700,000 training institutions employ ten million teachers for extra-curricular tutoring as the majority of students can only enter public universities through standardised tests. In contrast, elite US universities do not base admissions solely on scores, and middle- and high-income families have to bear extracurricular activities

outside of tests. Both models result in serious educational inequality, but outstanding applicants with exceptional record at advanced courses or Olympiads have special channels for admission to elite universities in both countries.

– *Education as a talent mobilisation competition:* in the 1940s, the Manhattan Project for nuclear bombs employed 130,000 people for USD 25.4 billion (in 2020 dollars), while in the 1960s the Apollo Project on human spaceflight spent USD 153 billion (in 2018 dollars) in public spending and employed 400,000 S&T talents. Today, NASA still employs 40,000 experts in cooperative projects with leading universities in the US, highlighting the significant role of the government in talent mobilisation. The Chinese Ministry of Education controls admission vacancies for each programme in each university in a planned model, resulting in a higher proportion of S&T to arts and social sciences students (1:1.1) than in the US (1:1.84). The most popular majors in China are engineering and business, accounting for 32.81% and 19.27% of students, respectively, whereas the top three majors in the US are business, medicine and social sciences for 19.4%, 12.49% and 10.6%, respectively.

– *Education as a tech-venture capitalism competition:* in 2022, China’s R&D investment exceeded USD 400 billion, ranking second in the world after the US. Most R&D came from the private sector, such as tech unicorns incubated by leading S&T universities.

CHINA, Beijing.
Graduates attend
the 2023 Peking
University
Commencement
Ceremony.
4 July 2023. JIANG
QIMING / cnsphoto /
Imaginechina / AFP



“The Chinese and American models of education are in fierce competition as they represent the two great powers’ different approaches to public spending, political ideology, science and technology research, socioeconomics, and talent mobilisation.”

In the Global Unicorn Index 2023 of 1361 tech unicorns worldwide, 666 and 316 ones, respectively, come from the US and China. The top three unicorns in China were founded by alumni of Tsinghua, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, and Shanghai Jiao Tong, with the rest of the top 10 all from leading S&T universities.

The Chinese and American models of education are in fierce competition as they represent the two great powers’

different approaches to public spending, political ideology, science and technology research, socioeconomics, and talent mobilisation. China invests significantly in education, producing twice as many university graduates as the US each year, while elite universities in the US rely more on alumni donations. China’s planned educational model allows for more government control over admission programmes, resulting in a higher proportion of S&T students than

in the US. Both countries prioritise education in incubating tech unicorns as a means of competing in the global tech-venture capitalism.

L'ENSEIGNEMENT

The Institute Welcomes New Faculty



Senior Lecturer,
International and
Development Studies;
Executive Director
of NORRAG
**PhD, University of
Cambridge**



MOIRA V. FAUL

Originally from Zimbabwe, Moira Faul is Executive Director of NORRAG and Senior Lecturer at the Geneva Graduate Institute. Prior to this post, she was Deputy Director of the Public-Private Partnership Centre at the University of Geneva and held a Visiting Research Fellowship at the UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). In her research into global governance partnerships and education, she applies and develops concepts from theories of complex systems, power, and spaces between fields.

Adjunct Professor,
International Relations/
Political Science
**PhD, European
University Institute**



STEFANO GUZZINI

Stefano Guzzini is the Chair of Political and Social Theory and Swiss Co-chair in International Governance at the European University Institute (on leave from the University of Uppsala and the Danish Institute for International Studies). He previously taught at Central European University and PUC-Rio de Janeiro. He served as President of the Central and East European International Studies Association and as Editor of the *Journal of International Relations and Development* and of *International Theory* and is currently Co-Editor of the *Bristol Studies in International Theory*.

Assistant Professor,
International History and
Politics (starting
1 December 2023)
**PhD, Monash
University**



BERNARD Z. KEO

Bernard Z. Keo is an historian of modern Southeast Asia, specialising in the intertwined processes of decolonisation and nation-making in the post-World War II period. His further research interests include the Malayan Emergency, urban life in the port-cities of Southeast Asia, and transnational networks across the Malay World. He has experience in the digital humanities, having been involved in Virtual Angkor, a digital education platform which was awarded the Roy N. Rosenzweig Prize for Innovation in Digital History from the American Historical Association in 2018 and the Medieval Academy of America's Digital Humanities and Multimedia Studies Prize in 2021.

Senior Lecturer,
International History and
Politics
**PhD, University of
California at Berkeley**



JAN KIELY

Jan Kiely is an historian of modern China coming to the Geneva Graduate Institute from the Chinese University of Hong Kong, where he was Professor and Director of the Centre for China Studies. Past affiliations include the Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies, Furman University and Harvard University. Jan Kiely is Associate Editor of the journal *Twentieth-Century China* and Research Fellow of the Chinese University of Hong Kong-Sun Yat-sen University's Centre for Historical Anthropology. He is currently completing a book on local, religious, health, performative and justice practices and expressions as a means to examine the marginalisation of rural communities in the twentieth century.

Associate Professor,
Anthropology
and Sociology
PhD, Yale University



MINHUA LING

Sociocultural anthropologist Minhua Ling uses ethnography as a basis to explore research interests around various mobility-related issues; the (re)making of inequality in everyday life; and the challenges to sustainable livelihood facing underprivileged individuals and communities. Her first book, *The Inconvenient Generation: Migrant Youth Coming of Age on Shanghai's Edge*, was published in 2019, and her second book project is on the socioecological transformation in rural China after three decades of rural-urban migration and state-led urbanisation. She was previously affiliated to the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Yale University, and the Institute for Advanced Study.

Associate Professor,
International Relations/
Political Science
**PhD, Sciences Po
Paris and University of
Geneva (dual degree)**

Photo: UNIL ©Felix Imhof



LUCILE MAERTENS

Lucile Maertens was previously a Senior Lecturer in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Lausanne, a Postdoctoral Fellow at Columbia University and a Visiting Research Fellow at King's College London. She recently co-authored *Why International Organizations Hate Politics: Depoliticizing the World* (2021) and co-edited *International Organizations and Research Methods: An Introduction* (2023). Her current research focuses on international organisations, multilateral practices, global environmental governance and issues of temporality and (de)politicisation.

Assistant Professor,
International Economics
**PhD, University of
Pennsylvania**



MARKO MLIKOTA

Marko Mlikota joins the faculty after completing his PhD at the University of Pennsylvania. His research focuses on time series econometrics and empirical macroeconomics. In particular, he is interested in the relation between economic dynamics and networks (e.g., prices across industries linked by supply chain relationships, or economic activity across countries linked via trade and capital flows).

Senior Lecturer,
International Economics
**PhD, Vrije Universiteit
Amsterdam**



JOËLLE NOAILLY

Joëlle Noailly is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of International Economics at the Institute. She is also Associate Professor in Environmental Economics at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and a Research Fellow at the Tinbergen Institute, as well as Co-Editor of the journal *Environmental and Resource Economics*. Her research focuses on a wide array of issues in environmental economics. Previously, she worked as Head of Research of the Centre for International Environmental Studies at the Geneva Graduate Institute and as Research Economist at the Dutch economic think tank CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis.

Professor, MINT; Director
of the Geneva Water Hub
**PhD, King's College
London**



MARK ZEITOUN

Professor Zeitoun is Director General of the Geneva Water Hub and Professor of Water Diplomacy at the Institute. He has led multiple research and water supply projects, and supported water negotiations throughout Western Asia and Africa. His research focuses on international transboundary water conflict and cooperation, the influence of armed conflict on water services, and the links between water, conflict and health. He has consulted for a wide range of humanitarian and development organisations, and authored dozens of books and journal articles. His most recent book, *Reflections: Understanding Our Use and Abuse of Water*, was published by Oxford University Press in 2023.



L'ENSEIGNEMENT

The Fun of Teaching

Ugo Panizza

Professor, International Economics, & Pictet Chair in Finance and Development

I love teaching, and I love teaching at the Institute. I spent the first half of my career in policy jobs, and I missed teaching and interacting with students. I often hear people saying that teaching is a tax on research time. Don't get me wrong, I love research, but I wish all taxes were like teaching (administrative work is the real tax in academia)!

Teaching at the Institute is particularly fun because of the diversity of our student body. Our economics students (both at the master and PhD level) are excited about learning high-tech econometrics and economic theory. With them, you can be super nerdy and go into the weeds of estimation techniques and statistical analysis. This is something that we economists love, and teaching technical stuff forces us to remain close to the research frontier. But one thing that differentiates our students from graduate students in the typical economics programme is their interest in policy-relevant questions. It is never technicality for the sake of technicality, they want to learn new sophisticated techniques so that they can better address important policy questions. With this keen interest for policy, it is not surprising that our graduates thrive in the world's leading policy institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the United Nations and the most prestigious central banks.

Then there are the students in our interdisciplinary master programme (MINT). This is an amazing group of people with diverse interests and backgrounds. By and large, they are less interested in technicalities. However, they do care about

policy and are keen to be part of the solution to the most pressing issues of our times. I lead the MINT track on sustainable trade and finance, and each class is a fantastic adventure. I usually start with a broad topic and then let the students take over. My objective is to have classes in which students learn from each other as much as they learn from the course material.

When I was a student, I tended to get easily distracted in class and I appreciated professors who engaged with students and tried to add interesting anecdotes to their lectures. My objective is to be like the professors I liked, and I try to make my classes as interactive and fun as possible. This is not always easy (try to make econometrics fun!) but using real-world experiences from my previous policy jobs helps in keeping students engaged and in interacting with them.

Another thing that I love about the Institute is the relatively small size of our classes and the close interaction with students that these small classes allow. Interaction was difficult when we were teaching on-line during Covid, so I am delighted to be back in the classroom.

Photo:
Boris PALEFROY

L'ENSEIGNEMENT

Invaluable Life Learning with Applied Research Projects

Interview with Claudia Seymour, Head of the Applied Research Projects and Practice



Photo:
Boris PALEFROY

What is the purpose of ARPs and why are they important?

Applied Research Projects are a foundational component of the Geneva Graduate Institute's Master in International and Development Studies. They involve small student groups working together in their first year of studies to conduct policy-relevant research with partner organisations on issues relating to international development and international relations. Through ARPs, students learn and apply analytical and research skills to practical and policy-relevant issues in these fields. Teamwork, collaboration, professionalism, effective communication, and problem solving are crucial skills that the ARP process intends to teach and reinforce, to prepare students to take up management and leadership roles in their future careers.

What types of projects do the students work on and what types of partners do they collaborate with?

Projects are usually interdisciplinary in nature, and address questions that students are also questioning in the classroom – from peace and security to trade and finance, to environment and sustainability, and including perspectives on human rights, gender and inclusion, migration, and global health.

While most partner organisations are based in Geneva, in most cases, the scope of the commissioned ARP research is global, used to support policies and programming with global relevance. Partners might include international organisations, non-governmental organisations, foundations, governments, think-tanks, start-ups, cultural bodies, and private sector actors. ARPs thrive through partnerships from across sectors, as true impact for global problems requires a broad diversity of actors working together.

What is the added-value for our students?

ARPs provide a unique opportunity to our students to stretch beyond their intellectual and theoretical comfort zones. Through the ARPs, students will apply theories and concepts learnt in the classroom to real-world reality, which can be a hard and often frustrating growth process for

students as they learn about meaningful global engagement. One of the most challenging aspects of the ARPs is working in groups, as students are confronted with differences in working styles, communication approaches, and ways of dealing with interpersonal conflict. This learning is often deeply personal, usually offering students the most insightful learning opportunities about themselves and others, which is invaluable life learning.

What do you see for the future of these projects and which collaborations would you like to develop?

This year will mark the fourteenth year of applied research projects. To date, there have been hundreds of successful research partnerships between organisations and our students – and each year, we receive ever-larger numbers of partner applications, making the partner selection process ever more competitive. This is a lucky position to be in, and we are doing our best from the Institute's perspective to ensure the highest quality of student research contributions for the partner organisations who have trusted us with their questions. While we plan to continue established research collaborations, we also welcome more collaborations with actors who will help us to bridge the research-policy divide. This includes actors from the private sector, the arts, science, and technology. We are fully aware that if we are serious about solving our most urgent concerns and realising the tremendous potential of our times, it will take all of us, working together.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/applied-research-projects-catalog



LES ÉTUDIANT·ES

Paying It Forward with Suspend'us

Interview with Grégory Cerutti, Master Student in International Economics & Vice President of Suspend'us

Tell us about Suspend'us and how you got involved in the project.

Founded in Nyon in 2020, Suspend'us is inspired by the concept of *caffè sospeso*. Neapolitans would pay for a coffee with the ticket hanging on the counter, and the coffee could be enjoyed free of charge by someone else. Suspend'us was born out of the desire to make the concept relevant to today's issues. Thanks to a digital platform, people in precarious situations have access to goods and services from local shops. Donors choose the amount and the partner shop to which they would like to donate. The amount donated then becomes available at that specific shop to people in precarious situations, who can then benefit from a free good or service of their choice, such as free haircuts, dental care, books, and groceries of course. As I was already familiar with the principle of the "Suspend'us" café, I found the idea of extending the concept beyond the simple café very interesting.

Switzerland has the reputation of being one of the richest countries in the world, yet poverty and precarity still exist. Is poverty in Switzerland much worse than we perceive?

Contrary to popular belief, poverty in Switzerland represents a significant social issue. According to the Federal Statistical Office, in 2021, 8.5% of the population was considered to be living below the poverty line, meaning more than 700,000 people. People over 65 are the most affected by poverty and this situation has definitely not improved since the Covid crisis. Precariousness is therefore a reality in Switzerland contrary to the perception one might have from abroad. ... On the other hand, Switzerland's good economic situation, which

can be a source of bias in the perception of precariousness, largely benefits the more than 60,000 not-for-profit associations present on our territory. To give an order of magnitude, more than CHF 2 billion was donated to non-profit organisations in 2021.

What reception has Suspend'us received in Switzerland and how do you see it evolving in the future?

Suspend'us was first tested around Nyon in 2020. We quickly developed a loyal network of shops. Donors responded and beneficiaries quickly benefited from recurring donations. Following the same model, we then developed in other towns in French-speaking Switzerland: Yverdon-les-Bains, Fribourg, Geneva and, most recently, Lausanne. Currently, demand from beneficiaries exceeds the supply of donations. Therefore, we are seeking donations from partners who can support us in ensuring the sustainability of our project in the medium term. As part of this strategy, after several rounds of selections, we succeeded in convincing private donors of our project and raised CHF 62,500 during the "Genève pour le bien commun" evening in September. Many other projects are also underway, such as bringing together as many runners as possible for the "Course de l'Escalade" at the end of the year.

→ www.suspend-us.com

Photo:
Boris PALEFROY



LES ÉTUDIANT·ES

Être en contact avec la nature

Entretien avec Emme Perreve, étudiante de master

Vous êtes en deuxième année de MINT, option environnement. Quel a été votre parcours et pourquoi avez-vous choisi l'Institut?

Après deux ans en classe préparatoire littéraire, j'ai étudié en sciences sociales et humaines à Aix-en-Provence et ai pu partir un an en Suisse en fin de bachelor. C'est là que j'ai découvert l'Institut lors de mon stage dans une ONG genevoise. Je voulais ensuite me spécialiser en études internationales environnementales, d'où mon choix de l'Institut.

Vous faites partie de plusieurs initiatives à l'Institut en lien avec l'environnement. Quels sont les buts de ces initiatives et quelles sont vos activités au sein de celles-ci?

Je copréside l'Outdoors Initiative avec deux autres étudiantes. J'aime particulièrement cette initiative car elle sort du cadre académique de l'Institut et permet de créer des liens avec d'autres étudiant·es autrement et au travers de leurs passions, et aussi de partager ces passions avec des personnes qui n'ont jamais eu l'occasion de les pratiquer.

Je fais aussi partie du Comité environnemental au travers de l'Initiative soutenabilité, qui travaille à un plan de réduction de l'empreinte environnementale de l'Institut. Cela a été une belle expérience de confronter des idées et convictions avec la réalité d'une institution, et de chercher à dépasser ces impasses. Globalement, s'engager dans les initiatives est une partie vraiment chouette de la vie étudiante ici, et permet de se rapprocher des autres étudiant·es à travers des projets qui nous parlent.

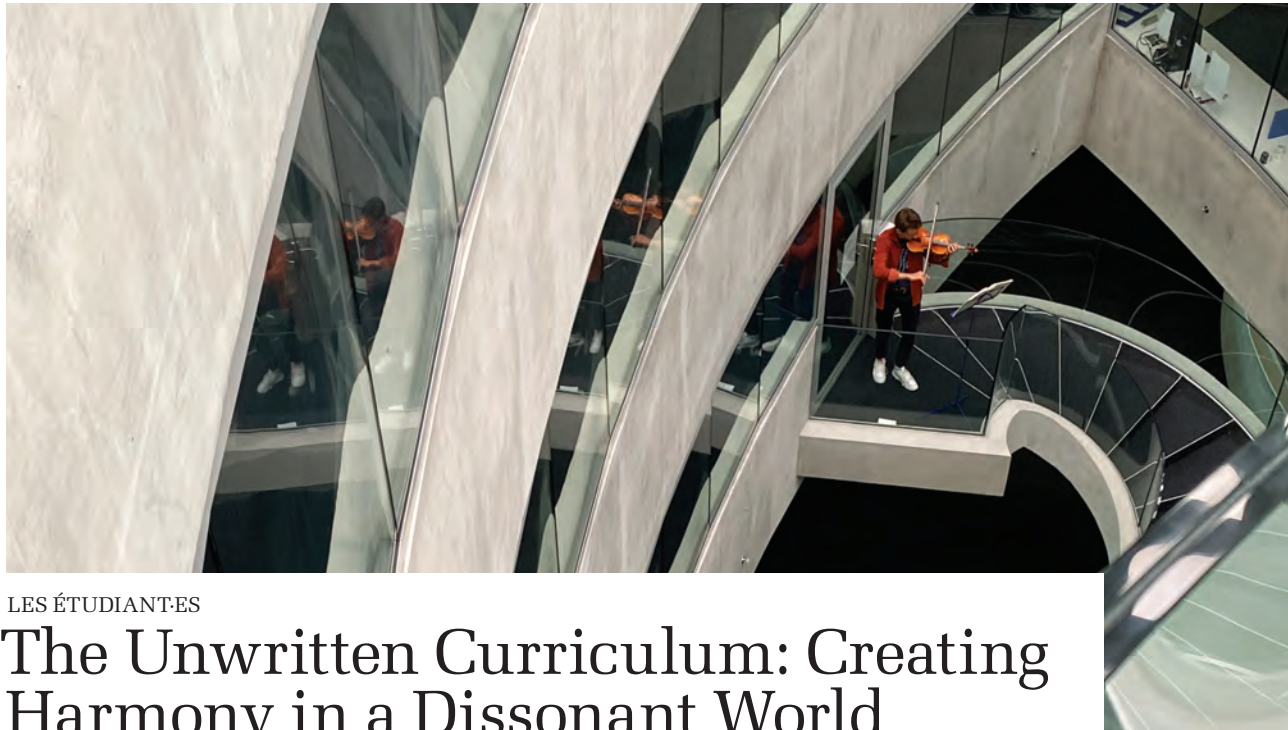
Vous avez travaillé dans le cadre de vos études sur un projet de recherche appliquée. Pouvez-vous nous dire quelques mots à ce sujet?

Il s'agit d'un projet lié au déclin des abeilles pollinisatrices en Équateur. Ce déclin n'est pas documenté et notre travail était de concevoir un outil participatif permettant aux apiculteurs d'entrer leurs données pour avoir des statistiques nationales sur les abeilles.

Vous faites partie d'une génération qui se bat pour la sauvegarde de la planète. Quelle est votre vision de l'avenir et de vos actions futures dans ce contexte?

L'édito d'un livre sur la permaculture disait que « *maybe me doing permaculture won't save the world. But it's about the life I want to live* ». Et il y a cette chanson que je chante toujours sous la tente en randonnée qui dit « *all we are is dust in the wind* ».

Et puis il y a les convictions, les envies d'avancer, les envies de réussir à changer quelque chose. Ma façon d'être dans le monde passe par le contact avec la nature et avec les gens. J'aimerais travailler dans des projets locaux d'initiative environnementale et sociale pour voir ce qui peut être fait sur le terrain, échanger avec des acteurs et actrices pour mieux comprendre leurs perspectives et, peut-être, réussir à mieux comprendre les enjeux des décisions qui se font à l'échelle internationale grâce à cet ancrage local.



LES ÉTUDIANTES

The Unwritten Curriculum: Creating Harmony in a Dissonant World

Joshua Hellinger
Master in International Relations/Political Science (2023)

Studying international politics comes with a much broader curriculum than the list of courses provided each semester. As we disembark from our protected petals in Geneva, we need to carry the carefully cultivated knowledge, visions and inspiration from our minds into the chaotic and dissonant world around us. Any musician in front of an audience knows that this is no easy task. However, it is crucial.

Allowing me to overcome this challenge, one of the greatest mentors of my life has been a wooden case with four metal strings. I have been lucky enough to play the violin since childhood, a gift which has guided me through the world. In Argentina, I reached out to musicians on the street, which led to a year of performances with the national symphonic youth orchestra. This not only gave me a home on the other side of the planet from my native Germany, but also taught me how human connection is possible without words. Music has the power to create a space of collective intimacy that spans musicians, orchestras and audiences across borders. Indeed, setting nothing but music against violence has become a proper avenue for peacebuilding in Venezuela, Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel, Palestine and elsewhere.

In any orchestra, however, one has to tune into a larger harmony. More than playing, one has to listen, which becomes even more important when things become turbulent. Playing in jazz clubs taught me how to quickly improvise, dealing not only with constantly changing melodies, but also with piles of papers to read before class, and a world of politics which seemingly turns into some wild form of free jazz itself.

Taking up my violin opens a calm space on the inside, where feelings and ideas arise while the mental noise becomes silent, especially in such moments of chaos. In peaceful times on the other hand, violins teach us how important it is to keep moving. Contrary to all expendable items in our life that wear out as we use them, be it cars, phones or laptops, violins improve the more they are played. In fact, putting a violin into a museum for decades can destroy its sound, which needs continuous practice to unfold. Across generations, some violins live intertwined with human destiny, surviving world wars and fleeing to new continents, testifying to the human courage that saved them along the way.

What the violin was to me takes many forms for others. However, for our personal evolution we also need to keep studying those courses that are not listed in the curriculum, especially now as we take on larger responsibilities and find our place in the world. Only then can we make sure that everyone's unique sound comes to shine through and take part in determining how our global symphony continues at this critical moment.

Joshua Hellinger just finished his master in International Relations/Political Science. Originally from Germany, he played violin in orchestras and ensembles in Germany, Buenos Aires, the Netherlands, Washington D.C., Jerusalem, Kampala, and also here in Geneva.

Joshua Hellinger plays violin in the Maison de la paix at the Institute's rally on 13 June 2023.



LA FORMATION CONTINUE

LL.M. in International Law at the Geneva Graduate Institute

Anne Saab and Fuad Zarbiyev
Associate Professors, International Law, & Co-Directors, LL.M. in International Law

The LL.M. in International Law programme at the Geneva Graduate Institute was founded in 2013 to complement the Institute's offering of competitive international law courses. In March 2023, we celebrated our 10th anniversary, bringing together alumni and faculty. Over the past decade, our LL.M. programme has become one of the top degree-granting courses in international law globally, consistently ranking in the top-5 of best LL.M. in international law programmes in the world.

Distinctive features of our course include the combination of theoretical and practical training, the student-faculty ratio, the diversity of faculty on the course, the combination of a solid general foundation in international law and specialisation in one of three concentration streams, and its strategic location in the heart of International Geneva. As Judge Yusuf, former President of the International Court of Justice and an alumnus of the Graduate Institute, highlighted in his speech to the LL.M. graduating class of 2020, our LL.M. in International Law programme "covers exactly what young aspiring international lawyers need in terms of training".

The world-renowned faculty in International Law at the Institute contributes courses specially designed for the LL.M. programme, and our students also take optional courses alongside law and interdisciplinary students at the Institute. We moreover have a range of high-level practitioners who teach in our programme. In recent years, this has included a sitting judge at an international tribunal, a member of the International Law Commission, a former member of the UN Human Rights Committee, a lawyer from the WTO Appellate

Body Secretariat, and partners of two reputed Geneva- and Washington, D.C.-based international law firms.

Legal clinics are a central component of the LL.M. programme. During the spring semester, students work in groups on a variety of projects with international organisations on real international law issues. The legal clinics match the concentration streams: protection of the individual, international economic law, and international environmental law. Examples from 2023 include a project with Trial International in which students researched the domestic legal venues for accountability for international crimes committed by private military and security companies; a project with the Center for International Environmental Law (CIEL) in which students explored legal arguments on geoengineering in the context of climate change; and a project in which students contributed to revising the handbook of the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) entitled *Investment Treaties and Why They Matter to Sustainable Development*.

We recently had the graduation ceremony of the Class of 2023, and a few days later, we welcomed our Class of 2024. We are proud of our growing alumni group, and we look forward to another exciting year.

➔ www.executivegraduateinstitute.ch/programmes/llm-international-law

Photo: Eric ROSET

LES ALUMNAE-I

Le professeur Georges Abi-Saab fête ses 90 ans : une vie consacrée au progrès du droit international

Marcelo Kohen

Professeur émérite de droit international



Docteur de l'IUHEI et professeur de droit international durant 37 ans à l'Institut, Georges Abi-Saab a fêté ses 90 ans le 9 juin dernier. Sa vision du droit international, exprimée dans ses publications, ses cours et conférences, mais aussi comme praticien, a profondément marqué la discipline. Membre de l'Institut de Droit international, juge *ad hoc* à la Cour internationale de Justice, juge des Tribunaux pénaux internationaux pour l'ex-Yougoslavie et le Rwanda, membre de l'Organe d'appel de l'Organisation mondiale du commerce, arbitre, consultant du secrétaire général des Nations Unies, membre de la délégation égyptienne à plusieurs conférences internationales, avocat et conseil international, Georges Abi-Saab a consacré sa vie au progrès du droit international.

Georges Abi-Saab est avant tout un grand juriste, mais doté aussi d'une solide formation en économie et en science politique, à laquelle s'ajoute un vaste bagage culturel enrichi par l'Orient et l'Occident. C'est l'exemple type de ce qui constitue le trait marquant de l'Institut, dans lequel il a fait son doctorat et enseigné près de quatre décennies : l'interdisciplinarité. Maniant les deux langues de travail de l'Institut, il a dispensé son enseignement tant en français qu'en anglais. C'est ainsi qu'il est devenu le père intellectuel de plusieurs générations d'étudiant-es.

Georges Abi-Saab a été le premier à développer une analyse du droit international dans la perspective du tiers monde. Non pour faire dire au droit international ce qu'il ne dit pas, mais en l'interprétant en tant que réalité

sociale, à partir de la conception du monde qui est la sienne. Son analyse se fonde ainsi sur l'examen des règles et des institutions internationales, qui composent un *système* juridique et qui s'appliquent à un corps social déterminé – la communauté internationale – à la lumière d'une finalité, la justice sociale internationale.

Cette manière de concevoir le droit international constitue une intégration harmonieuse de plusieurs éléments : le droit international comme système juridique, comme réalité sociale et comme expression des valeurs prépondérantes. Elle permet une analyse globale du phénomène juridique international qui dépasse les grilles d'analyse unidimensionnelles des courants de pensée classiques dans ses différentes versions, tout comme les pensées nihilistes en vogue aujourd'hui.

Georges Abi-Saab n'est pas seulement un grand maître du droit international, il est aussi et avant tout un humaniste. Toujours fidèle à ses convictions, il a transmis un programme – voire une philosophie – de vie : dire ce que l'on pense et agir en conformité avec ce que l'on dit.

Le 9 juin, l'Institut a organisé un colloque en l'honneur de Georges Abi-Saab pour célébrer son 90e anniversaire. Regardez l'enregistrement :

→ www.youtube.com/watch?v=gHEFjIX777U

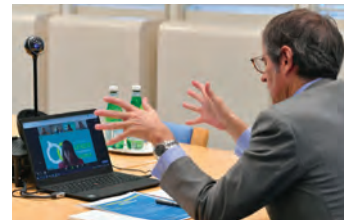
Le professeur Georges Abi-Saab lors de son 80^e anniversaire avec le professeur Marcelo Kohen. 2013. Edgardo AMATO.

LES ALUMNAE-I – INSPIRING STORIES

Rafael M. Grossi

Class of 1997

Rafael M. Grossi was appointed Director General to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 2019. He is the first Latin American to serve in this position. An Argentinian diplomat with over 35 years of experience in the field of non-proliferation and disarmament, he previously held the position of Ambassador of Argentina to Austria and Representative to the IAEA and other Vienna-based international organisations.



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In addition to his diplomatic career, Rafael M. Grossi has been an advocate of gender balance in the nuclear field since 2017, when he joined the International Gender Champions leadership network.



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Rafael M. Grossi meets with Iranian President Hassan Rohani in 2020 to discuss IAEA's access to two nuclear sites.



© IAEA.

In 2021, the IAEA Director General led a delegation of experts at COP26 to engage in discussions and foster an informed debate on the benefits of nuclear science and technology, including nuclear power, in climate change mitigation, adaptation and monitoring.



Learn more here

Catarina de Albuquerque

Class of 1996

Catarina de Albuquerque is an award-winning human rights activist and lawyer, dedicated to the human rights to water and sanitation. As the first UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights to safe drinking water and sanitation, Catarina de Albuquerque worked for their recognition by the United Nations as important human rights. Then, she ensured the implementation of these rights by successfully lobbying for the creation of a Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) on water and sanitation – SDG 6, during her work as CEO of the global partnership Sanitation and Water for All (SWA), composed of around 400 multisectorial partners, including almost 100 UN Member States.



© Catarina de Albuquerque.

Catarina de Albuquerque was a diplomat and negotiator for many years. She presided over the negotiations of the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (OP-ICESCR). This human rights treaty, adopted by consensus by the UN General Assembly, allows for complaints to be brought to the UN against governments.



© International Water Association (IWA).

Due to her contribution for the recognition of water and sanitation as human rights, Catarina de Albuquerque received the 2016 IWA Global Water Award. Previously, she was awarded the Human Rights Golden Medal by the Portuguese Parliament and the Order of Merit by the Portuguese President, as well as an honorary degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2015.



© Catarina de Albuquerque.

After the end of her two term mandates as Special Rapporteur in 2014, Catarina de Albuquerque joined SWA. Her work helped ensure the rights to water and sanitation were incorporated into the SDGs 2015–2030 and mobilised political will, at the highest level, in support of the human rights to water and sanitation.



Learn more here



LA RECHERCHE

Human Rights and National Security in Bangladesh

Interview with Mahbubur Rahman, Senior Fellow in Residence at the Global Migration Centre

What was your background before coming to the Institute?

I was awarded the Swiss Government Excellence Scholarship to conduct a postdoctoral study in human rights at the Department of International Law at the Geneva Graduate Institute from 2022 to 2023. This enabled me to affiliate with the Global Migration Centre as a Senior Fellow in Residence. Before coming to the Institute, I was working as a Protection Focal Point in two refugee camps in Cox’s Bazar, Bangladesh.

I started my career as a Lecturer of Political Science at the University of Development Alternative in Dhaka. Later, I worked with several UN agencies including the International Organization for Migration, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Programme. I was the Coordinator of the Bangladesh Civil Society Coordination Committee for Migration, Development and Human Rights. I was also affiliated as a researcher with the Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit and the University of East Anglia, UK.

I hold a master’s degree in English from BRAC University and a PhD in Gender and Politics from the University of Dhaka. A number of my research works, including my master’s and PhD theses, have been published nationally and internationally. My research interests are on human rights, security, refugee, migration, displacement and gender issues.

You worked for 12 months at the Institute on a research project linking human rights and national security in Bangladesh. Why did you choose this subject and what are the results of this project?

Through nearly five years of work experience in Rohingya refugee camps in Cox’s Bazar, I was able to observe many correlations between human rights and national security. Violations put the Rohingya refugees in extremely vulnerable conditions and forced them to resort to serious crimes and to collaborate with various armed and criminal groups, as well as traffickers and smugglers for the sake of survival, resulting in non-traditional security threats to the country. I consequently chose the subject as my postdoctoral research project at the Institute so that I could examine my primary observations in the light of international laws and theories and accordingly draw policy recommendations.

A Canadian research institute reached out to me with a request to contribute a chapter to a book on the Rohingya issues. My participation in the book is an immediate result of my collaboration with the Institute. A joint publication with renowned Professor Vincent Chetail, my postdoc supervisor and Director of the Global Migration Centre, is also ongoing. I believe that these works in concert will encourage Bangladesh to leave no stone unturned in ensuring the full human rights of its inhabitants, especially the human rights of refugees, migrants and other displaced peoples in order to better protect its national security.

Photo: Boris PALEFROY

Nouvelles publications



Trad. en japonais publiée en collaboration avec les Éditions Fayard par l’intermédiaire de The English Agency (Japan) Ltd. Juin 2023.

L’État en Afrique: la politique du ventre

Jean-François **Bayart**

Cet essai publié chez Fayard en 1989 (nouv. éd. augmentée 2006) et devenu un classique en sociologie de l’État vient de paraître dans une traduction en japonais de Shozo Kamo. L’analyse des groupes sociaux qui se disputent l’État postcolonial et des différents scénarios qui ont prévalu depuis la proclamation des indépendances permet à l’auteur d’avancer des hypothèses neuves sur la formation d’une classe dominante, sur la dépendance des sociétés africaines vis-à-vis de leur environnement international, sur la place déterminante en leur sein des stratégies individuelles et des modes populaires d’action politique, sur l’importance des réseaux d’influence et des terroirs historiques dans le déroulement des conflits, sur la récurrence des conduites – souvent religieuses – de dissidence sociale, sur l’émergence de cultures politiques originales. En définitive, l’ouvrage propose une lecture à la fois provocante et nuancée de ce qu’il est convenu de nommer le développement et la « politique du ventre », pour reprendre une expression camerounaise.



Dalloz. Mars 2023. 532 p.

Penser différentes manières de penser : théories du droit international

Andrea **Bianchi**

Deux poissons nagent dans un étang. « Tu sais quoi ? », demande l’un des poissons. « Non, dis-moi », répond l’autre. « Je parlais l’autre jour avec une grenouille. Elle m’a dit que nous sommes entourés d’eau. Il paraît même que nous vivons dedans ! » Son ami le fixe, d’un air sceptique : « De l’eau ? Qu’est-ce que c’est ? Montre-moi l’eau ! » Les juristes – et les internationalistes n’y font pas exception – ont tendance à se focaliser sur la pratique du droit, souvent sans accorder une attention soutenue aux théories sous-jacentes qui en déterminent pourtant la production et la mise en œuvre. Ce livre se veut une tentative de remuer l’eau dans laquelle, en tant qu’internationalistes, nous nageons. Il propose une introduction à différentes approches du droit et sensibilités à son égard. Penser différentes manières de penser le droit international se veut ainsi une invitation faite aux internationalistes, et à quiconque s’intéresse à cette discipline, à engager une réflexion sur les modes et modalités de production des connaissances, aussi bien dans le champ scientifique que dans la pratique sociale du droit international.

Cet ouvrage est la traduction et la présentation par Andrea Hamman, professeure de droit public, de *International Law Theories: An Inquiry into Different Ways of Thinking* paru en 2016 à Oxford University Press.



Éditions Pedone. September 2023. 1053 p.

Institut de Droit international. 150 ans de contributions au développement du droit international | 150 Years of Contributing to the Development of International Law

Justitia et Pace (1873-2023)
Edited by Marcelo **Kohen** and Iris **van der Heijden**

In light of the 150th anniversary of the Institut de Droit international, this book has been published on its history and work. It contains 45 chapters (16 in French and 29 in English) written by prominent members, including former professors and alumni of the Graduate Institute. Part I focuses on its evolution through a historical lens and the role it has played so far, discussing its mission, composition, codifying role, external relations, dissemination, and the interaction of private international law and public international law. Part II focuses on its contribution to the codification and development of international law in different areas: settlement of disputes, sources, *ius in bellum* and *ius ad bellum*, individual and collective human rights, regulation of spaces, and harmonisation of private international law. The book addresses the challenges and controversies that arose in the course of the work; the resolutions adopted, their impact and the way forward. It concludes with the position of the Institute in today’s world and its future.



University of Michigan Press. August 2023. 424 p. Available in open access.

International Organizations and Research Methods: An Introduction

Edited by Fanny **Badache**, Leah R. **Kimber**, and Lucile **Maertens**

Scholars have studied international organisations (IOs) in many disciplines, thus generating important theoretical developments. Yet a proper assessment and a broad discussion of the methods used to research these organisations are lacking. Which methods are being used to study IOs and in what ways? Do we need a specific methodology applied to the case of IOs? What are the concrete methodological challenges when doing research on IOs? This book compiles an inventory of the methods developed in the study of IOs under the five headings of Observing, Interviewing, Documenting, Measuring, and Combining. It does not reconcile diverging views on the purpose and meaning of IO scholarship, but creates a space for scholars and students embedded in different academic traditions to reflect on methodological choices and the way they impact knowledge production on IOs.



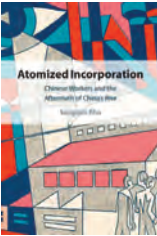
emuse. avril 2023. 240 p.

Destiny / Destination

Alessandro **Monsutti** et Carlo **Vidoni**

Cet ouvrage est né comme projet collaboratif de la rencontre de deux vagabonds de l’âme, un artiste aux multiples facettes, Carlo Vidoni, et un anthropologue itinérant, Alessandro Monsutti. Dans l’idée d’aller au-delà des angoisses et des peurs face à un monde perçu comme incertain, dans lequel la mobilité de certaines personnes est vécue comme une menace pour la stabilité de la vie d’autres personnes, les auteurs ont confronté les trajectoires de migrants qui ont quitté l’Italie ou sont arrivés en Italie à des moments différents et poussés par des motivations tout autant diverses. Le point de départ visuel, esthétique et narratif a été inspiré par les lignes de la main qui, symboles du destin de chacun et dans le même temps caractéristique universelle, racontent différentes histoires unies par leur commune humanité. L’itinéraire proposé par cet ouvrage serpente à travers les courts récits biographiques de huit personnes qui narrent leurs trajectoires. Leurs récits sont accompagnés des dessins de Carlo Vidoni, des textes poétiques d’Alessandro Monsutti, Tareq Aljabr, Ebrahim Amini, Mohsen Lihidheb, Cléo Petric et Michele Picardi, et d’une postface de Jean-François Bayart.

Alessandro Monsutti parle de *Destiny / Destination* : www.youtube.com/watch?v=aJCx6dC9-AE
Le comédien Darius Kehtari lit des extraits de poèmes : www.youtube.com/watch?v=DhADoAXK3oQ

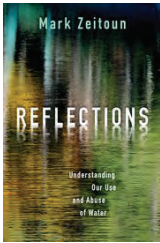


Cambridge University Press. June 2023. 200 p.

Atomized Incorporation: Chinese Workers and the Aftermath of China’s Rise

Sungmin **Rho**

Atomized Incorporation examines why the Chinese regime selectively tolerates workers’ collective action within single factories and what this means for the country’s long-term political resilience. It investigates the implications of state-labour relations in contemporary China and suggests that it has evolved away from overt coercion to limited incorporation. Based on two years of in-depth fieldwork, the author uncovers how ordinary workers think, believe and behave in this changing socio-political environment. She demonstrates that labour grievances have become more politicised and finds that the current approach to economic grievance resolutions demobilises the emergence of labour movements by rewarding those with collective action resources within individual workplaces. Sungmin Rho argues that though this limited state of incorporation allows workers to express discontent at wages and working conditions, it also denies them the opportunity to make claims about structural problems and does not effectively enhance political loyalty in the long run.

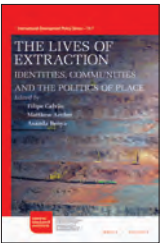


Oxford University Press.
May 2023.
136 p.

Reflections: Understanding Our Use and Abuse of Water

Mark **Zeitoun**

Water is central to all life, but we use it to destroy. Water can nourish, but we use it to starve. It can cleanse and unify, but we ensure it contaminates and divides. The consequences of continuing to desecrate or beginning to restore water’s inner grace are tremendous – and will reflect as much on us as portend our future. Drawing upon twenty-five years of professional work as a water engineer, negotiator and scholar, Mark Zeitoun provides a unique insider’s account of this phenomenon. He explains how unchecked assumptions about water mix with political and economic systems to create an insatiable and ruinous thirst for ever more water. He shows how we use water to lethal effect in wars, and demolish drinking-water systems with wanton disregard. He questions why we transform the most majestic of rivers into canals which spark international conflict and challenge our capacity for preventative diplomacy. The answers reflect more about our society than we might care to admit. If we are to restore water’s inner grace, the author argues, we should worry not so much about “saving” water, but think about what we do with it when it is in our hands.



International Development Policy | Revue internationale de politique de développement.
No 15 (Graduate Institute Publications, Brill-Nijhoff),
October 2023.
Online in open access and in print.

The Lives of Extraction: Identities, Communities and the Politics of Place

Edited by Filipe **Calvão**, Matthew **Archer** and Asanda **Benya**

The frontiers of extraction are expanding rapidly, driven by a growing demand for minerals and metals that is often motivated by sustainability considerations. Two volumes of *International Development Policy* are dedicated to the paradoxes and futures of green extractivism, with analyses of experiences from five continents. In the first of these volumes, 16 authors offer a critical and nuanced understanding of the social, cultural and political dimensions of extraction. The experiences of communities, indigenous peoples and workers in extractive contexts are deeply shaped by narratives, imaginaries and the complexity of social contexts. These dimensions are crucial to making extraction possible and to sustaining its expansion, but also to identifying opportunities for resistance, and to paving the way for alternative, post-extractive economies.

- <https://journals.openedition.org/poldev/5226>
- <https://brill.com/display/title/64308>



International Development Policy | Revue internationale de politique de développement.
No 16 (Graduate Institute Publications, Brill-Nijhoff),
November 2023.
Online in open access and in print.

The Afterlives of Extraction: Alternatives and Sustainable Futures

Edited by Filipe **Calvão**, Matthew **Archer** and Asanda **Benya**

In the second of the two volumes dedicated to the paradoxes and futures of green extractivism, 22 authors, using different conceptual approaches and in different empirical contexts, demonstrate the alarming obduracy of the logic of extractivism, even – and perhaps especially – in the growing support for the so-called green transition. The authors highlight the complex and enduring legacies of resource extraction and the urgent need to move beyond extractive models of development towards alternative pathways that prioritise social justice, environmental sustainability, democratic governance and the well-being of both humans and non-humans. They also caution us against the assumption that anti-extraction is anti-extractivist, that post-extraction is post-extractivism, and they critically attune us to the systemic nature of extractivism in ways that both connect and transcend any particular site or scale.

- <https://journals.openedition.org/poldev/5440>
- <https://brill.com/display/title/64309>



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ÉTUDES INTERNATIONALES
ET DU DÉVELOPPEMENT
GRADUATE INSTITUTE
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DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Éditeur : Institut de hautes études internationales et du développement
CP 1672 – CH-1211 Genève 1 | Tél. : +41 22 908 57 00 | graduateinstitute.ch
Responsable d’édition : Sophie Fleury, sophie.fleury@graduateinstitute.ch
Relecture : Olivia Willemin et Nathalie Tanner
Mise en pages : Alexandre Alvarez
Crédit photographique 1^{re} couverture :
FRANCE, Clermont-Ferrand, Philippe BOUT / Unsplash
Impression : Pessor
© Geneva Graduate Institute, novembre 2023 | **ISSN** : 1662-8497