

Policy-Oriented Art: Developing Disaster Displacement Norms in Diplomatic Venues

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

at the
University of the Arts London
Chelsea College of Arts

September 2023

ABSTRACT

This research seeks to increase understanding about artists' and art's potential influence on international policymaking addressing disaster displacement. Its overall aim is to identify and characterize strategies for artists, curators, and others seeking to bring art within collective efforts to advance the development of disaster displacement norms in diplomatic venues, and to articulate the relevance of such strategies to international policymakers. While previous studies in art and curating explore art's role in political change, there is insufficient knowledge about how art contributes to the formation of international law and policy.

The research uses a qualitative approach to identify, describe, and analyse artistic strategies used in diplomatic contexts through two case studies. The first case, a selective historical and contextual investigation into art as diplomatic gift at the United Nations Office at Geneva, found that art creates conditions conducive for diplomatic relations and, less frequently, addresses the substantive content of multilateral discussions. The second case examining my curatorial practice leading the DISPLACEMENT: Uncertain Journeys project between 2018-2022, which develops art exhibitions for diplomatic conferences, concluded that art contributes to collective norm development efforts by drawing from four artistic strategies: i) Manifesting or revealing abstract ideals, values, and power dynamics; ii) Stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate; iii) Contributing novel information, knowledge, and methods; and iv) Investigating and modelling policy solutions.

The study makes three main contributions. First, through interdisciplinary inquiry, the thesis integrates norm evolution theories from international relations in its analysis, expanding current research on contemporary art and curatorial practices that engage social and political issues. Second, it develops a conceptual framework for such art's influence on international norm development, which may include: i) increasing awareness and understanding of the norm; ii) exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment to the norm; and/or iii) generating creative thinking and innovative solutions to implement the norm. Third, it proposes the terms "policy-oriented art" and "policy-oriented curating," which focus on exhibiting art for international policymakers within diplomatic venues as compared to "white cube activist" curatorial strategies that address the public at large from within art institutions. Together,

these provide a cross-disciplinary foundation for future research and practice at a time when the climate emergency and other global challenges demand a concerted effort by all, including artists.

Acknowledgements

This thesis reflects innumerable contributions from the many people supporting my research over the years. I am most deeply grateful to my extraordinary supervisory team, which I affectionately grew to call my “super-team.” David Cross, my Director of Studies, constantly challenged me through his eloquent and insightful reflections to examine my assumptions and positions, and to reflect on how my research intersected with wider historical, artistic, and political movements. Prof. Lucy Kimbell’s sharp, structured observations and laser-focused advice ensured I had a rigorously researched and structured thesis. Despite the short time we worked together, the late Prof. Chris Wainwright’s enthusiastic, can-do attitude and commitment to engaging art in the global response to the climate emergency were a constant inspiration. With their combined expertise and sustained encouragement, availability, and enthusiasm for my research, it is difficult for me to imagine a more perfect supervisory team. I am also grateful to my viva Examiners, Dr. Rachel Clarke and Dr. Linn Burchert, for their engaged discussion and thoughtful insights that further contributed to the depth of the study.

I am thankful for the University of the Arts London – Norwegian Refugee Council Studentship, facilitated by Oriana Baddeley and Nina Birkeland, that enabled me to dedicate more time and focus to completing my research. The UAL Student Support Fund also supported my participation in two international conferences, which allowed me to share my work and meet likeminded researchers.

The research is significantly richer because of the many artists and partners who supported or collaborated with the DISPLACEMENT project. Despite many challenges and setbacks, the project thrived thanks to Gorm Ashurst’s keen aesthetic eye and design skills and Kate Sedwell’s calm, strategic organizing prowess. The DISPLACEMENT project would not have been possible without the ongoing commitment and enthusiasm of Nina Birkeland, Chirine El Labbane, Walter Kälin, and Atle Solberg. I am also particularly grateful to Anne Lydiat Wainwright, Lucy Orta, Kirsten Gelsdorf, Søren Dahlgaard, Jorge Orta, Marie Velardi, Lauranne Germont, Phoebe-Lin Elnan, Lena Dobrowolska, Teo Ormond-Skeaping, Erick Mutshayani, Jeanette Elsworth, Frédéric Delpech, Rosalind Cook, Gustaff Harriman Iskandar, Arum Dayu, Reina Wulansari, Tisha Amelia, Yoppi Andri, Rhino Ariefiansyah, Azhari Aiyub, Nicole Anshell,

Sarah Koeltzow, Kara Siahaan, and Elise Belcher for their contributions and support for the project.

The research also greatly benefited from the expertise of staff members of the UN Office at Geneva who generously shared their experiences and insights about managing the UN art collection and supporting cultural exhibitions.

Many friends, colleagues, and mentors further supported this research in direct and indirect ways. I am especially grateful for the generous and careful reading of drafts and insightful comments shared by Marsha Bradfield, Chirine El Labbane, Walter Kälin, Atle Solberg, and Minna Valjakka. I am also grateful to Catherine Quéloz and Liliane Schneiter for providing me with the foundation and encouragement to pursue a doctorate in art in the first place.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends, too many to mention here, who encouraged me throughout all seven years of research. In particular, Bénédicte Le Pimpec, Daniel Barney, Kate Stevenson, Janet Puhaločić, Nadia Hadi, Sandrine Tolivia, the Berger family, and all my flower friends kept me motivated and centred. I am also grateful to Frank and Susan Entwisle for their support to help me achieve my goals, Jana and Jerry Stephenson for always cheering me on, J. Alex Potter for instilling my love of art, Fred Feitler for sharing his advice and love for academia, Joëlle and Peter Chapuisat for their encouragement and giving me precious extra time to complete my work, and Julia Derloshon for being such an inspiring role model and sister. My deepest appreciation goes to my husband Cyril Chapuisat, who never faltered in encouraging and supporting me despite the demands this research placed on our family. I am also grateful to Calder Chapuisat and Rhys Chapuisat for their understanding when work meant I had less time to play and for their many sticky notes of encouragement and small treasures that decorate my desk.

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Mary Anna Feitler, whose lifetime commitment to continuous learning and acting in service to her community, the arts, and the environment is an everlasting inspiration.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	4
1. INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH	12
1.1 DISASTER DISPLACEMENT AND INTERNATIONAL LAW	15
1.2 THE RESEARCH GAP.....	20
1.3 ORIGINS OF THE RESEARCH AND CURATORIAL PRACTICE	22
1.4 RESEARCH AIMS, OBJECTIVES, AND QUESTIONS	29
1.5 OVERVIEW OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE	31
1.5.1 <i>Integrating International Norm Evolution Theory in Analysis on Artistic Interventions in Diplomatic Venues.....</i>	31
1.5.2 <i>Developing a Conceptual Framework for Art's Potential Contribution to International Norm Development</i>	32
1.5.3 <i>Proposing the Terms "Policy-Oriented Art" and "Policy-Oriented Curating".....</i>	32
1.6 THESIS STRUCTURE.....	33
2. PRACTICE AND LITERATURE REVIEW	34
2.1 INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ARTISTIC RESPONSES TO DISASTER DISPLACEMENT	34
2.1.1 <i>International law and policy on disaster displacement</i>	35
2.1.2 <i>Contemporary art practice and strategies.....</i>	42
2.2 ART, POLITICAL CHANGE, AND INTERNATIONAL NORM EVOLUTION	66
2.2.1 <i>Art and Political Change</i>	66
2.2.2 <i>International Relations, Art, and Norm Evolution.....</i>	70
2.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	76
3. METHODOLOGY.....	78
3.1 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH.....	78
3.2 SELECTION OF CASE STUDIES	85
3.3 DATA SOURCES.....	89
3.3.1 <i>Social Artefacts.....</i>	89
3.3.2 <i>Social Episodes.....</i>	89
3.3.3 <i>Situated Knowledge.....</i>	90
3.4 METHODS FOR DATA COLLECTION	91
3.4.1 <i>Secondary Research.....</i>	92
3.4.2 <i>Interviews</i>	92
3.4.3 <i>Observation</i>	96
3.4.4 <i>Curatorial Practice.....</i>	97
3.4.5 <i>Guiding Questions to Orient Data Collection.....</i>	98
3.5 DATA ANALYSIS.....	99
3.5.1 <i>Practice and Literature Review.....</i>	99
3.5.2 <i>Analysis of Case Studies.....</i>	100
3.5.3 <i>Enhancing Understanding of Arts Role in the Evolution of International Norms.....</i>	107
3.6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	109
3.7 CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS	109
4. CURATING ART AS DIPLOMATIC GIFT: A CASE STUDY ON THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE AT GENEVA	113
4.1 MANIFESTING A FORUM FOR GLOBAL DIPLOMACY	117
4.1.1 <i>Visualizing Abstract Ideals and Goals of International Diplomacy</i>	117
4.1.2 <i>Giftng Art as a Symbol of Political Support for the United Nations</i>	122

4.1.3	<i>Creating the Visual Identity of the UN as an Esteemed Global Diplomatic Forum</i>	125
4.1.4	<i>Inspiring Personal Commitment to the United Nations</i>	130
4.1.5	<i>Evolving Meanings of Visual Identity over Time</i>	133
4.2	MEDIATING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN UN MEMBER STATES	139
4.2.1	<i>Creating Environments that Inspire Diplomatic Exchange</i>	140
4.2.2	<i>Visualizing Member States' Identities and Values</i>	143
4.2.3	<i>Curatorial Politics at UNOG</i>	149
4.3	ADVANCING AWARENESS AND STIMULATING DEBATE ON POLICY ISSUES	152
4.3.1	<i>Raising Awareness and Asserting Policy Positions</i>	153
4.3.2	<i>Stimulating Policy Reflection, Conversation and Debate</i>	158
4.3.3	<i>Potential Influence of Art on Policy Debates</i>	165
4.4	CONCLUSION	171
5.	ARTISTIC INTERVENTIONS IN DIPLOMATIC VENUES: A CASE STUDY ON DEVELOPING NORMS THROUGH THE DISPLACEMENT ART PROJECT	175
5.1	EVOLUTION OF DISASTER DISPLACEMENT NORMS	176
5.1.1	<i>The Platform on Disaster Displacement as a norm entrepreneur in diplomatic venues</i>	178
5.1.2	<i>DISPLACEMENT and PDD collaboration</i>	180
5.1.3	<i>Diversity of positions in diplomatic venues</i>	181
5.2	COMMUNICATING ABOUT DISASTER DISPLACEMENT IN A MIGRATION VENUE	186
5.2.1	<i>Artistic Strategies and Communication</i>	189
5.2.2	<i>Influence on Norm Development</i>	200
5.2.3	<i>Considerations for Curatorial Strategies</i>	209
5.3	RESEARCHING DISASTER DISPLACEMENT IN A CLIMATE CHANGE VENUE	213
5.3.1	<i>Artistic Strategies and Research</i>	217
5.3.2	<i>Influence on Norm Development</i>	231
5.3.3	<i>Considerations for Curatorial Strategies</i>	238
5.4	PROMOTING POLICY SOLUTIONS FOR DISASTER DISPLACEMENT IN A DISASTER RISK REDUCTION VENUE	243
5.4.1	<i>Artistic Strategies and Policy Solutions</i>	246
5.4.2	<i>Influence on Norm Development</i>	262
5.4.3	<i>Considerations for Curatorial Strategies</i>	266
5.5	CONCLUSION	271
6.	ENHANCING UNDERSTANDING OF ART'S ROLE IN THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL NORMS	274
6.1	CONCEPTUALIZING ART AS PART OF NORM DEVELOPMENT IN DIPLOMATIC VENUES	275
6.1.1	<i>Artistic Strategies in Diplomatic Venues</i>	275
6.1.2	<i>Art's Influence on Norm Development</i>	279
6.2	POLICY-ORIENTED ART: PRACTICE AND CURATION	283
6.2.1	<i>Conceptualizing Policy-Oriented Art</i>	284
6.2.2	<i>Conceptualizing Policy-Oriented Curating</i>	287
6.3	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	292
7.	SUMMARY OF RESEARCH	294
7.1	ACHIEVEMENT OF AIMS AND OBJECTIVES	294
7.2	CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE	298
7.2.1	<i>Integrating International Norm Evolution Theory to Understand Artistic Interventions in Diplomatic Venues</i>	298
7.2.2	<i>Developing a Conceptual Framework for Art's Contributions to International Norm Development</i>	299
7.2.3	<i>Proposing the Terms "Policy-Oriented Art" and "Policy-Oriented Curating"</i>	301
7.3	LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH	302
7.4	FUTURE RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES	304

BIBLIOGRAPHY 307

APPENDICES 347

APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORMS 347

APPENDIX 2: TABLE OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED 352

APPENDIX 3: SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS 354

List of Figures

Chapter 1

1.1 Installation view of Lucy + Jorge Orta's *Antarctic Village-No Borders* and *Antarctica World Passport Bureau* in Geneva, Switzerland. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.

1.2 View of Nansen Initiative Global Consultation dining area. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst, 2015.

1.3 Image of a public panel discussion during the Nansen Initiative Global Consultation in 2015. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.

Chapter 2

2.1 Laurel Anderson's photograph *Fireside*, 2021. © Laurel Anderson.

2.2 Angela Tiatia, *Lick*, 2015, still image from Single-channel High Definition video 16:9, colour, sound, 6 minutes, 33 seconds. Courtesy of Sullivan+Strumpf.

2.3 Visitors walk beneath the canopy of Chiharu Shiota's *Uncertain Journey*, installed at the Mori Art Museum in Tokyo in 2019. Photo: Sunhi Mang/Mori Art Museum.

2.4 Documentation of Eve Mosher drawing *HighWaterLine* in New York City in 2008. © Eve Mosher, Photo/Hose Cedeno.

2.5 Documentation of *HighWaterLine* community engagement in 2013. © Eve Mosher, Photo/Jayme Gershen.

2.6 - 2.8 Views of Anneli Skaar's *Nansen's Pastport*. © The author, with permission by the artist.

2.9 Installation view of Tiffany Chung's *stored in a jar: monsoon, drowning fish, color of water, and the floating world*, 2010-2011. © and photo: Tiffany Chung.

2.10 Detail of *stored in a jar: monsoon, drowning fish, color of water, and the floating world*.

©Tiffany Chung, photo: Lien Truong, 2014.

2.11 Image of *Water Clock* by Mary Mattingly, 2023. Image: Scott Lynch.

2.12 Graphic of the norm "life cycle" by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 896).

Chapter 3

3.1 Figure outlining the overall process of data analysis. The author, adapted from COSMOS Corporation, in Yin, 2018, p. 58.

3.2 Table explaining the data methods and types of data used in the UNOG case study analysis. The author.

3.3 Table explaining the data methods and types of data used in the DISPLACEMENT case study analysis. The author.

3.4 Table tracing the evolution of the study's conceptual framework. The author.

Chapter 4

4.1 The Palais des Nations in the late 1950s. © UN Photo.

4.2 "The Gap in the Bridge" by Leonard Raven-Hill. © Punch Cartoon Library / TopFoto.

4.3 Photo of George Flemwell's *Mask and Sword*, 1920, lead pencil drawing on paper. © UN Photo.

4.4 Photo of murals by José María Sert murals, collectively known as *La Solidarité des Peuples*.

© UN Photo, 2018.

4.5 Diplomatic gifting ceremony at the United Nations in New York. (Baal-Teshuva, 1964, p. 47).

4.6 Three books published about the UN's art collection. ©The author.

4.7 and 4.8 Architectural details in the Palais des Nations in March 2021. ©The author.

4.9 Image of the Delegates' Lounge in the Palais des Nations. © Kris Terauds.

4.10 Detail of José María Sert's *La Solidarité des Peuple*. © UN Photo.

4.11 *Single Form* by Barbara Hepworth on 11 June 1964. © UN Photo, Photo/Yukata Nagata.

4.12 The UNOG Assembly Hall. © Ludovic Courtès, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

- 4.13 Photomontage of the Assembly Hall in 2019. © UN Photo/Patrick Jacquet.
- 4.14 The Human Rights and Alliance of Civilizations Room with ceiling installation by Miquel Barceló. © UN Photo, Photo/Jess Hoffman.
- 4.15 The painting *Les cavaliers du Bouzkachi* by Bernard Ponty. © UN Photo.
- 4.16 The sculpture *Dove* by Miodrag Šćepanovic. © UN Photo.
- 4.17 Human Writes Performance Installation by William Forsythe and Kendall Thomas at the United Nations Office at Geneva, 23-25 February 2012. © U.S. Mission, Photo/Eric Bridiers.
- 4.18 A view of *Tribute to the Migrant Worker (Homenaje al Trabajador Migrante)* by Munú Actis Goretta. © The author.
- 4.19 *Ecce Homo II* by Jacek Jarnuszkiewicz. © The author.
- 4.20 *The Future that We Dream- A Harmonious World of Coexistence (2020)* by Peizhi Zhao. ©UN Photo.
- 4.21 Documentation of the Humanitarian Implications of Climate Change art exhibition at UNOG. ©Permanent Mission of the Netherlands in Geneva.
- 4.22 Documentation of the Humanitarian Implications of Climate Change event at UNOG. ©Permanent Mission of the Netherlands in Geneva.
- 4.23 Installation view of work by Kristín Jónsdóttir frá Munkaþverá. ©UN Library & Archives.
- 4.24 Prime Minister of Iceland speaks at the *Changes* exhibition. © UN Library & Archives.
- 4.25 Visitors participate in *Changes* exhibition. © UN Library & Archives.
- 4.26 UNOG Library & Archives Director speaks during the opening of the exhibition *An Entire Life in a Package*. © U.S. Mission, Photo/Eric Bridiers.
- 4.27 Orna Ben-Ami speaks during art opening at UNOG. © U.S. Mission, Photo/Eric Bridiers.
- 4.28 Ben-Ami speaks to the UNHCR Deputy High Commissioner at the exhibition opening. © U.S. Mission, Photo/Eric Bridiers.
- 4.29 Ben-Ami discusses artwork with visitors to the exhibition. © U.S. Mission, Photo/Eric Bridiers.
- 4.30 Image from Ben Ami is displayed at the Palais des Nations next Israeli, Canadian, US and UN flags. © U.S. Mission, Photo/Eric Bridiers.
- 4.31 UNOG staff members gather by *Broken Chair* to honour colleagues killed in Gaza. © UN Photo, Photo/Pierre Albouy.
- 4.32 View of artworks hanging in the Passerelle in UNOG. © The author.
- 4.33 Artworks from the UNOG art collection on display in Building E at the top of escalators leading to conference rooms. © The author.

Chapter 5

- 5.1 The norm “life cycle” as visualized by Finnemore and Sikkink. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 896).
- 5.2 Visualization of discussions about PDD’s communication strategy during the PDD Advisory Committee’s 2017 workshop. © PDD, Image/Joshua Knowles.
- 5.3 Plenary session of the Summit of the Global Forum on Migration and Development in Marrakesh, Morocco, 2018. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.
- 5.4 Lucy + Jorge Orta’s *Antarctic Village-No Borders* and *Antarctica World Passport Bureau* installed during 2018 Global Forum on Migration and Development. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.
- 5.5 Delegates to the GFMD take a lunch break next to Søren Dahlgaard’s *The Inflatable Island*. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.
- 5.6 Chris Wainwright, *Escape route at Houraikan*, Nr Kamaishi, Iwate Prefecture, Japan, Group performance, Colour photograph, 2015. © Anne Lydiat Wainwright.
- 5.7 A roll-up banner announcing the exhibition and posters describing individual artworks were displayed in exhibition spaces during Migration Week. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.
- 5.8 – 5.9 Reverse sides of the DISPLACEMENT brochure handed out to conference delegates during Migration Week. © The author, 2023. Brochure design, Gorm Ashurst.
- 5.10 Lucy Orta handing an *Antarctica World Passport* to the Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.
- 5.11 Delegates to Civil Society Days of the GFMD carry *The Inflatable Island* in Marrakesh in December 2018. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.

- 5.12 Artists Jorge Orta and Lucy Orta issue copies of the *Antarctica World Passport* during a reception at the French Residency in Marrakesh, Morocco as part of a DISPLACEMENT event hosted by PDD. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.
- 5.13 Screen shot of Twitter post. © The author, 2018.
- 5.14 Documentation of conference delegates carrying *The Inflatable Island*. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.
- 5.15 and 5.16 Documentation of Dahlgaard and Lucy Orta speaking to journalists. © DISPLACEMENT, Photo/Gorm Ashurst.
- 5.17 French Ambassador and COAL Director present the 2019 COAL prize to Lena Dobrowolska and Teo Ormond-Skeaping. © PDD, December 2019.
- 5.18 Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping speak during the Task Force on Displacement side event. © PDD, December 2019.
- 5.19 Question and answer period during the UNFCCC Task Force on Displacement while a video by honey & bunny plays in background. Image: PDD, December 2019.
- 5.20 COP25 delegates watch a recorded video presentation in the French Pavilion. © PDD, December 2019.
- 5.21 Panel discussion on the role of art at COP25 during an event at the French Pavilion. © PDD, December 2019.
- 5.22 Still from Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping's film, *You Never Know, One Day You Too May Become a Refugee*. © The artists, 2022.
- 5.23 Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping discuss their film proposal at the French Pavilion. © PDD, 2019.
- 5.24 and 5.25 Corridors outside negotiating rooms at COP25. © The author, December 2019.
- 5.26 The main exhibition space for "When Art Meets DRR" in the Innovation Platform at the 2022 Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction. © The author, May 2022.
- 5.27 DISPLACEMENT exhibition on the lake border in Geneva, Switzerland commissioned by UNDRR for the 2019 Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction. © The author, 2019.
- 5.28 Documentation of Common Room's *The School of Community Networks* project. © The artists, 2020.
- 5.29 Selected image from *Sawen Lembur*, 2021, by Arum Dayu with Yoyo Yogasmana. © Arum Dayu.
- 5.30 Gustaff Harriman Iskandar presenting during a PDD-sponsored official side event. ©The author, May 2022.
- 5.31 Yoppi Andri prepares to perform at the PDD side event. ©The author, May 2022.
- 5.32 Xavier Cortada, *Underwater HOA: Marker 8*, Miami, Florida, 2018. © Xavier Cortada, Photo/Guido H. Inguanzo, Jr.
- 5.33 Global Platform delegates in conversation at the Innovation Platform. © The author, May 2022.
- 5.34 Image of *HELLO* badges presented by Xavier Cortada at COP26 in Glasgow. © Xavier Cortada, 2021.
- 5.35 Documentation of artist talk at Innovation Platform. © PDD, May 2022.
- 5.36 A Global Platform delegate views *Aléa* at the When Art Meets DRR booth. © The author, May 2022.
- 5.37 Andri performs *Smong* on the Ignite Stage. © The author, May 2022.
- 5.38 Documentation of display at the When Art Meets DRR booth in the Innovation Platform. © The author, May 2022.
- 5.39 Documentation of opening of DISPLACEMENT exhibition in Geneva during the 2019 Global Platform. © PDD, May 2019.

Chapter 6

- 6.1 Figure conceptualizing art's influence on international norm development in diplomatic venues. © The author. Graphic design: Cyril Chapuisat.

1. Introduction to the Research

In June 2022, massive floods devastated large swaths of Pakistan, ultimately displacing at least 7.9 million people from their homes and affecting some 33 million people overall (UN OCHA, 2022, p. 4). The scale of the disaster and its lasting impacts are difficult to fathom, with the level of displacement almost equating to the entire population of Switzerland. The World Bank estimated that the disaster could push an additional 9.9 to 15.4 million people in Bangladesh into poverty (UN OCHA, 2022, p. 5). Communities in the Global South¹ are particularly adversely impacted by displacement associated with weather-related disasters, but the Global North is not immune. In the United States, an unprecedented number of “billion dollar” disasters in 2023 triggered by weather-related natural hazards, namely wildfires, floods, tornados, and hurricanes (Dennis, 2023), forced thousands of people to flee their homes (IDMC, 2023c).

The displacement of people is now widely acknowledged as a consequence of global warming (IPCC, 2023).² While not all attributable to climate change, in 2022 alone, weather-related hazards triggered some 31.8 million internal displacements, the highest number of people forced to flee disaster impacts in ten years (IDMC, 2023b, p. 10). In the absence of sufficient global action, rising global temperatures are predicted to further increase the frequency and intensity of natural hazards in the future, including riverine floods, tropical storms, glacial lake outburst floods, and droughts (IPCC, 2023).

Although people displaced in the context of disasters within their own countries are protected under national laws and international human rights law, their rights under international law are less clear if they need to flee across an international border (Nansen Initiative, 2015). This gap in international law has resulted in strong calls for greater protection for displaced persons

¹ While there is no one definitive list of countries representing the “Global South,” the Finance Center for South-South Cooperation provides a widely recognized list of countries engaged in South-South collaboration (Finance Center for South-South Cooperation, no date).

² According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change: “Climate and weather extremes are increasingly driving displacement in Africa, Asia, North America (*high confidence*), and Central and South America (*medium confidence*) (Figure 2.3), with small island states in the Caribbean and South Pacific being disproportionately affected relative to their small population size (*high confidence*). Through displacement and involuntary migration from extreme weather and climate events, climate change has generated and perpetuated vulnerability (*medium confidence*)” (IPCC, 2023, p. 19).

fleeing disaster and climate change related impacts by States, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other actors. Amidst these efforts, artists are also progressively engaging the theme of climate change-related displacement, including some who exhibit their work in the context of intergovernmental conferences (ArtCOP21, 2015; Burchert, 2022, no date), building on artists' histories of working in relation to government institutions (Cleveland, 1992; Burton, Jackson and Willsdon, 2016; Jackson, no date).

This research seeks to increase understanding about the potential of art that engages social and political issues to influence international legal and policymaking processes to address disaster displacement. The overall aim of the research is to identify and characterize strategies for artists, curators, and others seeking to bring art within broader international policymaking efforts to improve protection for people displaced in the context of disasters and climate change, and to explain the relevance of such artistic contributions to international policymakers.

Building upon art and social change literature, the research integrates international relations theory on norm evolution to better understand how artists might engage in international policymaking related to disaster displacement and assess the influence of identified strategies. In particular, the analysis draws on and integrates theories of art, psychology, and cognitive science to examine how art's interdisciplinary capacity to engage emotion, create sensorial experiences, and prompt critical and reflexive thinking could contribute to collective efforts to advance the adoption of laws and policies addressing disaster displacement issues in intergovernmental processes. In so doing, the study acknowledges the critical role of governments at all levels to respond to and prevent disaster displacement and recognizes significant policy advances made to date. It is also motivated and informed by my ongoing professional work as a researcher on disaster displacement policy and legal issues, as well as my role as a curator working in diplomatic contexts.

The research relies on two in-depth case studies. One is a selective historical and contextual investigation into art as diplomatic gift at the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG) as an example of art's conventional role in diplomacy. The other explores my curatorial practice

between 2018-2022 leading the DISPLACEMENT project to examine how art can contribute to norm development efforts on disaster displacement norms in diplomatic venues. Both case studies were explored through contextual art writing (Fitzpatrick, 1992; Chanda, 1998; Mittman, 2017) in the tradition of arts and humanities research (Thissen, Zwijsenbergh and Zijlmans, 2013; Hazelkorn, 2015; Benneworth, Gulbrandsen and Hazelkorn, 2016) that “position[s] the art object within broader cultural factors” (Slifkin and Grudin, 2021, p. 3) through diverse written formats, such as writings by artists (Rosler, 2010; Lacy, 2012), interviews (Bruguera and Bishop, 2020), and historical accounts (Mesch, 2013; Segal, 2016), in an attempt to “deal very specifically with the actual contextual and material conditions ... of works of art” (Koestlé-Cate, 2012, p. 1). In this thesis, art is examined through description of the artwork itself, analysis of the historical and political context in which it was created and exhibited, artists’ stated intentions, subjective interpretation, and assessments of its potential influence on international norm development processes within diplomatic venues (“curatorial framing”) (see Section 5.1).

The overall methodology is inspired by cultural studies (Alasuutari, 1995; Couldry, 2000), practice as a form of research (Barrett and Bolt, 2010; Barone and Eisner, 2012; Biggs and Karlsson, 2012; Borgdorff, 2012), and feminist research perspectives (Harding, 1986; Reinhartz, 1992; Kelly, 2020) that utilize a broad set of theories, disciplines, methods, and data sources to enhance understanding, as well as seek practical, political, or legal change (Charlesworth, 1999; Blaikie and Priest, 2019; Saeidzadeh, 2023). Recognizing the subjective nature of the research aims, the methodology also incorporates my own “situated knowledge” (Haraway, 1988; See also Harding, 2004; Barrett, 2010a, 2010b; Adams, Ellis and Jones, 2017; Blaikie and Priest, 2019; Kelly, 2020) with respect to data sources and analysis, grounded in my experience as an international civil servant, consultant, and curator at diplomatic conferences. The case studies, thus, draw on a wide range of data sources, including archival research, personal letters, interviews, exhibition catalogues, administrative documents, photographs, and legal and policy documents. Notably, almost all the people interviewed, including individuals responsible for managing cultural events at UNOG, agreed to be named in the research.

This research ultimately proposes a conceptual framework for understanding how artistic strategies contribute to international norm development as part of collective efforts in

diplomatic venues. It also proposes the terms “policy-oriented art” and “policy-oriented curating” to describe practices that focus on exhibiting art for international policymakers within diplomatic venues as compared to “white cube activist” curatorial strategies that address the public at large from within art institutions.

1.1 Disaster Displacement and International Law

Over the course of this research, the language used to describe anthropogenic global warming has evolved to mirror the growing state of worldwide concern: “climate change” turned “climate emergency” turned “climate crisis” turned “climate breakdown.”³ Intergovernmental meetings that might have previously only interested diplomats, international civil servants, and technical experts are now front-page news. Millions of people around the world, particularly youth, regularly march to protest government inaction, calling on world leaders to halt rising temperatures and provide financial and technical support for countries that are increasingly overwhelmed by the adverse impacts of a changing climate. In recent years, the international response to the climate emergency has been hindered by the global Covid-19 pandemic, a rise in xenophobic authoritarian populism, a “migrant” crisis in Europe, and the Russian Federation’s war on Ukraine, further testing the efficacy and viability of international governance and diplomatic solutions to global challenges. Yet, the most recent report from the expert Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) indicates that it may already be too late to avoid the worst-case scenarios (IPCC, 2023).

Amidst these wider geopolitical dynamics, this research focuses on the international response to people who are compelled to move from their homes in disaster situations triggered by natural hazards, and in particular, the negative impacts of climate change. While disaster displacement as a policy issue has gained prominence over recent decades with growing recognition of the challenge (See Section 2.1.1), the fractured and overlapping mandates of UN entities have significantly hindered efforts to develop effective international responses to displacement more generally (Niland *et al.*, 2015; Kälin and Entwisle Chapuisat, 2017; Collinson

³ Similarly, “global heating” is preferred by some to “global warming” (Carrington, 2019). While supportive of using terminology to depict the urgency of the issue, this research retains the use of “climate change” alongside other terms given its continued use in international law and policy, a decision shared by other researchers working at the intersection of art and the climate emergency (Demos, Scott and Banerjee, 2021b).

and Schenkenberg, 2019; UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement, 2021; Kälin, 2023; Sida *et al.*, 2024), and disaster displacement in particular (Bradley and Cohen, 2010; Kolmannskog and Trebbi, 2010; Kälin and Schrepfer, 2012; McAdam, 2012; Entwisle Chapisat, 2018; Kälin and Entwisle Chapisat, 2020; Lakeman and Oakes, 2022). In the context of international climate change negotiations, some low-lying Pacific island states, in particular, resist framing the issue as a “displacement” or “refugee” issue, which could be understood as reinforcing a victim narrative (Farbotko, 2005; Australian Broadcasting Company, 2014; Rasan-Cooper *et al.*, 2015). Instead, some States prefer focusing on the need for climate justice, with calls for strengthened mitigation efforts, compensation, the notion of “migration with dignity” (Nansen Initiative, 2013) and addressing displacement, when it cannot be avoided, as a form of “non-economic loss and damage” (Boyd *et al.*, 2021; PDD and L&DC, 2023).

Broader research critically examines the efficacy of intergovernmental institutions, noting, in particular, the limitations of establishing and enforcing international law (see Section 2.1.1) and its related intergovernmental institutions, like the United Nations, in light of broader geopolitics and systemic inequalities amongst Member States of international organizations (Jaeger, 2010; Thakur, 2012; Binder and Heupel, 2015; Nadin, 2016; Aykut and Dahan, 2022; Aykut *et al.*, 2022)(see also Section 4.1.2, FN18). For example, research applying critical theory has examined intergovernmental institutional processes through the lens of “spectacle” (Doran, 1993; Oglesby, 2010), “symbolic politics” (Blühdorn, 2007), “summit theatre” (Death, 2011, 2014), and as “technocratic” processes led by technical experts and policymakers that hamper democratic, just, and systemic responses to humanitarian crises (Aijazi, 2022), the climate crisis (Olsson, 2022), and implementing the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Hartley, 2020). In this same vein, recent research also “interrogate[s] the role(s) art plays in the context of contemporary climate governance in relation to how it addresses or fails to address the systemic causes of inequalities” (Burchert, 2024, p. 2).

This research recognizes the very real geopolitical, systemic, and institutional issues that hinder systemic, just, and coherent responses to disaster displacement, and in particular the need to meaningfully include displaced persons and wider displacement-affected communities in decision-making processes that affect them. However, the present study does not seek to

provide a detailed analysis of why the international response to disaster displacement has been insufficient to date.⁴ Rather, given the urgent nature of the challenge and the absence of viable alternatives, it focuses on increasing understanding about the potential influence of art on the development of disaster displacement norms within existing, albeit flawed, international systems, which could include exhibiting art that critically examines institutional weaknesses and systemic injustices, recognizing that artists may provide alternative ways of understanding, articulating, and proposing how to address disaster displacement.

There is presently no internationally agreed, legally binding definition for displacement related to climate change, nor is the term “climate refugee” grounded in law (UNHCR, 2021).⁵ Existing international law makes a distinction between internally displaced persons (IDPs) who stay within their own countries and those who cross international borders. IDPs’ rights are protected under national and international law (Kälin, 2023b). However, international law presently provides no guarantee that a person fleeing disaster or climate change impacts will be granted entry to a new country (Kälin and Schrepfer, 2012; McAdam, 2012; Nansen Initiative, 2015; Weerasinghe, 2018; Goodwin-Gill and McAdam, 2021; UNHCR, 2021).

Under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol (Refugee Convention), the legal status of “refugee” is granted to people who face a well-founded fear of persecution on one or more of the following grounds: “race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (United Nations, 1951, art. 1.A (2)). Finding persecution under refugee law requires that a human agent in the country of origin acted with the intent to cause persecution that must be linked to one of the five grounds, which is difficult in most contexts. Legal scholars Guy Goodwin-Gill and Jane McAdam explain a further dilemma of relying on refugee law, which is founded on the notion of protecting people from persecution:

While it could be argued that historically-high emitters of carbon emissions (for example, industrialised States) are the ‘persecutors’ in this case, at times they may be the very

⁴ For examples of my past research exploring the need for strengthened local, national, and international human rights-centred responses and systemic reform of international approaches to displacement, see: (Kälin and Entwisle Chapuisat, 2017, 2020, 2024; Entwisle Chapuisat, 2018, 2020; UNDRR, 2019b).

⁵ The term “environmental refugee” was first coined in a research paper by the United Nations Environment Programme in 1985 (Hinnawi, 1985).

countries in which people wish to seek protection” (Goodwin-Gill and McAdam, 2021, p. 644).

Consequently, the international legal definition of a refugee does not apply in most disaster displacement situations, with some exceptions such as regional refugee conventions that also encompass disasters as “events seriously disturbing public order” (Kälin and Schrepfer, 2012; McAdam, 2012; Cantor, 2018; Weerasinghe, 2018; Goodwin-Gill and McAdam, 2021; UNHCR, 2021). This gap in international law has resulted in strong calls for greater protection for persons fleeing disaster impacts (See Chapter 2.1.1).

This research uses the term “disaster displacement” to describe people forced to leave their homes in the context of disasters, including the adverse impacts of climate change, and includes both internal and cross-border movements.⁶ As explained by the Nansen Initiative Agenda for the Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons in the Context of Disasters and Climate Change (Protection Agenda) that conceptualized the term, disaster displacement “refers to situations where people are forced or obliged to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of disaster or in order to avoid the impact of an immediate and foreseeable natural hazard” (Nansen Initiative, 2015, p. 16). This concept builds upon the UN’s definition of a disaster as disrupting an affected community or society’s capacity to withstand hazards, which depends on factors such as the level of infrastructure and disaster preparedness (General Assembly, 2016). For example, people might be vulnerable to displacement when their mountain village is physically located next to a glacial lake that risks overflowing due to glacial melting. Houses built in areas exposed to seasonal tropical storms may not be strong enough to withstand high winds. Farmers may lack irrigation or drought resistant seeds to grow sustainable levels of crops, or pastoralists may not have sufficient fodder crops for their livestock amidst drought conditions. Such factors can contribute to increased vulnerability to displacement triggered by natural hazards. Notably, the UN explains,

⁶ Appreciating that all human movement can be understood as a spectrum between voluntary and forced movements (Hugo, 1996), this research uses the term “migration,” by comparison, to describe voluntary movements. This includes people choosing in relative freedom in response to declining social, economic and social conditions linked to climate change that have not yet resulted in a disaster (Nansen Initiative, 2015: 17) while still acknowledging that voluntary movements may still pose significant risk. The research does not use “environmental migration” (Perruchoud and Redpath-Cross, 2011) common in social science, which lacks the legal distinction between forced and voluntary movements and has not been adopted by States in recent international agreements (General Assembly, 2018).

“Several hazards are socionatural, in that they are associated with a combination of natural and anthropogenic factors, including environmental degradation and climate change” (General Assembly, 2016, p. 18). Thus, climate change-related displacement, understood as having been triggered by a hazard attributed to global warming,⁷ is a sub-set of the wider notion of disaster displacement (Entwisle Chapuisat, 2018, p. 17).

The multi-causal notion of “disaster displacement” is important because it creates the possibility to identify and understand the multiple factors that contribute to disaster displacement risk, as compared to just focusing on the natural hazard that triggers displacement. This approach opens up different policy options for addressing underlying causes, and consequently, avoiding or reducing disaster displacement by i) reducing hazards that trigger disasters, ii) reducing people’s vulnerabilities to hazards so that they can stay in their homes, and iii) reducing people’s exposure to hazards by physically moving them to a safer location, either permanently or temporarily, before, during or after a disaster occurs (Kälin and Entwisle Chapuisat, 2020; Goodwin-Gill and McAdam, 2021; Kälin, 2023b). Assessing these challenges, international policymakers can then seek legal and policy solutions through international human rights law, international migration and displacement regimes, international development approaches, climate change frameworks, humanitarian response, peacebuilding efforts, and disaster risk reduction (Kälin and Entwisle Chapuisat, 2020; Goodwin-Gill and McAdam, 2021; Kälin, 2023b).

Thus, for the purposes of this research, “disaster displacement norms” refer to the general expectation that cross-border and internally disaster-displaced persons’ rights should be protected through international legal and political agreements. This includes actions aimed at preventing, addressing, and finding lasting solutions to disaster displacement, recognizing that specific actions for achieving this norm have not been fully agreed upon or institutionalized.

While recognizing that international norms can evolve through other means, this research focuses on the role of diplomacy in norm evolution. For the purposes of this research,

⁷ The UNFCCC has identified the following hazards as adverse effects of climate change: “extreme events and slow onset events such as sea level rise, increasing temperatures, ocean acidification, glacial retreat and related impacts, salinization, land and forest degradation, loss of biodiversity and desertification” (UNFCCC, 2013, para. 32).

“diplomacy” is understood to mean “the conduct of relations between sovereign states through the medium of officials based at home or abroad, the latter being either members of their states’ diplomatic services or temporary diplomats” that relies, in part, on individuals building relationships with one another (Berridge and Lloyd, 2012, pp. 97–98). The research also adopts political science scholar Katharina Coleman’s use of the term “venue” to refer to “the institutional setting in which an official diplomatic encounter occurs” (Coleman, 2013, p. 167). The term “policymaking” describes “the activity of deciding on new policies, especially by a government or political party” (Cambridge University Press, no date), noting that international policies take many forms, including conventions, declarations, agendas, or principles, that may or may not be legally binding under international law. In this case, “policymakers” primarily refers to the diplomats representing their respective States to make such decisions, recognizing that international civil servants and other technical experts also shape the content and scope of decisions.

Finally, questions of liability for climate change-related displacement open complex legal issues. This thesis focuses on the concept of disaster displacement itself and less on the legal remedies available to address it, recognizing where relevant, however, that questions of liability also influence the conceptualization of the phenomenon itself. This is evident in the inclusion of displacement as a form of “loss and damage” in the UN climate change negotiations, which is often associated with the “climate justice” movement (Boyd *et al.*, 2021).

1.2 The Research Gap

In the field of art, art is assumed to play a consequential role in politics and social change, with exhibitions, academic literature, and practical guides describing the role of art in social and political transformation (Bradley and Esche, 2007; Naidus, 2009; Thompson, 2012b; Tung, 2013; Boyd and Mitchell, 2016). However, the Center for Artistic Activism (C4AA) concluded that art theorists and artists have not coalesced around a shared theory to assess art’s impact on social and political change (The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018, p. 25) or agreement on what art’s aims should be, particularly with respect to global political change. Notably, new research in the field of art and visual history is investigating various aspects related to “Summit

Art” that has resulted in an initial mapping and description of art exhibited in the context of diplomatic conferences (Burchert, 2022, no date). Furthermore, the inclusion of art in diplomatic contexts, even in peripheral conference spaces, indicates that intergovernmental institutions also see some value in having art present in diplomatic processes. However, researchers have not yet reflected on the influence of such art on the diplomatic process itself or the policymakers engaging in international negotiations.

Despite an ever-growing body of literature in political science examining the role of art in politics and social change (Mesch, 2013; Downey, 2014; Martin, 2015; Segal, 2016), international relations scholars have historically understood the role of art through the lens of “cultural diplomacy,” with art and culture viewed as a resource for States and international organizations to exercise what political scientist Joseph Nye famously coined “soft power” as a complement to “hard” military or economic power (Nye, 2004). In the context of intergovernmental organizations like the UN, cultural diplomacy has been described as a way for a country to simultaneously promote its foreign policy objectives and create an atmosphere conducive for intergovernmental diplomacy, as opposed to seeking a specific policy outcome (Nye, 2004, pp. 16 and 99; UN Geneva Cultural Activities Programme, 2021).

Art’s potential to capture or call forth emotion and affect is explored in recent literature from the field of international relations and aesthetics (Bleiker, 2018b). This branch of international relations research has arguably experienced an “aesthetic turn” evidenced by a growing interest in “literature, visual art, music, cinema, and other aspects of popular culture” (Bleiker, 2018a) as “aesthetic inquiries” or interpretive tools to supplement traditional information sources, such as diplomatic statements and statistical information (Bleiker, 2009, p. 187). However, art is primarily presented as a lens through which to visualize or understand global politics, rather than contributing to international policymaking in its own right.

Behavioural political science also increasingly emphasizes the importance of framing in political decision making, recognizing that how messages are presented may be more influential than the messages themselves (Lakoff, 2016; Mintz, Valentino and Wayne, 2022). However, these emerging insights have not been applied to understanding the potential influence of art in the evolution of international norms, nor specifically related to disaster displacement (McAdam,

2014, 2016; Schriever, 2017; Jakobsson, 2018a; Okeowo, 2018). Similarly, psychologists have studied the potential impact of art as a form of communication about climate change in generating public awareness about climate change issues (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018; Sommer *et al.*, 2019), including at ArtCOP21 (Sommer and Klöckner, 2019), but not art's influence on international policymakers who ultimately develop and agree upon international law and policy.

These collective research strands and artistic practices, as well as the resulting gaps in research, are discussed in much more detail in Chapter 2.

1.3 Origins of the Research and Curatorial Practice

The research builds on my academic background in peace and global studies, and law, complemented by my professional experience in international humanitarian coordination and policy working with the UN, States, and NGOs. I initially encountered conflict displacement issues in 2002 as a legal intern at a small NGO in Northern Uganda, later addressing disaster displacement challenges in 2005 as a humanitarian coordination officer at the UN Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) following the 2004 Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami. Over subsequent years, I specialized in policy and legal issues related to disaster displaced persons as well as people displaced within their own countries in conflict and disaster situations. I have continued to undertake research and policy work in these areas throughout my doctoral research (Kälin and Entwisle Chapuisat, 2016, 2017, 2020, 2024; Entwisle Chapuisat, 2018, 2020; UNDRR, 2019b).

Developing international responses to disaster displacement requires thinking across disciplines, attempting to understand how seemingly unconnected factors might influence one another. I first learned that some artists employ interdisciplinary approaches to addressing policy challenges while working for the UN in New York on the global food crisis in early 2009. New York Public Radio featured Mel Chin's *Operation Paydirt*, describing how the community-based art project uses fictional money, coloured by children, to lobby the US Congress to allocate money for lead removal from contaminated soil in New Orleans (Chin, 2008). Instinct told me that international policymaking could similarly benefit from incorporating such

contemporary art practice into its processes. A few months later, this curiosity led me to quit my job and undertake a master's degree in Critical, Curatorial, Cybermedia Studies at the Haute École d'Art et Design (HEAD) in Switzerland to explore the idea. My master's research further exposed me to various ways artists engage social and political issues as research or through socially engaged practices that seek to affect change in the world. While I greatly appreciated artists' unconventional perspectives and creative approaches that helped me conceptualize policy challenges anew, I was keenly aware that such works were not exhibited or discussed as part of international policy discussions — or at least I had no recollection of seeing them. As a master's student, I remember asking visiting artists if they would consider presenting their work as a panellist at an intergovernmental conference, imagining what would emerge from an exchange between artists, technical experts, and diplomats. A few years later, I had the opportunity to put this research and my curatorial experience into practice, simultaneously creating the origins for this doctoral research.

From 2013-2016, I worked at the Nansen Initiative Secretariat as its research and partnerships officer. The Nansen Initiative was a State-led initiative launched by the Governments of Norway and Switzerland outside the UN system that convened States, but also UN organizations, NGOs, research institutions, and independent experts⁸ to address the gap in international protection for people forced to flee across international borders in the context of disasters and climate change. The Nansen Initiative's three-year, "bottom-up consultative process" resulted in the "Agenda for the Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons in the Context of Disasters and Climate Change" (Protection Agenda) (Nansen Initiative, 2015), endorsed by 109 States in Geneva, Switzerland in 2015. Notably, the Protection Agenda conceptualizes the notion of "disaster displacement" and presents States and other relevant actors with a range of options for preventing, addressing, and finding lasting solutions for cross-border disaster-displacement.

The formal endorsement of the Protection Agenda, which I had co-drafted with the Envoy of the Chair of the Nansen Initiative, Walter Kälin, and the head of the Nansen Initiative

⁸ The Nansen Initiative had a Consultative Committee, chaired by the Envoy, that brought together global and regional experts spanning a wide range of technical fields related to disaster displacement (Nansen Initiative Secretariat, no date).

Secretariat, Atle Solberg, based upon extensive consultations around the world and the Nansen Initiative research program, proved to me that intergovernmental processes can advance global understanding and agreement on politically sensitive and conceptually challenging issues (McAdam, 2016). I witnessed first-hand how the concerted efforts of individuals representing States, NGOs, academic institutions, civil society groups, and intergovernmental organizations can lead to the conceptualization of new norms that are ultimately institutionalized into laws and policies.

As part of my work commissioning new research to inform the consultative process, I received support from Solberg and Kälin to explore opportunities to incorporate art research and practice into the Nansen Initiative's intergovernmental process. Kälin and I first collaborated with Bruno Latour's Experimental Programme in Art and Politics (SPEAP) at SciencesPo in 2013 through an introduction by François Gemenne, a professor at SciencesPo and member of the Nansen Initiative's Consultative Committee. I provided four SPEAP students with background information about a deadly 2010 storm in coastal France that forced residents to permanently abandon their homes. The students conducted field research and produced artworks that Kälin and I reviewed for potential inclusion in the Nansen Initiative Global Consultation, planned for October 2015. Kälin and I also explored collaboration with the Zurich-based publisher Lars Müller, which led to a commission by the Nansen Initiative with Swiss photographer Andri Pol to document disaster displacement in different regions (The Nansen Initiative, 2015). However, as much as I enjoyed developing the art research projects, the demands of my work required that I look for a curator who could lead the inclusion of artworks in the Global Consultation.

In 2014, I had the opportunity to meet, the now late, artist and academic Chris Wainwright when he was a guest speaker at the HEAD presenting his photography practice. The following day over an early morning hotel breakfast, I explained to Wainwright my idea of incorporating art research into intergovernmental conferences. He expressed immediate enthusiasm for the project, and we instantly started brainstorming. The resulting collaboration between the Nansen Initiative and the University of the Arts London (UAL), where Wainwright was a professor and Pro Vice-Chancellor, led to the first *DISPLACEMENT: Uncertain Journeys* exhibition as part of the Nansen Initiative Global Consultation in Geneva, Switzerland. Wainwright curated the exhibition featuring Lucy + Jorge Orta's *Antarctica World Passport*

Bureau (Orta and Orta, 2012) and *Antarctic Village-No Borders* (Orta and Orta, 2007) at the Sicli Pavilion, where a reception was held for delegates alongside other artworks on display at the Starling Hotel conference hosting the Global Consultation.⁹ Working closely with the UAL team and my Nansen Initiative communication colleague, Chirine El Labbane, I edited the exhibition text, suggested additional artists, searched for funding sources, identified the Sicli Pavilion as a venue, and organized a public discussion about art and policymaking. By all accounts, including feedback from the Swiss and Norwegian governments that led the Nansen Initiative, the DISPLACEMENT exhibition was deemed a success for making the Global Consultation a memorable event (El Labbane, interview data, 2019; Kälin, interview data, 2020; Solberg, interview data, 2020; Birkeland, interview data, 2023).



1.1 Lucy + Jorge Orta's *Antarctic Village-No Borders* and *Antarctica World Passport Bureau* were installed in the Sicli Pavilion in Geneva, Switzerland as part of events during the 2015 Nansen Initiative Global Consultation. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst.

⁹ For more information about the artists featured at the Nansen Initiative Global Consultation, see the DISPLACEMENT website (DISPLACEMENT, 2015).



1.2 Delegates to the Nansen Initiative Global Consultation eat their lunch at the Starling Hotel Conference Center while sitting at tables with artworks. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst, 2015.



1.3 DISPLACEMENT curator Chris Wainwright of UAL (holding microphone) speaks during a public panel discussion on the role of art and international policymaking associated with the Nansen Initiative Global Consultation. He sits alongside (from left) Bruce Burson, a member of the New Zealand Immigration and Protection Tribunal, artist Marie Velardi, José Riera of the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and Walter Kälin, acting as Envoy of the Chair of the Nansen Initiative. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst, 2015.

The collaboration between UAL and the Nansen Initiative ultimately led me to undertake this doctoral research with the intention to continue co-curating the DISPLACEMENT project with Wainwright. However, Wainwright's sudden death in 2017 brought my research and curatorial practice to a halt. In subsequent months as I reluctantly assumed sole leadership over the DISPLACEMENT project, I was forced to rethink the conceptualization of the project, including the administrative and technical challenges of bringing art into intergovernmental processes without the institutional backing of UAL as a host entity.¹⁰ With the support of Gorm Ashurst as exhibition and graphic designer and Kate Sedwell as artist liaison, who had both previously worked with Wainwright for many years, I reframed the DISPLACEMENT project to emphasize a potentially expanded role for art in diplomacy that not only responds to or interprets

¹⁰ In 2017, I co-founded the Swiss art association La Fruitière to serve as the administrative host of the DISPLACEMENT project.

international policy challenges, as the project had originally been described, but also actively contributes to shaping global policies and operational responses.

Consequently, this research explores my curatorial practice with DISPLACEMENT between 2018-2022, discussing art interventions developed in partnership with the Nansen Initiative's successor, the Platform on Disaster Displacement (PDD), and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), with initial financial backing from the Humanitarian Collaborative at the University of Virginia, in-kind contributions from UAL,¹¹ and other institutional and individual financial contributions.¹² Like the Nansen Initiative, the PDD is led by a group of likeminded States represented in the Steering Group with an annual rotating Chair and Vice-Chair,¹³ with other interested states participating in the Group of Friends. The Platform receives technical advice and expertise from the Envoy of the Chair, who also leads the Advisory Committee of international and regional experts, and a small Secretariat with coordination and technical support staff located in Geneva, Costa Rica, and Fiji (Platform on Disaster Displacement Secretariat, 2021, p. 8). Thus, collaboration with PDD facilitates access to a diverse group of actors with an extensive set of expertise and institutional affiliations.

¹¹ UAL paid for Lucy Orta's travel and accommodation to participate in the 2018 DISPLACEMENT exhibition in Morocco. NRC Geneva also signed a letter of agreement with UAL in support of the UAL studentship that partially funded this doctoral research from 2019-2022.

¹² Most formal funding for the DISPLACEMENT project was provided by the PDD and NRC as part of their communication efforts, primarily using funding from the German Federal Foreign Office. Smaller one-time grants were received from the Humanitarian Collaborative at the University of Virginia, the Swiss Arts Council Pro Helvetia, the Embassy of Denmark, Rabat, and individual private contributions. A few private individual contributions were also channeled indirectly through the University of the Arts London to pay UK-based fees and the Swiss-based association La Fruitière. This funding was used to pay for production costs, artist fees, graphic design, curation, and travel and accommodation costs for participating artists and the curatorial team. I also received a studentship for this research from UAL, which covered four years of international tuition fees. However, given the relatively small amount of formal funding received, the curatorial interventions presented in this thesis, particularly those in Sections 5.2 and 5.3, relied heavily on uncompensated labour (particularly my own as curator and, in the early stages of the project, other members of the curatorial team). Partners also contributed in-kind support to DISPLACEMENT exhibitions as part of their regularly paid activities. The DISPLACEMENT project would not have been financially viable nor possible without this in-kind support, others' and my own uncompensated labour, and my personal assumption of some up-front financial costs. See also Section 3.7 regarding the potential influence of these funding arrangements on this research.

¹³ Note that between 2016 and 2024, PDD's rotating State leadership included: Germany (Chairmanship) and Bangladesh (Vice-Chairmanship); Bangladesh (Chairmanship) and France (Vice-Chairmanship); France (Chairmanship) and Fiji (Vice-Chairmanship); Fiji (Chairmanship) and the European Union (Vice-Chairmanship); European Union (Chairmanship) and Kenya (Vice-Chairmanship); Kenya (Chairmanship) and Costa Rica (Vice-Chairmanship).

1.4 Research Aims, Objectives, and Questions

This research seeks to increase understanding about the neglected issue of how art can contribute to political change in the form of international laws and policies that address critical global challenges, like climate change and displacement, by exploring the possibilities and consequences of exhibiting arts within intergovernmental venues. It aims to better understand how art's interdisciplinary capacity to engage emotion, create sensorial experiences, and prompt critical and reflexive thinking, could positively influence the process of advancing norm development on disaster displacement. The research also seeks to identify and describe strategies for artists, curators, and other actors seeking to include art within norm development efforts, and conceptualize art's potential influence on international policymaking processes in diplomatic venues.

The research is motivated by my strong and long-standing commitment to protect the rights of people forced to flee their homes, a belief that individuals matter in the development of international norms, a hunch that art practices can substantively contribute to international policymaking processes, and a desire to honour the memory of my mentor and collaborator, Chris Wainwright. I do not claim to be an art critic, art theorist, curatorial theorist, or international relations theorist — although I hope these fields will benefit from my research. Rather, I draw on these fields to explore the potential role of art in international policymaking through contextual art writing (Fitzpatrick, 1992; Chanda, 1998; Mittman, 2017) in the tradition of arts and humanities research (Thissen, Zwijnenberg and Zijlmans, 2013; Hazelkorn, 2015; Benneworth, Gulbrandsen and Hazelkorn, 2016) that seeks to understand the wider socio-political meaning of art. The overall methodology is inspired by cultural studies (Alasuutari, 1995; Couldry, 2000), practice as a form of research (Barrett and Bolt, 2010; Barone and Eisner, 2012; Biggs and Karlsson, 2012; Borgdorff, 2012), and feminist research perspectives (Harding, 1986; Reinharz, 1992; Kelly, 2020) that utilize a broad set of theories, disciplines, methods, and data sources to enhance understanding, as well as seek practical, political, or legal change (Charlesworth, 1999; Blaikie and Priest, 2019; Saeidzadeh, 2023).

Thus, this interdisciplinary research seeks to describe and contextualise current trends about the inclusion of contemporary art in intergovernmental contexts, such as the United Nations, drawing on literature from the fields of art history, international relations, psychology,

curatorial studies, and engaging a diverse set of data collected through secondary research, interviews, observation, and my curatorial practice. Thus, it also reflects my “situated knowledge” (Haraway, 1988; See also Harding, 2004; Barrett, 2010a, 2010b; Adams, Ellis and Jones, 2017; Blaikie and Priest, 2019; Kelly, 2020) with respect to my experience as an international civil servant, consultant, and curator at diplomatic conferences.

By gaining a greater understanding about the processes and institutional arrangements through which relationships between art organizations and intergovernmental organizations are formed and maintained, as well as the underlying motivations behind this trend, the research aims to provide initial reflections on the potential influence of such practices with respect to international norm development on disaster displacement, noting that additional research is necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of such collaborations.

With these aims in mind, the research has the following objectives:

1. Survey art practice, art theory, and histories of art on contemporary and socially engaged art practices to identify and describe artistic strategies used for engaging disaster displacement, climate change, or environmental issues.
2. Survey theories of social and political change in the fields of art and international relations to understand if and how art has been understood to contribute to international political change and the evolution of international norms.
3. Undertake a case study about the United Nations Office at Geneva to better understand how art has historically been conceived as part of diplomatic relations at an intergovernmental institution.
4. Undertake a case study about my curatorial practice leading the DISPLACEMENT: Uncertain Journeys project to examine how art strategies may contribute to current international policymaking efforts at intergovernmental conferences to address disaster displacement.
5. Integrate international relations theory on norm evolution, drawing on research from the fields of art and psychology, to develop a conceptual framework to enhance understanding about how and why artistic strategies may influence norm development efforts in diplomatic venues.

6. Conceptualize art and curatorial practices that seek to influence international policymaking processes as part of collaborative efforts to develop international norms.

Through these objectives, the research seeks to answer the following overall research questions:

1. What is the potential influence of art as part of collective efforts to develop international norms on disaster displacement in diplomatic venues?
2. What forms of collaboration between artists, NGOs, intergovernmental institutions, States, and other actors could advance the development of disaster displacement norms?

1.5 Overview of Contributions to Knowledge

This research aims to identify and characterize strategies for artists, curators, and others seeking to bring art within broader international efforts to improve protection for people displaced by the impacts of climate change and other disasters in intergovernmental policymaking processes, and to explain the relevance of such artistic contributions to international policymakers. To this end, the research ultimately makes three contributions to knowledge.

1.5.1 Integrating International Norm Evolution Theory in Analysis on Artistic Interventions in Diplomatic Venues

First, this research makes an original contribution to knowledge by applying an analytical approach that brings findings from theories of art about art and social change in conversation with international relations theory on norm evolution to enhance understanding on how the qualities of art contribute to collective efforts to advocate for the development of international laws and policies in diplomatic venues. This approach, which builds upon Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink's norm life cycle model (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998), analyses the influence of artistic engagement in developing norms in the context of diplomatic venues.

In so doing, it contributes to existing literature on contemporary art's role in political change (Hoffmann and Lind, 2011; Kester, 2011; Giannachi, 2012; The Center for Artistic Activism,

2018; Madoff, 2019; Saratsi *et al.*, 2019; Sommer and Klöckner, 2019; Bruguera and Bishop, 2020; Demos, 2020) and international norm evolution (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; McAdam, 2016; Schriever, 2017; Bleiker, 2018; Jakobsson, 2018; Okeowo, 2018; Jung, 2019), building on the two fields' shared recognition that the development, exchange, and distribution of ideas lie at the core of social and political change.

1.5.2 Developing a Conceptual Framework for Art's Potential Contribution to International Norm Development

Second, the research presents a framework as an analytical tool to describe artistic strategies and conceptualize how they may contribute to collective efforts to advance international norm development in diplomatic venues in support of the ultimate goal to institutionalize the norms in laws and policies. The framework depicts how art exhibited in diplomatic venues may influence the development of international norms in one or more ways: i) increasing awareness and understanding of the norm; ii) exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment to the norm; and iii) generating creative thinking and innovative solutions to implement the norm. The framework also highlights the crucial role that curatorial decisions play in shaping an artwork's potential influence in diplomatic contexts.

1.5.3 Proposing the Terms "Policy-Oriented Art" and "Policy-Oriented Curating"

Lastly, the research proposes the notion of "policy-oriented art" to describe art that is exhibited with the intention of contributing to norm development efforts in diplomatic venues with the overall objective of seeking social and political change in the form of international laws and policies. Recognizing that curating plays a role in shaping the potential influence of an artwork, particularly works that may not have been initially created by the artist with the intention of influencing policy, the research also proposes the notion of "policy-oriented curating." Importantly, policy-oriented curating relies on an expanded notion of site, recognizing that diplomatic venues are not art museums, to create interpretative frames that encourage policymakers to engage with artworks as part of wider diplomatic processes by using exhibition design, interpretative materials, and partnerships.

1.6 Thesis Structure

The thesis is comprised of seven chapters. This first chapter provided background to the overall research, including its objectives, origins, significance, and motivations. The second chapter contextualizes the research in current literatures and practice in the fields of art and international relations theory and sets out the research questions. The third chapter outlines the methodology for the research and explains the selection of methods to answer the research questions.

Chapters Four and Five each present a case study. The first case study focuses on the use of art as a diplomatic gift at the UN Office at Geneva as an example of art's historical role in diplomacy. The second case examines my curatorial practice between 2018-2022 leading the DISPLACEMENT project to explore how art can contribute to norm development efforts on disaster displacement norms in diplomatic venues.

The sixth chapter builds on the key conclusions from the case studies to propose a conceptual framework for understanding the influence of art as part of collaborative efforts to develop international norms in diplomatic venues and presents the notions of "policy-oriented art" and "policy-oriented curating." The seventh chapter concludes with a summary of the research, its contributions to knowledge, limitations of the research, and future research possibilities.

The Appendices include supporting material showing how the research was conducted ethically by providing an example of participant interview consent forms. Notes also indicate when elements of this thesis were presented at conferences.

2. Practice and Literature Review

Art and International Relations have so much to say to each other, if they only but knew it.

-Alex Danchev (Danchev, 2014)

This chapter contextualizes my research and curatorial practice in the fields of contemporary art practice and theory, histories of art, international law, international relations theory on norm evolution, and psychology and cognitive science. It begins by summarizing international legal developments and artistic and curatorial practices relevant to disaster displacement and the climate emergency. Recognizing a lack of consensus in art research about how to conceptualize the role of art in international political change, the chapter argues that international relations theory on international norm evolution provides a useful theoretical foundation for understanding the potential influence of art on international policymaking on disaster displacement, particularly when complemented by research in the fields of psychology and cognitive science about the role of affect and art as elements of persuasion. Lastly, identifying gaps in knowledge within existing research, the chapter concludes by presenting the research's overarching research questions.

2.1 International Political and Artistic Responses to Disaster Displacement

Disaster displacement can result in not only serious physical security, economic and political impacts, but also long-term social, cultural and psychological harm (Nansen Initiative, 2015). Reflecting these complexities, this section outlines key milestones in the international communities' efforts to develop holistic responses to climate change-related displacement. It is followed by a practice review of artists and art organizations that have engaged displacement and migration in the context of the climate emergency and disasters, identifying a variety of artistic strategies employed in the works and curatorial strategies for engaging international diplomatic processes.

2.1.1 International law and policy on disaster displacement

The process of developing a comprehensive normative framework for disaster displacement raises numerous questions with broad legal and operational implications. For instance, one could ask: Did the person escaping a disaster situation cross an international border, or did they stay within their own country? Was the person forced to flee or did they move voluntarily? Was the disaster predominantly triggered by a natural hazard or human-induced climate change? Can the person return to their home, or will they need a new place to live? Could government action have avoided the displacement? Answering these questions implicates the fields of international migration, humanitarian assistance, climate change policy, refugee protection, disaster risk reduction, human rights, peace and security, and development assistance, each with its own terminology, legal and policy frameworks, and logic. With this in mind, this section provides a brief introduction to international law and summarises key international legal developments related to disaster displacement and climate change.

As compared to domestic legal systems, international law can be more nebulous and open to diverse interpretations because of the three ways it forms, all of which rely on achieving consensus among States on norms. First, States can explicitly agree on a norm through the adoption of binding international conventions or treaties, establishing “treaty law.” Second, States can agree through “international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law” (Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 1946, art. 38.1(b)). Rather than forming through an intentional lawmaking process, “customary international law” emerges based upon evidence of two elements: “general practice ... and the conviction that such practice reflects, or amounts to law ... or is required by social, economic, or political exigencies” (Cassese, 2005, p. 156). In other words, customary international law is created when States agree to act in accordance with a particular norm because they believe they have a legal obligation to do so, even if it has not been expressly agreed in a treaty or convention.¹⁴ Third, evidence of State consensus may also be found through tacit consent or acquiescence, when States do not

¹⁴ Notably, in some cases States have eventually codified customary international law into treaties (Cassese, 2005, pp. 167–169). The International Court of Justice has also identified a non-exhaustive list of “specific peremptory norms of general international law (*jus cogens*)” that are considered binding on all States, which include, among others, the prohibition of aggression, the prohibition of genocide, the prohibition of crimes against humanity, and the right to self-determination. See (International Law Commission, 2022, p. 16).

contest or reject an emerging norm (Cassese, 2005, p. 202). Notably, in addition to treaties and international custom, other sources of binding international law include “general principles of law recognized by civilized nations” (United Nations, 1946, art. 38.1(c)) and, subject to some limitations, “judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of the rules of law” (United Nations, 1946, art. 38.1(d)).

Although these forms of international law are considered legally binding, they may or may not include mechanisms to monitor compliance or ensure enforcement through legal mechanisms. Enforcement of international law rests on the collective responsibility of the international community as a whole, with States undertaking enforcement measures against other States, either as individual States or through intergovernmental institutions, such as the International Court of Justice or the International Criminal Court (Cassese, 2005, p. 241).¹⁵ Thus, as international relations scholars Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink explain, “the international system is characterized by law and norms operating without direct punitive capacity” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 893).

Increasingly, States are reluctant to establish new treaty obligations, particularly on new or politically sensitive issues around which it is difficult to build international consensus, namely “human rights, international economic relations, and protection of the environment” (Cassese, 2005, p. 196). This does not mean that international norms do not continue to emerge and evolve, but that States may prefer to use alternative non-binding instruments to institutionalize certain international governance agreements (Abbott and Snidal, 2000). In particular, States may choose to adopt “soft law,” which includes UN General Assembly resolutions, declarations, guidelines, frameworks, statements, commitments, and policies, that is intentionally created as non-binding, often within the context of international organizations (Cassese, 2005, p. 196). As compared to binding international law, or “hard law,” States may act in accordance with “soft law” because they are politically motivated or persuaded to do so, not because they are *legally obliged* to do so. Over time, it is possible that “soft law” may eventually evolve into or serve as the foundation for binding international law (Cassese, 2005,

¹⁵ For a detailed discussion on the enforcement of international law, as well as peremptory norms of general international law, see (Gaeta *et al.*, 2020; International Law Commission, 2022).

pp. 196–197). Notably, while States may be reluctant to discuss disaster displacement within the context of the Refugee Convention, they have been open to adopting “soft law” on the topic, as evidenced by the inclusion of disaster displacement issues in numerous such non-binding agreements (McAdam, 2016; Kälin, 2018. See also below).

The nature of international law, as compared to domestic legal systems, leads to competing understandings and descriptions as to what is international law in the first place. While there are established rules for interpreting treaties, (*Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties*, 1969) statements of the law that require interpretation of States’ behaviour as an expression of will vary depending on the method chosen to analyse the facts. Such approaches include, but are not limited to, positivism, law and economics, critical legal studies, feminism, international relations/international, and international legal process, with lawyers often applying a combination of methods (Slaughter and Ratner, 1999). As legal scholars Anne-Marie Slaughter and Stephen Ratner explain, “The principal divide, not surprisingly, is between methods that conceptualize law primarily as a body of rules and those that see it as a more dynamic set of processes” (Slaughter and Ratner, 1999, p. 410). They further clarify that these legal methods also shape normative positions on what the law should be on a particular topic, and what process is required to reach that objective.

This research applies a constructivist international relations approach to legal interpretation that seeks to understand the process through which States come to agree upon norms that “describe collective expectations for the proper behaviour of actors with a given identity” (Katzenstein, 1996, p. 5; See also Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). Constructivist research has sought to counter dominant realist and liberal views of States as sovereign entities asserting power in rational self-interest amidst anarchy (Slaughter, 2011). While not discounting the role of rationalism and materialism, constructivists assert that ideas, institutions, and non-State actors also shape State behaviour (Kratochwil and Ruggie, 1986; Wendt, 1987, 1999). As Slaughter explains, constructivists believe “meaning is constructed from a complex and specific mix of history, ideas, norms and beliefs which scholars must understand if they are to explain State behavior” (2011). Recognizing the diversity of actors and motivations that shape State behaviour and, in turn, the process through which international norms evolve, this research uses the term “norms” to refer to the collective expected appropriate behaviour of States,

recognizing that such norms may encompass States' *legal* obligations and *political* commitments, with international legal norms understood as a subset of international norms more generally.

Displacement and migration as a consequence of climate change impacts were first raised by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in the early 1990s, although the issue only became prominent in UN climate change negotiations in the early 2000s largely due to joint advocacy efforts by non-governmental organizations, UN entities, academics, and other international organizational organizations (Warner, 2011; Bodansky, Brunnée and Rajamani, 2017). In 2010, States parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change formally recognized the issue for the first time as part of the Cancun Adaptation Framework, stating that "climate change induced displacement, migration and planned relocation" posed challenges to States ability to adapt (Conference of the Parties, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2011). Parallel conversations about internal disaster displacement as an international humanitarian and human rights issue began in the early 1990s amidst wider debates on internal conflict-related displacement that led to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (*Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, 1998), and gained further recognition following the 2004 Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami (Hall, 2016; Entwisle Chapuisat, 2018, pp. 31–33).

International efforts to address the gap in international law for people forced to cross borders in the context of climate change and disasters converged with climate change and internal displacement efforts in 2012, when the Governments of Norway and Switzerland founded the Nansen Initiative outside the UN system, given the topic's political sensitivity (McAdam, 2014). In October 2015, the Initiative's three-year consultative process culminated in 109 government delegations endorsing the non-binding Agenda for the Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons in the Context of Disasters and Climate Change (Protection Agenda) that conceptualized the term "cross-border disaster-displacement" and provided States and other actors with a set legal and policy options that could be used to manage displacement risk in the country of origin and provide protection and assistance if displacement across international borders could not be avoided.

In the area of disaster risk reduction, in March 2015, UN Member States adopted the non-binding Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 that includes preventative measures to address disaster displacement as part of national and regional disaster risk reduction strategies (UNDRR, 2019, para. 28) (See also Chapter 5). UNDRR has subsequently developed guidance and training tools to assist States in their efforts to reduce disaster displacement risk (UNDRR, 2019b).

Disaster displacement has also continued to gain traction in the area of climate change. In December 2015, over 190 States met in Paris for the 21st Conference of the Parties (COP21) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) where they adopted the legally binding¹⁶ Paris Agreement that aims to “[hold] the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and [pursue] efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels” (art. 2). Although the Paris Agreement does not mention displacement, COP21 established a Task Force on Displacement as part of the Warsaw Mechanism on Loss and Damage to “develop recommendations for integrated approaches to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change” (Task Force on Displacement, 2017b). COP24 subsequently endorsed the Task Force’s comprehensive set of recommendations, inviting in particular support for developing Parties in their efforts (Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage associated with Climate Change Impacts, 2018, pp. 4–6). In 2022, COP27 in Sharm El-Sheik agreed to create a new fund for “loss and damage” for vulnerable countries impacted by climate-related disasters, which should ultimately include support for displacement as a form of “non-economic losses” (PDD Data and Knowledge Working Group, 2022).

¹⁶ Notably, legal scholar Daniel Bodansky explains that while the Paris Agreement itself is considered a legally binding treaty under international law, not all the provisions within the treaty are legally binding upon the parties. In particular, he highlights, “Most importantly, parties do not have an obligation to achieve their nationally determined contributions (NDCs) to address climate change – thus, in that respect, NDCs are not legally binding” (Bodansky, 2021, p. 1). While recognizing this so-called “hybrid approach” to include both legally binding and non-binding elements was used to achieve global consensus after years of contentious negotiations, Bodansky observes that, as of 2021, the “ambition mechanism” to increasingly enhance climate action in subsequent years had not yet proven successful in motivating States to implement NDCs that would achieve global temperature targets. For further discussion, see also: (Popovski, 2019; UN Climate Change, 2023; United Nations Climate Change, no date b, no date a).

In 2018, UN Member States adopted two significant agreements on migration and refugees that included disaster displacement. Most importantly, States agreed on the first UN international agreement on migration called the 2018 Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (Global Compact for Migration). Addressing a wide variety of topics, the Global Compact for Migration dedicates a separate section to “Natural disasters, the adverse effects of climate change, and environmental degradation” (General Assembly, 2018, para. 18) that sets out recommendations and commitments to avoid and respond to disaster displacement. Objective 5 of the Compact also highlights the role of creating alternative migration pathways, such as through issuing humanitarian visas, the granting of temporary protection status, and non-return measures (General Assembly, 2018, para. 21(g) and (h); Kälin, 2022; Mokhnacheva, 2022).¹⁷ In comparison, the 2018 Global Compact on Refugees has only minor references to climate change and its implication for cross-border displacement (UNHCR High Commissioner, 2018, paras. 12 and 63), limiting international refugee law as the key area of law for addressing disaster displacement, although refugee law remains relevant in some contexts (UNHCR, 2021).

In 2019, the UN Human Rights Committee issued a landmark decision confirming that the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights applies to situations when people are forced to leave their countries of origin because of the adverse impacts of climate change (Human Rights Committee, 2020). As international refugee law expert Jane McAdam explains, the committee found it is “unlawful for governments to send people back to countries where climate change impacts expose people to life-threatening risks or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment” (McAdam, 2020). In the specific case before the Committee, the claimant from the low-lying island state of Kiribati, Ioane Teitiota, ultimately lost his claim against New Zealand for returning him to his home country after denying his claim for refugee status because the Committee found that Teitiota’s personal situation had not yet reached the standard. By not setting out criteria, the Committee’s decision leaves questions as to what would amount to a life-threatening risk or sub-standard treatment that would prohibit return (McAdam, 2020). Although the decision itself is not legally binding, the Committee confirms what researchers have argued, that the legal binding provisions of international human rights law do apply to

¹⁷ For more discussion, see also Chapter 5.2.1 and 5.2.2.

displacement in the context of climate change (McAdam, 2010, 2011; Kälin and Schrepfer, 2012).

Contrary to media coverage on the topic (Demos, 2020b), international legal responses to disaster displacement and climate change have largely avoided framing displaced people as a security threat. Notably, the UN Security Council addressed the threat sea-level rise poses to international peace and security for the first time in February 2023. Emphasizing the need to look at refugee law as well as other areas of law, the UN Secretary-General's statement to the body highlighting disaster displacement describes the potential to "witness a mass exodus of entire populations on a biblical scale", among other consequences, if necessary legal action is not taken (United Nations Secretary-General, 2023). However, because the discussion took the form of an open debate, the Security Council did not issue a formal resolution, nor was there consensus as to whether sea-level rise should become a standing item for the body (Lokenberg, 2023; Security Council Report, 2023).

In his summary of the state of international law on human mobility in the context of climate change as of April 2022, legal scholar Walter Kälin notes that the international legal instruments referencing disaster displacement are non-binding with limited implementation, recognizing some positive examples of implementation (Kälin, 2022). More soberingly, he states: "A clear norm that persons displaced in the context of disasters and adverse effects of climate change have a right to admission and stay in other countries does neither exist in international soft law nor in any treaty applicable at the global level" (Kälin, 2022, p. 161). That said, he and others recognize that substantial legal developments have been made at the regional and national level (Kälin, 2022; Mokhnacheva, 2022). For example, intergovernmental regional organizations have developed and interpreted existing regional free movement of people agreements to address cross-border movements in disaster contexts. National governments have also established new legal mechanisms, such as humanitarian visas, that allow for temporary stay in the event a person is forced to flee their country in the event of a disaster, and have started to harmonise practices at regional level.

2.1.2 Contemporary art practice and strategies

When surveying artistic response to the challenge of disaster displacement and the climate emergency, the research draws upon the evolution of performance and collaborative art practices moving beyond art institutions to address socio-political issues, including feminism (Lacy, 1977), alternative histories (REPOhistory, 1989-2000), neighbourhood revitalization (Lowe, 1993), drug addiction (WochenKlausur, 1994), sustainable rural development (SUPERFLEX, 1996), corporate accountability (Yes Men, 2004), food production (Haeg, 2005), pollution (Chin, 2006), and immigration (*Tania Bruguera*, no date). Through such works, artists engage a wide set of actors outside the art world, including site-specific communities, civil society groups, researchers, NGOs, or governments institutions.

These continually evolving practices are described in varying terms: “art as activism” (Felshin, 1995), “new genre public art” (Lacy, 1995), “dialogical art” (Kester, 2004), “relational aesthetics” (Bourriaud, 2009), “socially engaged art” (Helguera, 2011; Thompson, 2012b), “social practice”(Davis, 2013; Olson and Schruers, 2020), “social cooperation” (Finkelpearl, 2013), “public art” (Doherty, 2015; Cartiere and Zebracki, 2016), “artistic activism” (Mouffe, 2007; Duncombe, 2016; Duncombe and Lambert, 2021; Steinbock, Ieven and Valck, 2021; Sholette, 2022), “strike art” (McKee, 2016), “activist-artists” (Demos, 2020a), and “artivism” (Poch and Poch, 2018; Bruguera and Bishop, 2020). Notably, some of these terms are used to describe the art itself, either with respect to its subject matter or form (or lack thereof). However, this evolution of terms also alludes to the political, social, geographic, or institutional contexts in which artworks are created or exhibited.

Artists may develop a one-off intervention or a durational community-based project as part of art exhibition that includes sites outside physical art institutions (Kwon, 2004; Lippard, 2007; Jackson, 2011; Doherty, 2015). Artists may work concurrently or separately in collaboration with NGOs or as part of larger social movements or campaigns on issues unrelated to art (McKee, 2016; Demos, Scott and Banerjee, 2021a). Artist residencies in government institutions once considered radical in the 1960s and 70s, such as UK-based Artist Placement Group’s placements in European government ministries and Mierle Laderman Ukeles’s residency in New York City’s Department of Sanitation, are now well-established practices in

the US (Burton, Jackson and Willsdon, 2016). In response to the climate emergency in particular, artists also “frequently attempt to influence behaviours, advance knowledge and possibly inform policies, planning and decision-making” by acting as researchers, “either independently or as part of multi-, inter-, and trans-disciplinary teams” (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019, pp. 2–3). At the international level, high-profile artists, such as Tania Bruguera, Olafur Eliasson, Alfredo Jaar, and Ai Weiwei, have partnered with UN entities individually (UNHCR Australia, 2018; UNHCR Switzerland, 2019) or through arts organizations promoting issues such as refugee protection and the UN Sustainable Development Goals (UN Live; *ART 2030*).

These diverse practices have been increasingly institutionalized as art museums and curators re-envision art institutions as places of learning, exchange, and, for some, activism (Doherty, 2015; Grady and Sherman, 2017; Diego, 2018; Lippard, 2018; Reilly, 2018; Obrist, 2019; Seymore, 2022). Such practices are also fostered and developed through dedicated arts organizations (*A Blade of Grass*, no date) and higher education (The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018). Practices may be so enmeshed in social and political sites and discourses that critics may no longer recognize them as art, a definition that some artists do not feel obliged to defend (Thompson, 2012b; Doherty, 2015; Weibel, 2015; McKee, 2016).

Notably, design principles and processes are also increasingly applied to domestic policy creation and administrative processes (Bason, 2014; Dixon, 2019; Kimbell *et al.*, 2022; Van Buuren, Lewis and Peters, 2023), including research emphasizing the potential contributions of design thinking in public administration to tackle “wicked challenges” (Hermus, Van Buuren and Bekkers, 2020) and the role of art practice in domestic policymaking more broadly (Bennett, 2022). For instance, “government innovation labs” provide design expertise to aid policymaking methods and outputs (Kimbell, 2015), as well as reveal challenges and complexities through “problem-finding” as opposed to “problem-solving” (Marenko, 2018). “Design for policy” research also explores the potential benefits of civil servants using design processes that stimulate their imaginations by creating “counterfactual worldviews” that open up new possibilities for understanding the present (Hillgren, Light and Strange, 2020). While most of the literature to date has focused on domestic policy formation and implementation, there are examples of design principles being applied with respect to international policymaking processes (Chou and Ravinet, 2019), including as part of the EU Policy Lab and

the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Observatory of Public Sector Innovation (Kimbell *et al.*, 2022, p. 3). This study recognises the potential relevance of the diverse and growing field of research on design for policy. Nevertheless, given its emphasis on understanding how art's critical capacity to engage emotion and sensorial experience influence the formation of international law and policy, and noting the distinct way in which States adopt international law as compared to domestic processes, the present study's scope is largely limited to the fields of art and political change and international relations research on international norm evolution (See also Chapter 7).

With these broader trends in mind, this section reviews selected examples of contemporary artworks and art organizations addressing themes related to displacement and the climate emergency. While the specific topic has to date garnered limited attention as a sole exhibition theme (Says, 2015), as compared to migration and the climate crisis separately (Lippard, 2007; Lam *et al.*, 2013; Erickson and Respini, 2019), artists have increasingly explored human displacement associated with climate change over the course of my research. For example, following its report "Climate Refugees: The Climate Crisis and Rights Denied" (Ayazi and Elsheikh, 2019), the Othering and Belonging Institute at the University of California, Berkeley launched the Artist Circle on Climate Displacement in May 2021. The project convened six artists in monthly conversations with invited guests, shared "key learnings, questions and outcomes" on a public website, and supported artist-led "catalyst projects" over the course of 2022 (Artist Circle on Climate Displacement, no date). The project website explains:

We shared our work, critiques, stories, and produced new work. In the process, we generated new understandings, questions and approaches to making art and telling stories that can address the complexity of climate displacement. We dug into the many creative forms of survival and worldmaking - methods, ethics and principles - we are witnessing across various communities that have been impacted by the climate crisis. As we answered some of the questions with which we entered the conversation, new and more nuanced ones unfolded. Some of them will require more research. Some have no easy answer (Artist Circle on Climate Displacement, no date).

This contrasts with the early 2000s, when artists tended to engage the notion of displacement more "obliquely" through themes like nomadism, cultural displacement associated with global capitalism (Potts, 2012, para. 40), and the physical movement of materials to new sites (Doherty, 2015).

Rather than trying to categorize the diverse artistic practices addressing disaster displacement according to their form or medium, I take inspiration from new media and performance studies theorist Gabriella Giannachi, who groups artworks according to the different “strategies” she saw artists employing in their work on climate change. She describes how artists adopted “one or more of three strategies:

1. Representations— emphasizing visualization and communication
2. Performance environments— emphasizing immersion and experience
3. Interventions— emphasizing mitigation and behavioral change” (Giannachi, 2012, p. 125).

While this list provides a useful first start, it arguably omits some so-called “strategies” that others have identified when artists engage social and political issues. For instance, curator and researcher Claire Doherty categorizes “public art” according to how artists use “displacement, intervention, disorientation, occupation, and perpetuation” in their practice (Doherty, 2015), emphasizing art’s capacity to pose questions and create uncertainty with the objective of prompting viewers to see a situation anew and arrive at a different or deeper understanding of an issue. The Center for Artistic Activism summarizes: “Art can create and it can disrupt, it can be critical or it can be visionary, it can alienate us from our present or train us to act for the future” (The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018, p. 23). Similarly, from the perspective art as research, Saratsi, et. al. identify a wide set of strategies:

Arts can provoke; they can unsettle norms and challenge prevailing wisdoms; Arts can be political: they can illuminate problems and expose values and choices; Arts can educate, inspire and persuade; Arts can open up new perspectives through imagination; Arts can help us live with uncomfortable truths; Arts can help us to adapt to new realities (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019, p. 3).

Collectively, these descriptions emphasize how artists engage the imagination, sensorial experience, aesthetics, and affect to implement their strategies.

Keeping in mind the overall question of how art could influence the evolution of international norms and recognizing that an artwork often embodies multiple strategies, this section synthesizes various strands of research and art practices to articulate four artistic strategies: 1) making issues visible; 2) encouraging conversation and provoking questions; 3) interpreting

existing research and generating new knowledge; and 4) problem solving. These four strategies are selected to mirror how a policymaker might become aware of an issue, discuss it, learn more about it, and then develop policy solutions—understanding that this is not a linear process. The research focuses on the perspective of the policymaker, building on research in constructivist norm evolution research that recognizes the role of individuals in shaping international norms and my experience as part of efforts to advance norms on disaster displacement. In the practice review that follows, I also extend these strategies to include curatorial strategies for exhibiting artworks that might be understood as speaking to disaster displacement issues even if that was not the artists’ original intention.

2.1.2.1 Making Issues Visible

Many artists attempt to make visible places and people “that are most unseen and unknown and at risk of climate disaster” (Sze, 2015, p. 1), helping a global audience become attuned to and emotionally connected to the reality (Davis and Turpin, 2015) of climate change-related displacement, revealing underlying causes, who is at risk, and what can be done.

To this end, artists and filmmakers have sought to document or amplify the real-life experiences of disaster displaced people through photography and film, traveling abroad to countries other than their own to record and collect stories from people most impacted by climate change impacts, often in coastal areas or low-lying island states (Collectif Argos, 2010; *Climate Refugees*, 2010; *There Is a Happy Land Further Away* [16mm film, colour/B&W, stereo sound, ratio: 16:9], 2015; Lee, 2015). Artists have engaged disaster displaced communities through collaborative, performance, and community-based artworks, such as in Japan following the 2015 Fukushima earthquake and tsunami (Wainwright, 2015), and France following a severe storm (*Aléa* [Silent], 2014) (See also Sections 5.2 and 5.4). *The Level*, a film installation by Indian artists Mazaher and Maya Chowdhry, interweaves scenes of flooding with testimonies from migrants and displaced people from around world impacted by climate-related disasters. The artists translate the personal stories words into English, which actors from the Global North and the Global South perform in an attempt to build empathy in viewers participating in a research conference on environmental migration (Mazaher and Chowdhry, 2015; Randall, 2015). Photographers Din Muhammed Shibly and Veejay Villafranca,

respectively, established long-term projects built upon relationships with affected communities in their home countries of Bangladesh (Shibly, 2003-ongoing) and the Philippines (Villafranca, 2009-2017). In the photo series *Schrödinger's Cat* (Anderson, 2021), American Laurel Anderson takes a personal approach, investigating the psychological toll she experienced during the liminal space of unknowing during displacement following an evacuation order, until she ultimately returns to her land destroyed by wildfires in California in 2020 by recreating domestic scenes in the burnt ruins of her property and neighbours' homes.



2.1 In the poetic photo series *Schrödinger's Cat*, Laurel Anderson recreates the dual reality of a home both unscathed and destroyed during an evacuation order. Image: Laurel Anderson, *Fireside*, 2021.

Firoz Mahmud, born in Khulna, Bangladesh, created his ongoing photo-video-sculpture series *Soaked Dream* (Mahmud, 2008-ongoing) to offer communities displaced by disaster and civil unrest in Bangladesh a way to visualize their hopes and dreams for the future. The artist hosts community-based workshops in which children and their family members craft bright green futurist sunglasses out of a kit or found materials in the shelter or homes. Mahmud then photographs the families wearing the glasses, asking them to imagine their desired future through the lens of the glasses. Some of the workshops also include inviting children to express their hopes through painting and drawing, which are exhibited alongside the photographs.

Artists have created immersive installations and performances on climate change, disaster and migration-related themes (Salcedo, 2013; *Lick* [single-channel High Definition video 16:9, colour, sound], 2015; Gabon, 2016; Shiota, 2016; Jan, 2017; Monnin, 2018; Batavia, 2021). In *Holoscenes*, Lars Jan’s human-scale glass aquarium fills and drains with water as performers struggle to carry out everyday tasks, such as reading the newspaper, selling fruit, cleaning, and sleeping, symbolizing sea-level rise. Performed in Times Square, the artist distributed a multi-page handout developed in collaboration with climate scientists with information about climate change, juxtaposing viewers’ participation in hyper-consumption as contributing to their exposure to sea-level rise. A self-described “artist” from Guadeloupe, Guy Gabon’s *#TOUS RÉFUGIÉS CLIMATIQUES* installation of self-standing blue hooded windbreakers and jeans on steps that descend into the Caribbean Sea are inevitably inundated with the rising and lowering tides (Gabon, 2016, no date). New Zealand-Australian artist Angela Tiatia’s 2015 video performance *Lick* (*Lick* [single-channel High Definition video 16:9, colour, sound], 2015) films from below the water’s surface as the artist with traditional Samoan tattoos struggles to stay rooted in the shallow ocean water until she is eventually swept away with the waves. Similarly in *Holding On* (*Holding On* [single-channel digital video 16:9, colour, sound], 2015), the artist tries to remain prostrate on a concrete slab increasingly submerged in the water by the rising tide. Both filmed in Tuvalu, which is particularly vulnerable to sea-level rise, Tiatia raises questions about Pacific peoples’ ability to stay in their indigenous territories.



2.2 Angela Tiatia, *Lick*, 2015, still image from Single-channel High Definition video 16:9, colour, sound, 6 minutes, 33 seconds. Courtesy of Sullivan+Strumpf.

Japanese artist Chiharu Shiota's *Uncertain Journey* is a two-story installation of black wire frame boats connected by over 170 miles of entwined red wool string forming a dense canopy (Mavros, 2019). Notably, the artist does not situate the artwork in the larger political imagery of refugees and asylum seekers on precarious boats. Rather, Shiota describes the blood red threads as representing human's interconnected neural networks, stating "The boats carry us through a journey of uncertainty and wonder. They carry our collective dreams and hopes for the future" (cited in Mavros, 2019). This installation is an example of an artwork that may not have intended to make the issue of disaster displacement visible, but the work can easily be viewed within this context in mind to reflect on what it means to be forced to flee from home.



2.3 Visitors walk beneath the canopy of Chiharu Shiota's *Uncertain Journey*, installed at the Mori Art Museum in Tokyo in 2019. Photo: Sunhi Mang/Mori Art Museum.

Attempts to capture the "human side" of displacement and migration through photography and film have been critically assessed through a growing body of visual culture and art literature on visual representations of migrants and displaced people in art, the media, and humanitarian affairs (Mercer, 2008; Chouliaraki, 2013; Demos, 2013, 2020b; Moslund, Petersen and Schramm, 2015; Petersen, 2017; Schramm *et al.*, 2019; Miyamoto and Ruiz, 2021; Bayrakdar and Burgoyne, 2022; Durand-Delacre, 2022). T.J. Demos has most pointedly tackled photographic representations of so-called "climate refugees", asserting that while such approaches might be effective at building empathy for individuals, they rarely illuminate the

underlying causes that culminated in displacement and precarity (Demos, 2020b). Communication expert on climate-related migration issues, Alex Randall, similarly challenges framing climate change related displacement as a security issue or only presenting displaced people as victims, rather than addressing underlying causes and how the human rights of displaced people and migrants can be protected (Randall, 2017).

Notably, Demos's cited examples predominately include photographers with different nationalities from or outside the community photographed (Demos, 2013, 2020b), which Randall also cautions must be approached with critical consideration (Randall, 2017). Artworks that seek to tell the story of others raises issues related to the mediation role of the artist (Jackson, 2011, p. 44) and politics of representation with implications for undermining self-identity in the process of political recognition, and oversimplifying or depoliticizing complex situations (Taylor, 1994; Chouliaraki, 2013; Sze, 2015; Belfiore, 2018). As a refugee rights organization wrote, "The artist often claims to want to show 'the human side of the story' through a false sense of neutrality and limited understanding of their own bias, privilege and frameworks" (RISE, 2015). Demos concludes that avoiding "the fatalism of climate-refugee narratives" that portray displaced people without agency has led some artists to "embrace legibility" by directly visualizing the climate crisis for large audiences, which are distributed as part of advocacy campaigns outside gallery settings (Demos, 2016, p. 97). Artists' social exceptionalism can, and arguably should (Burton, Jackson and Willson, 2016, p. 451), work more subtly outside art institutions. These issues warrant greater consideration as part of this research, in terms of who and how should disaster-displacement affected communities should be represented in diplomatic spaces.

2.1.2.2 Encouraging Conversation and Provoking Questions

The desire to encourage community-level conversations about political issues and provoke debate about the need for engagement and is a common strategy artists employ to engage climate change and displacement-related issues (Hartley, 2012; ArTree Nepal, 2015; Studio Olafur Eliasson, 2017; Dahlgard, 2018). For example, artists Eve Mosher and Xavier Cortada, respectively, have linked global warming sea-level rise scenarios with community engagement to inspire civic action at the local government level. In *HighWaterLine* (Mosher, 2007), Mosher

visualized a “100 year flood” in New York City by tracing the ten feet above sea-level line in blue chalk using a machine typically used for marking baseball fields. As part of her 70 mile walk across New York City’s five boroughs, Mosher used the line to initiate conversations with local community members about the satellite imagery, NASA research, and other scientific and historical research that informed her project. Following similar performances in Miami, USA and Bristol, UK, Mosher developed the *Creative Guide to Community Engagement* (Quante and Mosher, no date) to offer communities tools for using *HighWaterLine* to engage their fellow residents, the press, and government officials about the need to anticipate and plan for future disaster risks associated with sea-level rise and flooding.



2.4 Artist Eve Mosher draws *HighWaterLine* in front of the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City. Photo credit: Hose Cedeno, 2008.



2.5 Miami resident Marta Vicedo (right) discusses a *HighWaterLine* map with a neighbour in 2013. Photo credit: Jayme Gershen.

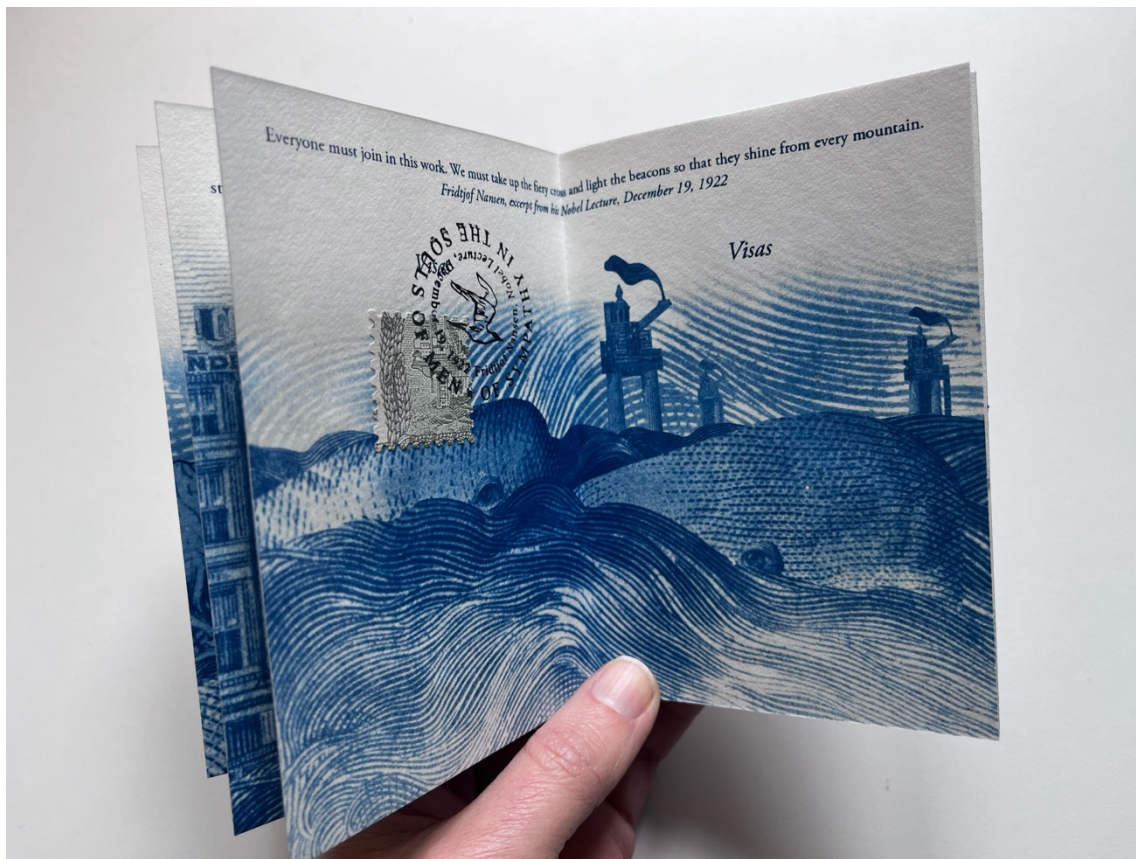
Similarly, Cortada, a practicing lawyer and artist, initiated his community-based project *The Underwater* in 2018 to encourage his fellow citizens in Miami to better understand and advocate with local government officials about their collective vulnerability to sea-level rise, including by distributing yard signs that visualize a house's elevation above sea-level and facilitating monthly *Underwater Homeowners Association* (Cortada, 2018) meetings. The artist also distributes *HELLO* nametags to invite personal introspection about our individual and collective vulnerability to the impacts of sea-level rise, a project that he activated at COP26 in Glasgow (Cortada, 2021) (See also Section 5.4).

Søren Dahlgaard takes a more playful approach to prompting conversation in *The Maldives Exodus Caravan Show* (2015). The installation features *The Inflatable Island* (Dahlgaard, 2013), a massive 8-meter-long sculpture made of parachute fabric, perched on top of a caravan, which the artist invites participants to collectively carry short-distances as a symbol of all people at risk of being displaced by climate change impacts. Inside the caravan, the artist presents documents, interviews, and works from other artists, such as SUPERFLEX, to create a

space for dialogue and exchange about the social, cultural, and political impacts of climate change on people living in vulnerable areas like the Maldives (See also Section 5.2).

Artistic passports that facilitate visa-free, global travel for “global citizens” also seek to prompt critical reflection by questioning international legal regimes that regulate movement based upon an individual’s affiliation with a nation state (Latour in Salter and Walters, 2016). The concept of “world citizenship” is not new. Peace activist Garry Davis created *The World Passport* in 1954 (World Citizen Government, 2021), with other passports “issued” by the Slovenian art collective on behalf of its self-declared, non-territorial state NSK beginning in the early 1990s (NSK, no date), and as part of *The Absence of Paths* exhibition at the Tunisian Pavilion at the 2017 Venice Biennale (Lazaar, 2017). However, while these passports arose in the context of debates surrounding the notion of the nation state, political refugees, asylum-seekers, and irregular migration to Europe (Weeks, 2011; Ellis-Petersen, 2017; Ramm, 2017), Anneli Skaar’s *Nansen’s Pastport* (Skaar, 2020) and Lucy + Jorge Orta’s *Antarctica World Passport* (Orta and Orta, 2008) respond directly to the climate emergency.

Skaar created *Nansen’s Pastport* as a fine-art press book in 2020 inspired by Norwegian diplomat, Arctic explorer, and first High Commissioner for Refugees Fridtjof Nansen. In 1921, Nansen proposed the League of Nations create a passport, later known as the Nansen Passport, to provide identify and travel documents to refugees in the aftermath of World War I, when millions of people became stateless (UNHCR, 2022). Seeing parallels in the potential for statelessness due to rising sea-levels, *Nansen’s Pastport* blends critical analysis of the underlying role of fossil fuels in the climate crisis with optimism that imagines a “United Status” for document holders. Skaar mimics the iconic US passport design with a navy-blue salmon skin cover, filling the book with collages made from US passport pages illustrating the perils of not acting on climate change and paper stamps cut from money from states most impacted by climate change. These messages of warning are counterbalanced by quotes from Nansen’s Nobel Prize lecture speaking about the need for international solidarity after the destruction of war. The artist hopes reading Nansen’s words through the lens of the present will inspire “discussion on how to meet the pressing issues of climate migration while looking to solutions of the past” (Skaar, 2020).



2.6- 2.8 Views of Anneli Skaar's *Nansen's Passport*. Image: the author, 2023.

The desire to prompt conversations and a call to action is also a key feature Lucy + Jorge Orta's *Antarctica World Passport*. The artists often use the *Antarctica World Passport Office* to perform administrative processes to distribute the limited-edition passport books, combining

visual and experiential references to the contemporary nation state by having “immigration officials” sit at the desks to issue and stamp the passports of those who would like to become “world citizens”. Inspired by the 1959 Antarctic Treaty declaring Antarctica a common territory, receiving a passport requires committing to, among other principles, supporting “humanitarian actions aiding displaced peoples of the world” and “to fight against climate change generated by human activity.” (See also Section 5.2).

Art practices that actively engage audiences with the intention of creating or provoking conversation have been analysed through the lens of participatory democracy (Kester, 2004), parsing the concepts of “community” and “identity” and how the absence of shared definitions of these concepts results in “incoherent” (Kwon, 2004) art practices in terms of their philosophical underpinnings and the need to critically evaluate the quality and outcomes of relationships created through such practices (Bishop, 2004). Disparate positions stemming from different readings of political philosophy play out in critiques regarding the artist’s role in contributing to democratic goals, with some like Claire Bishop (2012) supporting more controversial performances seen by some as consistent with Mouffe’s “agonistic pluralism” model (Mouffe, 2008; See also Mouffe 2000; Laclau and Mouffe, 2001). Others, however, have different interpretations of Mouffe’s concept of “antagonism,” which emphasises the “pluralistic nature of the social world, with the conflicts that pluralism entails; conflicts for which no rational solution could ever exist, hence the dimension of antagonism that characterizes human societies” (Mouffe, 2008, p. 8). For instance, Jason Miller argues that Mouffe respects divergent views while still considering the ethical implications of artworks towards achieving democratic relationships, contrary to what he calls “‘relation antagonism,’ which champions disruption and confrontation as aesthetic ideals” (Miller, 2016, p. 166). Similar to the ethics of representation, critics also question whether participatory or collaborative works in public spaces sufficiently highlight “issues of power, privilege, appropriation, exploitation” (Lowe in Burton, Jackson and Willsdon, 2016, p. 446) or whether they remain empty gestures. However, participatory artworks have not been discussed within the context of diplomatic settings as specific sites, and how such artworks might contribute to the specificity of global governmental policymaking processes, both in terms of their criticality and in the quality of the debate and questions they might inspire.

2.1.2.3 Interpreting Existing Research and Generating New Knowledge

Artists collaborate with researchers to interpret or make research related to disaster displacement more tangible and less abstract to the general public (Giannachi, 2012; Union of Concerned Scientists, 2018). For instance, in *WITH/OUT WATER*, Boston-based artist Yu-Wen Wu created an outdoor multi-media installation in collaboration with the Union of Concerned Scientists in which she projected scenes of rising Boston waters on white, temporary geodesic dome tents (Wu, 2018). The projections included selected words and images the artist selected from interviews she conducted with Chinatown residents, many of whom were immigrants, discussing themes related to climate change and immigration (Union of Concerned Scientists, 2018). Such works can be understood within the larger trend between artists and climate-related research, often focusing on climate science (Potts and Helyer, 2022).

Artists have also enhanced or manipulated maps to show pathways of displacement and migration using video narratives, sound installations, embroidery, and stamped messages on aluminium, respectively (Khalili, 2008; Kallat, 2015; Chung, 2017; Gharem, 2022), with many interweaving security-related narratives that link migration and displacement to conflict and the climate crisis. Similarly, *EXIT*, a large-scale, multi-media installation animating social and environmental science research on maps and videos to highlight “natural catastrophes” as of many overlapping causes of migration (*EXIT*, 2015). The piece was created by American artists and architects Diller Scofidio + Renfro, collaborating with statistician-artist Mark Hansen and architect-artist Laura Kurgan and complemented by a team of geographers and scientists. *EXIT* was later exhibited in 2015 at Palais de Tokyo in Paris to coincide with the UN climate change conference (COP21) in the same city.

Artists have also sought to bring the “hyperobject” (Morton, 2013) realities of climate change predictions into the physical world, such as by manifesting the physical boundaries of historical flooding (Mary, 2007) and sea-level rise projections by marking territories with chalk, paint, signs, and light projections (Mosher, 2007; Haubitz+Zoche, 2009; Cortada, 2018; Niittyvirta and Aho, 2019). *A People’s Archive of Sinking and Melting* is a physical and online archive, conceived by Amy Balkin and managed with “co-registrars” Malte Roloff and Cassie Thornton, that invites contributions of physical items from places that “may disappear” as a consequence

of the adverse effects of global warming that span political, geophysical and cultural impacts. Playing with language commonly used in UN climate change negotiations, the artist seeks to create a global archive comprising “common but differentiated” collections of “community-gathered evidence, a public record, and a midden.” (*A People’s Archive of Sinking and Melting*, no date).

Scientific research and global warming projections have also inspired the creation of utopian, dystopian, and anticipatory visions for the future. In *stored in a jar: monsoon, drowning fish, color of water, and the floating world*, Tiffany Chung’s hanging diorama anticipates future flooding in Vietnam by depicting hamlets capable of floating on fluctuating water levels, complete with solar panels, gardens, and systems to harvest rainwater (Chung, 2010). Commissioned by the 2011 Singapore Biennale, the artist was inspired by 2050 extreme flood predictions associated with global warming in the lower Mekong River basin and Ho Chi Minh City (Truong, 2014). Lena Dobrowolska & Teo Ormond-Skeaping’s ongoing multi-platform project *Future Scenarios* also relies on scenarios thinking and multi-disciplinary research, including field research in countries like Bangladesh and Uganda, to understand the complex relationship between the climate crisis and displacement. As part of the project in 2022, the artist duo created the film *You Never Know One Day You Too Might Become a Refugee*, complemented by online materials, events, and exhibitions (See also Section 5.3).



2.9 Installation view of Tiffany Chung's *stored in a jar: monsoon, drowning fish, color of water, and the floating world*, 2010-2011. © and photo: Tiffany Chung.



2.10 Detail of *stored in a jar: monsoon, drowning fish, color of water, and the floating world*. ©Tiffany Chung, photo: Lien Truong, 2014.

Finally, while not focused specifically on climate change related displacement and migration, the Forensic Architecture program works in interdisciplinary teams using mixed methods of “aesthetics, presentation, and representation” (Bois, Foster and Weizman, 2016, p. 120) from architecture and media to generate and present evidence about human rights violations for UN processes and judicial systems, such as investigations into the deaths of migrants in the Mediterranean Sea (Forensic Oceanography, 2011). Forensic Architecture also exhibits widely in art institutions, effectively bridging the worlds of art and international law.

A large body of literature examines art practice as research (Biggs, Karlsson and Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, 2012; McNiff, 2013), including its forms (Barone and Eisner, 2012), methods (Nelson and Writing-PAD (Network), 2009; Smith and Dean, 2009; Barrett and Bolt, 2010; Leavy, 2015, 2018), outcomes (Borgdorff, 2012), and implications for higher education (Jacob and Baas, 2009; Macleod and Davey, 2009; Nelson, 2013; Elkins, 2014). In this field, questions arise about how to transmit such knowledge to people outside the art world, whether knowledge exists in the work itself (including the process of making the work) and whether “paratextual” materials are required that effectively consider the “epistemological premise that there are multiple ways of experiencing, knowing and communicating knowledges” (Lowry, 2015, p. 48). Such concerns will be relevant to explore in this research with respect to exhibiting art research in diplomatic contexts.

2.2.2.4 Problem Solving

Further blurring the line between art, activism, and social work, artists propose practical and policy solutions to address pressing social and political problems in local communities (Lowe *et al.*, 1993; Chin, 2008; Iskandar, 2009) and internationally (SUPERFLEX, 1996). In the immediate aftermath of the 2015 earthquake in Nepal, the art collective ArTree Nepal, based in Kathmandu provided food and sanitation support and created communal spaces where members of the *Thulo Byasi* disaster-affected community could participate in creative projects as a form of psychological assistance. Eventually, this project 12 Baikaish- Post Earthquake Community Art Project evolved into Camp.Hub, a second phase that sought to capture and preserve the communities’ indigenous knowledge, skills and stories, and culminated in a three-

day site-specific cultural event that brought together almost a hundred artists and performers (ArTree Nepal, 2015).

The ethnographic artist collective Re-Locate Kivalina worked directly with an indigenous Alaskan whaling community on climate change impacts by employing artistic and web-based platforms to document and support Kivalina residents' planned relocation process to a new site (*ReLocate Kivalina*, no date). Projects included a mobile water sanitation unit, and an online community archive. Indonesian artist Gustaff H. Iskandar's *Babakan Asih Water Story* project (Iskandar, 2009) used an interdisciplinary team to "design a well system that could prevent flooding in the area. This hybrid work entailed research, community work, the development of a new ecology and an artwork, operating ecologically, environmentally and aesthetically to effect change." (Giannachi, 2012, pp. 128–129). Iskandar now works as part of Common Room, an art collective and non-profit based in Bandung, Indonesia, which applies artistic strategies to practical programmes in the Ciptagelar indigenous community in rural West Java (See also Chapter 5.4). Cuban artist Tania Bruguera's ongoing *Immigrant Movement International* project (*Tania Bruguera*, no date), developed in collaboration with the Queen's Museum, includes a community space to discuss and organize around migration related challenges. The project works closely with a wide variety of partners, including artists, immigrants, social workers, lawyers, and government officials engaging on policy reform.

Artists have also developed socially engaged art projects intended to help imagine how individuals and affected communities can survive in future climate scenarios. For example, Maria Lucia Cruz Correia's *Common Dreams: flotation school* (Cruz Correia, 2016) is a mobile, ephemeral school that partners with art institutions, universities, and experts from a wide set of fields to collectively develop a local curriculum to help students reconceptualize what it means to survive the current and future environmental, political, cultural, and societal challenges associated with the climate crisis in their communities. In New York City, Mary Mattingly co-creates interdependent living systems to build collective resilience to future risk and imagine alternative futures, such as *Waterpod*, a self-contained floating human habitat (2009), and *Swale*, a floating food forest on a barge open to the public (Mattingly, 2017). Most recently in the 2023 exhibition *Ebb of a Spring Tide* in Socrates Sculpture Park on New York City's East River bank, Mattingly constructed the sculpture *Water Clock* (Mattingly, 2023) that

relies on the tidal flows to tell time according to the cyclical rise and fall of the water as part of an “human-made ecosystem” that also sustains salt-resistant plants (Mattingly in Socrates Sculpture Park, 2023). Highlighting the importance of sustainable human habitats and caring for ecosystems amidst challenges like saltwater intrusion, the artist explains that the project to build a “deconstructed apartment building collecting water in its crevices (with doors to nowhere and ladders to nowhere – in continual repair” arose from learning to follow the tides after living in a low-level apartment that flooded when high tide coincided with heavy rain (Mattingly in Socrates Sculpture Park, 2023).



2.11 Mary Mattingly’s sculpture *Water Clock* is installed in Socrates Sculpture Park on the bank of the East River as part of the exhibition *Ebb of a Spring Tide* in 2023. Image: Scott Lynch.

Such works challenge the “socially constructed myth that art is separate from social life” by asserting the “relative autonomy” that society grants to artists to engage with “work that no one else would do” (Francis, 2007). For some this means “acting in ways and spaces that formal organizations, other artists or the city itself would not” (Langlois and Sabelli, 2016), while others are driven to “re-establish aspects of civic life, helping governments and business fill the vacuum and claim back responsibility” (Studio Morison, n.d.). These practices have been accused of creating the false illusion that artists can effectively solve whatever social ill their

project addresses (Davis, 2013), when ultimately the “government has a role: the large-scale response” (Finkelpearl and Jackson, 2016, p. 415). Research to date has not explored how such practices could inform or contribute to global governance, particularly with respect to the creation of laws and policies that seek to provide concrete solutions to disaster displaced persons.

2.1.2.5 Curatorial Strategies

This research understands curating as “making art public” (Lind in Hoffmann and Lind, 2011), focusing specifically on identifying and developing curatorial strategies for exhibiting art in diplomatic conferences for the purpose of developing international norms on disaster displacement. In this process, the research takes inspiration from Stéphanie Bertrand’s proposal of the term “useful curating” to describe “an urgent problem-solving assignment toward the resolution of a specific social issue” that seeks to “establish an integrated feedback loop with the audience ... via an epistemic action aimed at aiding and augmenting the user’s cognitive functions” (Bertrand, 2019, pp. 13–14). While the concept is an excellent starting point, more research is needed to understand what “useful curating” might mean in practice, and to explore to what extent curating may make art “util” or “useful”. Thus, the research draws on curator and theorist Maria Lind’s notion of the “curatorial” (Lind, 2021) to explore the tension between understanding curating as building an argument related to a policy issue (the curatorial) and propaganda (instrumentalism).

An ever-growing number of arts organizations and projects amplify and expand the wide range of artistic practice engaging climate change-related themes, targeting the general public as well as international policymakers (ARTPORT Making Waves, Cape Farewell, COAL, Julie’s Bicycle, *Tipping Point*, *artcircolo*) through public events and exhibitions, including in parallel to intergovernmental conferences (ArtCOP21, *Climarte*, *UNFOLD*, *Weather Report*, *RETHINK*, and *wAteR-climaTe*). In addition to projects and exhibitions on migration and displacement (MoMA, 2015; Erickson and Respini, 2019; Artist Circle on Climate Displacement, no date), specific exhibitions on disaster displacement include *Footprint Modulation: Art, Climate and Displacement*, curated as part of a cross-disciplinary academic research project (Says, 2015), Season for Change’s documentary photo exhibition with audio dramatizations of displaced

people called *Nowhere to Call Home: Climate Change and Forced Migration* (Season for Change, 2018), and *DISPLACEMENT: Uncertain Journeys's* exhibitions at intergovernmental conferences (See Chapter 5).

These exhibitions are representative of so-called “activist curating” (Smith, 2012, p. 232), a term used in curatorial theory to describe art exhibitions that engage themes of a political nature. However, while literature discusses curating socially engaged art practices and site-specificity (Kwon, 2004; Lacy, 2012), fewer theorists or curators discuss activist curating as a socially or politically engaged practice outside the context of art institutions (Thompson, 2012a; Lam *et al.*, 2013; Diego, 2018; Caso and Barco, 2020). For example, in her book *Curatorial Activism*, Maura Reilly applies the term “curatorial activist” to “describe people who have dedicated their curatorial endeavors almost exclusively to visual culture in, of, and from the margins” (Reilly, 2018, p. 22) by featuring artists who are LGBTQ, women, or of colour in exhibitions. While Reilly limits her notion to a form of institutional critique that challenges the dominance of Western art history canons, Lippard notes in her foreword to Reilly’s book that curatorial activism encompasses a much wider set of political issues, such as war and economic inequality (Lippard, 2018, p. 11). Indeed, Lippard’s own exhibition *Weather Report* (Lippard, 2007) tackles the topic of climate change. Steven Henry Madoff’s book *What About Activism* highlights more such “activist” exhibitions, with contributors acknowledging that museums increasingly view themselves as sites for public debate in addition to guardians and exhibitors of art (Madoff, 2019). Consequently, most “activist” exhibitions often speak from within the walls of an art institution to the public at large, inviting diverse actors within their walls for debates, workshops or organizing. Curator Hans Ulrich Obrist argues that this practice should evolve, stating, “the curator’s job is to go outside this space and into the world, into society” (Obrist, 2019, p. 122). Curator Nato Thompson goes further:

The questions of engaging with community, considerations of media, considerations of affect on local, national and international levels, the potentialities of unlocking loaded political issues from their compartmentalized forms of dialogue, and finally the consideration of political efficacy, are all part of a growing ecology of artwork and political practice (Lam *et al.*, 2013, p. 143).

Most art organizations and institutions events and exhibitions about the climate emergency, displacement, and other global concerns identified through this research primarily address the

general public or address global policymakers indirectly from outside diplomatic spaces. For example, in 2017, the UK-based arts organization Julie's Bicycle organized a broad program of activities with Artsadmin surrounding the COPs under the project Season for Change (*Season for Change*, no date). These activities focus on outreach to the arts community and general public, such as a multi-day event at COP26 in the Green Zone (Julie's Bicycle, 2021). Julie's Bicycle also launched an initiative with the UNFCCC's Communication Office in 2017 to have a "weekly spotlight on arts and cultural responses to climate change and global efforts to take action" aimed at the world at large (UNFCCC, 2017).

Likewise, Art2030, founded in 2018 to support the UN in implementing the UN Sustainable Development Goals, has primarily organized exhibitions and talks open to the general public outside diplomatic spaces (*ART 2030*, no date), with the notable exception of exhibiting Jeppe Hein's *Breathe with Me* inside the UN New York Headquarters building, where UN staff and diplomats could participate (*Breathe with Me*, no date). Art2030 also facilitated a panel discussion with artists at a UN conference on Culture and Sustainable Development; however the artists spoke as art and culture experts, not as experts on a non-arts related policy issue (Art 2030, 2021). Art for the World has curated exhibitions for the UN Office at Geneva. However, as the name of the organization implies, it focuses on bringing art to all people, as opposed to policymakers (*Art for the World*, no date). UN Live, the self-proclaimed "Museum for the United Nations" based in Copenhagen also focuses on reaching as many people in the world as possible (UN Live, no date). Finally, Cape Farewell collaborated with the UN's World Meteorological Organization to exhibit Pinsky's *Pollution Pods (2017)* during the UN Secretary-General's climate summit in New York in 2019 and has organized exhibitions to coincide with COPs. However, again, the focus on UN delegates is a small element within the organization's broader aim to act "as a catalyst, producing opportunities for artists, scientists and communities to work together ... and inspire people to act towards a sustainable cultural shift" (*Cape Farewell*, no date).

Thus, while this research identifies several art organizations or programmes that have directly engaged international policymakers in the context of intergovernmental conferences, this approach as a strategic priority is rare. For example, in describing her role as curator for the *RETHINK: Contemporary Art and Climate Change* exhibition that coincided with COP15 in

Copenhagen, curator Anne Sophie Witzke explained: “We wanted to address global warming as a cultural and social issue, not just a discipline reserved for politics or science. Thus, the focus was more on cultural and social shifts and displacements than on concrete issues about energy and CO2 emissions” (Lam *et al.*, 2013, p. 142). A notable exception to an awareness raising approach is the art foundation TBA21, which was granted Observer Status to the UN-affiliated International Seabed Authority for its ongoing artistic research on oceans and resource extraction (TBA21, 2017) (See Section 3.2).

However, it is possible that decisions to exhibit art outside official diplomatic spaces may be more influenced by practical, political and administration challenges, rather than curatorial preference. For example, ARTPORT Making Waves co-founder and executive director Anne-Marie Melster said in talk at the Swiss Pavilion at COP21 in Paris that it was her organization’s priority to bring art to delegates so that they could better understand the consequences of climate change beyond statistics and words (*George Steinmann & Anne-Marie Melster Talking About the Relation Between the Arts, Sciences and Politics*, 2015). She explained that ARTPORT originally sought to register Swiss visual artist, musician, and researcher George Steinmann as an official observer to the negotiations so that he could create artworks based upon his observations and interviews with delegates, civil society, and others associated during the climate conference (ARTPORT, 2015). However, ultimately, for reasons that are not clear, Steinmann was not granted this status. He stated, “...being excluded from COP21 in the blue zone is one of the most painful experiences I have had in my entire artistic career” (*George Steinmann & Anne-Marie Melster Talking About the Relation Between the Arts, Sciences and Politics*, 2015, sc. 16:45-16:53).

In summary, the review has identified a wide array of artistic practices engaging disaster displacement and climate change-related themes discussed through the rubric of four strategies: 1) making issues visible; 2) encouraging conversation and provoking questions; 3) interpreting existing research and generating new knowledge; and 4) problem solving. It also highlights that arts organizations seeking exhibit artworks on climate change and displacement-related themes predominantly adopt a strategy that focuses on the public at large from within cultural institutions to raise general awareness about a policy issue, which this study proposes to call “white cube activism,” although there are notable examples of art

being exhibited inside or alongside diplomatic spaces. This creates opportunities to explore and revisit these artistic and curatorial strategies, noting the gaps in the literature and practice with respect to understanding the challenges, opportunities, and consequences of strategically exhibiting art specifically for international policymakers in diplomatic spaces.

2.2 Art, Political Change, and International Norm Evolution

Underlying the different artistic strategies employed to engage disaster displacement issues is an assumption that art consequentially affects social and political change. However, is this assumption well founded? How do we know that art influences political change, particularly with respect to the development of international law?

This section explores how art potentially contributes to broader processes of international political change by briefly surveying existing theories of change within the fields of art and international relations. Noting the absence of an established theory emerging from the field of art, this section reviews and integrates existing literatures and proposes applying international relations' theory about how norm dynamics can lead to political change. It presents how the field of international relations presently understands the role of art in diplomacy and global politics, noting the potential of norms evolution theories could help identify and analyse art and artists as part of the multiple actors and processes interacting to develop international norms on disaster displacement (McAdam, 2016). Finally, recognizing persuasion and affect as key elements of the norm evolution process, the section concludes with findings from psychology and cognitive science on how art can influence personal action on climate change.

2.2.1 Art and Political Change

In art practice and research, there is a strongly held conviction that art makes a difference in politics and social change, with exhibitions, academic literature, and practical guides describing the role of art in social and political transformation (Bradley and Esche, 2007; Naidus, 2009; Thompson, 2012b; Tung, 2013; Boyd and Mitchell, 2016). The historical and robust debate in political philosophy on aesthetics and, by extension, art in political life, is too vast to survey here. Nor is it possible to adequately summarize political theory's impact on contemporary art

practice and criticism. Suffice it to say, artists and art theorists draw on these theoretical foundations to assess, according to their respective positions, the political impact of a work and whether it affects social change. In her overview of artists' influence on social change post-WWII, art historian Claudia Mesch concludes, "Artists continue to believe and to know that what they do is political. In this way, art continues to be a full participant in realizing social, political, and economic change" (Mesch, 2013, p. 206). Notably, new research in the field of art and visual history is investigating various aspects related to "Summit Art" that has resulted in an initial mapping and description of art exhibited in the context of diplomatic conferences (Burchert, 2022, no date). The inclusion of art in diplomatic contexts, even in peripheral conference spaces, indicates that intergovernmental institutions also see some value in having art present in diplomatic processes. However, researchers have not yet reflected on the influence of such art on the diplomatic process itself or the policymakers engaging in international policy negotiations.

The general agreement that art does *something* leads to a broader question of determining when social change has occurred and assessing how art played a role (Stern and Seifert, 2009, p. 5). There are multiple theories about how artistic strategies may spur social and political change at the individual, community or larger societal level (The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018). For instance, with respect to artworks that seek to make issues visible or provoke conversation, some artists believe that "simply showing something in a different way is often enough; that a powerful image or artistic statement can be sufficient to make others stop, rethink their behavior and assumptions, and take action" (Brown, 2014, p. 19), building upon Adorno and Brecht's conceptions of "estrangement". For David Cross, this means "identifying latent conflicts in situations, provoking the formation of contestatory 'publics,' and mobilizing uncertainty in order to offer moments in which heightened self-awareness might activate social agency" (Cross, 2018). Suzanne Lacy observed that the "sheer audacity" of an image (in Doherty, 2015, p. 29) can prompt an audience to "make meaning within and to challenge their own referents" (Lacy, 2012). David Buckland emphasizes art's creative capacity to communicate complicated information in ways that engage "the public's interest in issues that otherwise might not enter the general consciousness" (Buckland, 2013). In the UK, the Cultural Value Project concluded that arts and cultural engagement can foster more engaged and reflective individuals and citizens by "facilitating greater understanding of themselves and their

lives, increasing empathy with respect to others, and an appreciation of the diversity of human experience and culture” and “helping articulate alternatives to current assumptions and fuel a broader political imagination” (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016, p. 7). Steve Duncome and Steve Lambert, co-founders of the Center for Artistic Activism, promote the notion of “æffect,” which builds on research in cognitive science and communications, to describe how art can be politically persuasive with respect to awareness raising and inspiring actions by engaging affect and visceral experiences, such as through narrative frames, as opposed to relying on rational arguments or facts (Duncombe and Lambert, 2021).

Views also differ on the ultimate aim and influence of artistic research. Research in contemporary visual art and performance is often valued for being “transdisciplinary” (Jones, 2009) or “nondisciplinary” using “poetics of knowledge that skips over the frontiers of disciplines” (Gage and Rancière, 2019, p. 24) to draw on aesthetic forms of cognition (Jones *et al.*, 2016). Renee Green, a self-described “artist thinker,” uses “modes of curiosity, questioning, and analysis realized through a form of creation” that “transmute(s) life’s complexity into particular and compelling forms and practices under a variety of conditions” (Green, 2014, pp. 291–292. Emphasis in original). Schwab imagines “research while avoiding results” (in Lowry, 2015, p. 39; See also Fisher and Fortnum, 2013), highlighting instead art’s capacity to raise questions and signal new areas for investigation (Brown, 2014, p. 109). Collaboration between artists and scientists may also result in “unorthodox interpretations of results, define new kinds of research questions, missed opportunities for development, and explore impacts of research” (Wilson, 1996). In this sense, art research might be understood as contributing to political change by raising awareness or deepening knowledge of an issue.

Similarly, “creative activism’s” symbolic gestures are valued for creating generative spaces for new ideas and inspiring “bigger things, even if it doesn’t actually solve everything by itself” (Davis in Burton, *et al.*, 2016: 450–451). While not necessarily scalable solutions, experimental and utopian projects can model alternatives to mainstream approaches, as well as help reveal what is *not* there (Norman, 2011). In other words, drawing on Judith Butler, movements can “articulate what it might mean to lead a good life in the sense of a liveable life” (2012: 18) through actions that model or pre-figure the world as it could be, generating ideas that could be translated into legal and policy solutions.

While not discounting such impacts, others question, following philosopher Jacques Rancière (Gage and Rancière, 2019), the extent to which awareness or knowledge automatically leads to action and social change. Eyal Weizman envisions art and aesthetics' role beyond witnessing and expressing empathy. Reflecting on Forensic Architecture's work, Weizman concluded, "We learned that it's not enough to address an academic context or a general 'public domain,' and that to become political we need to think about available civil tools and institutions that can exercise political leverage" (Bois, Foster and Weizman, 2016, p. 140). Some artists, such as The Yes Men, measure success in terms of whether their actions have contributed to legal change (The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018, p. 18). Other artists seek to resist appropriation, and envision art as "an enemy of the system" (Goehr, 2013, p. 3). Similarly, "activist" art practices, inspired by Sitrin and Azzellini, and Hardt and Negri, seek direct, tangible impact by embedding themselves within broader political movements (McKee, 2016, p. 20). Although researchers Kit Dobson and Aine McGlynn observe "it has been difficult to shake the critique that these activist movements lack a coherent politics," they also concede: "The question of what art can do, however, remains unanswered — probably necessarily so" (Dobson and McGlynn, 2013, pp. 10 and 12). In its review, the Center for Artistic Activism ultimately concludes that art theorists and artists have not coalesced around a shared theory for social change to assess artworks' impact, acknowledging that artists conceptualize their objectives differently (e.g., personal, community, policy or justice) (The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018, pp. 18 and 25).

Recognizing that the very brief overview presented above does not represent the nuance and complexity of artists' and theorists' arguments, the theories of change outlined above, however valid, do not sufficiently explain how and why artistic strategies can influence global political change or, more concretely, result in new international laws. As a researcher personally engaged in finding international legal and policy solutions to disaster displacement, I find myself searching for how we might better understand how artistic strategies can have the most influence given the existential nature of the climate emergency. Unlike curator Gabi Ngcobo, who did not commission artists to produce new artworks for an exhibition that coincided with COP17 in Durban because he "did not want to burden artists to respond to these questions based on their urgency, which in this instance was also connected to an international event of global scale" (Lam *et al.*, 2013, p. 144), I feel a very real sense of urgency.

Art historian Grant Kester argues that contemporary art criticism's focus on political change as "an absolute rupture of historical continuity" based upon critical theory has resulted in "very little skill or sophistication in understanding the incremental, capillary nature of political change or the importance of provisional forms of solidarity" or "temporary coalitions" (in Finkelparl and Kester, 2013, p. 130). Consequently, when reflecting on the relationship between collaborative art practices and political change, he observes: "The interactions that occur among the state or public agencies, the corporate sector, NGOs, social movements, activists, and artists are extremely complex, and we really need a more realistic model of how they operate" (in Finkelparl and Kester, 2013, p. 131). While Kester primarily discusses collaborative art practices at the local or national level (Kester, 2011), understanding art's contribution to international political change is arguably even more complex, spanning dispersed geographies and actors. Similarly, speaking about efforts to critique political practices, including those addressing global issues such as climate change, Thompson states:

Gauging efficacy in this mire of sloppy process is no easy task. ... The language of how to shape culturally geared projects is new, but those doing this kind of work are exponentially growing. Finding platforms for discussing efficacy in its broadest sense is, at this point, helpful (in Lam *et al.*, 2013, p. 143).

The next section explores why international relations theory on international norm evolution provides a useful theoretical foundation for conceptualizing the potential influence of art on international policymaking on disaster displacement.

2.2.2 International Relations, Art, and Norm Evolution

International relations and global politics scholars have long recognized the role of art in diplomatic relations between States. Within the field, art and culture are most commonly viewed as a resource for States and international organizations to exercise what political scientist Joseph Nye famously coined as "soft power", conceived as a complement to "hard" military or economic power (Nye, 2004). Relying on enticement rather than coercion (Nye, 2004), cultural diplomacy is frequently described by scholars and practitioners as a form of "public diplomacy" that targets foreign publics at large (Wallis, 1994; Hayden, 2011; Clarke, 2016, p. 148; Dragičević Šešić, 2017) to attractively represent a country's values and way of life in an effort to improve the country's international political and economic standing. In the

context of the UN, cultural diplomacy has been described as a way for a country to simultaneously promote its foreign policy objectives and create an atmosphere conducive for intergovernmental diplomacy (Nye, 2004, pp. 16 and 99; UN Geneva Cultural Activities Programme, 2021). Recognizing culture for its capacity to create “apolitical spaces free from the machinations of politics” (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, p. 19), cultural diplomacy strategies are viewed as most effective when government influence is far removed to distinguish it from State-sponsored propaganda (Holden, 2004; Nye, 2004; Walmsley, 2018). This position aligns well with Western contemporary art theory that sees art and artists as holding a privileged space for critique and independence from government, as compared to other traditions in which art is expressly employed to serve government political aims (Ross, 2002; Bruguera and Bishop, 2020). However, a perception that art is apolitical stands in stark contrast to the art world’s own understanding of its political significance, as described in the previous section.

Outside the context of cultural diplomacy, international relations scholar Roland Bleiker argues that mainstream (particularly realist) scholars of international relations and law have not traditionally viewed aesthetics, emotions, and affect as relevant to their research because they have largely considered such issues irrational and contrary to “common sense” (Bleiker, 2009: 5), mirroring assumptions in legal theory that “linear, hierarchical, propositional, and definitional” reason underlie persuasion (Winter, 2003, p. xiv). However, Bleiker observes that international relations research has experienced an “aesthetic turn” evidenced by a growing interest in “literature, visual art, music, cinema, and other aspects of popular culture” (Bleiker, 2018a, p. 1). Focusing in particular on “visual global politics”, he advocates for recognizing art and culture as sources for conducting “aesthetic inquiries” or as interpretive tools to supplement traditional information sources, such as diplomatic statements and statistical information (Bleiker, 2009, p. 187, 2018b). Relatedly, an ever-growing body of political science research examines the role of art in politics and social change as part of national political movements, although it does not address how art helps transform such movements into international law and policy (Mesch, 2013; Downey, 2014; Martin, 2015; Segal, 2016).

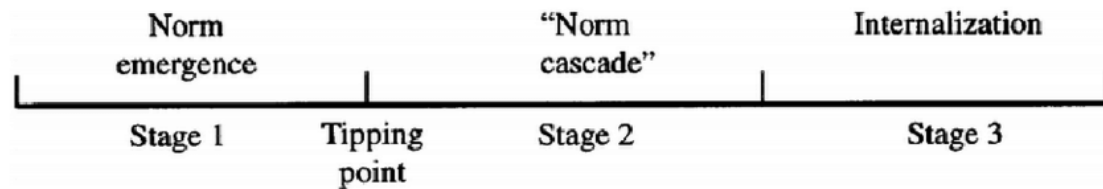
Thus, while previous research has recognized art’s role with respect to asserting State power, building movements, gaining a deeper understanding of international relations, or creating opportunities for diplomacy to occur, the field has not yet considered how might art contribute

to the change in the form of international law and policy. To this end, this section introduces Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink's norm "life cycle" model used by international relations and legal scholars to understand how and why certain norms are ultimately accepted by States and evolve into international law (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). The section also highlights research in the fields of psychology and cognitive science about the role of art, emotion, and sensorial experience in communication and behavioural change, which may help increase understanding about the potential influence of art during different stages of the norm life cycle.

Early research on international norm dynamics in the 1980s and 90s focused on creating norm evolution models (Nadelmann, 1990; Florini, 1996; Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998) and conducting empirical research to explain the persuasive power of norms to shape State behaviour (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001; Hoffmann, 2010). Research on norm evolution processes received criticism from realists for focusing on progressive policy areas, such as human rights, democracy, and environmental protection; constructivists countered that these were the very examples of international cooperation that power and self-interest alone could not explain (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 403). While realist and liberal researchers may still conclude that States act rationally and cooperation emerges as a means to preserve self-interest (Slaughter, 2011), constructivism has arguably gained prominence within the field of international relations in recent decades (Jung, 2019).

As first developed by Finnemore and Sikkink, the norm life cycle presents the evolution of international norms in three stages. Stage 1 describes the "norm emergence" phase, when a norm is first conceived, developed, and promoted by a "norm entrepreneur" or group of norm entrepreneurs, often non-state actors, who seek to persuade States to support the norm. Once a norm has reached a degree of broad acceptance among States, a "tipping point" of support leads to Stage 2, called a "norm cascade", meaning that States' support "cascades" to other States that endorse the norm. Finnemore and Sikkink describe Stage 2 as the period when States, acting as "norm leaders", increasingly seek to convince other States to embrace the norms through acts of persuasion and socialization. Finally, Stage 3 refers to the "internalization" phase, representing the period when a norm achieves a "taken-for-granted quality" as the appropriate standard of behaviour and is "no longer a matter of broad public

debate” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 895). The authors caution that broad acceptance may hinder the recognition or identification of internalized norms because they are no longer contested, citing Western norms such as sovereignty, market exchange, and individualism (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 904).



2.12 The norm “life cycle” as visualized by Finnemore and Sikkink. Image: (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 896).

Finnemore and Sikkink state that the model describes a pattern that has been identified in norms research in both legal and international relations theory as well as quantitative research in the field of sociology. They argue: “The pattern is important for researchers to understand because different social processes and logics of action may be involved at different states in a norm’s ‘life cycle’”(Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 895). That said, the authors also caution that not all norms will complete the life cycle, and that some norms are more likely to have success than others, such as norms that “resonate with basic ideas of human dignity common to most cultures” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 907; Keck and Sikkink, 1998).

The norm life cycle model has been critiqued for oversimplifying complex dynamics within each stage, prompting other theorists to develop complementary models to explore the individual stages in more detail. Constructivist scholarship on normative change has expanded topics for empirical research and elaborated earlier macro-models, focusing on micro-level processes of norm evolution processes: emergence, diffusion, and enforcement (Brunnée and Toope, 2011; Krook and True, 2012; Huelss, 2017; Rosert, 2019). Researchers have looked at how persuasion (Payne, 2001; Grant, 2018), power inequalities (Bucher, 2007) and non-state actors more generally (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999; Keck and Sikkink, 1999) impact norm dynamics. Research also challenges earlier conceptions of norms as static by showing how norms can shift and evolve incrementally (Kelley, 2008; Sinha, 2018) and norm “antipreneurs” resist change

(Bloomfield and Scott, 2018). Some researchers have also called for new approaches that apply systems thinking and complexity theory (Bousquet and Curtis, 2011) and methodology from a relationalist perspective (Hofferberth and Weber, 2015). Nonetheless, Finnemore and Sikkink's seminal norm life cycle model continues to inspire norms research (Romaniuk and Grice, 2018), including on the topic of "cross-border disaster-displaced persons" (Okeowo, 2018), "climate refugees" (Schriever, 2017) and "climate-induced migration" (Jakobsson, 2018b, 2018a).

Finnemore and Sikkink's norm life cycle model is useful for this research because it links theories of social and political change discussed in art with a model that seeks evidence of such change in the form of international law and policy. The authors emphasize that using this model to understand the process of persuasion, including by non-State actors, that underlies Stages 1 and 2 requires looking beyond rational arguments aligned to a State's desire to assert power and protect interests. They explain:

This process is not necessarily or entirely in the realm of reason, though facts and information may be marshaled to support claims. Affect, empathy, and principled or moral beliefs may also be deeply involved, since the ultimate goal is not to challenge the 'truth' of something, but to challenge whether it is good, appropriate, and deserving of praise (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 900).

Thus, recognizing that each stage "is characterized by different actors, motives, and mechanisms of influence" (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 895), the norm life cycle model facilitates reflection on the potential influence that art might have with respect to the four strategies identified in the practice review and the current stage the disaster displacement norm has reached in the life cycle.

Notably, norm evolution theorists draw on psychology and Habermas's theory of communicative action to understand how "cognition and affect work synergistically to produce changes in attitudes, beliefs, and preferences" (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 915). Empirical research on norms has explored emotion and affect as "microfoundations" of persuasion (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 914), e.g., how persuasion occurs through a process combining factual assessment (rational thought) and emotion (Crawford, 2000), and how frames (Goffman, 1986; Sikkink, 2018) can aid in understanding persuasion as part of norm construction (Payne, 2001). Broader international relations scholarship also examines emotions

in global politics more generally, particularly after traumatic events such as war, genocide and major disasters (Bleiker and Hutchison, 2008; Ahäll and Gregory, 2015; Hutchison, 2016; Hall *et al.*, 2017), with cross-disciplinary methodology proposed to assuage aversion to the topic (Bleiker and Hutchison, 2007).

Looking to other fields, communication experts, psychologists, and cognitive scientists have an extensive body of research examining how emotions can override reason and evidence in persuasion and reasoning (Kolbert, 2017). Recognizing that processing emotions is an inherent part of decision-making and thus policymaking (Winter, 2003; Damasio, 2006; Bois, Foster and Weizman, 2016, p. 122), researchers argue that form, narrative or metaphor are important elements of persuasion (Lakoff, 2004; Roosen, et al., 2018; Neimand, Christiano and Parater, 2019), which, as noted previously, Duncombe and Lambert have applied to developing strategies for artistic activism (Duncombe, 2016; Duncombe and Lambert, 2021). Debates are ongoing as whether or when frames of “peril,” often employed by activist groups (Extinction Rebellion, 2019; Thunberg, 2019), are more effective in terms of inspiring action than frames of “hope” (McKibben, 2005; Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018, p. 96; Sikkink, 2018, p. 172) and “potentiality” (Rancière and Rockhill, 2013, p. 25).

Relevant to the issue of disaster displacement, psychological research on visual art practices in the context of debate about the climate emergency has examined the potential impact of art as a form of communication about climate change in generating public awareness about climate change issues, including at ArtCOP21 (Sommer and Klöckner, 2019). A review of psychological research conducted by Liselotte Roosen, et. al. concluded that visual art practices addressing climate change that employ narratives and metaphor could build awareness, inspire goal-setting, normalize changed behavioural standards, and model innovative problem solving (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018, p. 98). Reflecting arts’ “range of discursive, visual, and sensual strategies” (Davis and Turpin, 2015, pp. 3–4), research in psychology also concluded that art has the potential to “provide a personal, direct experience” that creates an emotional and arguably, embodied understanding of climate change (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018, p. 92). Finally, art about the climate emergency has also been found to inspire creative thinking because audiences try to understand what a work means (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018, p. 90), and that art is more readily received when it uses didactic frames for “reflection and

debate” that present “genuine options and choices” (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016, pp. 7 and 65). Notably, this research has focused on the general public’s response to climate change-related artworks but has not studied policymakers as a specific audience or disaster displacement as a policy issue.

2.3 Research Questions

Framed by an overview of the legal response to disaster displacement, the practice and literature review identifies a wide array of artistic practices engaging disaster displacement and climate change-related themes discussed through the rubric of four strategies: 1) making issues visible; 2) encouraging conversation and provoking questions; 3) interpreting existing research and generating new knowledge; and 4) problem solving. It also highlights that the predominate curatorial strategy used by arts organizations seeking exhibit artworks on climate change and displacement-related themes focuses on reaching the general public from within art institutions, although there are notable exceptions of art being exhibited inside or alongside diplomatic spaces.

From the practice and literature review, this chapter concludes that while studies of contemporary art practice that seek social and political change identify various theories about how artistic strategies result in political change, there is no overarching, practical theory that conceptualizes art as part of international legal change. Recognizing art’s particular capacity to engage affect, the senses, and narrative, the relative simplicity of Finnemore and Sikkink’s life cycle model and its continued use in international relations research make it a useful bridge between international relations and art’s theories of political change. By breaking down the international norm evolution process into stages and recognizing the influence of non-State actors, the norm life cycle model provides a frame to consider the role artists and curators alongside other actors in the various stages of a norm’s “life cycle”. The model’s recognition that affect and emotion shape State behaviour also opens the door for examining the roles that artists and art practice may play in conceiving, shaping and developing international norms on disaster displacement.

In this way, the research seeks to contribute to gaps in the art and social change literature with respect to theories of art's role in international political change. It also advances international relations research with respect to how art, and, in particular, socially engaged art practices influence norm evolution processes through art's capacity to engage emotion, invent narrative frames, or create sensorial experiences. The research also provides an opportunity to shed light on research in psychology on the role of emotion and affect in reasoning and personal change by examining the role of art on policymakers and the policymaking process, noting that research to date has focused on the general public and the specific issue of climate change. More broadly, the research hopes to provide insight on the difficult task of "demonstrating the concrete policy relevance of aesthetic insight" and the value of "embracing multiple voices and the possibility of multiple truths" (Bleiker, 2009, p. 188) in international relations norms research. Finally, by bringing these three areas of knowledge together, the research ultimately aims to explore and refine the artistic and curatorial strategies identified in the practice and literature review, noting gaps in knowledge with respect to understanding the challenges, opportunities, and consequences of strategically exhibiting art for international policymakers in diplomatic spaces.

In conclusion, the research seeks to contribute to addressing these gaps in knowledge by asking the following questions:

1. What is the potential influence of art as part of collective efforts to develop international norms on disaster displacement in diplomatic venues?
2. What forms of collaboration between artists, NGOs, intergovernmental institutions, States, and other actors could advance the development of disaster displacement norms?

The following chapter sets out the methodology that the research applies to answer these questions.

3. Methodology

This research seeks to describe the current role of contemporary art in intergovernmental diplomatic venues. It also aims to deepen understanding about the motivations behind this practice to inform reflections on the potential influence of such practices on international norm development in diplomatic venues. In carrying out this research, I explore the potential role of art in international policymaking through contextual art writing (Fitzpatrick, 1992; Chanda, 1998; Mittman, 2017) in the tradition of arts and humanities research (Thissen, Zwijnenberg and Zijlmans, 2013; Hazelkorn, 2015; Benneworth, Gulbrandsen and Hazelkorn, 2016) that “position[s] the art object within broader cultural factors” (Slifkin and Grudin, 2021, p. 3). In this thesis, art is examined through description, the historical and political context in which it was created and exhibited, artists’ stated intentions, subjective interpretation, and assessments of its potential influence on international norm development processes within diplomatic venues (“curatorial framing”) (see Section 5.1).

The overall methodology is inspired by cultural studies (Alasuutari, 1995; Couldry, 2000), practice as a form of research (Barrett and Bolt, 2010; Barone and Eisner, 2012; Biggs and Karlsson, 2012; Borgdorff, 2012), and feminist research perspectives (Harding, 1986; Reinharz, 1992; Kelly, 2020) that utilize a broad set of theories, disciplines, methods, and data sources to enhance understanding, as well as seek practical, political, or legal change (Charlesworth, 1999; Blaikie and Priest, 2019; Saeidzadeh, 2023). Recognizing the subjective nature of the research aims, the methodology also incorporates my own “situated knowledge” (Haraway, 1988; See also Harding, 2004; Barrett, 2010a, 2010b; Adams, Ellis and Jones, 2017; Blaikie and Priest, 2019; Kelly, 2020) with respect to data sources and analysis, grounded in my experience as an international civil servant, consultant, and as a curator at diplomatic conferences.

3.1 Methodological Approach

While agreeing that art influences political change, research in art and visual histories has not yet reflected on the influence of art on international policymaking, nor how debates on the site-specificity of socially engaged art practices apply to intergovernmental conferences (See Section 2.2.1). Similarly, despite an ever-growing body of literature in political science

examining the role of art in politics and social change, international relations scholars have historically understood the role of art through the lens of “cultural diplomacy,” with scant attention to socially engaged art practices or art making substantive contributions to global policymaking, as opposed to an interpretive lens (See Section 2.2.2). Furthermore, the complex way through international legal norms form (See Section 2.1.1 and 2.2.2), combined with the potentially intangible and abstract influence of art on the process of international norm evolution, make the topic challenging for research.

Consequently, a deductive or retroductive approach to the research was not selected, since according to social research design experts Norman Blaikie and Jan Priest, such research design logics are best suited to research that aims to test hypotheses or explain what is already known based upon previously collected data or theoretical models (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, pp. 94–98). Similarly, an inductive approach to the research was also not deemed appropriate, as this logic seeks to explain what a social phenomenon is, rather than understand the underlying reasons and actions that cause the phenomenon (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 99). Understanding the *why* is an important part of the research given my interest in developing strategies for artists, curators, and others who want to bring art to diplomatic venues as part of norm development efforts, and my own location in the research as a practicing curator.

Thus, this research takes an abductive approach that seeks to understand the role of art within international norm evolution processes, applying idealist ontological and constructionism epistemological assumptions, to both describe and understand why art might influence the process. An idealist ontological approach assumes that “[s]ocial reality is made up of shared interpretations that social actors produce and reproduce as they go about their everyday lives” (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 102). Constructionism epistemology assumes that knowledge about social realities must emerge from the “inside” and then mediated through “technical social science language”, even though the truth of this knowledge cannot be objectively confirmed (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 104). In other words, to describe and understand the role of art in international policymaking through an abductive approach, it is important to ascertain how people engaging with diplomatic venues understand and give meaning to art, and then be able to describe that meaning so that, in this case, artists, curators, and others can understand and use this knowledge.

To arrive at this understanding, I am inspired by cultural studies, which according to Pertti Alasuutari “*make[s] use of all useful theories and methods in order to gain insights about the phenomena one studies*” (Alasuutari, 1995, p. 2). I draw on research design used in social research, which allows for “*applied research*” that is “*concerned with practical outcomes, with trying to solve some practical problem ... and with the development and implementation of policy*” (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 43). Social research also allows for the researcher to assume a position other than “*detached observer*” traditionally used in scientific fields, enabling a researcher to act as a subjective and engaged participant in the research that reflexively considers their own position in the research (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, pp. 45–47). Given the inclusion of my curatorial practice as part of the research, I am also inspired by research methodology that views art practice as research and similarly explicitly recognizes the subjectivity of researchers (Barrett and Bolt, 2010; Barone and Eisner, 2012; Biggs and Karlsson, 2012; Borgdorff, 2012).

The study is further inspired by numerous feminist research perspectives, too diverse to summarize here (Harding, 1988; Reinharz, 1992; Kiguwa, 2019; Gurr and Kelly, 2020; Saeidzadeh, 2023), with respect to the extent that feminist research “*is distinguished by how the research is done and, to some extent, by what is done with the research*” (Harnois, 2013, p. 5) as opposed to its focus on gender.¹⁸ In particular, the methodology in this study resonates with feminist social research characterized by its “*reflexivity; an action orientation; attention to the affective components of the research; and use of the situation-at-hand*” (Fonow and Cook, 1998, p. 2), which “*use a multiplicity of research methods*” to conduct research that “*may be transdisciplinary*”, “*aims to create social change*”, “*strives to represent human diversity*”, and “*frequently includes the researcher as a person*” (Reinharz, 1992, p. 240). The current study’s methodology is also consistent with feminist approaches that use qualitative research methods, such as case studies, interviews, observation (Gurr and Kelly, 2020), and auto-ethnography (Ettorre, 2017) to complement “*situated knowledge*” (Haraway, 1988) with other

¹⁸ For instance, according to feminist legal scholar Zara Saeidzadeh, “*Feminist research ethics emphasizes on the coproduction of knowledge with the research participants. Researchers need to address ethical issues in qualitative research with regards to informed consent, privacy, and protection of information and lives of research participants, during and after the fieldwork*” (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 199). Such ethics also guided the present research.

data, applying reflexive, creative, and flexible approaches to knowledge production (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 200).

Legal studies are also relevant given that this research draws on adjacent research in international relations to understand the formation of international law and policy. Notably, feminist legal research methods often “attempt to reveal features of a legal issue which more traditional methods tend to overlook or suppress” (Bartlett, 1990, p. 836), in particular by “identifying and decoding silences in international law” (Charlesworth, 1999, p. 382), such as with respect to excluded groups like disaster displaced persons. Feminist legal research also includes “propos[ing] legal reforms which recognize women and other marginalized groups, including provision for, and protection of, their needs and rights in different areas of law” (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 193),¹⁹ recognizing, for those taking an intersectional perspective,²⁰ the need to “[unveil] the structural barriers that produce social inequalities” (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 196). Thus, the current study’s approach aligns with some feminist legal approaches by actively addressing gaps in international law with respect to protecting the rights of disaster displaced persons by researching and directly intervening in diplomatic processes, using an unconventional approach of collaboration with artists.

The research primarily relies on two case studies about contemporary art being engaged in international diplomacy. Widely used across humanities, social science, and professional

¹⁹ Writing in 1991, legal scholars Katharine T. Bartlett and Rosanne Kennedy noted tension between feminist scholars and the critical legal studies movement (CLS), finding that “although deconstruction is useful in exposing the ways in which Western philosophy has marginalized the feminine, a feminist politics cannot stop at critique, but must be prepared to take affirmative positions on a range of issues. ... Likewise, there is widespread agreement that although it is instructive for feminist theory to expose implicit hierarchies and exclusions through which meanings are constituted, feminists also need to take the positive step of transforming institutional and social practices” (Bartlett and Kennedy, 2018, pp. 9–10).

²⁰ According to Saeidzadeh, “The problem with law is that it does not acknowledge fluidity and intersecting elements of people’s lives. It often focuses on one element of a human being. Most laws tend to adopt a one-dimensional approach. ... Other grounds of inequality such as sexuality, class, age, ethnicity, disability in protecting violence against women are rarely considered by legal policies” (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 196). She notes this is less the case in the context of international human rights law, which includes law related to displacement (Gaviria Betancur, 2023). International humanitarian action also aims to implement age, gender, and diversity mainstreaming approaches (Global Protection Cluster, 2024).

research,²¹ there is no one definition of a case study. Social science research frequently cites Gary Thomas's definition:

Case studies are analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame—an object—within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates (Thomas, 2011, p. 513).

Thomas further explains that while many research theorists view a case study as defining the subject of study, not the methods used (Thomas, 2011, p. 512), others view case studies as a research method itself (Yin, 2018).²² Regardless, case studies are frequently used to develop theories with respect to particular phenomenon (Yin, 2018, pp. 34–42). Depending on the research questions, data for case studies may be generated through either qualitative or quantitative approaches (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Thomas, 2011; Yin, 2018).

Consequently, this interdisciplinary research, which integrates perspectives from the arts, international relations, and feminist research practices, uses two case studies that take two different approaches (see also below Section 3.2). The first historical and contextual investigation the role of art in diplomacy at the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG) combines analysis of data from archives, historical accounts, online research, video conference interviews, and virtual events, as well as observations at the Palais des Nations. Personal

²¹ Robert Yin found that case study research is commonly used in the following fields: anthropology and ethnography, political science, psycholinguistics, psychology, sociology, accounting, business and international business, education, evaluation, health care, marketing, nursing, public administration, social work and software engineering (Yin, 2018, p. 6).

²² Yin proposes the following for defining a case study as a research method:

- “1. A case study is an empirical method that
 - Investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when
 - The boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident.
2. A case study
 - Copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result
 - Benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide design, data collection, and analysis, and as another result
 - Relies on multiples sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion” (Yin, 2018, p. 15).

reflections were based on direct observations of artworks drew from either my memory, or five short visits to conduct research at the UNOG Library & Archives in February 2020 and March and April 2021 during the height of COVID restrictions, when most in-person UN meetings and events were either cancelled or organized online and very few people were working or visiting the UN.²³ The second case study about my curatorial practice leading the DISPLACEMENT project analyses social artefacts, interview data, and observations informed by situated knowledge, as commonly used in art, feminist, and ethnographic research methodologies (see also Section 3.3.3). While the two case studies cannot be directly compared nor be seen as representing the phenomenon of art in diplomacy more generally, combining these distinct approaches to case study research extend the potential relevance of the study's theoretical framework by incorporating a context that extends beyond my personal curatorial practice and "researchers standpoint" (Harding, 2004) to allow for a more disinterested and critical view (See also Section 5.1.3) .

This research uses case studies in favour of alternative approaches, such as a historical survey, for a number of reasons (Yin, 2018). First, very little research or documentation addresses the role of art in international policymaking. The existence of organizations seeking to exhibit art as substantive contributions to policy discussions in intergovernmental venues, as opposed to serving as decoration or representations of cultural diversity, is relatively recent compared to the longer history of socially engaged or activist art practices engaging in political issues at the national and local level or States' efforts to use art as a form of "cultural diplomacy" within larger public diplomacy strategies. Case studies allow the research to draw on a diverse set of data sources, including interviews, artifacts, and direct observations to better capture this contemporary phenomenon (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2018, p. 12).

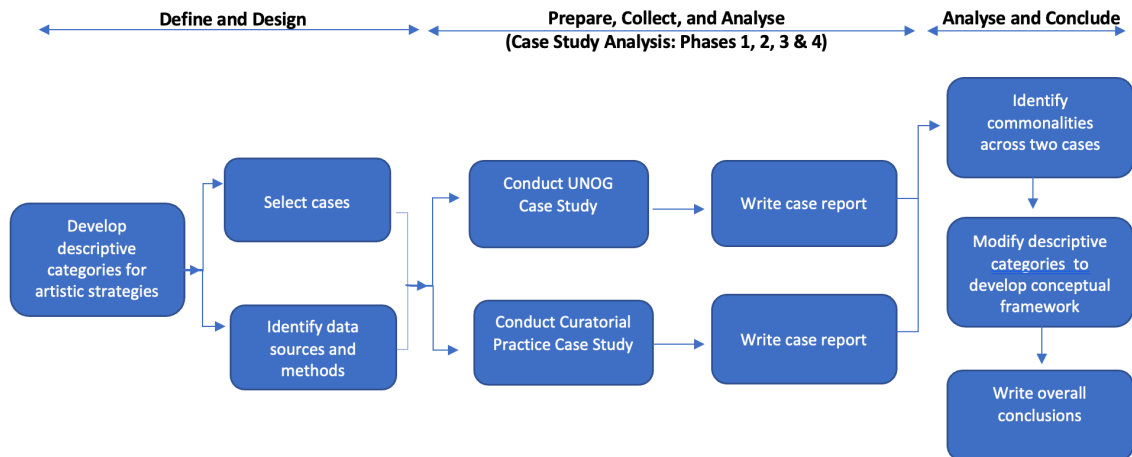
Second, case studies allow for an in-depth description. In the context of complex, global, political problems like disaster displacement, actors may hold divergent or conflicting interests that cannot be easily isolated. Detailed description can help "to discover why people do what

²³ While this approach is similar to an ethnographic case study (Ó Riain, 2009), ethnographic case studies generally rely on personal observation by the researcher, typically over sustained periods of time (Armstrong *et al.*, 2019). During most of the research period, it was not possible to personally attend and observe the exhibition of art at UNOG as part of public events, which would be more characteristic of an ethnographic approach.

they do by uncovering the largely tacit, mutual knowledge, the symbolic meanings, intentions and rules, which provide the orientations for their actions” (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 99). This aligns with the research’s abductive approach to describe and understand the underlying motivations, processes, and institutional arrangements that drive current efforts to bring art within intergovernmental venues. Third, although intergovernmental processes cannot be contained in a controlled lab setting to test certain theories, case studies allow for continued experimentation and research in real-world settings.

Thus, the research relies on qualitative research methods that aid in describing and understanding new areas of research to generate plausible, generalized conclusions that can be drawn from the research, rather than proving a particular theory (Alasuutari, 1995). Building upon the literature and practice review and findings from the case studies, the research develops a conceptual framework of “categories and concepts that can form the basis for an understanding of the problem at hand” (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 101), in this case, understanding art’s potential influence on norm development in diplomatic venues as part of norm promotion efforts. The research simultaneously trials and develops the conceptual framework through my curatorial practice, acknowledging my personal motivation to affect change in the world with respect to disaster displacement and drawing on observations grounded in my situated knowledge, personal interviews, and secondary data analysis. Consequently, my research aims to identify and describe strategies about how artists can influence international norm development processes within intergovernmental venues relevant to disaster displacement. It concludes by identifying the need for further research to evaluate the effectiveness of such strategies.

Figure 3.1 Approach to Multi-Case Study Research



Adapted from COSMOS Corporation, in Yin, 2018, p. 58.

This chapter explains how the case studies were selected, describes data sources used in the research, identifies the various methods used to collect and analyse the data, addresses ethical considerations, and acknowledges the challenges and limitations of the research.

3.2 Selection of Case Studies

The case studies were selected according to the following criteria to identify presently active art organizations, programmes, or projects that:

- Identify international policymakers as a primary audience at global intergovernmental venues,
- Facilitate the introduction of artworks within the sphere of intergovernmental meetings, processes, or diplomatic spaces, and
- Enable the integration of art in intergovernmental discussions on policy issues related to displacement, climate change, the environment, and/or human rights.

The research focuses on conferences at intergovernmental venues because they are typically linked to formal decisions or outcomes that institutionalize new international norms. Conferences also typically have an organizational framework that allows for the participation of non-State actors, such as UN entities and NGOs, as delegates or observers to the official

proceedings and events outside of the formal programme. This creates opportunities for direct exchanges between artists and global policymakers. Diplomatic conferences also commonly share diplomatic protocols and formats, whose predictability make it possible to observe and reflect on art's potential to contribute to such contexts. Focusing on intergovernmental meetings also increases the likelihood that a policymaker will view artworks, as compared to exhibitions created for the general public outside diplomatic zones, where policymakers' attendance relies more on chance or a personal interest in art.

Many diplomatic conferences include art selected by the conference organizers as part of wider conference planning, but such exhibits are *ad hoc* rather than a sustained programme of activities. For instance, the UK UNFCCC Presidency issued a call for artistic contributions at COP26 in Glasgow primarily in the Green Zone, outside the diplomatic Blue Zone (UK COP26, 2021). However, the COP Presidency is an annually rotating position, with each country setting their priorities (Climate Champions, 2022) when hosting the conference in collaboration with the UNFCCC, which controls the Blue Zone.

Several art and cultural organizations also cultivate programs, commission artwork, and organize exhibitions aimed at the public at large on issues of relevance to the UN, described as "white cube activist" curatorial strategies (see Section 2.1.2.5), particularly with respect to climate change and the environment, such as COAL, ARTPORT, Invisible Dust and the Arctic Cycle. While they organized art exhibitions or events planned to coincide with major UN events, such as UN climate change conferences, such events were often located outside the conference space or, such as in the case of the COPs, held in zones open to the public that were separate from where official meetings took place. Importantly, the location of exhibitions outside diplomatic zones is perhaps more indicative of challenges in accessing diplomatic zones than preference (Steinmann, 2015). Thus, the case studies also sought to understand how art organizations gained access to diplomatic zones.

The research identified art organizations or programmes that have directly engaged international policymakers at least once in the context of intergovernmental venues. However, many were ultimately excluded because the organizations primarily address the general public, outside diplomatic venues (See Section 2.1.2.5). Entities that met the criteria included the UN

Office at Geneva's (UNOG) Cultural Activities Programme, the project I curate, DISPLACEMENT: Uncertain Journeys, and Thyssen-Bornemisza Art Contemporary (TBA21).

The idea of the UNOG case study was initially proposed to me by Walter Kälin, who suggested that UNOG's display of its permanent art collection and temporary exhibitions could be a useful comparison to the DISPLACEMENT exhibitions during intergovernmental conferences. UNOG is hosted at the Palais des Nations, in Geneva, Switzerland. As the UN's European headquarters, UNOG hosts hundreds of meetings and conferences for international diplomats, including meetings of the UN Human Rights Council. I initially thought that the UNOG case would centre around an analysis of the display and types of artworks in the permanent collection, as well as temporary exhibitions from the past few years, to understand the "status quo" in terms of what art is displayed at UNOG. Based upon my own experience working at UNOG as an international civil servant, I imagined the case would illustrate how contemporary forms of socially engaged and performance art were not widely exhibited at UNOG, favouring instead painting, sculpture, and photography that illustrated themes like world peace and multiculturalism. In other words, I initially thought that UNOG's art exhibitions would not be understood as taking political positions on specific and potentially controversial policy issues like disaster displacement.

While subsequent research largely confirmed my initial impressions of the artworks' thematic issues in the permanent collection, I was surprised to discover a rich history about the political role art played in the founding of the UN and art's ongoing role in international diplomacy due to artworks being understood as diplomatic gifts to the international organization. I began to understand how ceremonies, administrative processes, and displays created contexts in which the artworks assumed a political meaning that extended beyond the content of the artworks themselves. The establishment of the Cultural Activities Programme at UNOG in 2001 added another dimension by framing art and culture as part of a wider UN General Assembly endorsed "dialogue amongst civilisations" (UN General Assembly, 2001). Thus, the first case describes the role art played in the historical and political origins of the UN, and how artwork, exhibited as diplomatic gifts and framed within the Cultural Activities Programme, continues to play a role in international diplomacy at the Palais des Nations.

The second case focuses on the DISPLACEMENT project, which examines my ongoing practice to curate art interventions on disaster displacement for international policymakers at intergovernmental conferences. The case follows interventions at four intergovernmental conferences between 2018 and 2022, describing the curatorial considerations related to selecting and exhibiting artworks depending on the diplomatic venue. Importantly, it also explores how the interventions were shaped by DISPLACEMENT's collaboration with the Platform on Disaster Displacement (PDD), which had specific policy and advocacy priorities for each conference. The case draws on my situated knowledge as curator and researcher for PDD on disaster displacement, which informed the process of developing both the art interventions and the conceptual framework proposed in this research. In sum, the second case provides a practice-based example of the potential role that art could play in norm development on disaster displacement as part of a collaborative efforts in diplomatic venues.

In 2016, TBA21 submitted a request for official observer status to the International Seabed Authority, highlighting the relevance of the arts organization's research and collaborative environmental projects to the intergovernmental body created under the International Law of the Sea (Assembly, 2016). TBA21's request was ultimately accepted (*Observers*, 2020), offering the potential to explore how art could contribute to the development of international norms related to TBA21's focus on seabed mining. As compared to the two other case studies, the TBA21 example is notable in that the organization's participation was not dependent on a sponsoring State or organization. After finding only a few official submissions made by TBA21 (Elder, 2016; Thyssen-Bornemisza Art Contemporary (TBA21), 2016) and given time and financial constraints with the research, I determined that UNOG's Cultural Activities Programme and the DISPLACEMENT project provided sufficient data to develop a conceptual framework about the role of art in the development of international norms in diplomatic venues. However, the TBA21 case would be useful for future research to develop the conceptual framework proposed in the present research, exploring how obtaining official observer status could shape the potential influence of art on international norm development in diplomatic venues.

3.3 Data Sources

The case studies drew on a broad set of data sources, reflecting the overall research methodology and the interdisciplinary character of the research's underlying epistemologies, namely histories of art, art theory, international norm development theory, and curatorial theory.

3.3.1 Social Artefacts

Sources of data include publicly available social artefacts, or “traces of social activities that people leave behind” (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 162), including artworks, documentation and photographs of exhibitions, press releases, video recordings of events, public documents, websites and social media accounts, official statements and reports, meeting minutes, and conference reports.

3.3.2 Social Episodes

While recognizing that a significant portion of international diplomacy occurs in restricted settings, data was collected through the direct observation of relevant social episodes, understood as “social interactions that are limited in time and space, such as social gatherings of various kinds” (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 160). Data collected during social episodes, such as art interventions in intergovernmental meetings or meetings to organize such events, were intended to shed light on larger “macro-social phenomena” related to the development of international norms (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 161). Thus, data sources during social episodes included social artefacts related to the event, such as artworks, exhibitions, photographs, videos, formal statements, social media, and press releases, and personal reflections about the overall experience written as notes.

Selected individuals were also interviewed to share their experiences and reflections related to their respective roles in organizing, contributing to, or observing art interventions in intergovernmental processes (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 162), resulting in audio recordings, automated transcripts, written responses to questions, and handwritten notes. These individuals included artists, curators, communication officers, conference organizers, and

policy experts (See below 3.4.2). Perspectives of individuals attending art exhibitions were also drawn from public statements, presentations, observations, and press releases.

3.3.3 Situated Knowledge

The research includes “situated knowledges” (Haraway, 1988), which Estelle Barrett explains, referring to the context of art research, encompass not only “explicit and exact knowledge,” but also “tacit knowledge” that she argues includes embodied and intuitive knowledge that result in subjective understandings (Barrett, 2010b, p. 4). Barrett cautions that using such knowledge requires the researcher to “articulate knowledge which is robust enough to be objective and generalisable, but at the same time accounts for individual subjective thought and action” (Barrett, 2010b, p. 5). Similarly, autoethnography, which refers to “a research method that uses personal experience (‘auto’) to describe and interpret (‘graphy’) cultural texts, experiences, beliefs, and practices (‘ethno’)” (Adams, Ellis and Jones, 2017, p. 1) also recognizes the knowledge and experience of the researcher as a source of data. Feminist research practices likewise commonly incorporate sources of self-knowledge, including in the context of international relations and law (Charlesworth, 1999; Brigg and Bleiker, 2010; Enloe, 2014; Narain, 2014; Enloe, Lacey and Gregory, 2016), recognizing Donna Haraway’s notion of “partial perspectives,” in which “partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims” (Haraway, 1988, p. 589). When using situated knowledge, autoethnographic and feminist methods include and problematize the notion of “reflexivity” (Harding, 2004; Adams, Ellis and Jones, 2017), through which a researcher “affirm[s] the partiality of representations without denying their claim to truth” (Anderson, 2020, p. 21).

The inclusion of personal observations and reflections in this study were limited to those that stem from my unique position as a policy specialist on disaster displacement and my curatorial role in the DISPLACEMENT project. The data included handwritten notes following meetings and events, emails, photographs, and videos.

During the course of this research, I understood myself as a member of the “third United Nations” (Weiss, Carayannis and Jolly, 2009), which encompasses NGO representatives, consultants, experts, academics, and others closely associated with the UN, but not formally

part of the organization.²⁴ When conducting this research, I acted in my personal capacity as a doctoral researcher or as a consultant for the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and PDD. Although it was technically outside the scope of this present study, the research and curatorial practice also relied on the professional relationships and expertise I developed through my prior work as a UN staff member and my ongoing consulting work on legal and policy issues with NRC and UN entities. My observations inevitably reflect this insider and outsider position. For instance, I may have failed to observe information that those without this perspective may have identified and deemed important to the research, such as social dynamics, critiques of institutional processes, or the impact of curatorial strategies. At the same time, the research also benefits from my skills and experience that provide me with insight and knowledge that may not be available to other researchers.

The research acknowledges my own situated knowledge as only one source among many, cautioning “that any claims about social life (from the researcher or our participants) are only partial perspectives or situated knowledges” (Kelly, 2020, p. 3). Consequently, the research attempts to include other perspectives and subjectivities by considering diverse types of data, including interviews with other individuals who share their own observations.

3.4 Methods for Data Collection

The research employs mixed qualitative research methods selected for their ability to help describe and understand art’s current and potential influence on international norm development. This mixed method approach takes inspiration from cultural studies, which according to Alasuutari, has “a tolerant attitude towards the use of any methods that may be useful in making sense of what is going on, and in finding new ways of seeing things”, while at the same time being “pragmatic and strategic in choosing and applying different methods” (Alasuutari, 1995, pp. 23 & 2).

²⁴ I have never worked as a diplomat representing a State (first United Nations) and have not been a UN staff member since 2010 (second United Nations) (Weiss, Carayannis and Jolly, 2009).

3.4.1 Secondary Research

Preparation for each case included a content analysis of social artefacts, including: public websites, institutional publications, exhibition catalogues, news articles, reviews, and academic research on the organization. It also included compiling a list of potential interviewees and their respective roles, and events that could be observed in person or virtually.

The UNOG case relied on exhibition catalogues, books and other data held by the UNOG Library & Archives, UN General Assembly documents, the UNOG website, histories of the League of Nations and the United Nations, and publicly available online documentation of the art collection and temporary exhibitions, including on social media platforms.

The DISPLACEMENT case study relied on photographs and videos documenting exhibitions, press releases, organizational websites, diplomatic conference background materials, international legal documents, and policy briefs. Social artefacts for content analysis also included personal correspondence and reflections, and documents, meeting minutes, and organizational materials related to project management.

3.4.2 Interviews

Both case studies relied on interviews I carried out to gain a better understanding of the administrative processes and institutional motivations behind the projects, as well as any perceived influence of the artworks on diplomatic processes. However, the approaches to conducting the interviews differed for the two case studies given my role with respect to the interviewees and pre-existing knowledge of the cases.

3.4.2.1 United Nations Office at Geneva Case

For the UNOG case, I interviewed four individuals who had or currently held positions with responsibilities related to exhibiting art at UNOG. I used a semi-structured interview format to balance my desire to have interviewees answer specific questions, while also allowing for the possibility to gain information about issues not previously identified in advance. While I had originally planned to hold the interviews in person to help build rapport, due to COVID

considerations, I relied on video calls. Requests for interviews were sent by email, explaining the overall background for the research and the reason the interview was requested. Once agreed in principle, informants were emailed an information sheet outlining my research, as well as a written consent form to participate in the research (see Appendix I) and an initial set of questions to further help familiarize them with the expectations of the interview. In some cases, consent was taken orally, and then I subsequently requested that interviewees provide the signed consent form.

Because the interviews were conducted during working hours, I initially requested a one-hour interview, which is a standard time for meetings during regular business hours at the UN. Some interviews extended beyond this time frame, and I also held follow-up interviews to verify previous statements and receive additional information. As part of each interview, individuals were also invited to share or recommend additional documents or other materials that could be used for content analysis, as well as suggestions for additional people to interview. This helped facilitate introductions to people I did not know, and in one case, led to me identifying an additional interviewee who had relevant insights. I also knew one of the interviewees previously, which helped me identify relevant individuals.

When interviewing individuals from UNOG, I took written notes with the individual's verbal consent, rather than audio recording the interviews. This decision was made after the first interviewee declined to give consent to have the interview audio recorded, and also did not want to be directly quoted in the study. The interviewee also underscored the fact that they were answering questions in their personal capacity, and not representing the UN. Another interviewee told me that they had requested and received approval to participate in the interview with me, given that the answers to the questions I was asking were publicly available. The individuals' responses resonated with my own memories of answering questions from researchers in the past when I was working at the UN, and the concern that I might inadvertently disclose something that should have been cleared by my supervisors or that the researcher might misconstrue my responses in a way that might be seen to undermine the UN or damage its reputation. Thus, in subsequent interviews, I did not request to audio record the interviews so that the individuals would ideally feel more at ease. To instil further confidence, and ensure accuracy, I also shared draft versions of the case study with those interviewed so

that they could verify or correct their own quotations as well as my descriptions and accounts of policies and events.

My ability to identify, contact, and interview UNOG staff members did not rely on my situated knowledge associated with prior experience working at UNOG. I gained this information through online research and by registering for a pass to access the UNOG Library and Archives based upon my status as a doctoral researcher at UAL, and then talking informally to staff members about my research. However, I found that my knowledge with respect to the UN system, its administration, and experience working in collaboration with Member States and other UN organizations did influence my data collection methods and analysis in preparing for and conducting the interviews. For instance, when listening to interviewees' responses to my questions, I could draw on my own similar experiences to understand the implications of certain policy decisions, the hierarchy within the organization in terms of decision-making and administrative processes, and physical knowledge of working in the building. This knowledge also helped me ask additional follow-up questions and know how to seek additional information. I believe my prior knowledge and experience also helped me build trust with the people I interviewed, and instilled confidence that I would not include information in my research that might compromise their professional integrity. In analysing the interviews, my situated knowledge also likely influenced which statements, documents, or observations I deemed most relevant for answering my research questions. Conversely, my experience with and ongoing relationship to the UN system may have meant that I did not question certain practices or assumptions about how and why art is exhibited at UNOG because the interviewees' positions aligned with my own worldview. Recognizing such potential biases, I note that researchers conducting the interviews from a different discipline or theoretical perspective may have asked interviewees other questions or arrived at alternative conclusions.

3.4.2.2 DISPLACEMENT Case

For the DISPLACEMENT case, I conducted interviews with individuals involved in the curation and administration of the exhibits, as well as artists who personally attended DISPLACEMENT exhibitions. Consequently, all the interviewees were previously known to me, some for many years, and we had a shared experience of participating in the project. However, I note that the

power dynamics varied depending on the relationship between myself and the person interviewed. In some cases, the individuals I interviewed were also the project's primary financial partners or individuals who hired me for consultancy work outside this research.²⁵ With respect to artists, my role as curator meant that I held power as to whether and how the artists' work would be exhibited in the context of the DISPLACEMENT project, although the artists ultimately had the power to decide whether they consented to the exhibition of their work. These relationships likely influenced my selection of questions, the individuals' responses, and the overall tone of the conversations and written exchanges. The interviews with the artists took place following participation in an exhibition, while the interviews with the co-organizers took place at varying stages during the research to provide opportunities to reflect on the project's evolution.

I decided not to interview people during the DISPLACEMENT exhibitions for several reasons. Aside from the practical challenges of trying to conduct interviews and gain informed consent while actively running an exhibition, I did not think that most government delegates would speak freely. As evidenced by the UNOG interviews, I suspected many delegates would decline to participate given the need to ask permission from their respective governments. Delegates also typically have busy schedules during conferences, leaving little time for more than cursory or quick response or reactions. Thus, rather than interviews, I relied on States', international organizations', and NGOs' actions, both in terms of their financial support or as expressed to exhibition partners, to indicate whether they felt the project contributed to the PDD's norm promotion efforts. I further benefited from research conducted by Doeser and Nisbett (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017) that included numerous anonymous interviews with diplomats in Geneva about their views on the role of art in international diplomacy. Finally, I relied on my own observations of watching individual conference delegates engage and react to the exhibition to gain a sense of personal experiences.

Despite my familiarity with the interviewees for the DISPLACEMENT case, I sent formal written requests for interviews by email, explaining the overall background for the research and the reason the interview was requested, following up with an information sheet about my

²⁵ See footnote 12 for detailed description of DISPLACEMENT project's funding arrangements. See also Section 3.7 regarding the potential influence of these funding arrangements on this research.

research, as well as a written consent form (see Appendix I) and an initial set of questions to further help familiarize them with the expectations of the interview.

Because I already knew the individuals and wanted to allow for meaningful reflection on their experiences participating in the project, I offered individuals the option to provide answers in a semi-structured interview format, or in writing, depending on the person's preference. Five individuals, all artists, preferred to conduct the interviews in writing, with seven others choosing an oral interview. For both interview formats, I also invited the participants to offer any other reflections that might not have been raised by the questions.

In the case of oral interviews, which took place in person and by video call in consideration with COVID protocols, I requested permission to record the interviews using an automated transcription app, which I showed to each person so that they understood how it worked. Because each interview lasted on average around 1 hour and 30 minutes, this allowed me to focus on the interview and less on taking accurate notes. The oral interviews largely followed the interview questions, but also included some discussion and exchange on the experiences, providing moments of joint reflection between the interviewee and me. I found such exchanges useful to the overall research findings given the collaborative nature of the DISPLACEMENT project, and evident of the fact that I was not a disinterested researcher.

I also shared draft versions of the case study with everyone interviewed so that they could verify or correct their own quotations as well as my descriptions and accounts of policies and events. This additional step also allowed interviewees to re-assess their answers, recognizing that in our familiarity an interviewee may have made statements that upon later reflection they would like to amend.

3.4.3 Observation

Data was also collected through my direct observation of relevant social episodes. Data sources included personal observations, notes, photographs, video and sound recordings, and other social artefacts I collected or viewed on site. Personal reflections were written within a few

weeks after art interventions featured in the second case study, while some reflections about events at UNOG were written as many as ten years after an event.

My extensive access to a multitude of settings and individuals greatly facilitated my ability to gain information through observation. In the UNOG case, I was able to reflect on my personal experience of working and attending meetings at the Palais des Nations as a UN staff member and consultant over various periods since 2003, as well as visiting the UN Library & Archives over the course of 2020 and 2021 as part of this research. For the DISPLACEMENT case, I drew on my personal experience of curating the project and observing its reception in diplomatic venues, as well as my professional work experience as a policy and legal researcher on disaster displacement issues and attending diplomatic conferences since 2005.

3.4.4 Curatorial Practice

In addition to observing, I also gathered information and learned through the process of curating art interventions that created experiences for delegates to engage with artworks within the specific context of intergovernmental meetings. Curating demanded a wide range of activities, including researching and identifying artists, developing and maintaining partnerships with collaborating institutions, researching each diplomatic venue in terms of policy and administrative arrangements, preparing exhibition proposals and budgets, briefing artists, contacting printers, creating interpretative materials, working with a graphic designer, collaborating on press releases, and installing and facilitating the exhibitions and interventions.

Using a dialogical process, information was gathered and created with my interlocutors during the planning and implementation of DISPLACEMENT project, as we experimented with different exhibition approaches and presented the work of different artists, learning and adapting from the previous exhibition. The art interventions became a “materialising practice” that created a dialogue of reflection and evolution between the exhibitions and the written analysis of the work (Barrett, 2010b, p. 5). Social artefacts for content analysis included personal correspondence and reflections, photographs, documents, meeting minutes and organizational materials related to project management. My curatorial practice also allowed

me to gain knowledge by physically experiencing the exhibitions, and the varying emotions I felt while organizing and participating in the exhibitions with others.

3.4.5 Guiding Questions to Orient Data Collection

The following questions oriented the data collection for each case:

- 1) The institutional purpose, history, activities, and institutional arrangements of the programme or project:
 - a) Who were the founders of the program or project and what were its aims, particularly with respect to intergovernmental institutions?
 - b) What exhibitions and/or interventions were organized in intergovernmental contexts? What artists and artworks did such exhibitions include? What was the display? What communication or other external factors surrounded the exhibitions?
 - c) What institutional and procedural processes were used to organize exhibitions?
 - d) Who financed the art exhibitions, and how?
 - e) What was the process for selecting thematic issues and artworks for the exhibitions?
 - f) What role did artists themselves play in the exhibition?

- 2) Understanding the underlying motivations and potential influence of the programme or project:
 - a) Why was programme or project developed?
 - b) Why were artworks or artists selected? What factors influenced the display and/or presentation of the artworks?
 - c) What were the perceived benefits to the organizers or sponsors of an art exhibition?
 - d) What challenges arose during the planning and implementation of art exhibitions?
 - e) What measures were in place, if any, to assess the influence of art exhibitions?
 - f) What influence on international norm development, if any, was perceived because of the art exhibition?

3.5 Data Analysis

Given the abductive approach to the research, the research uses analytical generalization, as opposed to statistical generalization, to identify and describe themes and patterns across the two cases (Yin, 2018, p. 37) using thematic analysis (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 204). Notably, thematic analysis of the data was used because it “identifies implicit and explicit ideas in the data” using a flexible approach that accommodates diverse data sources (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 204). Both case studies were organized and analysed through the development of descriptive frameworks that were initially developed based upon the practice and literature review (Yin, 2018, pp. 171–172), and subsequently evolved through the research process for each case (see Tables 3.2 and 3.3). Once the two case studies were complete, the data was further selected and analysed to establish themes and typologies common to the two cases (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, pp. 204–205). The resulting analytic generalizations derived from the two cases were then used to develop a conceptual framework (See Table 3.4) to identify and describe the influence of artistic strategies as part of collective efforts to advance the development of international norms about disaster displacement in diplomatic venues (Blaikie and Priest, 2019, p. 187).

3.5.1 Practice and Literature Review

As part of a case study approach to analytical generalisation, analysis of the case study data began in the art practice and literature review (Section 2.1.2). Surveying artworks from around the world addressing themes related to displacement, migration, climate change and disasters using a wide spectrum of mediums, the review used thematic analysis to identify four descriptive categories of artistic strategies used to engage issues related to disaster displacement and associate policy issues: 1) making issues visible; 2) encouraging conversation and provoking questions; 3) interpreting existing research and generating new knowledge; and 4) problem solving. These descriptive categories formed an initial thematic framework to structure the analysis of the case studies (Yin, 2018, p. 172). The other elements of the practice and literature review, with respect to a) international legal and policy responses to disaster displacement; b) theories related to art and political change; and c) theories related to international relations, art, and norm evolution, also served to identify key literature used to analyse the case study data.

3.5.2 Analysis of Case Studies

Analysis of both case studies was initially organized using the four descriptive categories for artistic strategies identified in the literature and practice review. Data collected for each case study was reviewed and organized under each strategy in a written outline format. It was then subsequently analysed using thematic analysis (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 204) and analytical generalization to identify themes and patterns to describe for each case study *how* artistic strategies may, or may not, provide specific contributions to international diplomacy and norm evolution processes, and under what conditions, particularly with respect to engaging emotion and affect and prompting critical thinking, and to prompt critical and reflexive thinking. The analysis drew on research from theories of art, international relations, psychology, cognitive science, and curating identified in the literature review.

This section will describe how the analysis of each case involved an iterative process of proposing and refining the specific descriptive categories to reflect new insights that emerged during the research (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 204). The analysis ultimately arrives at two sets of modified descriptive categories specific to each case study to present an understanding of what and how art might be understood to contribute to diplomacy more generally at UNOG and the process of developing disaster displacement norm development, respectively, and under what conditions.

3.5.2.1 Case Study 1: Curating Art as Diplomatic Gift

Using the four categories of the descriptive framework as the initial organizing structure, the analysis of art at UNOG took place over three phases. Phase 1 began with a process of analysing existing data through a desk review of secondary research, including academic research, UNOG archival documents, and UN legal and policy documents. The review of the limited literature addressing art at the United Nations (de Jong, 2001; Adlerstein, 2014; Zamorano, 2016; Doerer and Nisbett, 2017; Sievers, 2021) found an emphasis on the role of art as a diplomatic gift, often conceived as a form of cultural diplomacy. A subsequent review of literature addressing diplomatic gifts (Mauss, 2002; Miller, 2002; Kustermans, 2021) and cultural diplomacy (e.g., Wallis, 1994; Clarke, 2016; Dragičević Šešić, 2017) found that the

qualities of art with respect to specific policy debates was rarely discussed, focusing instead on broader notions of geopolitics particularly in the Cold War era between the United States and the former Soviet Union (Segal, 2016).

Table 3.2 Data Methods and Types Used in Analysis of UNOG Case Study

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
	Case study selection and background research	UNOG staff members' experience managing and exhibiting art	Writing case study report
Methods	Secondary research through desk review Observation	Semi-structured interviews Secondary research through desk review	Secondary research through desk review Interviewees' review of draft case study
Primary Data	Videos, photos, and notes of social artefacts at the Palais des Nations Personal notes, informed by situated knowledge	Handwritten notes from semi-structured interviews	Interviewees' written comments on draft case study
Secondary Data	Academic research UNOG archival documents and social artefacts (exhibition catalogues, meeting minutes, organizational records, etc.) UN legal and policy documents Artworks in UNOG online database Online sources: Organizational websites, news reports, social media, blogs	UNOG archival documents and social artefacts UN legal and policy documents	UNOG database of artworks Academic research UN legal and policy documents Online sources: Organizational websites, news reports, social media, blogs

Numerous UN legal instruments, policies, and documents related to the exhibition and management of art at UNOG were analysed to identify to what extent the UN as an institution recognized the artistic strategies as set out in the initial descriptive framework. This analysis included document analysis, which refers to “content analysis that entails identifying meaningful and relevant passage of the text” as well as using “thematic analysis” to

“recogn[ize] ... patterns within the data and consequently expos[e] emerging themes” (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 205). For example, although it was ultimately not included in detail, document analysis included reviewing official UN documents, such as internal audit and financial management reports (Secretary-General, 1990; Abraszewski and Hennés, 1992; General Assembly, 1994, 1995) and UN General Assembly budget meeting reports (Fifth Committee of the General Assembly, 1993c, 1993b, 1993a), to identify and understand the functioning of relevant administrative processes related to the permanent art collection and temporary art exhibitions. Such analysis also noted words associated with art in these documents, such as “Administration of cultural works” (Secretary-General, 1990, p. 7), “management of works of art which serve decorative rather than utilitarian purposes” (Abraszewski and Hennés, 1992, para. 5), and “repository of donations from individual Member States as well as other organizations” (UN Secretary-General, 1993, para. 2). These terms indicated a more passive or background role for art, an understanding that contributed to the ultimate descriptive framework for the case study.

Historical accounts of the founding of the League of Nations and the United Nations contributed to a contextual analysis (Slifkin and Grudin, 2021) of artworks exhibited at UNOG, providing a broader understanding of the political dynamics within which specific artworks were donated to the respective institutions. Contextual analysis included reviewing written histories, archival materials documenting past art exhibitions, newspaper accounts, the UNOG online database of gifted artworks, letters, social media posts, artist and curatorial statements, historical correspondence, and my own personal memories and observations at UNOG. Review of this data included noting references to specific artworks, political controversies related to art, budgetary considerations, and official and informal statements about the relevance of art to diplomacy and the work of the UN. With these wider considerations in mind, Phase 1 of the analysis also included assessing individual artworks and their display, such as documentation from past art exhibitions, to provide insight into the wider political meanings and intentions that motivated the display or gifting of artworks at UNOG when interpreted within wider political and historical contexts.

This initial thematic analysis informed the questions that were then posed in interviews with UNOG staff members associated with the management and exhibition of art (Phase 2). The

interviews provided clarification and additional details and specific examples regarding the administrative processes, as well as the ability to test the accuracy of the descriptions of UN policies, as well as obtain additional data to provide further nuance to the analysis, such as by including the personal perspectives of UN staff members with respect to the role of art in diplomacy at UNOG. Analysis at this stage included my own observations in the process of interviewing individuals recorded in my written notes and interpreting the meaning of responses based upon my situational knowledge of prior work experience at UNOG. I also conducted subsequent research to confirm or provide additional background to information provided by the interviewees (Yin, 2018, p. 130).

Through a process of analytical generalization, incorporating additional insights gained through the interviews and the initial descriptive categories of artistic strategies, the final case study report (Phase 3) ultimately arrives at a modified set of four descriptive categories to encompass the identified strategies attributed to art at UNOG: i) visualizing abstract ideals and goals, ii) inspiring personal commitment to the UN, iii) creating environments that inspire diplomatic exchange, and iv) stimulating policy reflection, conversation, and debate. It also creates three descriptive categories to encompass art's contributions to diplomacy at UNOG: i) manifesting the UN as a site for global diplomacy, ii) mediating diplomatic relations between UN Member States, and, less frequently, iii) advancing awareness and stimulating debate on policy issues. A draft version of the case study was also shared with the individuals interviewed to further test the validity of the research findings.

3.5.2.2 Case Study 2: Artistic Interventions in Diplomatic Venues

Analysis of the second case study followed a more iterative and responsive approach than the first case study, with four overlapping phases of analysis, reflecting the ongoing and evolving nature of the curatorial practice through the DISPLACEMENT project. Furthermore, while the first case study about UNOG primarily seeks to understand the role of art in diplomacy more generally, the second case study specifically focuses on the potential role of art with respect to developing disaster displacement norms.

Table 3.3 Data Methods and Types Used in Analysis of DISPLACEMENT Case Study

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
	Preparation for art intervention	During and after art interventions	Partners and collaborators' experiences	Writing case study report
Methods	<p>Secondary research through desk review</p> <p>Curatorial practice</p>	<p>Observation</p> <p>Curatorial practice</p> <p>Secondary research through desk review</p>	<p>Semi-structured interviews</p>	<p>Secondary research through desk review</p> <p>Interviewees' review of draft case study</p> <p>Curatorial practice</p>
Primary Data	<p>Handwritten notes, informed by situated knowledge</p> <p>Meeting minutes</p> <p>Email and telephone correspondence</p> <p>Photographs of social episodes and social artefacts</p>	<p>Photographs and video recordings of social episodes and social artefacts</p> <p>Handwritten notes, informed by situated knowledge and UNOG case study findings</p>	<p>Audio recordings, automated transcripts, and written responses</p>	<p>Interviewees' written comments on draft case study</p> <p>Handwritten notes, informed by situated knowledge and UNOG case study findings</p>
Secondary Data	<p>Academic research</p> <p>Policy research</p> <p>Legal and policy documents</p> <p>Artworks</p> <p>Organizational websites, news reports, social media, blogs</p>	<p>Legal and policy documents</p> <p>Policy research</p> <p>Official statements</p> <p>Conference reports</p> <p>Press releases</p> <p>Videos and photographs</p> <p>Organizational websites, news reports, social media, blogs</p>	<p>Academic research</p> <p>UN legal and policy documents</p> <p>Photographs and videos documenting social episodes and social artefacts</p> <p>Official statements</p> <p>Press releases</p> <p>Blog posts</p>	<p>Academic research</p> <p>UN legal and policy documents</p> <p>Policy research</p> <p>Photographs and videos documenting exhibitions</p> <p>Organizational websites, news reports, social media, blogs</p>

To contextualize the DISPLACEMENT art interventions within wider global political processes, Phase 1 of the overall analysis began by drawing on Finnemore and Sikkink's international "norm life cycle" theory (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998) to examine how norms on disaster

displacement have evolved to date. It concludes that while the evolution of a disaster displacement norm has passed the “emergence” phase of the “life cycle”, international policymakers still need to undertake concerted efforts to ensure that policy language translates into concrete action at regional, national, and local levels. This baseline informed the process of preparing for each art intervention, and provided a theoretical tool for analysing the role artistic strategies may play in the further evolution of disaster displacement norms.

The first phase of analysis also included contextual analysis to understand the specific political context of each venue in which artworks were exhibited as part of the DISPLACEMENT exhibitions. Analysis included reviewing a wide variety of data, including policy research, legal and policy documents, artworks, organisational websites, meeting minutes, email and telephone correspondence, and handwritten notes informed by my situated knowledge from prior work experience. The data was selected and analysed with respect to the anticipated purpose and outcomes of each diplomatic conference. Artworks were selected to align accordingly, reflecting one or more of the artistic strategies identified in the practice and literature review. This process was repeated for each new DISPLACEMENT exhibition.

Analysis during and after each art intervention (Phase 2) reviewed a diverse set of data, including photo and video documentation of exhibitions, press releases, public statements, conference reports, advocacy documents, interviews, social media reports, and handwritten notes informed by my situated knowledge from curating the exhibition. As in the UNOG case, the data analysis was first organized and described according to the four descriptive categories of artistic strategies as identified in the practice and literature review. Over time, the descriptive categories evolved through an iterative process throughout the research process to reflect new information gained through subsequent exhibitions. Research from the UNOG case study also informed the analysis of understanding how the exhibition of artworks could be informed by other strategies not initially considered, such as art’s ability to create environments that inspire diplomatic exchange.

To understand how artistic strategies might influence the development of disaster displacement norms, data was also analysed in reference to Finnemore and Sikkink’s norm life cycle, drawing on additional research from the fields of psychology, communication, and

cognitive science (Johnston, 1995; Marshall, 2015; Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018; Neimand, Christiano and Parater, 2019; Sommer *et al.*, 2019), which have been recognized as relevant to norm evolution processes (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Payne, 2001). For example, findings from data about how conference delegates engaged with art pieces was compared to research findings in the field of psychology about how art activates viewers' emotions and sensorial experiences or engages critical thinking. Repeated for each of the three venues included in the case study, this iterative analytical process ultimately arrived at a set of specific categories to describe art's influence on norm development on disaster displacement: 1) increasing awareness and understanding of the issues; 2) exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment, and 3) generating creative thinking and innovative solutions.

Analysis of the data gathered through the semi-structured interviews with individuals participating in the DISPLACEMENT exhibitions (Phase 3) took place at varying moments during the research process to allow for reflective moments to both assess past strategies and propose new approaches to trial in future exhibitions. Thus, insights gained through the thematic analysis of interview transcripts, written responses to interview questions, and other data also served as a feedback loop influencing the planning of each exhibition (Phase 1), and contributing to the process of analysing each new exhibition (Phase 2). For example, based upon a thematic review of interview transcripts and written responses, the selection and display of artwork was informed by interviewees' observations about how conference delegates engaged with artworks in prior DISPLACEMENT exhibitions.

During the process of writing the case study report (Phase 4), it became increasingly evident that understanding the potential influence of art on norm development at diplomatic conferences requires understanding the institutional framework of each specific "venue" (Coleman, 2013) and how art interventions compare to other activities (Simoniti, 2018) seeking to similarly influence norm development. Thus, rather than organizing the overall case study report according to the four descriptive categories of artistic strategies, I re-structured the case study to organize it according to three different diplomatic venues related migration, climate change, and disaster risk reduction, respectively, focusing on one overarching norm development strategy (communication, research, and promoting policy solutions) for each. Within this overarching organizational structure, thematic analysis of data related to each

venue was then organized according to a modified version of the four descriptive categories of artistic strategies. Like in the UNOG case study, a draft version of the case study was also shared with the individuals interviewed, serving as a test to the validity of the research findings.

Through this iterative process of analysis that built upon the artistic strategies identified in the practice and literature review, the case study ultimately arrives at a descriptive framework conceptualising four modified artistic strategies: 1) manifesting or revealing abstract ideals, values, and power dynamics; 2) stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate; 3) contributing novel information, knowledge, and methods; and 4) investigating and modelling policy solutions. It further concludes that these strategies may influence the development of norms on disaster displacement by: 1) increasing awareness and understanding of the issues; 2) exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment, and 3) generating creative thinking and innovative solutions. Examining data obtained through the interviews, secondary research, and my curatorial practice, the analysis also considers theories of curation to identify thematic issues related to how curatorial decisions may or may not have supported the potential influence of artistic strategies, such as with respect to supporting artistic agency, gaining physical access to sites, and ensuring adequate exhibition spaces.

3.5.3 Enhancing Understanding of Arts Role in the Evolution of International Norms

Further refining and consolidating the descriptive frameworks developed through the identification of commonalities across the two case studies (Yin, 2018, p. 172), and revisiting the initial categories developed in the literature and practice review, the analysis identified commonalities across the two cases to arrive at a conceptual framework that describes art's potential contributions as part of collective efforts to develop disaster displacement norms in diplomatic venues. The framework consolidates and modifies the conclusions from the two case studies, with respect to both artistic practice and curating, by presenting a revised set of artistic strategies and emphasizing the role of curatorial framing as part of collective efforts in supporting the ultimate influence of art on norm development. Like the descriptive frameworks used to organize the case studies, the framework was developed over time through an iterative process as I explored the ideas through my curatorial practice and in

conversations with my PhD supervisors and individuals I interviewed over the course of the research (Saeidzadeh, 2023, p. 199).

Table 3.4 Evolution of Conceptual Framework

Literature and Practice Review
<p>Artistic strategies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) making issues visible; 2) encouraging conversation and provoking questions; 3) interpreting existing research and generating new knowledge; and 4) problem solving.
Case study 1
<p>Artistic strategies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) visualizing abstract ideals and goals, 2) inspiring personal commitment to the UN, 3) creating environments that inspire diplomatic exchange, and 4) stimulating policy reflection, conversation, and debate.
<p>Influence on diplomacy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) manifesting the UN as a site for global diplomacy, 2) mediating diplomatic relations between UN Member States, and, less frequently, 3) advancing awareness and stimulating debate on policy issues.
Case study 2
<p>Artistic strategies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) manifesting or revealing abstract ideals, values, and power dynamics; 2) stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate; 3) contributing novel information, knowledge, and methods; and 4) investigating and modelling policy solutions.
<p>Influence on norm development:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) increasing awareness and understanding of the issues; 2) exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment, and 3) generating creative thinking and innovative solutions.
Final Framework

The analysis concludes by drawing on curatorial theory, and insights from the two case studies, to develop the notions of “policy-oriented art” and “policy-oriented curating” to support the implementation of strategies for artists, curators, and others seeking to include art as part of transnational advocacy efforts to develop disaster displacement norms. The analysis also discusses practical and ethical considerations artists and policymakers may encounter when collaborating with one another, recognizing each’s respective institutional contexts, theoretical foundations, and objectives.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

Protecting the human rights of people displaced by the impacts of the climate emergency inherently raises ethical questions about legal, societal, and personal responsibilities, particularly recognizing that the majority of disaster displaced people live or will live in the Global South. I was cognizant throughout the research that addressing disaster displacement through art may be perceived by some as frivolous or inconsequential when millions of displaced people lack basic food, shelter, medical assistance, and education. Thus, I undertook this research with the clear intention to arrive at practical conclusions that artists, curators, and other actors could use to meaningfully inform their efforts to influence the development of enhanced international legal protection for disaster displaced people.

Ethical considerations also included gaining informed consent from interviewees and maintaining confidentiality, as necessary. All data gathering and storage were undertaken in accordance with UAL research ethics guidelines, including COVID protocols as applicable. Examples of interview information sheets and consent forms are included in the Appendix.

3.7 Challenges and Limitations

Ideally the research would be able to develop a research methodology that would allow for the fact that the impact of artistic interventions may only be achieved after many months or years. It was outside the duration of the current research to obtain informed consent to follow individual policymakers over a period of years to attempt to measure the “influence” of exposure to artworks in their understanding and professional actions to address disaster

displacement. Such an approach would also likely not have been practical since many diplomats and policy experts regularly change positions every few years. Thus, the present design seeks to accommodate the time restricted nature of a doctoral research project, as well as the skills and unique access of the researcher.

As an active researcher in the field of disaster displacement and humanitarian affairs, I acknowledge “the researcher’s standpoint” (Reinharz, 1992, p. 259) from which I designed and conducted the research, which included the need to maintain ongoing professional relationships outside of the research project (see also Section 3.3.3). My research inevitably reflects my position as a white, middle-class, woman from North America with a Western education in peace and global studies, law, and contemporary art with experience working in humanitarian settings. For instance, my analysis assumes that diplomatic processes play a significant role in setting international legal standards that can improve protection and assistance for disaster displaced persons. I was also personally implicated in the research with respect to seeking concrete solutions for disaster displacement within existing intergovernmental institutions, maintaining professional relationships throughout the research, and trying to establish the DISPLACEMENT project with limited institutional or financial support.

Particularly when studying my curatorial practice – which was developed and significantly financed through my personal professional relationships and consulting work²⁶ – the questions I asked, the curatorial strategies I adopted in my practice, and the subsequent analysis were undertaken in a way to respect my professional relationships, a practice consistent with many feminist researchers who study individuals within their own social groups (Reinharz, 1992). When working with PDD and NRC, in particular, I regarded States as influential and more powerful partners in the collective efforts to develop disaster displacement norms rather than third-party donors. Some cultural actors may find that receiving State funding is contingent

²⁶ Consultants are not UN staff members, who benefit from generous (primarily) tax-free employment contracts. In comparison, consultancy work at the UN has been recognized for its precarity, particularly with respect to its lack of paid vacation time, parental leave, health insurance, sick leave, and pension benefits, and its mandatory unpaid “contract breaks,” taxable income, and opaque salary scale (Krähenbühl, 2024).

upon agreeing with a specific government policy²⁷ or being able to provide evidence of a project's impact that may be interpreted as contradicting art's critical capacity (Frey, 1999, 2013; Rushton, 2000; Chatzichristodoulou, 2013; Belfiore, 2018; Van Meeteren and Wissink, 2021). Thus, noting ongoing debates on government funding and sponsorship of the arts (Holden, 2004; Brigg and Bleiker, 2010; Jackson, 2011; Bishop, 2012; Burton, Jackson and Willsdon, 2016; Zamorano, 2016; Dragičević Šešić, 2017; Burchert, 2024), the funding that the DISPLACEMENT project in-directly received from donors like the German Federal Foreign Office or the in-kind support from the Government of France that were channelled through NRC and PDD²⁸ may have also influenced the research with respect to what questions were asked, artworks exhibited,²⁹ or conclusions were drawn (See also discussion in Section 5.2.3). For instance, when a State hosted an event, I sought to include artists from that country or region, such as when the Government of Indonesia hosted the Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction (See Section 5.4).

By making my background, partnerships, and research objectives explicit,³⁰ I aim to portray myself as a "real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests" as opposed to "an invisible anonymous voice of authority" (Harding, 1988, p. 9). Thus, readers can consider

²⁷ See for instance, STRIKE GERMANY's "call to refuse German cultural institutions' use of McCarthyist policies that suppress freedom of expression, specifically expressions of solidarity with Palestine" (*STRIKE GERMANY*, no date).

²⁸ Note that between 2016 and 2024, PDD's rotating State leadership included: Germany (Chairmanship) and Bangladesh (Vice-Chairmanship); Bangladesh (Chairmanship) and France (Vice-Chairmanship); France (Chairmanship) and Fiji (Vice-Chairmanship); Fiji (Chairmanship) and the European Union (Vice-Chairmanship); European Union (Chairmanship) and Kenya (Vice-Chairmanship); Kenya (Chairmanship) and Costa Rica (Vice-Chairmanship).

²⁹ The only government action I remember directly impacting an art intervention was when individuals running the French Pavilion at COP25 told Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping that they could not use paper in their planned workshop, as it contradicted the Pavilion's environmental policy at the conference. France was otherwise supportive of PDD and DISPLACEMENT's collaboration with COAL, as a Paris-based arts organization, did not intervene with respect to the selection of the COAL prize winners, and agreed to exhibit all short-listed artists at their Pavilion with a French Ambassador officially announcing the winner (See Section 5.3.1.2). Head of the PDD Secretariat, Atle Solberg, also observed that PDD's Steering Group Members expressed more concern about the budgetary impacts of the art interventions, rather than the content of the artwork itself (See discussion in 5.2.3).

³⁰ Anderson explains that in addition to gender, race, class, nationality, etc., situated knowledge also includes: "(1) *Embodiment*. ... (2) *First-person vs. third-person knowledge*. ... (3) *Emotions, attitudes, interests, and values*. ... (4) *Personal knowledge of others*. ... (5) *Know-how*. ... (6) *Cognitive Styles*. ... (7) *Background beliefs and worldviews*. ... (8) *Relations to other inquirers*" (Anderson, 2020, p. 2).

to what extent they agree with my interpretation of data, or whether their own experiences, worldviews, or values lead to alternative conclusions (Anderson, 2020, p. 17)

Consequently, the abductive nature of the research and the limited multi-case study approach inevitably mean that the findings from the research cannot be generalized. Nonetheless, they may still offer insights to other contexts in which art is brought within diplomatic venues to influence norm development by proposing a conceptual framework that could be tested or evaluated through additional research.

4. Curating Art as Diplomatic Gift: A Case Study on the United Nations Office at Geneva

It is by opposing reason to feeling, by pitting the will to peace against sudden outbursts of insanity ... that people succeed in substituting alliance, gifts, and trade for war, isolation and stagnation.

-Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*

Since the Palais des Nations in Geneva, Switzerland first opened its doors to house the League of Nations in 1936, the stately building has become saturated with diplomatic gifts. To date, the UN Office at Geneva (UNOG), which occupied the Palais des Nations in 1946, has acquired over 2,000 artworks, tapestries, pieces of furniture, and other decorative objects (UN Library at Geneva, no date). In a typical year, UN Member States and UN organizations also sponsor around 100 temporary art exhibitions and cultural events at the Palais des Nations (UN Geneva Cultural Activities Programme, 2021). Consequently, despite assurances by its leadership that the UN is not a museum (Adlerstein, 2014), the world's largest intergovernmental political organization holds a substantial art collection in Geneva, as well as its other office buildings around the world. But why does a multilateral institution tasked with building international peace and security house a substantial art collection? And how does this art collection, and the process through which it is managed and engaged with, relate to the purposes of the UN?



4.1 The Palais des Nations in the late 1950s. Image: UN Photo.

In his seminal 1925 text *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés primitives*, known in English as *The Gift*, Marcel Mauss surveys gift giving and receiving across the ages to reveal the critical function gifts play in maintaining social, economic, and political relationships between individuals, communities, and nations. Rather than resorting to conflict and violence, he describes how different societies' practices use the giving, receiving, and reciprocating of gifts as expressions of power, status, and prestige. Gifts in the form of objects or services, Mauss asserts, served as way to negotiate competing interests by creating obligations, or even burdens, that sustained or built alliances. Extrapolating his findings to reflect on how vestiges of these gift giving practices can be observed in post-World War I Europe, Mauss expresses hope that his research will inspire future generations, and nations, to reflect upon their own practices to resolve conflict, and learn how to develop shared interests and respect for one another.

Once considered essential to maintaining peaceful relations between competing powers, the perceived centrality of gifts in international diplomacy has gradually diminished over the centuries, although the practice continues today (Biedermann, Gerritsen and Riello, 2018; Kustermans, 2021, p. 2). International relations scholars have recently revived an interest in

assessing the relevance of diplomatic gifts (Ceulemans, 2021; Kustermans, 2021), including to international organizations (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017; Dâmaso, 2018; Constantinou, 2021; Sievers, 2021). Doeser and Nisbett describe how gifting and exhibiting art at UNOG has become a ritual of diplomacy through which countries seek to “stand out” or “reach out” to other Member States using “soft power” or “cultural diplomacy,” respectively (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017). Similarly, seasoned UN civil servant Loraine Sievers, former Chief of the UN Security Council Secretariat Branch, posits that UN Member States give gifts to achieve the four goals: “1) to add to their stature at the UN; 2) to have on display visible representation of their national culture; 3) to symbolise their investment in the organisation’s mission and 4) to contribute to enhancing the aesthetics of the UN premises” (Sievers, 2021, p. 115).

While helpful for revealing states’ motivations for gifting art and sponsoring exhibitions at UNOG, the literature does not elaborate on why countries gift *art* to achieve these goals, as opposed to alternatives like increasing financial donations to the UN or contributing items with functional purposes like office furniture, as pointedly proposed by the UN Inspection Unit tasked with developing recommendations on how to manage the UN art collection (Abraszewski and Hennés, 1992). The literature also does not specifically address how the donation of art contributes to the formation of international law and policy.

Notably, Mauss concludes that aesthetics play an important role in gift giving, although his study intentionally excludes the ways in which gifts prompt an “aesthetic emotion” that extends beyond morality or self-interest (Mauss, 2002, p. 101). As discussed previously (see literature review chapter), art’s potential to capture or call forth emotion and affect is explored in recent literature from the field of international relations and aesthetics (Bleiker, 2018b). However, art is primarily presented as a lens through which to visualize or understand global politics, rather than contributing to international policymaking in its own right. Conversely, literature in contemporary art assumes that art impacts social change with little empirical evidence or theories of change (Mesch, 2013; Duncombe, 2016; Doeser and Nisbett, 2017). Recent scholarship exploring cultural diplomacy and cultural relations from the perspective of cultural policy and cultural studies (Ang, Isar and Mar, 2015) has also encouraged international relations scholars to ask different questions, including how the “consumer” or beholder receives an artwork (Clarke, 2016).

Building on this literature, this case study uses selective historical and contextual analysis to explore the permanent art collection and temporary art exhibitions held at the Palais des Nations to better understand how the UN, as an intergovernmental political institution, recognizes and conceptualizes the relationship between art and international diplomacy in the formation of international law and policy. For the purposes of this case, diplomacy is understood to mean “the conduct of relations between sovereign states through the medium of officials based at home or abroad, the latter being either members of their states diplomatic services or temporary diplomats” that relies, in part, on individuals building relationships with one another (Berridge and Lloyd, 2012, pp. 97–98). While recognizing the importance of alternative forms of diplomacy taking place outside formal UN processes and programmes, including with non-state actors (Constantinou, 2021), this case study examines diplomacy conducted within the context of the UN. That said, the study embraces the notion of three UNs: the “first” that includes Member States’ and their diplomatic corps, the “second UN” comprising UN international civil servants working for UN secretariats, as well as the “third UN” that encompasses NGO representatives, consultants, experts, academics, and others closely associated with the UN, but not formally part of the organization (Weiss, Carayannis and Jolly, 2009).

The research relies on interviews with individuals holding various responsibilities related to exhibiting art at UNOG, catalogues, books and other data held by the UNOG Library & Archives, UN General Assembly documents, and publicly available online documentation of the art collection and temporary exhibitions. I also reflect on my personal experience of working and attending meetings at the Palais des Nations as a UN staff member and consultant over various periods since 2003, as well as visiting the UN Library & Archives over the course of 2020 and 2021 as part of this research.

Given the highly politicized and bureaucratic nature of the UN, the cases draws on socially engaged art and curatorial theory (Hoffmann and Lind, 2011; Smith, 2012; Lacy in Bruguera and Lacy, 2018, pp. 61–62) to explore not only the potential impact of individual artworks,³¹

³¹ The study does not address the influence of decorative objects gifted to the UN, such as furniture and carpets.

but also the procedures and practices that dictate how art arrives at, is managed, curated, and viewed at UNOG to better understand how the gifting of art contributes to international norm evolution processes in diplomatic venues.

The case study argues that UNOG's administrative processes regarding the receipt and display of art and temporary art exhibitions as "gifts" at the Palais des Nations constitute curatorial decision-making, informed by political, financial, and practical considerations, that both enable and restrict art's potential contributions to international diplomacy. In this context, the case ultimately finds that art contributes to the evolution of international norms in two ways. First, it helps build conditions conducive to international diplomacy, both in establishing the UN as a credible institution to host multilateral cooperation and in acting as a glue, grease, and solvent (Cross, unpublished, 2019) for building diplomatic relationships. Second, the case highlights the more recent, but less common, practice of using art and exhibitions to address the substantive content of multilateral discussions, including politically sensitive topics such as displacement and migration, climate change, and gender rights. The case concludes with a reflection on how freeing art from the notion of gift giving could open new possibilities for art to contribute to international diplomacy at the UN.

4.1 Manifesting a Forum for Global Diplomacy

I like to think that each gift represents the desire of a Member State to offer a part of itself, and of its aspirations for the future. In some cases, the gift is a work of a nation's leading artist. Sometimes it represents a nation's distinctive heritage. And some gifts, symbolic in nature, reflect a nation's support of the United Nations goals for world peace, justice for all and respect for human rights.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Former UN Secretary-General
(in Marks, 1995, p. 9)

4.1.1 Visualizing Abstract Ideals and Goals of International Diplomacy

The founding of both the League of Nations and the United Nations arose out of a shared commitment among participating nations to privilege diplomatic solutions over armed conflict (MacMillan, 2003). During the post-WWI and WWII periods, respectively, Allied countries, most with depleted economic resources, banded together around the audacious idea that an international organization could unite nations in a common quest for world peace (Marks,

1995; de Jong, 2001). However, founding Member States of both organizations understood the precarity of their endeavours (MacMillan, 2003, pp. 123–127; Schlesinger, 2003; Morris, 2018, pp. 42–44).

The League of Nations, founded under the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, confronted significant challenges in its nascent stage. Although the US president Woodrow Wilson actively contributed to shaping the institution, his country ultimately declined to join, largely to avoid associated obligations to engage in foreign wars (MacMillan, 2003). Under the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was initially forbidden to join the organization, with Russia similarly blocked given the Allies’ uncertainty about the outcomes of the recent Bolshevik revolution. Absent these critical partners, the League’s founding members faced pressure, including from the general public around the world, to achieve the fledgling organization’s ambition to avert future armed conflict (MacMillan, 2003, pp. 125–126).³²



THE GAP IN THE BRIDGE.

4.2 “The Gap in the Bridge” by Leonard Raven-Hill illustrates how the USA’s failure to join the League of Nations contributed to the organization’s ultimate collapse. The British political magazine *Punch* published the cartoon on 19 December 1919. Image: Punch Cartoon Library / TopFoto.

³² In particular, the League imagined international relations based upon the notion of sovereign States that no longer condoned the occupation or annexation of territory as legitimate spoils of war, although colonies remained a notable exception to the principles of sovereignty and “self-determination” (MacMillan, 2003, p. 124-125).

According to political theorist Michael Walzer, “politics is an art of unification; from many, it makes one. And symbolic activity is perhaps our most important means of bringing things together, both intellectually and emotionally” (Walzer, 1967, p. 194). Following its formation in 1920, the League of Nations never achieved consensus on a flag for the organization (de Jong, 2001). Likewise, the League seemed reluctant in its early years to accept art as diplomatic gifts to avoid potential perceived inequalities amongst the burgeoning organization’s members (de Jong, 2001, p. 13). Although there is no official register of gifts to the League when it was housed in Geneva at the Palais Wilson, art historian Anneleen de Jong, who worked at the UNOG Library from 1999-2003, explains that a number of gifts of artwork were officially declined for reasons of a lack of space and the fact that the League had not yet developed rules for the acceptance of gifts (de Jong, 2001, p. 13). Nonetheless, in February 1921, the League did accept a pencil drawing of a family of birds occupying an abandoned helmet and sword amidst wildflowers. The English artist George Flemwell hoped his gift would be the first of a great collection held by the Organization (de Jong, 2001, p. 236).



4.3 George Flemwell, *Mask and Sword*, 1920, lead pencil drawing on paper. 125 X 160 cm. Donated by the artist to the League of Nations in 1921. Image: UN Photo.

In 1929, the League of Nations decided to construct the Palais de Nations in Geneva as its new headquarters. Aware of the importance of symbolism, the international team of architects designed the building's exterior to avoid association with any one country or region's architectural style, decorating the interior in Art Deco (de Jong, 2001, p. 19). However, Member States were invited to contribute art that reflected their national origins to fill the Palais' conference rooms and hallways, with the condition that all gifts had to meet the approval of the building committee and the architects (de Jong, 2001, p. 20). Over subsequent years, Member States, NGOs, and artists donated large tapestries, sculptures, murals, silk carpets, and paintings to decorate the vast diplomatic complex.

Donated artworks also provided an opportunity to capture the political vision and emotions motivating the creation of the League (Eyerman, 2014). In most cases, the architects determined that the Palais des Nations' huge volumes called for monumental and figurative murals. The gifted artworks, primarily murals, manifested abstract ideas such as peace, unity, and development using symbols and figurative works that sought to resonate across many cultures, even though their cost ultimately meant that only wealthier Member States could afford to contribute them as gifts. For example, in 1936, the Government of Spain donated the immense murals *La Solidarité des Peuples* by Spanish artist José María Sert, covering the walls and ceiling of the Council Chamber. Each mural addresses different themes related to human progress toward peace, such as technological advancement and knowledge, social progress, law, and science, as well as more abstract notions of hope, justice and strength (de Jong, 2001, pp. 382–391).



4.4 Spanish artist José María Sert murals, collectively known as *La Solidarité des Peuples*, were gifted by Spain in 1936 to the League of Nations to decorate the Council Chamber. Image: UN Photo, 2018.

In this context, the gifted artworks can be understood as symbolizing the founding Members' grand aspirations to achieve world peace, as well as respect for the League of Nations as a prestigious diplomatic institution of global significance, serving as a form of political recognition (Mauss, 2002, p. 52). However, artworks received during this time also reflect the governments' opposing political visions for the organization. As de Jong observes, while some artworks employed figurative drawing and symbols consistent with Naturalism, a movement associated with France and Western art, to represent abstract ideas and values, others followed a Constructivist ideology, aligned with socialism and the Soviet Union, that sought order through functional divisions of space and linear abstraction (de Jong, 2001, p. 22). Cultural historian and curator Joes Segal similarly argues that following World War I, "the worlds of art and politics almost completely merged for the first time. ... The war immensely reinforced a tendency to define the art world in terms of bipolar oppositions, a phenomenon that would define much of twentieth-century art history" (Segal, 2016, p. 12).

This artistic tension alludes to the fundamental political divisions within the League of Nations' membership. Ultimately, diplomatic gestures were insufficient to surmount the political and

economic rifts that stemmed from the Treaty of Versailles and the post-World War I era.³³ The League effectively collapsed in 1939 with the start of World War II, and formally dissolved in 1946.

4.1.2 Gifting Art as a Symbol of Political Support for the United Nations

Abandoning US president Franklin D. Roosevelt's initial idea in 1941 to establish "peace by dictation" through a global police force comprising the US, the USSR, and Great Britain (Morris, 2018, p. 41), the founding of the United Nations in 1945 represented a second attempt to unify the world's nations under a global organization dedicated to peace and resolving disputes, although this time with the clear commitment and leadership of the United States and unaffiliated with a peace treaty negotiation (Schlesinger, 2003, chap. 5; Mazower, 2009, p. 10).³⁴ Global opinion on the new organization varied significantly.³⁵ However, ultimately, 51 States, which had previously declared war on the Axis Powers, signed the United Nations Declaration in 1945 (United Nations, no date b). That said, the UN still needed to prove its worthiness as an institution capable of supporting global multilateralism.

Adhesion to the UN did not create any formal or assumed diplomatic obligations to offer a gift to the UN (Sievers, 2021). Nonetheless, many Member States, artists and others again offered art as diplomatic gifts. A UN monograph on the art collection states that "many gifts were literally 'peace offerings,' intended to express accord with UN peace goals" (Marks, 1995, p. 13). After the collective trauma of World War II, art representing the UN's diverse membership

³³ Major powers like Germany, which had subsequently joined as the fifth permanent member of the League's Council in 1926, as well as Brazil, Japan, Italy, Spain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) gradually abandoned the effort (MacMillan, 2003, p. 123; Weiss and Daws, 2018, p. 19).

³⁴ Beginning in 1944, the United States State Department undertook an extensive, multi-faceted information campaign to gain support from the US Congress and public at large (Schlesinger, 2003, chap. 4), which according to one commentator, "presented and accepted [the United Nations] as an experiment worth trying, not as a panacea worthy of uncritical reflection" (Claude, 1971, pp. 482–483).

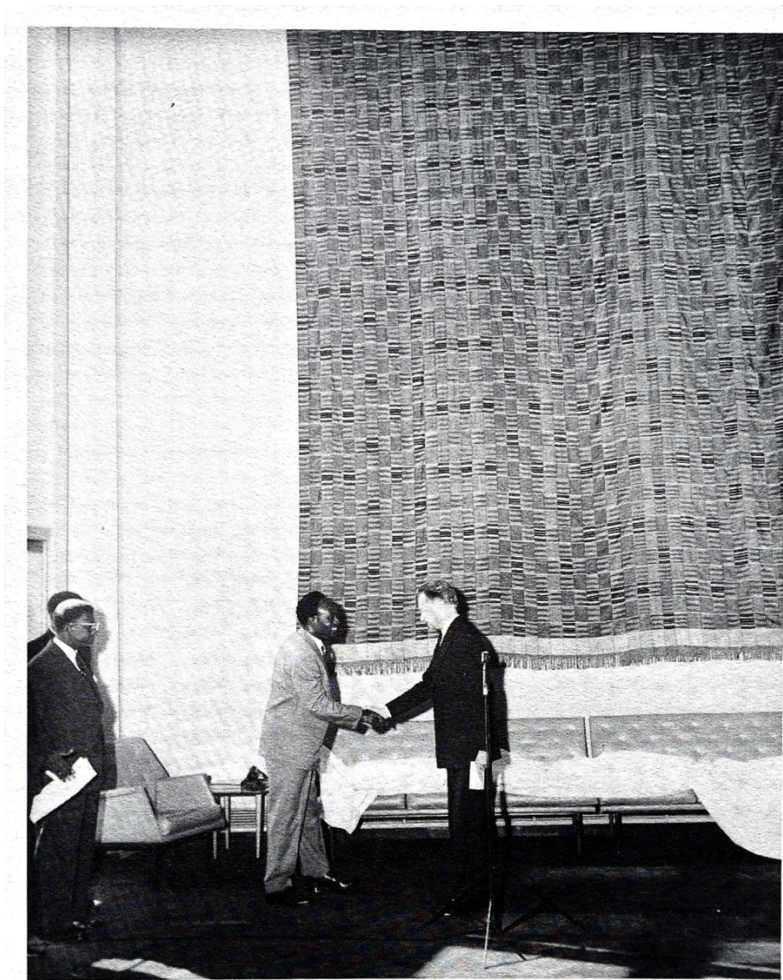
³⁵ Inis Claude noted that many Americans viewed the organization with cautious idealism as "man's best hope for a just and lasting peace," while naysayers deplored it as "a nefarious conspiracy or utopian foolishness" (Claude, 1971, pp. 483–484). The leaders of other inviting States to the founding San Francisco Conference in 1945, the United Kingdom, the USSR and China, also supported the organization, but with their own reservations and political agendas, particularly those states interested in maintaining colonial empires (Schlesinger, 2003; Mazower, 2009). Many smaller countries questioned the fairness of the organization, particularly the veto power granted to the so-called Big Powers in the Security Council that also included France (Schlesinger, 2003, chap. 6; Morris, 2018, pp. 51–53).

could again be understood as symbols of a shared and common interest in achieving world peace and stable diplomatic relations (Mauss, 2002, p. 100).

Given the political nature of the UN, gifts donated during the foundation of the UN also reveal how Member States vied for the opportunity to have their country represented in the organization through art displayed in strategic locations. In 1951, after having refused gifts of art during the initial construction of the new headquarters building in New York given political sensitivities, the first UN Secretary-General Trygve Halvda Lie from Norway controversially made a unilateral decision to accept three Scandinavian countries' offer to decorate three council chambers. According to accounts at the time, other Member States contested that placing art from only one region in the politically symbolic rooms would imply that the UN favoured northern European values over other regions (Louchheim, 1951b). Although the gifts were ultimately accepted, in 1951 the Secretary-General appointed an arts committee to approve or decline gifts in an effort to thwart the further politicization of gifts. Its members represented Mexico, England, and France, with Wallace K. Harrison, the American architect leading the overall construction of the New York Headquarters, serving as chair.

For UN Member States in particular, formal ceremonies for donating artworks and other diplomatic gifts also signalled to other Member States, and the world at large, a country's clear allegiance to the United Nations as an institution and the values it sought to achieve (Miller, 2002), as well as a desire to exert influence within the institution (Strati, 1998, p. 1388; Doerer and Nisbett, 2017, p. 21) (For further discussion on the role of gifts of art in Member States' wider foreign policy objectives, see below Section 4.4.2). A Member State's most senior political leadership, often a head of state, foreign minister, or ambassador, typically presented the gift to the UN, signifying a country's political commitment to the Organization and acknowledging the UN as an institution worthy of receiving a country's highest leaders (Mauss, 2002, p. 52). In recognition of this honour, the UN's most senior official, the Secretary-General, formally accepted the artwork on behalf of the international organization and all its Member States (Marks, 1995; *Art Committee / United Nations Gifts*, no date). While the UN did not reciprocate by offering an object in return, UN officials' public statements expressed appreciation for Member States as valued members of the organization, further strengthening the mutual alliance between the two entities (Mauss, 2002, p. 42) at a time when the notion of

“self-determination” and identification with nationality were new concepts (MacMillan, 2003, p. 171).



President Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana, presenting a Kente tapestry to Secretary General Hammarskjöld.

4.5 The President of Ghana shakes the hand of the UN Secretary-General during a diplomatic gift ceremony in the United Nations building in New York (Baal-Teshuva, 1964, p. 47).

During the UN’s initial years, artists also contributed to the institution’s establishment by gifting their own artworks as well as lending their social capital and prestige to underscore the UN’s legitimacy (Chouliaraki, 2013) in support of its mission to find peaceful solutions to conflict. Celebrated artists such as Marc Chagall, Pablo Picasso, Norman Rockwell, and José Vela Zanetti during the 1950s and 1960s created artworks for the Organization. While some may have been motivated by the prestige of having their artwork displayed at the UN, documentation indicates that many artists genuinely wanted the UN enterprise to succeed and hoped that their art could play a role in its success (Marks, 1995).

For instance, British artist Barbara Hepworth initially loaned the sculpture *Single Form* to the UN's second Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld from Sweden, for display in his office prior to meeting him. She later offered it to Hammarskjöld as a permanent gift. The gesture appears to have first arisen out of sincere appreciation and admiration for the UN's mission, and later, for its leader (DuGay, 2016, pp. 59–61). In 1960, Hepworth writes to Hammarskjöld, "Almost everybody I meet is completely aware of the fact that you are the only living person both able, & willing to help humanity – everywhere the gratitude for this, & for your strength is profound" (Hammarskjöld and Hepworth, 2001, p. 52). Hammarskjöld acknowledges Hepworth's hope for the UN when responding to her offer to gift *Single Form* permanently, writing, "I see [your gift] is a manifestation of your feeling of solidarity with what we try to do and as such *Single Form* will always be before our eyes here as an encouragement and with its message of friendship" (Hammarskjöld and Hepworth, 2001, p. 50).

4.1.3 Creating the Visual Identity of the UN as an Esteemed Global Diplomatic Forum

Like the founders of the League of Nations, UN leadership used the display of artworks from different countries to visually portray the UN as an institution of global consequence, where diplomats "confer on the most urgent issues affecting ... all mankind" (Irwin Edman, cited in Louchheim, 1951). Artwork, particularly from prestigious artists, was welcomed to create attractive and engaging spaces for dialogue and debate. During his tenure between 1953 to 1961, Hammarskjöld, renowned for his comprehensive knowledge of and strong affinity for modern art, took a particularly active and personal interest in the exhibition of art at the UN Headquarters in New York (DuGay, 2016). When negotiating the commission of a mural by French artist Georges Braque for the UN Meditation Room, Hammarskjöld reportedly wrote, "For the home of the United Nations, only the perfect is good enough" (cited in Marks, 1995, p. 16).

Yet, because the UN General Assembly chose not to create a budget to manage and commission art (General Assembly, 1994, 1995), the Organization has faced an awkward tension in attempting to exercise curatorial vision to shape its own image, while simultaneously needing to rely on the generosity, agendas and taste of its Member States (Dâmaso, 2018). As Brian Urquhart, former UN Under-Secretary-General and Chairman of the Arts Committee with

extensive knowledge of the art collection and the UN itself, explained, “The United Nations ... cannot collect art according to its own best judgment and discard or reject what it considers to be substandard.” (Marks, 1995, p. 10). Consequently, the donation and receipt of artworks as diplomatic gifts has been, and continues to be, a complex task given the political sensitivities around diplomatic gift giving, different cultural aesthetics and tastes (Schneider, 2004), and the need for international civil servants working for the United Nations to be perceived as impartial (Hecht, Boulgaris and Jazairy, 2015). The diplomatic importance of the gifts is emphasized by the fact that the UN Secretariat committees charged with managing gifts of art have direct reporting lines to the Secretary-General and Director-General in New York and Geneva, respectively (Cultural Activities Committee, 2018; *Art Committee | United Nations Gifts*, no date). Officially, the Secretary-General and the Director-General make the final decision as to whether to accept a gift, based upon their respective committee’s recommendations.

The Palais des Nations, as the new UN European headquarters, received only 20 art donations during the 1950s to 60s (Anonymous Informant #1, interview data, 2021). However, the New York-based Arts Committee’s vision for the role of art in the new organization, including its political implications, equally influenced the management and display of art in Geneva (de Jong, 2001).

Taking care to avoid diplomatic faux pas or otherwise offending its Member States, the UN attempted to place conditions on gifts that the organization could receive, with the process to acquire new works becoming increasingly institutionalized over time. In 1951, the Arts Committee charged Irwin Edman, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University, to develop a first set of principles to guide their selection of proposed gifts. Edman underscored that the United Nations was “in no sense to be considered a museum,” (cited in Louchheim, 1951) a sentiment that UN officials reaffirm today (Adlerstein, 2014). The principles emphasized that artworks “should be an accompaniment rather than a distraction, a background, not the center of interest” (Irwin Edman, cited in Louchheim, 1951).

However, while maintaining an art collection was not viewed as one of the UN’s core functions, art still had value to the organization seeking to foster international diplomacy. The Art Committee’s principles illustrate how the UN envisioned art’s specific capacity to manifest

abstract ideas, values, and relations of power in visual form or experience to further support the Organization's mission. For example, when considering the receipt of prospective gifts, the Arts Committee stated that in addition to contemporary works, it welcomed historical artworks and traditional handcrafts of Member States. Yet, as compared to art contributed to the League of Nations that relied on symbolism, the New York Arts Committee stated a preference for art that inspired moral and intellectual self-reflection through visual stimulation and physical experience that conveyed the UN's goals and aspirations in subtle, abstract ways. Edman (cited in Louchheim, 1951) writes,

“It will, one may dare to hazard a guess, be necessary to guard against too explicit statements, for it is the way of art to hint rather than to explain, to suggest rather than to teach, to illustrate a point rather than, like a debater or pedagogue, to make one. An artist's work is not a report to a committee; it is an address through visual forms to the delighted eye, the absorbed heart, the awakened mind.”

Art was valued because it was not a speech, not a report, or even a map. It was appreciated for occupying a distinct and separate space that took viewers away from contested political debates, inspiring instead a sensorial opportunity for self-reflection.

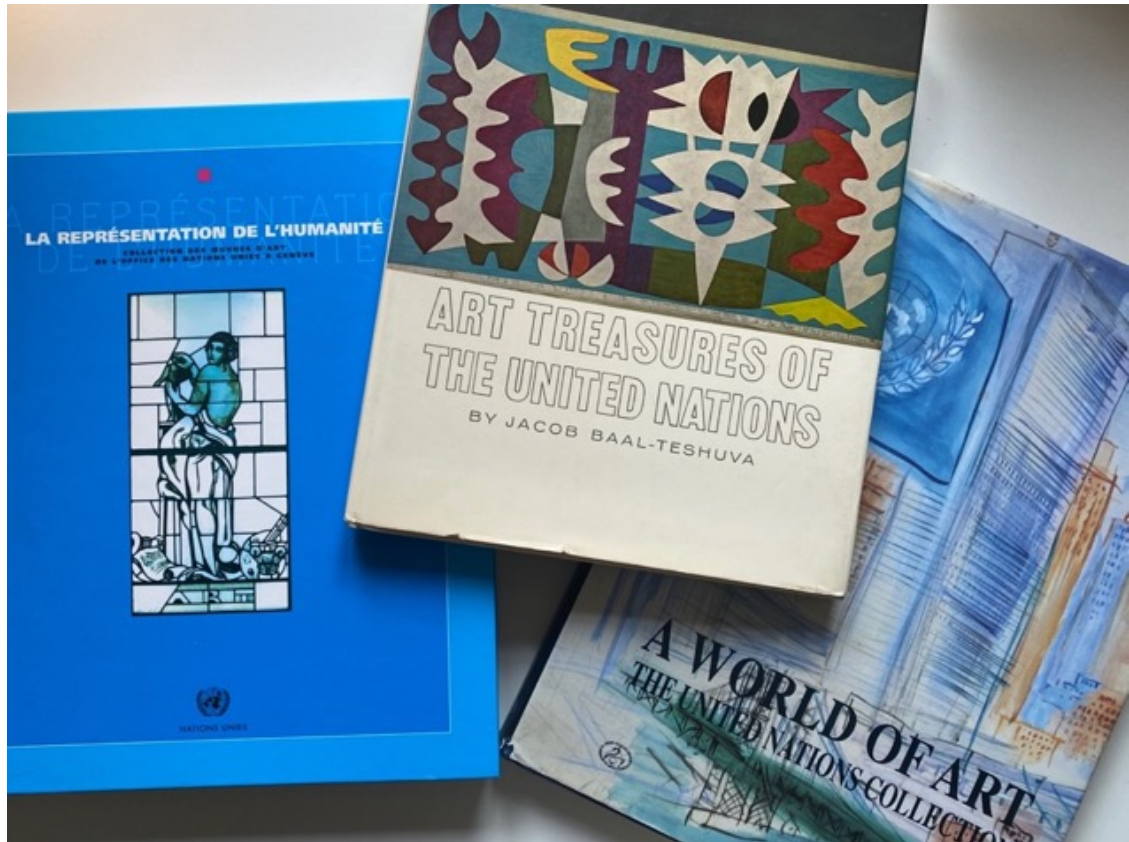
Translating this into a form of guidance regarding the receipt of artworks, the Committee sought to avoid “some literal picture of human associations, like the gathering of wheat or a village festival or a city crowd” (Irwin Edman, cited in Louchheim, 1951). It appears that in the hyper-politicized post-WWII environment, art at the UN was recognized for its potential ambiguity, subtle gestures, and resistance to closed interpretations of meaning. Consequently, the UN could, in theory, receive an artwork as a symbol of its relationship with a Member Country without acceptance implying implicit support for a country's particular political views or policy priorities.

However, the Arts Committee's guidance did not solve the political challenges around gift giving and art. In 1967, it sought to resolve the UN's “dilemma of refusing gifts that were of dubious aesthetic value” while at the same time seeking to avoid “bruised feelings of Member States and associated groups whose proffered gifts were turned down or placed in storage” (Marks, 1995, p. 23). In 1970, during the end of the UN Secretary-General U Thant of Burma's tenure, the Arts Committee established internal terms of reference to guide their review of the

receipt of gifts to the Organization (de Jong, 2001, p. 26). The internal terms of reference provided the following guidance:

1. Gifts will only be accepted from governments and not from non-governmental organizations and private donors. The only exception to this rule applies to works of art commissioned by the United Nations and designed for a special purpose.
2. Only one gift from each member nation will normally be accepted.
3. Gifts accepted should be works of high artistic merit or historical interest, or particular relevance to the work of the United Nations.
4. The works of art should be indigenous to the country sponsoring the gift.
5. Works of art which are recently created for, and are exhibited for, some other purpose, will not be considered appropriate.
6. Replicas of well-known works of art are generally not accepted. Originals are preferred.
7. In determining appropriate locations for display, the Committee will bear in mind that space for exhibiting works of art in the Headquarters building is limited, and that such works of art should be in harmony with the architectural environment. The Committee may decide to relocate existing works of art in order to find appropriate space for new gifts.
8. Installation and maintenance costs are to be borne by the donor (Abraszewski and Hennés, 1992, para. 14).

These guidelines articulate some of the political priorities and tensions engrained within curatorial decision making at the UN. As a staff member from the Institutional Memory and Archives Section at the UN Library & Archives at Geneva observed, *who* gives an artwork matters more to the UN than the artistic qualities of the piece (Anonymous Informant #1, interview data, 2021). Yet, if geographic representation of the Organization's membership was the only goal, artistic diversity would override other considerations. By emphasizing the artistic quality of the work, Hammarskjöld's preferences and the Arts Committee's terms of reference imply that an artwork must also be worthy of reflecting the sought-after status of the United Nations as an esteemed institution with legitimacy, prestige, and power. Consequently, to maintain the image of the UN as a diverse, multi-cultural organization, the guidance appears to try to strike a balance between respect for different cultures and the aesthetic preferences of its members.



4.6 Three books have been published about the UN's art collection. The first book on the collection, *Art Treasures of the United Nations*, was published in 1964 by Thomas Yoseloff. *A World of Art: The United Nations Collection* and *La Représentation de l'Humanité* were published by the UN in 1995 and 2001, respectively. Image: The author, 2020.

As during the founding of the League of Nations, UN Member States' political ideologies played out in donated artworks. De Jong observes that the preference for abstract and conceptual art was perceived as more politically neutral or universal than figurative art (de Jong, 2001). Yet, in the 1950s, the US Government notoriously promoted Abstract Expressionism abroad as a form of soft power to promote democracy and emphasize capitalism's value of individual freedom to counter communism's emphasis on collectivity (Segal, 2016). Thus, governments deployed art, supposedly devoid of politics, to achieve political aims. Recognizing political sparring through art, it is perhaps unsurprising that the UN accepted Socialist Realist artworks from the former USSR, despite the Arts Committee's stated reluctance.

By simultaneously holding these contrasting art forms that mirrored political ideologies (Segal, 2016), the art can be understood as contributing to creating the visual identity of the UN as an esteemed, global political forum within which contemporary international policy challenges

can be peacefully debated and, ideally, resolved. In other words, art helped manifest abstract ideas about diplomatic solutions to conflict into a physical site, acknowledging that gifted artworks can also mirror or accentuate existing power relationships amongst Member States given the financial resources and political alliances required to donate art or exhibit artworks in impactful ways (Sievers, 2021).

4.1.4 Inspiring Personal Commitment to the United Nations

Although the 1951 Arts Committee principles do not explain why personal, moral, and emotional responses to art contribute to the organization's work, the committee implicitly acknowledges that institutions ultimately rely on the shared, personal commitment of individuals that, collectively, bring abstract principles and values to life. The relationship between Mauss's notion of "aesthetic emotion" attached to art as diplomatic gifts and individual viewers' response is perhaps best illustrated by former Secretary-General Hammarskjöld. In a letter to Hepworth,³⁶ Hammarskjöld expresses gratitude for how her gift of the wooden sculpture *Churinga III* contributes to the UN's work:

I have now had it before me a couple of weeks, living with it in all shades of light, both physically and mentally, and this is the report: it is a strong and exacting companion, but at the same time one of deep quiet and timeless perspective in inner space. You may react at the word exacting, but a work of great art sets its own standard of integrity and remains a continuous reminder of what should be achieved in everything.

So you hear that your gift gives me great joy of a kind which ultimately is of great help, whatever our specific task may be. I believe that this is what you wanted to achieve and, if so, you have indeed amply succeeded.

Once again, thank you for what you have done and for your daily contribution to our work.

(Hammarskjöld and Hepworth, 2001, p. 56)

Hammarskjöld describes how Hepworth's sculpture provided him with a visual and tactile touchstone that inspired him to reflect on how his leadership could serve the UN's values, purpose, and objectives, converting abstract notions like integrity into form. Political scientist Barbara Baudot described this effect on Hammarskjöld as exemplifying art's "intrinsic" value to

³⁶ Hepworth corresponded with Hammarskjöld from 1956 until just days before his death in an airplane crash in 1961. Hammarskjöld's letter was dated 11 September 1961, the day before he left New York for the Congo (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), where he died on 18 September. (Hammarskjöld and Hepworth, 2001, p. 56).

international relations as “bring[ing] into relief ennobled visions that draw together imagination, intuition, and objectivity” (Baudot, 2010).

When I worked first began working at the UN in 2003, I knew embarrassingly little about the League of Nations. Instead, I remember feeling the League of Nations’ historical efforts to build world peace through the Palais des Nations’ architectural details. Tracing the delicate embossed “LNS” on a silver teaspoon still set upon linen tablecloths in the 8th floor restaurant. A metal bannister’s patina made luminescent by the passage of thousands of hands. A robust and substantial Art Deco door handle, crafted to endure centuries.



4.7 and 4.8 Details of the Palais des Nations in March 2021. Images: The author.

Art donated by different countries formed a backdrop to daily meetings and conversations throughout the Palais des Nations, reminding me that I worked for an international organization dedicated to multilateralism. But it was Sert’s sepia, grey, and gold murals dominating the Council Chamber where I most sensed my place in the passage of time. I was one among many, admittedly mostly white European men, who had stridden the Palais’ corridors with intention or perhaps, like me, unwavering optimism to work towards peace. My humanitarian coordination work, often addressing administrative challenges or seemingly petty UN interagency politics (Crisp, 2018), assumed a greater meaning. I felt I was contributing to a noble, historical enterprise to end armed conflict around the world.



4.9 I spent many hours in the Delegates' Lounge for informal meetings and coffee breaks. The room was decorated as a gift from the Government of Switzerland, with murals painted by Swiss artist Karl Hügin. Image copyright: Kris Terauds.



4.10 Detail of José María Sert's *La Solidarité des Peuple* in the Council Chamber. Image: UN Photo, 2018.

Art's capacity to inspire personal or collective reflection or ask questions inevitably stimulates different responses from UN civil servants, diplomats and others associated with the new organization depending on the beholder and their relationship to the organization. However, viewing artworks in an intergovernmental institution, as opposed to a museum, likely encouraged others over the years to reflect on their role in helping the UN achieve its goals.

4.1.5 Evolving Meanings of Visual Identity over Time

Artworks inevitably speak to the time and place within which they were created. The UN is now more than 75 years old. Some artworks once lauded as daring and contemporary for their era have become dated, losing their potential "aesthetic emotional" impact as embodiments of the UN's bold vision for a new world order to achieve peace. At the unveiling of the abstract bronze sculpture *Single Form* that Hepworth created following the sudden death of Hammarskjöld in 1961, the artist stated,

The United Nations is our conscience. If it succeeds it is our success. If it fails it is our failure. Throughout my work on the 'Single Form' I have kept in mind Dag Hammarskjöld's ideas of human and aesthetic ideology and I have tried to perfect a symbol that would reflect the nobility of his life, and at the same time give us a motive and symbol of both continuity and solidarity for the future (Hepworth, 1970, p. 96, cited in DuGay, 2016, p. 63).

For those who knew Hammarskjöld, his leading role in the establishment of the UN, as well as his deep affinity for art, the sculpture may have fulfilled the artist's expectations. However, decades later, *Single Form* has assumed a meaning more associated with its longstanding location on the UN grounds and the perceived weaknesses of the UN failing to live up its ideals. UN staff members and regular visitors have reportedly called the sculpture *Moby Dick*, or described it as the UN Charter with a hole, a flounder, and a ship's propeller (Marks, 1995, p. 18).



4.11 *Single Form* by Barbara Hepworth. Image: UN Photo/Yukata Nagata, 11 June 1964.

Similarly, the political significance of artworks manifesting Member States' commitment to the global organization also fade with time. People frequenting the Palais may fail to even notice the artworks amidst their daily routines. Like the institution itself (Weiss and Daws, 2018, p. 20), the artworks' existence becomes taken for granted, losing their original aesthetic and political resonance.

While some artworks within the collection may seem less relevant now that the UN is well-established, the collection's aesthetic properties still fulfil a utilitarian purpose to the Organization with respect to institution-building. Drawing on my personal experience working

at UNOG, the continuous physical presence of artworks in the Palais des Nations continues to influence how the UN is understood and perceived as a credible forum for international diplomacy. Unlike the New York Headquarters built anew, UNOG's acquisition of the League's art collection establishes a historical legacy from before the UN's founding, establishing a lineage to previous attempts to achieve world peace and transforming the artworks into part of the UN's origin story (Rai, 2018, p. 219).

Conversely, the removal of artworks inherited from the League of Nations altered the Palais des Nations spaces dramatically. In the 1960s, four monumental murals depicting aspects of peace, donated by the Government of France in 1938 to decorate the Assembly Hall, were removed during a renovation of the building's largest meeting room, and were not replaced during a subsequent 1996 renovation (United Nations, no date a). The paintings by four French painters, Maurice Denis, Edouard Vuillard, Ker Xavier Roussel and Roger Chastel, are arguably UNOG's most valuable artworks. Despite the initial intention to rehang the works in their original location, to date, the murals remain in purgatory, rolled away in storage, due to a political stalemate over who should finance the paintings' necessary and costly restoration (Anonymous Informant #1, 2021).³⁷

³⁷ Although the gifting country would normally be responsible for any refurbishment costs of artwork gifted to the UN, in this case, the paintings were contributed under the League of Nations. Thus, the Government of France is not contractually obligated to contribute to maintaining the murals. As a gift to UNOG, the Geneva Musée d'Art et l'Histoire reconditioned the Roussel painting for safe storage in 2019.



4.12 The UNOG Assembly Hall after two renovations and the removal of murals donated by France to the League of Nations in 1938. Image: Ludovic Courtès, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

Without the murals, the Assembly Hall loses its strong association with the past, and feels more like a grand, sleek, but austere, university lecture hall than a historic intergovernmental forum for world peace. Admittedly, my observations may also be coloured by the time I spent in this room taking the UN National Competitive Recruitment Examination for Legal Affairs, attending all staff information meetings, and listening to a lecture by then US Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton to celebrate Human Rights Day. While it is decidedly a more politically neutral space and avoids the corporate feel of some of the other newly renovated rooms, visual cues for the room's higher purpose to work for world peace feel less present, other than the gold UN insignia overseeing the proceedings.



4.13 A photomontage of the Assembly Hall with the French Chastel mural *Pax genitrix* placed in the room after its most recent renovation in 1996. Image: UN Photo/Patrick Jacquet, 2019.

Unlike the Sert paintings, the extended removal of the French paintings has broken their association with UNOG's visual narrative and historical identity. In 2019, UNOG published a photomontage on Facebook, merging an archival photograph of the Chastel painting *Pax genitrix* installed in the Assembly Hall with a contemporary image of the room used by diplomats, illustrating how the past could have linked to the present.

However, replacing the murals poses a curatorial dilemma for UNOG, in the sense that curation is about "formulating a certain theory or argument, based upon which one makes a selection of artworks or other objects" to display for a public (Hoffman in Hoffmann and Lind, 2011). At

the Palais des Nations, the UN Library & Archives is responsible for managing the permanent art collection and temporary exhibitions. In exercising these functions, it relies on the UNOG Cultural Policy, which includes an updated set of guidance very similar to the 1971 guidelines developed by the New York-based Arts Committee (UN General Assembly, 2001; General Assembly, 2005; Cultural Activities Committee, 2018; Cultural Activities Programme, 2019). By implementing these administrative guidelines and procedures for the content and display of artworks, UN Library & Archives staff members inevitably make curatorial decisions on behalf of the organization each time they choose (or decline) to accept or display an artwork or exhibition at the Palais des Nations.

Given the political nature of UNOG, curating what, where, and how art is exhibited can be understood as making an argument about how the UN views itself and its institutional role in international diplomacy. In the case of the French paintings, it is uncertain whether UNOG will re-hang the murals even after they are restored because their dated, Eurocentric depiction of the League's aspirations no longer correspond with the UN's present cosmopolitan vision of its values and membership (Anonymous Informant #1, interview data, 2021), which strives to "deliver a better world for 'we the peoples'" (Guterres, 2018, p. vii). Echoing decolonialism debates across the art world (Noce, 2021; Afterall, no date), to replace the paintings now would arguably require justifying why the historical artworks help carry the UN into the future.

Thus, returning to the overall role of art in international norm evolution, art gifted to the UN can be understood as contributing to manifesting abstract values and objectives of multilateral diplomacy, shaping the visual identity of the organization, building political relationships between the UN and its Member States, and inspiring personal and collective commitments to the UN's values and principles. Collectively, art has played a role in not only establishing the UN as a global institution, but also sustaining its legitimacy over time as forum for developing international norms.

4.2 Mediating Diplomatic Relations between UN Member States

“We are a beautiful building, but we are not a museum. We do not have the curatorial skills of a museum; we do not have the budget of a museum. ... But we are getting better at managing art as we move forward.”

-- Former UN Assistant Secretary-General Michael Alderstein, speaking in reference to the UN Secretariat building in New York City (Alderstein, 2014, p. 2).

Although the Cold War and a failure to avert all armed conflict may have dampened many idealists’ hopes, the UN has proven its worth as a legitimate forum for international diplomacy. Over the years it has contributed to ending colonialization, established peacekeeping missions, distributed billions of dollars of development and humanitarian assistance, and produced a significant body of legal norms spanning a wide array of policy areas (Weiss and Daws, 2018). Consequently, countries now rely on the UN as a global forum for conducting diplomatic relations, including through the gifting of art.

Beginning in the 1970s, as UN membership expanded with the end of colonialism and the disintegration of countries like the USSR and Yugoslavia, an increasingly diverse number of Member States, including those with more modest means, donated individual paintings and sculptures to UNOG, often to commemorate UN anniversaries or national days (de Jong, 2001). In the 1990s, Member States also increasingly hosted temporary art exhibitions and cultural events at the Palais des Nations for the diplomatic community and the public at large.

In 2001, inspired by the UN International Year for Dialogue among Civilizations, UNOG formally established the Cultural Activities Programme (Blukacz-Louisfert, 2014, p. 5) as a contribution to the General Assembly’s aspirational goals (UN General Assembly, 1999) to achieve a culture of peace by facilitating multicultural dialogue among civilizations through the exchange of art and culture (United Nations Geneva, 2007). Article 1 of the Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilizations defines “dialogue among civilizations” as:

a process between and within civilizations, founded on inclusion, and a collective desire to learn, uncover, and examine assumptions, unfold shared meaning and core values and integrate multiple perspectives through dialogue.

From this perspective, UNOG frames the sharing of art and culture as an opportunity for countries to learn about one another to facilitate dialogue. It also positions the UN as “facilitator of interstate cooperation” (Barnett and Finnemore, 2018, p. 63), with the Cultural Activities Programme playing a role in fostering multilateralism amongst Member States and the public at large.

This view complements the broader field of global politics and international relations, in which art and culture are commonly viewed through the lens of cultural diplomacy as a form of “soft power” (Nye, 2004). In particular, research on art and cultural activities at UNOG has been described as a way for Member States to “stand out” or “reach out” to other countries, as well as to promote UN values through diplomatic interactions (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, p. 16).

This section explores the role the gifting of art plays in diplomatic relations between UN Member States at UNOG, looking at specific artworks and exhibitions to understand why art is used to build relationships amongst members of the diplomatic corps and assert national identities. It also highlights how UNOG, as the recipient of these gifts, uses its curatorial role to manage the politicization of art and maintain the UN as a forum for international diplomacy. It focuses on gifts to the permanent collection and temporary exhibitions after 2001, when UNOG established the Cultural Activities Programme within the UN Library & Archives.

4.2.1 Creating Environments that Inspire Diplomatic Exchange

Viewed through the lens of cultural diplomacy, gifts of art and exhibitions at UNOG are recognized for inspiring and creating environments that help diplomats transcend politics. International diplomacy relies on states and non-state actors engaging in conversation and debate to resolve shared challenges and achieve collective goals (Cross, 2007, p. 5). Different political venues matter significantly to diplomatic processes and outcomes (Coleman, 2013), as do symbolic gestures and rituals (Strati, 1998; Doeser and Nisbett, 2017). As Thomas Kryger,³⁸ the current Cultural Activities Coordinator at the UNOG Library & Archives, said, “Through art and culture, there is a space for dialogue” (UN Geneva Cultural Activities Programme, 2021).

³⁸ Thomas Kryger contributed to this research in his personal capacity. The views expressed are his own and do not necessarily represent the views of the United Nations.

Former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon also recognized the subtle role of art fostering international dialogue, placing particular emphasis on art's capacity to inspire creative, multilateral solutions (Ban, 2008). In 2008, UNOG unveiled the newly renovated Human Rights and Alliance of Civilizations Room, which regularly hosts the UN Human Rights Council. Sponsored by the Government of Spain,³⁹ Spanish artist Miquel Barceló had transformed the meeting room's domed ceiling, some 900 square meters, into a vibrantly colourful sea cave. The artist created massive stalactites using resin attached to an aluminium honeycomb base, coated with paint created from pigments selected from around the world. Barceló described the cave as "a metaphor for the agora, the first meeting place of humans, the big African tree under which to sit to talk, and the only possible future: dialogue, human rights" (as cited in Bradley, 2008).



4.14 The renovated Human Rights and Alliance of Civilizations Room sponsored by the Government of Spain, which includes the ceiling installation by Spanish artist Miquel Barceló. Image: UN Photo/Jess Hoffman.

Recognizing the gift as a symbol of Spain's "enduring commitment to the values and the mission of the United Nations" (Ban, 2008), the UN Secretary-General described the artwork as inspiration for multilateralism. He observed, "Just as we might need to spend some time in this

³⁹ The Government of Spain, which had previously donated the decoration of the Sert room to the League of Nations, sponsored the renovation at a cost of some 20 million euros, with significant financial support from the private sector represented by the Spanish ONUART Foundation, endorsed by the Spanish Foreign Ministry.

room, and look at the design from different angles in order to see it completely, so must we have a full range of views if we are to properly address global challenges” (Ban, 2008). Notably, Ban did not say the artwork would inspire reflections on human rights or a specific policy issues, but rather the overall goal of finding peaceful, diplomatic solutions. Like the New York Arts Committee’s early principles, the artwork’s openness to interpretation is understood to support multilateralism by prompting self-reflection on biases and assumptions, building empathy for others’ perspectives, and approaching problems creatively.

Most gifted artworks, however, continue to include more literal symbols of multilateralism. A review of the 384 artworks and decorative objects gifted to UNOG from 2000 to April 2021 (Anonymous Informant 1), the period during which art was portrayed as contributing to dialogue amongst civilizations, general themes of peace, development and human rights, as well as national cultural symbols, carry over from previous donations with a few artworks alluding to more specific policy issues (see Section 4.3.2).⁴⁰ Notably, the works also represent largely positive, aspirational depictions of and allusions to the UN’s purpose, rather than illustrating the violence and atrocities associated with conflict and human rights abuses, likely because of the UNOG guidance that artworks cannot be too graphic (Library & Archives, 2017). In total, 69 Member States, donated artworks (including paintings, sculptures, drawings, and tapestries), furnishings and decorative objects, like ceramics and carpets. Engagements with external curators have also resulted in donations of artworks to UNOG’s permanent collection.⁴¹ In addition, some 60 artists and over 20 non-governmental organizations also donated artworks. On its surface, the multicultural and thematic works seem to exemplify the role of art in creating an environment representative of the UN’s global membership intended

⁴⁰ There was a notable uptick in gifts in 2000 and 2001 corresponding to activities surrounding that Dialogue Amongst Civilizations, as well as in 2005, when the UNOG Library & Archives curated a contemporary art exhibition to commemorate the UN’s 60th Anniversary. A moratorium on new gifts was in place between 2018-2020 given renovations to the Palais des Nations.

⁴¹ For instance, a number of contemporary artworks in the UNOG collection stem from collaboration with Geneva-based curator Adelina von Fürstenberg, founder and former director of Geneva’s Centre d’art contemporain and current director of Art for the World (de Jong, 2001, p. 36 and 319). Among her many projects, von Fürstenberg perhaps most notably curated the large-scale contemporary art exhibition “Dialogues of Peace” at the Palais de Nations in 1995 commemorating the UN’s 50th anniversary that made international headlines showing some 60 artists, with most of the artworks commissioned expressly for the exhibition (Riding, 1995). Prominent donations received following projects and exhibitions curated by von Fürstenberg include works by Daniel Buren, Alfredo Jaar, Nam June Paik, Robert Rauschenberg, and Esther Shalev-Gerz and Jochen Gerz.

to inspire fruitful diplomatic relations built on multicultural understanding and respect for difference.

The art exhibition format itself also contributes to multilateralism by offering an alternative to formal meeting environments. Art openings, as compared to attending a seated concert or speech, typically require moving and mingling, creating opportunities for “accidental” encounters and a shared experience for beginning a conversation — even if nobody likes the art. In perhaps more exceptional cases, an exhibition can provide a chance to bond over an extraordinary, unexpected artwork that inspires new insights or a sensorial and affective experience. Anecdotal stories capture how viewing an exhibition or performance prompted a diplomat to visit a new country, highlighting how exposure to other countries’ culture and geography more generally can contribute to personal curiosity and openness to other country representatives (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017; UN Geneva Cultural Activities Programme, 2021). While such impacts may seem trivial, developing international norms within diplomatic venues may require tense negotiations, which can potentially be eased by friendly relationships formed in informal settings.

That said, the role of art in fostering multilateralism should not be exaggerated. Barceló himself reportedly joked that “some UN people told me that they would really like some of [the stalactites] to come down on certain diplomats’ heads at the UN Human Rights Council” (as cited in Bradley, 2008). Cultural diplomacy’s inherently positive characterization of art is also at odds with the view of many contemporary artists, who conceptualize the role of art in democratic institutions through the lens of agonism (Mouffe, 2008) that underscores the value of art to reveal, disrupt or challenge relations of power rather than facilitate consensus (See also Section 2.2.1).

4.2.2 Visualizing Member States’ Identities and Values

Contrary to much academic discourse on cultural diplomacy, Doeser and Nisbett’s 2017 study describing diplomatic uses of art and culture at UNOG concluded that “cultural spaces are loaded with political meaning and they can be the site of simmering political tensions and rivalries, sometimes sparked or made apparent by cultural activity” (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, p. 26). Employing diplomatic rituals around giving gifts of artwork and sponsoring art

exhibitions at UNOG allows Member States to use the UN as a foreign policy tool (Barnett and Finnemore, 2018, p. 63) for exerting soft power, with powerful and wealthy countries sponsoring the most exhibitions, notably China, the Russian Federation, Switzerland,⁴² and the USA (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, p. 24). Pascal Sim,⁴³ a former Cultural Activities Coordinator presently working in the Human Rights Council's Communication Section, noted that many Member States view art exhibitions as a promotional activity to portray the best image of their country (Sim, interview data, 2022). International relations scholar Costas Constantinou similarly posits that the competitive spirit behind diplomatic gifts reproduces the "dominant structures and hierarchical relations" of the UN, reflecting "the brand image Member States wish to project, amplifying the principles that guide their action, offering ideological backdrop or small talk opportunities to the delegations that pause to look at them" (Constantinou, 2021, p. 2). In short, gifting art and sponsoring exhibitions allows governments to visually craft and assert their identities and values in the diplomatic realm, ideally hoping to "shine" (Kryger, interview data, 2021).

Member States often gift artwork or sponsor exhibitions at UNOG with the stated purpose of commemorating membership with the UN or a national day.⁴⁴ In a majority of cases, the Permanent Missions receive instructions to facilitate a traveling exhibition or show specific artworks from their embassies in Bern or directly from their capital, passing through their respective Department or Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kryger, interview data, 2021). Sometimes the initiative to host an exhibition derives locally, reflecting the personal style or priorities of individual diplomats (Kryger, interview data, 2021). Viewed simply as artworks, outside of the context within which they were gifted, it is difficult to differentiate whether artworks were donated with the intention of showing continued support for the UN and its mission, contributing to multicultural understanding, presenting their country in a positive light, or

⁴² Switzerland sponsors a large number of exhibitions linked to its role as the host country of UNOG.

⁴³ Pascal Sim contributed to this research in his personal capacity. The views expressed are his own and do not necessarily represent the views of the United Nations.

⁴⁴ Photo exhibition "25 Years", organized by the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia (21 June 2017); Photo Exhibition "Breathtaking Russia" (27 November 2017); "20 Years of Croatia in the United Nations" (3 October 2012); Exhibition and Concert "Cultural Heritage of Women in Uzbekistan" (3 November 2015); Painting and calligraphy exhibition "Beautiful China, Picturesque Zheijiang" on the occasion of Chinese Language Day (19 April 2017); and "Hear Us, See Us" - Exhibition of the Wiyi Yani U Thangani (Women's Voices) project (25 June 2019) of photos and videos of indigenous women sponsored by Australia.

creating opportunities for informal encounters. Rather, the ambiguity of art allows for layers of political meaning.

Donated artworks featuring an aspect of national culture or peoples could also be viewed as an effort to foster greater understanding and respect for a country's cultures and traditions. Sim observed that art and cultural heritage exhibits allow Member States to get to know each other better before potentially confronting one another politically (Sim, interview data, 2022). For example, in 2010, Afghanistan donated *Les cavaliers du Bouzkachi* by French painter Bernard Ponty that depicts a traditional Afghan horse riding sport, offering a contrast to diplomatic discussions that associated the country with war, economic and political instability, and the threat of Islamic extremism. Other gifts seem motivated by a country seeking visual representations of their historical influence or military power at the intentional organization. In 2017, the Russian Federation donated a portrait of Catherine II of Russia, the longest reigning empress in Russian history, as part of its gift to renovate the Russian Room that "showcases Russian history and culture" (United Nations Secretary-General, 2016).



4.15 In 2010, Afghanistan donated the painting *Les cavaliers du Bouzkachi* by Bernard Ponty. Image: UN Photo.

Even for works that appear to speak to general themes relevant to the UN's work, like peace, diversity, and human rights, when and where a Member State gifts an artwork opens the artwork up to additional interpretations. For instance, in 2016, Montenegro donated the sculpture *Dove*, carved by a Montenegrin artist from local volcanic rock (Šćepanovic, 2015). Viewed on its own, the stylized dove sculpture is arguably a universally recognized symbol of peace and a confirmation of UN Member States' collective efforts to achieve that end. However, the donation ceremony event was described as celebrating the country's tenth anniversary of "restoring its independence and a thousand years of Montenegro's

statehood”(Møller, 2016). Thus, by publicly gifting the artwork to the UNOG Director-General, the Government is asserting its place among nation states with the UN, a position that is reaffirmed by the UN’s public acceptance.



4.16 *Dove*, by Miodrag Šćepanovic, was gifted by the Government of Montenegro to UNOG in 2016 to celebrate the country’s 10th anniversary of independence. Image: UN Photo.

While acknowledging complex political motivations behind the use of art and culture, many diplomats interviewed at UNOG nonetheless shared the assumption that art and culture should at least appear apolitical, highlighting specific instances when political messages were perceived as being inappropriately “snuck” into events (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, p. 19). However, maintaining distance from cultural activities at UNOG requires some finesse given that the UNOG Cultural Activities Programme only permits Member States or, alternatively, an International Organization to donate artworks or sponsor cultural events (Library & Archives, 2017).

For instance, in February 2012, I attended an artistic performance at UNOG of *Human Writes*, conceptualized by two Americans, artist William Forsythe and legal scholar Kendall Thomas as part of Geneva’s annual Antigael Festival in partnership with the Flux Laboratory (Flux

Laboratory, 2021). Although I do not recall knowing it at the time, three evening performances had been sponsored by the US Mission to the UN, in collaboration with the German and Swiss Missions.⁴⁵ The US Mission to the UN's website describes *Human Writes* as a "performative installation that reflects the history of human rights and the continuing obstacles to their full implementation" (*Human Writes Dance Performance*, 2014). I observed dancers in the otherwise austere Salle de Pas Perdus contort in various positions to scribble, scratch, and pound the tables with black charcoal, inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Viewing *Human Writes* in the context of the Palais des Nations prompted me to reflect on the tension between government authority and global responsibility to protect individuals' rights, but the work left it open for me to make associations with specific country situations. In this sense, the USA's sponsorship of the exhibition seems like a textbook example of an arm's length use of cultural diplomacy, and a continuation of its historical use of using art to promote values associated with individual freedom, human rights, and self-expression (Segal, 2016). For those in the know, the performance also showcased the USA, Germany, and Switzerland as countries with sufficient wealth to sponsor such an expensive exhibition.



4.17 *Human Writes* Performance Installation by William Forsythe and Kendall Thomas at the United Nations Office at Geneva, 23-25 February 2012. Image: United States Mission to the United Nations at Geneva, Photo/ Eric Bridiers, 24 February 2012.

⁴⁵ Documentation of the event by the Flux Laboratory makes no mention of the government sponsors, and vice versa, nor does the US Mission note the inclusion of the event in the Antigal performing arts festival.

In comparison, the Russian Federation has been accused of exploiting the Cultural Activities Programme to valorise its military power. In 2015, the Permanent Missions of Bulgaria, Poland, and Romania sent formal complaints to UNOG after learning that a planned documentary photo exhibition about the Soviet Union's military role in WWII, sponsored by the Russian Federation and entitled "Remember... The world was saved by a Soviet soldier!", mentioned their countries without their consent in the exhibition (*Opening in Geneva, the exhibition 'Remember ... The world was saved by a Soviet soldier!' Censored*, 2015). In compliance with the UNOG Cultural Activities Policy, which states Member States must give explicit consent to be mentioned in an exhibition, the exhibition organizer subsequently removed references to these countries. Permanent Missions have also raised complaints that some film screenings sponsored by the Russian Federation have celebrated violence and belligerence, contradicting UN values associated with the diplomatic resolution of conflict (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, p. 20).

In sum, art's visual and affective qualities, as well as the diplomatic rituals around exhibiting art as gifts, allow for artworks to assume multiple layers of meaning as part of interstate relations at UNOG. From a diplomatic perspective, the ambiguous meaning of an artwork in a particular context may potentially soften the delivery of a message or at least the potential for offense. However, while art is recognized by diplomats as a credible means to advance national identities and values by seeking to sway the emotions and beliefs of others, artworks are contested when they are perceived as crossing the line into state-sponsored propaganda by portraying a country as more powerful or influential than other countries rather than promoting cultural exchange (Zamorano, 2016; Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, p. 21).⁴⁶

4.2.3 Curatorial Politics at UNOG

Member States sponsor hundreds of cultural events at the Palais des Nations each year as part of the Cultural Activities Programme managed by the UN Library & Archive's Cultural

⁴⁶ International relations scholar Mariano Zamorano argues that cultural diplomacy and propaganda fall along a spectrum distinguished by the degree to which a government attempts to exercise control over how its country's culture is represented abroad, and whether a government's intention is to exert control in a foreign country or to support mutual cooperation (Zamorano, 2016, p. 179-180).

Diplomacy and Outreach Section.⁴⁷ UNOG exercises some degree of curatorial control over how Member States use the programme to moderate their relations with others because artwork and exhibitions are formally presented as gifts to the Organization, which it can accept or decline. Curatorial decisions are guided by the UNOG Cultural Activities Policy, which emphasizes the role of art and culture as contributions to facilitating a dialogue amongst civilizations in accordance with UN values (Sim, interview data, 2022).

At the same time, UNOG's cultural policy also recognizes, and attempts to manage, the inherently political nature of diplomatic gift giving and art itself.⁴⁸ Gifts of artworks or temporary exhibitions must first be approved by the broader Cultural Activities Committee through a proposals process, guided by the UNOG Cultural Policy. Chaired by the UNOG Chief Librarian, the Cultural Activities Committee attempts to act as a buffer to avoid diplomatic tension that might arise if the Director-General was obliged to formally decline a Member State's proposed gift or exhibition proposal. Following a negative recommendation from the Cultural Activities Committee, some Member States have appealed directly to the Director-General (Anonymous Informant #1, interview data, 2021). The UNOG Cultural Activities Coordinator also supports Permanent Missions to the UN to develop their proposals⁴⁹ prior to submission to help assure their success in meeting the application criteria (Kryger, interview data, 2021), which state that proposals must be "artistic in nature", "in line with UN values", and not "single out any Member States" or "be too graphic" (Library & Archives, 2017). While artistic quality is considered to some extent, the Committee does not have any formal guidance or expertise to assess the artistic quality of a proposed artwork (Kryger, interview data, 2021; Sim, interview data, 2022). According to both Kryger and Sim, of greatest importance is ensuring that potential gifts and exhibitions are consistent with UN values as set

⁴⁷ In 2013, the UNOG Library's Strategic Planning, Programme Evaluation and Outreach Section was tasked with managing both the permanent art collection and the Cultural Activities Programme (Blukacz-Louisfert, 2014, pp. 5–6). However, under the 2015 Strategic Heritage Plan (*Strategic Heritage Plan*, no date), the Institutional Memory Section assumed responsibility for the art collection, while the Cultural Diplomacy and Outreach Section continued to implement the Cultural Activities Programme (*Event Proposal Tool: About cultural activities*, no date).

⁴⁸ The Human Rights Council Secretariat explicitly prohibits the public exhibition of "political" artworks during Council sessions, although it does not define what constitutes a political work (Human Rights Council Secretariat, 2017).

⁴⁹ Each proposal must include a photo of the art to be gifted or exhibited, a biography of the artist or artists, and a paragraph about the link between the art and the values of the UN (Cultural Activities Committee, 2018; Kryger, interview data, 2021).

out in the UN Charter (Kryger, interview data, 2021; Sim, interview data, 2022). As Sim explains, this means “making sure that culture is not being instrumentalized in a way that is contrary to UN values and decisions” (Sim, interview data, 2022).

Thus, the UNOG Cultural Activities Coordinator is responsible for reviewing proposals for cultural events and exhibitions in public areas to identify potentially sensitive issues by drawing upon the political expertise of UN colleagues as well as the Permanent Missions sponsoring the events (Kryger, interview data, 2021). For example, Sim describes how in his former role of Cultural Activities Coordinator, he would watch each movie with colleagues and members of the Cultural Activities Committee to flag potentially sensitive scenes, such as one that could be understood as glorifying war or conflict. He would then screen any identified scenes for the entire membership of the Cultural Activities Committee to review, with a final decision usually made by the consensus of people representing different countries and cultural backgrounds (Sim, interview data, 2022). In the event that a proposal includes a reference to another Member States, UNOG requests that the proposing Permanent Mission gain the acceptance of the country in question before proceeding further (Kryger, interview data, 2021). This step helps ensure that an exhibition or cultural event is not viewed as a one-way conversation that does not engage in dialogue with others (Sim, interview data, 2022).

According to Kryger, an artwork is not unduly “political” when it addresses a sensitive topic that is consistent with the UN’s goals and objectives. In short, as long as a Member State does not mention another country without their express consent, presents art and culture from within its recognized territory, and does not contradict UN values, the Cultural Activities Committee will generally accept a proposal (Sim, interview data, 2022).

Thus, UNOG seems to distinguish between “politics,” which refers to specific actions or positions undertaken by or addressed to representatives of governments, and the “political,” which describes actions or positions that imply “taking part in living together and in actions that (may) rearrange the relations within a society,” in this case, the global community (Gielen and Lijster, 2017, pp. 43–44). Similarly, in the context of art, Chantal Mouffe’s notion of “the political,” which “involves the visibility of the social institution,” highlights the potential for art to “contribute to the construction of new subjectivities” (Mouffe, 2008, pp. 4 and 13) and

emphasizes the possibility of radical democratic change (See also Lind, 2021). This distinction between politics and the political allows UNOG to establish a curatorial frame to shape how art is used in international relations, attempting to avoid art being directly used as a tool to attack political rivals without the named State being given the opportunity to publicly present an alternative position. At the same time, it allows Member States to disagree and exchange views without reverting to armed conflict. By focusing on UN values to guide what constitutes appropriate topics for “political” artworks, UNOG also asserts its role as a “natural convenor” or “honest broker” for difficult diplomatic conversations (Sim, interview data, 2022).

In sum, the perception of art as politically neutral amongst diplomats is made possible by implicit diplomatic protocol and UNOG’s administrative policies around art as diplomatic gifts, which collectively create a frame to determine what is or is not deemed an appropriate use of art in diplomacy at the UN. However, as Sim emphasizes, it is ultimately up to delegates to decide if they want to attend a cultural event or not. For example, he recalls a Russian delegate setting aside geopolitics and attending a concert of a US composer simply because she loved the artist and wanted to enjoy a cultural moment (Sim, interview data, 2022).

4.3 Advancing Awareness and Stimulating Debate on Policy Issues

In recent years, Member States and UN entities have also gifted artworks and sponsored art exhibitions at UNOG that point explicitly to critical policy issues. Between 2017 and 2020 alone, Canada, Colombia, Ecuador, France, Germany, Iceland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Turkey, and the United States sponsored art exhibitions focusing specifically on displacement, migration, and environmental themes,⁵⁰ transnational issues that rely on concerted multilateral action amongst a diverse group of state and nonstate actors (Nye, 2004, p. 4). Often organized in collaboration with an NGO partner, other themes have included violence against women (France), people with disabilities (Russia), water as a human right (Germany), sustainable fashion (Italy), children’s rights (Austria), enforced disappearances (Chile), and female genital mutilation (Djibouti and Germany).

⁵⁰ Canada, Israel, and the United States: *Entire Life in a Package*, 20-30 June 2017. Germany: “Refugees – a great challenge,” 20 June 2017; Turkey: *Migratory Birds*, 6 February 2018; Ecuador, Italy and Colombia: *Domus Terrae*, 10 April 2018; Netherlands: *Where Will We Go?* October 2018; Iceland: *Changes: Icelandic Art in the Service of Sustainability*, 26 June to 5 July 2019; France: *Ecco Ommo I*, December 2020.

Thus, art emerges as a format through which Member States, UN actors, and NGOs debate the substantive content of international policy, as opposed employing art to build conditions conducive to diplomacy. The “Guidelines of the Cultural Activities Committee of the United Nations Office at Geneva” recognize this potential role of art in diplomatic discussions by giving priority to exhibitions addressing timely meetings and remembrances (United Nations Geneva, 2007, para. 4.3).

This section explores how Member States use art and evolving exhibition formats to raise awareness and assert policy positions at UNOG. In particular, it discusses potential constraints to artistic freedom in a context in which all artworks must be sponsored as a gift from a Member State or UN organization.

4.3.1 Raising Awareness and Asserting Policy Positions

In December 2015, Argentina donated a ceramic mosaic entitled *Tribute to the Migrant Worker (Homenaje al Trabajador Migrante)* by Munú Actis Goretta located at Pregny Gate on the exterior wall of the building housing the UN Security facility, a separate building where all visitors to the Palais des Nations receive their security badges prior to entering the gated UNOG compound. The mosaic depicts people carrying their personal belongings, with images of people living productive lives separated by a frond of laurel leaves reminiscent of the UN logo. Alongside its positive depiction of migrant workers, the mural also highlights role that the UN has played, or perhaps should play, in supporting migrants to live in dignity.



4.18 A view of *Tribute to the Migrant Worker (Homenaje al Trabajador Migrante)* by Munú Actis Goretta with the Palais des Nations in the background. Photo: The author, April 2021.

In December 2020, France donated *Ecce Homo II* (2016) by Jacek Jarnuszkiewicz, a Polish artist living and working in Montreal, Canada. Originally exhibited in the Palais des Nations' Halle de Pas Perdue, the sculpture was subsequently displayed on the mezzanine above the Serpentine Café, outside one of the entrances to the Human Rights and Alliance of Civilizations Room. The slim, black metal boat carries red letters across a sea of silver numbers poised on thin rods tenuously balanced over the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights printed on paper. As the numbers and letters emerge and disappear depending on the vantage point, I recall the heart breaking media images of unnamed migrants and asylum seekers making precarious journeys across the Mediterranean in packed, unseaworthy boats, believing that the horrors behind them justify the hope of a better life on the other side (Shire, 2015). I find myself asking, has international human rights law kept them afloat and saved them from death?



4.19 *Ecce Homo II* (2016) by Jacek Jarnuszkiewicz, donated by France to UNOG in December 2020. Image: The author, March 2021.

These artworks speak to pressing contemporary political issues widely discussed with diplomatic circles at the time they were gifted to UNOG. The lack of accompanying “paratext” to contextualize the works (Lowry, 2016) and openness to interpretation lend the works more to prompting general awareness and reflection about the issues of migration and displacement, rather than proposals for concrete law and policy solutions.

Their gift to the permanent collection could represent a lasting manifestation of a Member State’s view of the importance of an issue, a challenge to other States to address the issue, or a desire by the sponsoring Member States to be viewed as leaders in specific policy areas (Kryger, interview data, 2021). By receiving these gifts, UNOG implicitly affirms that the UN is an appropriate diplomatic forum for discussing these challenges, which cannot be taken as a given. For instance, international migration and displacement issues are sensitive topics that

have only recently been brought within formal UN processes.⁵¹ Thus, the artworks could also potentially be understood as challenging the UN to push Member States to act on specific policy issues.

At the same time, Member States may also use art in a defensive policy position. For instance, the Chinese Mission annually sponsors National Chinese Language Day events to honour Chinese as one of the five official UN languages, such as its 2017 painting and calligraphy exhibition entitled, "Beautiful China, Picturesque Zheijiang." However, in 2020, amidst international press reports of widespread human rights abuses against Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang (*BBC News*, 2021), the Government of China sponsored a documentary photography and video exhibition entitled, "Home: Glimpse of People from Various Ethnic Groups in Xinjiang" featuring favourable depictions of Chinese ethnic groups peacefully coexisting in Xinjiang (Jia, 2020). The exhibition coincided with the Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review process assessing China's compliance with international human rights law (*Xinhua*, 2020). Later that same year as part of the UNOG Cultural Activities Programme, China also sponsored a screening of a critically acclaimed film by female director Wang Lina, called *The First Farewell*, which depicts the real-life story of a young Uyghur boy living with his disabled mother in Xinjiang Province (IMDb, no date). The movie, while visually and emotionally compelling, avoids explicit references to human rights abuses against ethnic minorities (Kuipers, 2019). Finally, in 2021, the Government of China nominated the prize-winning painting *The Future that We Dream- A Harmonious World of Coexistence* (2020) by Peizhi Zhao as part of a UNOG sponsored international online art competition to commemorate the UN's 75th anniversary (Perception Change Project, 2021). The painting, which China donated to the UNOG permanent collection, depicts children of different races living together in harmony with the non-human world.

⁵¹ In 2012, UNHCR's Executive Committee, comprised of 145 Member States, declined the High Commissioner's request to address displacement related to climate change. Consequently, like-minded states created the Nansen Initiative, an informal state-led process, to address the issue outside of UN processes (McAdam, 2016). The International Organization for Migration, the only international governmental organization solely dedicated to migration, only joined the UN in 2016.



4.20 *The Future that We Dream- A Harmonious World of Coexistence* (2020) by Peizhi Zhao. Image: UN Photo.

Outside the context of diplomatic disputes, the artworks' positive depictions of diverse peoples living meaningful lives leave little to criticize, and consequently were accepted by UNOG's Cultural Activities Committee and the Human Rights Council Secretariat. However, sceptics may suspect that the cultural activities sponsored by the Government of China were a visual argument to counter allegations of genocide by showing support for multiculturalism through art. Thus, as Segal has observed, "art can become political as a consequence of the way it is interpreted by critics, historicized by (art) historians and embraced or challenged by politicians, governments and secret services", leaving art subject to "constant discussion and reinterpretation" (Segal, 2016, p. 131).

4.3.2 Stimulating Policy Reflection, Conversation and Debate

Remembering that the Palais des Nations is a conference centre and office building, not an art museum, one of the biggest challenges facing an art exhibition is simply getting diplomats and UN staff members to view it. Attempting to use art to stimulate reflection and debate on policy issues requires a set of curatorial strategies specific to the Palais des Nations' diplomatic work environment.

Apart from the opening, which may have an attendance of some 50 people with carefully selected invitees, if an exhibition is not located in an area with a high level of footfall, few people actively seek out exhibitions (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017). Thus, according to former Cultural Activities Coordinator Fabrice Arlot,⁵² the Salle de Pas Perdus, the main corridor in the Palais des Nations, is one of the most prized locations for temporary exhibitions. Even then, people walking quickly between meetings often fail to stop to view the artworks, although it has been observed that people more frequently view exhibitions at coffee breaks or between formal sessions during conferences (Arlot, interview data, 2021).⁵³ Large or highly visible exhibitions with easily accessible artworks may be more likely to prompt viewers to stop, or simply placing an artwork so that it forces a viewer to alter their path (Arlot, interview data, 2021).

Curating at UNOG requires balancing art's potential contributions to diplomacy with political priorities and financial realities. Many missions have either very limited or no budgets for cultural events, relying on their respective embassies in Bern or capital cities if they want to sponsor events. Given its own restricted budget for curation, UNOG provides a limited set of resources for exhibition design, including display panels, lighting, and TV monitors (Kryger, interview data, 2021),⁵⁴ with sponsoring missions or UN organizations paying for security and

⁵² Fabrice Arlot contributed to this research in his personal capacity. The views expressed are his own and do not necessarily represent the views of the United Nations.

⁵³ Arlot observed that this may be why organizing art exhibitions as part of side events has also become more popular. Organizing an art exhibition as a side event is also cheaper, since it is only on display for a few hours, does not require security, and has fewer associated communication and hospitality costs. (Arlot, interview data, 2021).

⁵⁴ Notably, when Switzerland joined the United Nations in 2002, it offered UNOG an "innovative modular exhibition system" as a diplomatic gift, in addition to three large painted murals by Swiss artist Erni Hans displayed on exterior walls of the UNOG compound (United Nations Geneva, no date).

catering (Cultural Activities Programme, 2019). Permanent Missions with more financial resources can contract external partners to rent equipment and build custom displays. However, most exhibitions comprise photographs, paintings, or sculptures displayed in a simple manner on modular display panels or plinths, with an official opening of brief statements by dignitaries, and sometimes the artist, followed by refreshments.

Recent temporary exhibitions have slightly altered this format to engage viewers more actively in policy issues. In October 2018, the Netherlands Permanent Mission sponsored a photo exhibition by Dutch artist Kadir van Lohuizen entitled, *Where Will We Go?* (Van Lohuizen, no date). The documentary photographs, mounted on white interlocking panels, showed bleak but visually striking depictions of largely impoverished individuals and communities from different parts of the world grappling with the negative impacts of climate change. The event, entitled *Humanitarian Implications of Climate Change*, opened with formal speeches by the Dutch Ambassador and the UNOG Director-General, who emphasized the pressing need to combat climate change in light of evidence in a recent IPCC report (Møller, 2018). In a twist, with the photographs serving as a physical backdrop and visual reminder of the human realities at stake, the diplomatic community and public were then invited to participate in a moderated panel discussion with government, UN, non-governmental, and civil society experts to discuss the humanitarian consequences of climate change (Netherlands Mission in Geneva, 2018). During the reception that followed, the experts remained at designated tables where people attending the talk could ask additional questions. While the exhibition design itself followed a traditional format, the coupling of the photography with the panel discussion explicitly linked the themes of human hardship captured in artwork to diplomatic responses.



4.21 and 4.22 Visitors view Kadir van Lohuizen's photographs from the series *Where Will We Go?* (above) while panel expert Gilles Carbonnier (below), Vice-President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, speaks with guests following the moderated discussion at the *Humanitarian Implications of Climate Change* event. Image: Permanent Mission of the Netherlands in Geneva Facebook, 16 October 2018.

Some missions hire external curators to mount exhibitions, selecting diverse art practices and incorporating elements in the exhibition design to engage viewers. For instance, the Government of Iceland engaged Ásthildur Björg Jónsdóttir, a Geneva-based Icelandic curator, artist, researcher, and art teacher, to curate the exhibition *Changes: Icelandic Art in the Service of Sustainability* in honour of the National Day of Iceland (*Changes: Icelandic Art in the Service of Sustainability*, 2019). The exhibition included a hanging installation by Kristín Jónsdóttir frá Munkaþverá of small puffy clouds on clear strings meant to connote snow, hail, and raindrops, enticing visitors to enter the exhibition space. The opening speeches by the UNOG Director-General and the Prime Minister of Iceland underscored the need to take responsibility for environmental preservation given the challenges of climate change. The curator provided an exhibition brochure and wrote accompanying texts to give context to the artworks, which included paintings of ethereal, empty Arctic waterscapes by Guðbjörg Lind Jonsdottir, a photo-series by Pétur Thomsen documenting a cut Christmas tree's dislocation when returned to nature, and Guðrun Kristjansdottir's photo and video installation *Vatn (Water)* that captures the water cycle. The curator expressed her intention that the four Icelandic artists' work would create lasting impressions on viewers about humans as part of nature and the subtle ways human actions cumulatively result in changes at a global scale (Jónsdóttir, 2019, pp. 97–98). Perhaps drawing on the curator's background in socially engaged art practice (Ásthildur B. Jónsdóttir, no date), visitors to the exhibition were also invited to sign a canvas that said, "We agree on [sic] protecting Nature is important!" (*Changes: Icelandic Art in the Service of Sustainability*, 2019).



4.23 A hanging installation by Kristín Jónsdóttir frá Munkaþverá at the entrance to the gallery exhibiting *Changes: Icelandic Art in the Service of Sustainability*. Image: UN Library & Archives, 27 June 2019.



4.24 The Prime Minister of Iceland, Katrin Jakobsdóttir, speaks at the *Changes* exhibition following opening remarks by UNOG Director-General, Michael Møller (left). Image: UN Library & Archives, 27 June 2019.



4.25 Visitors to the *Changes* exhibition sign their names in support of protecting nature. Image: UN Library & Archives, 27 June 2019.

Artist participation in exhibition design varies, with some more significantly engaged than others.⁵⁵ Artists are frequently, but not always, invited to make a speech during the exhibition opening following official statements by Member States, UN officials, and other dignitaries. For instance, Israeli artist Orna Ben-Ami's remarks at the opening of the exhibition *An Entire Life in*

⁵⁵ When artists contact the UNOG Library to exhibit at the Palais des Nations, they are requested to contact a Permanent Mission, not necessarily their own, to explore the possibility of their country sponsoring an exhibition. Once approved, and with the sponsor's approval, the UNOG Library & Archives can then work directly with the artist to design the exhibition and organize other event details, although artists are typically less engaged in a touring exhibition sent by a country's capital (Kryger, interview data, 2021).

a Package followed statements by officials from the Israeli, US, and Canadian Missions, UNHCR, and UNOG (United States Mission Geneva, 2017). Exhibited to commemorate World Refugee Day, Ben-Ami's work blends welded iron sculpture and cut outs with photography and drawing to capture the humanity of refugees, emphasizing the minimal belongings, cherished memories, and hopes for the future that displaced people carry in flight.



4.26 The UNOG Library & Archives Director Francesco Pisano speaks during the opening of the exhibition *An Entire Life in a Package*. Image: U.S. Mission Photo/Eric Bridiers, 20 June 2017.



4.27 Artist Orna Ben-Ami speaks during the opening of her exhibition at the Palais des Nations with the UNOG Director-General watching on. Image: U.S. Mission Photo/Eric Bridiers, 20 June 2017.



4.28 Ben-Ami (far left) speaks to the UNHCR Deputy High Commissioner, Kelly Clements (far right) at the exhibition opening. Image: U.S. Mission Photo/Eric Bridiers, 20 June 2017.



4.29 Ben-Ami (centre) discusses her artwork with visitors to the exhibition. Image: U.S. Mission Photo/Eric Bridiers, 20 June 2017.

Kryger observed that the artists' statements at exhibition openings are often the most refreshing and interesting, because the artists speak in their personal capacity and are not presumed to speak on behalf of the UN or the sponsoring Permanent Mission (Kryger, interview data, 2021). The inclusion of artists in the presentation of the art also provides an opportunity for artists to counter unwanted political instrumentalization of their work (Baudot, 2010). Given the orchestrated nature of the art openings, it is reasonable to assume that artists have at least spoken with the sponsoring government officials and are aware of their respective policy positions. Kryger could not recall an artist making a statement that was considered offensive or that resulted in a formal complaint from a Permanent Mission.

Missions in Geneva reportedly play close attention to other Member States' events and exhibitions. If a particular exhibition format worked well, then other Missions are likely to contact UNOG to ask how they can host a similar event (Kryger, interview data, 2021). For instance, after the success of the *Humanitarian Implications of Climate Change* event, three other Member States requested a similar format for their art exhibition openings (Kryger, interview data, 2021).

4.3.3 Potential Influence of Art on Policy Debates

From the perspective of art theory, art has the capacity to provoke expansive political and social debate (Bishop, 2004, 2012) and create spaces “in which certain questions can be asked, certain critical analyses articulated, that would not be accepted or tolerated elsewhere” (Kester, 2004, p. 69). The more recent gifted artworks and temporary exhibitions described in this case show an openness to artworks tackling polarizing and sensitive diplomatic issues like climate change and displacement, as long as the works do not explicitly name an individual country without their consent. The artworks tend to illustrate policy challenges, focus on the human dimension of a policy issue, or inspire self-reflection and dialogue (Bleiker, 2009; Baudot, 2010) rather than delve into nuances or propose concrete solutions. For instance, following the *Changes* exhibition, the Permanent Representative of Iceland, Harald Aspelund, reportedly observed that the artworks “inspired many interesting conversations with colleagues from other countries about the lessons we could learn from this artwork and its different themes in relation to the international commitment to reverse climate change” (Jónsdóttir, 2019, p. 99).

For Sim, the UN’s role is to bring people together in the same room to discuss a topic of common interest (Sim, interview data, 2022). Exhibitions may help Member States identify potential allies on a sensitive policy topic (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017) by creating informal, sensorial and, albeit limited, interactive settings that appeal to diplomats’ emotions (Crawford, 2000; Payne, 2001). Using art’s openness to interpretation, diplomats can implicitly acknowledge the importance of an issue and broach sensitive policy subjects by discussing the “art” without having to make formal political statements. However, while artworks and exhibition designs may encourage personal reflection, participatory practices common in many socially engaged art practices may be less effective in diplomatic contexts, as diplomats and UN employees may decline to participate in actions that could be construed as political commitments that require clearance by their respective capitals or institutions.

Similarly, Member States may sponsor artists as independent thinkers to raise politically sensitive positions that a government would not articulate itself. This distanced relationship between the sponsor and artist is not unlike a government or UN organization hiring an

external consultant to write a report to explore contentious issues with the caveat that the work does not necessarily reflect the views of the government or organization. However, it is unclear how most viewers of an artwork interpret an artist's policy position, and whether the sponsoring government is assumed to agree with the artist, even if the sponsoring government does not formally associate itself with their position.



4.30 An image from Ben Ami's exhibition *Entire Life in a Package* is displayed at the Palais des Nations next Israeli, Canadian, US and UN flags. Image: U.S. Mission Photo/Eric Bridiers, 20 June 2017.

Conversely, while artists may have some degree to manoeuvre and challenge the status quo of policy debates within the UN, the continued requirement that art be gifted or sponsored by a Member States or UN organization inherently restricts which artworks will be brought within the diplomatic debate at the Palais des Nations and which will be excluded. Sim stated that the UN will not censor an artist for their political views, but will apply the same standard used for Member States of not allowing an artist to explicitly single out a Member State or minority group (Sim, interview data, 2022). Thus, artists who want to present works that challenge a particular government's policies and positions will face difficulties unless they can partner with

a UN organization or sympathetic Member State and draw attention to a policy issue through their artwork without explicitly identifying another Member State.

That said, at least one artist has made an artwork that speaks directly to sensitive debates within the Palais des Nations without a Member State or UNOG's endorsement. In 1997, Paul Vermeulen, co-founder of Handicap International Switzerland, commissioned Swiss artist Daniel Berset to create *Broken Chair*, a 12-meter-high wooden sculpture of a chair with one shattered leg as part of the NGO's campaign to encourage UN Member States to ratify the Ottawa Treaty, which prohibits the use of anti-personnel landmines. The sculpture was installed in front of the Palais des Nations in the Place des Nations, owned by the City of Geneva not the United Nations. Originally intended as a three-month installation, strong public support for the sculpture ensured its lasting presence, even after park renovations in 2005 threatened its removal (Constantinou, 2021).⁵⁶ After *Broken Chair's* reinstallation in 2007, the Swiss daily newspaper *Le Temps* reported, "You don't get rid of symbols so easily. Its return had provoked heated debate at the heart of international organizations. But a wide support has made Daniel Berset's work an icon in the fight against mines and cluster bombs, as well as a place of expression of all injustices" (cited in *Discover Broken Chair*, no date).

⁵⁶ Constantinou writes that ambassadors and national leaders passing by the sculpture may feel that "the sculpture can weigh heavily on them with liability for needed policy change but also intensify feelings of resentment or humiliation" (Constantinou, 2021, p. 128). This may be, and perhaps it is just a question of nuance. However, while working at the UN, I always viewed the sculpture as a source of inspiration about the importance of humanitarian assistance rather than shame that the UN was not doing enough.



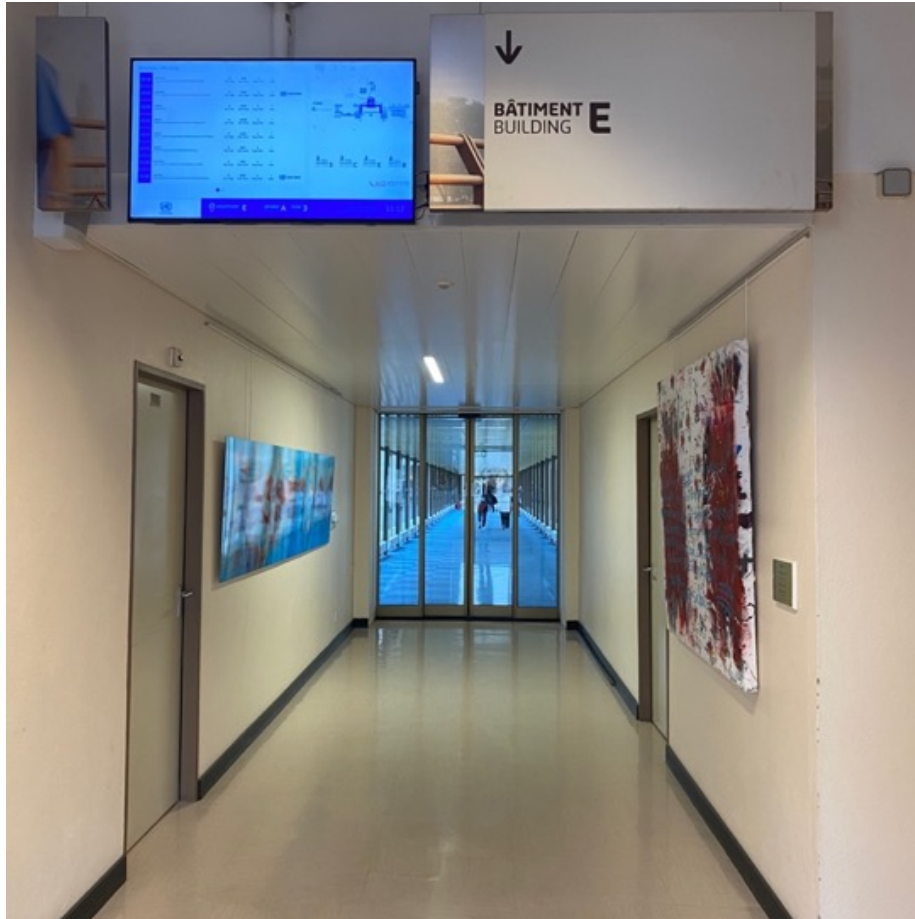
4.31 UNOG staff members gather by *Broken Chair* to honour colleagues killed in Gaza.
Image: UN Photo/Pierre Albouy, 7 August 2014.

By agreeing to receive the gifts of artwork and hosting art exhibitions engaging policy themes, UNOG can be understood as affirming its role as facilitator for diplomacy and, depending on the context, encouraging Member States to act on a particular topic.

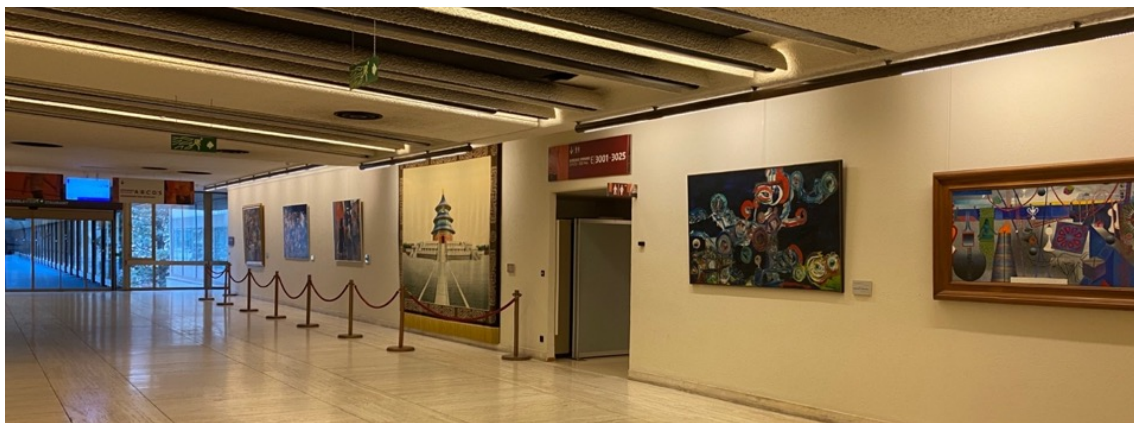
However, to maintain this role, UNOG still exercises close curatorial attention to intentional or unintentional political messages beyond the stated policy concern an artwork or exhibition may address. For example, in one instance, UNOG received an official complaint from a permanent mission that an exhibition highlighting the plight of refugees included a visual reference to a refugee's support for a controversial political figure. When informed of the complaint, the permanent mission sponsoring the exhibition quickly authorized the removal of the offending image from the exhibition (Kryger, interview data, 2021). By facilitating this exchange, UNOG appears to have tried to assuage one country's concerns while keeping the exhibition focused on the sponsoring Member State's key concern, in this case, refugee protection, even if this meant sacrificing a more complex representation of the reality of refugees' political opinions.

Nonetheless, diplomatic protocol around gift giving still makes it extremely difficult for the Director-General to refuse a gift outright, and as a result, UNOG's curatorial authority is restricted by the organization's efforts to honour the wishes of its Member States and, arguably, assert its facilitatory role for as a site for international diplomacy. This tension is evident in the display of the permanent art collection, exhibited in meeting rooms, hallways, stairwells, and passages, sometimes behind red velvet ropes. The seemingly random exhibition design of the permanent collection is in fact a product of diplomatic negotiations.⁵⁷ Once an artwork is accepted into the permanent collection, the Cultural Affairs Committee offers the donating country the choice of two or more potential locations to display the work, either inside the building or the surrounding gardens. Many Member States request that their artwork be exhibited in the gallery and hallways outside of the Human Rights and Alliance of Civilizations *Room* where they believe it will get the most exposure (Anonymous Informant #1, interview data, 2021). With that gallery space now saturated and limited wall space with the Palais des Nations as a whole, works are now rotated to ensure relative fairness of works being visible to diplomats (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, p. 22).

⁵⁷ A staff member from the Institutional Memory and Archive Section of the UN Library & Archives at Geneva noted that if a budget was made available, the renovations of the Palais des Nations could provide an opportunity to rethink the display in accordance with an art history perspective. (Anonymous Informant #1, interview data, 2021).



4.32 Recent gifts in the form of artworks hanging in a main, but narrow, corridor called the Passerelle that connects the original building to the more modern E Building addition. These works were donated by France (a photograph, *Celestia* by Marcel Crozet, 2014, on the left) and Canada (Mixed media painting, *Truth and Reconciliation* by David Maris, 2017, on the right). Image: The author, February 2020.



4.33 Artworks from the UNOG art collection on display in Building E at the top of escalators leading to conference rooms. Image: The author, February 2020.

Notably, when a Member State gifts a work of art, it signs a contractual agreement with UNOG that the Member State will assume all future costs associated with installation, maintenance,

or repairs to ensure the donation poses no additional financial obligations for the UN (Cultural Activities Committee, 2018).⁵⁸ Thus, the diplomatic gift creates both an ongoing symbolic and legal relationship between the UN and the Member State, making them essential joint owners. This relationship complicates UNOG's ability to use the permanent collection to curate an exhibition addressing a specific policy issue in line with its institutional objectives, as diplomatic courtesy would likely require that the UN seek approval or at least inform the Mission of a planned exhibition and its themes.

In sum, art's role in contributing to substantive diplomatic debates at UNOG is limited to spaces outside formal meetings and processes. Artworks and exhibition formats loosely illustrate and create opportunities for emotional connections to policy challenges raised by Member States without forcing participating government and UN representative to articulate specific policy positions. The art helps raise awareness, address potentially controversial issues without formal government attribution, and allows for explicit or subtle political statements to be expressed through the art that contribute to identifying political allies and understanding nuances of issues.

4.4 Conclusion

The case study explores how art's different contributions to diplomacy at UNOG have evolved and developed over time, even if it is perhaps impossible to measure the breadth its impact beyond anecdotal evidence in the absence of years of empirical study (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017). Diplomats and UN civil servants at UNOG interviewed by Doeser and Nisbett spoke about their belief and intuition that cultural diplomacy was an effective diplomatic tool for strengthening diplomatic ties, noting that building diplomatic relationships takes time and that cultural events are ultimately just one of many factors (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, pp. 17–18).

⁵⁸ As of 2017, Member States wishing to donate an artwork to UNOG must also make a one-time 5,000 USD donation to the UNOG Art Collection Fund to “contribute to the maintenance and curation of the entire UNOG art collection” (Cultural Activities Committee, 2018). This fee is also hoped to act as a buffer to reduce the number of artworks donated to the organization given limited exhibition and storage space (Anonymous Informant #1, interview data, 2021).

A few of the most telling quotes include:

- “We always have to be very clear on what is our diplomatic objective from this particular event, otherwise we’re just wasting money”
- “We know that it works. We know it. We just don’t know how”
- “You cannot measure it exactly but you can see the effect that it has” (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, pp. 17–18).

Notably, Doeser and Nisbett acknowledge the ethical dilemmas surrounding the political instrumentalization of art as perhaps one reason why research has not sought to measure the impact of art in international diplomacy (Holden, 2004; Walmsley, 2018). David Clarke says that the field of cultural studies might be able to help fill the evidence gap by encouraging international relations scholars to ask different questions- particularly related to exploring how the end-user receives the artwork (Clarke, 2016).

Recognizing these challenges, this research has only attempted to capture the perception of influence that art has had on diplomacy at UNOG as one part of the international norm evolution process, rather than seeking evidence of measurable impact. To do this, it has explored and described the historical and political circumstances and administrative processes through which art was brought within intergovernmental political organizations to reflect on the various ways in which art could be perceived as influencing international diplomacy, and how that influence may extend and evolve beyond its originally intended purpose.

As an overall finding, the case study observes that UNOG’s administrative processes regarding the receipt and display of art and temporary art exhibitions as “gifts” at the Palais des Nations constitute curatorial decision-making, informed by political, financial, and practical considerations, that both enables and restricts art’s potential contributions to international diplomacy. In this context, the case ultimately concludes that art may contribute to the evolution of international norms at UNOG in two ways. First, it helps build conditions conducive to international diplomacy, both in establishing the UN as a credible institution to host multilateral cooperation and in acting as a glue, grease, and solvent (Cross, unpublished, 2019) for building diplomatic relationships (Birchall, 2015, p. 14; Naidus, 2009, p. 4). Second, the case highlights the more recent, but less common, practice of using art and exhibitions to

address the substantive content of multilateral discussions, including politically sensitive topics such as displacement, migration, and climate change.

The evolving role of art at UNOG and in contemporary art practice indicates opportunities for an even more expansive role for art in diplomacy within international norm development processes. However, artists seeking to contribute to diplomatic processes currently rely on sponsorship relationships, as compared to other members of the Third UN who are valued for their critical and independent expertise and can participate directly in formal processes as official UN observers (Weiss, Carayannis and Jolly, 2009). Expanding art's capacity to inspire and inform diplomatic action (Constantinou, 2021) requires freeing art from the constraints of diplomatic gift giving, which filters the content and form of art and leaves it relegated to the edges of diplomatic debate. The separation of art from diplomatic gift giving would also provide UNOG with more autonomy (Dâmaso, 2018) in its ability to curate exhibitions that advance core UN values.

Opening the way for other critical, more expansive qualities that art can bring to international policymaking requires overcoming scepticism and providing additional examples of art's potential contributions. For instance, a 2018 Report to the UN Human Rights Council by the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights identifies a newly recognized role for socially engaged art practices to actively promote and protect human rights at the country level.⁵⁹ Framed in the context of International Human Rights Law, her report "addresses how actions in the field of culture can make significant contributions towards creating, developing and maintaining societies in which all human rights are increasingly realized" (Human Rights Council, 2018, p. 1). The Special Rapporteur explains how art can contribute to human rights protection, stating, "Because artistic and cultural expressions inevitably carry multiple meanings and invite multiple interpretations, they nourish capacities to tolerate ambiguity and embrace paradox, the ability to imagine innovative solutions to problems and the willingness to attune to others' perceptual sensibilities" (Human Rights Council, 2018, para. 27). In other words, art both contributes to the substantive work of human rights protection and helps create the personal and society conditions necessary for fulfilling human rights.

⁵⁹ Notably, the Special Rapporteur's report is written for a legal audience, the Human Rights Council, which regularly holds its sessions at the Palais de Nations.

The UN remains an organization for Member States, a place where the world's governments convene to resolve contentious issues that demand international cooperation. However, this case shows the promise of art practice to help UN Member States continue to create conditions conducive to diplomacy, while simultaneously contributing to substantive diplomatic policy processes and discussions.

5. Artistic Interventions in Diplomatic Venues: A Case Study on Developing Norms through the DISPLACEMENT Art Project

What are the possibilities and consequences of curators and artists engaging the arts as part of collective efforts to develop norms on disaster displacement in the specific context of international diplomatic conferences? To answer this question, this chapter examines my practice curating the project DISPLACEMENT: Uncertain Journeys (DISPLACEMENT) between 2018 and 2022 to bring art and artists to engage with global policymaking processes during intergovernmental meetings.

While most art exhibited in the context of diplomatic conferences is oriented to the public at large, often outside formal meeting spaces (Burchert, 2022; Coenen-Rowe, 2022), DISPLACEMENT develops artistic interventions specifically for diplomats and technical experts inside conference spaces, recognizing international policymakers as a specific “epistemic community” that ultimately determines diplomatic outcomes in treaties through negotiations carried out by individuals exercising “agency” (Cross, 2007, p. 6). In other words, DISPLACEMENT exhibits art for diplomats and experts who, at least in theory, have the authority, knowledge, and power to transform disaster displacement norms into laws and policies.

Beginning with a brief overview of the evolution of disaster displacement norms to date, this chapter describes the artistic and curatorial strategies tested through three DISPLACEMENT interventions exhibited in collaboration with partners at intergovernmental conferences.⁶⁰ Each example explains how the interventions were adapted to contribute to partners’ policy objectives in a particular diplomatic venue. The chapter also captures perceptions of how the respective exhibitions influenced diplomatic processes developing disaster displacement

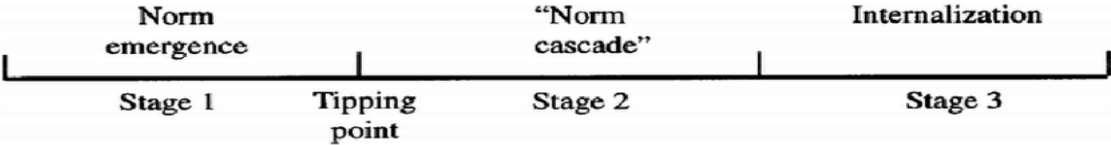
⁶⁰ To access, develop, and finance DISPLACEMENT’s art interventions, I primarily partnered with the Platform on Disaster Displacement (PDD), its Envoy of the Chair, its Secretariat, and members of its Advisory Committee. PDD is a state-led initiative outside the UN system that convenes states, but also UN organizations, NGOs, research institutions, and independent experts to work “towards better protection for people displaced across borders in the context of disasters and climate change” (Platform on Disaster Displacement, no date). See also Chapter 1.3, including footnote 12 for detailed description of DISPLACEMENT project’s funding arrangements. See also Section 3.7 regarding the potential influence of these funding arrangements on this research.

norms, drawing on theories of art and curation, international relations theory on norm dynamics, and psychology and cognitive science research. Each example concludes with reflections on the curatorial strategies used and their consequences when exhibiting art in diplomatic settings.

5.1 Evolution of Disaster Displacement Norms

A critical approach to addressing disaster displacement requires assessing the underlying causes of displacement in the context of disasters and climate change, as well as creating legal mechanisms and operational frameworks to assist people in the event they are forced to leave their homes. Thus, developing the norm to protect disaster displaced persons implicates numerous fields of international law and policy. For instance, immigration law alone cannot create the conditions that will reduce the risk of future disaster displacement, nor are climate change institutions designed to provide emergency humanitarian assistance. Furthermore, regional disaster displacement situations also vary significantly, both in terms of legal frameworks and with respect to the adverse impacts of the climate emergency.

Consequently, disaster displacement norms are simultaneously under contestation and consolidation in multiple diplomatic venues (See Chapter 2.2.1). While they differ in their formulations and terminology, norms researchers on disaster displacement agree that the norm of protecting disaster displaced persons has not reached “internalization” or Stage 3 of Finnemore and Sikkink’s norm life cycle (McAdam, 2014, 2016; Schriever, 2017; Jakobsson, 2018a, 2018b; Okeowo, 2018).



5.1 The norm “life cycle” as visualized by Finnemore and Sikkink. Image: (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 896).

For instance, applying the norm life cycle in 2018, legal scholar Ademola Oladimeji Okeowo concludes that 109 States endorsing the Nansen Initiative Protection Agenda, well over one-third of the UN’s 196 Member States, arguably signifies that the norm has reached the “tipping point” of acceptance among States (Okeowo, 2018, p. 221). His analysis recalls that Finnemore

and Sikkink cite empirical studies that indicate a tipping point has been reached when at least one-third of states within a given system support a norm. However, because the Protection Agenda was explicitly endorsed by States as a non-binding document, Okeowo is uncertain as to whether the Protection Agenda could be accurately described as a form of “soft law” at the time of writing (Okeowo, 2018).

Sophie Shriever’s study applying the norm life cycle to the “climate refugee” norm concludes that the norm ultimately emerged in Stage 1 framed as “disaster displacement” (Shriever, 2017). In comparison, Elin Jakobsson, understanding the norm as “climate-induced migration” finds at the time of writing that the norm had stagnated in the absence of evidence that the norm had been integrated into the fields of disaster risk reduction and climate change, respectively (Jakobsson, 2018a, 2018b). Setting aside law and policy developments that occurred after their studies, the latter two’s initial selection of framing the norm using different terms could be explained by their respective backgrounds in international relations, as compared to Okeowo’s research in international law, which does not recognize the term “climate refugee” and which makes a distinction between forced displacement and voluntary migration (See Chapter 2).

To evolve from the second stage of the life cycle, a norm ultimately “must become institutionalized in specific sets of international rules and organizations” either before or after it “cascades” in the third stage (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 900). The Nansen Initiative’s collective advocacy and conceptual developments significantly contributed to the inclusion of disaster displacement in key UN normative and policy instruments, including the UN Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction, the creation of the UNFCCC’s Task Force on Displacement under the Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage associated with Climate Change Impacts, and the World Humanitarian Summit’s Agenda for Humanity (Kälin, 2022). Since its creation in 2016, the Platform on Disaster Displacement (PDD) has supported global implementation of the Protection Agenda (McAdam, 2016) and contributed to success efforts that brought disaster displacement into key UN and other intergovernmental processes at international and regional levels, including the Global Forum on Migration and Development, the UN International Migration Review Forum, the UN Human Rights Council, and the UN Secretary General’s High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement (PDD, 2019b).

Thus, while the evolution of a disaster displacement norm has arguably passed the first “emergence” phase of the norm life cycle and is in Stage 2, ensuring that policy language translates into concrete action at regional, national, and local levels to reach Stage 3 requires a continued effort by international policymakers to prioritize disaster displacement as a relevant and critical issue.

5.1.1 The Platform on Disaster Displacement as a norm entrepreneur in diplomatic venues

The second stage of the norm life cycle is characterized by socialization as the dominant “mechanism through which norm leaders persuade others to adhere” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 902). Finnemore and Sikkink recognize the important role states, as well as other actors, play in persuasion: “Networks of norm entrepreneurs and international organizations also act as agents of socialization by pressuring targeted actors to adopt new policies and laws and to ratify treaties and by monitoring compliance with international standards” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 902). Reflecting on the evolution of the disaster displacement norm, both the Nansen Initiative and PDD can be understood as “norm entrepreneurs” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998) that convene and represent a broad coalition of state and non-state actors seeking to shape and advance support for international norms on disaster displacement.

PDD can be understood as serving as an “organizational platform” to supports a “transnational advocacy network” on disaster displacement, which Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink describe as including “those actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse and dense exchanges of information and service” (Keck and Sikkink, 1999, p. 89). PDD’s overall objective has been to “support States and other stakeholders to strengthen the protection of persons displaced across borders in the context of disasters and the adverse effects of climate change, and to prevent or reduce disaster displacement risks in countries of origin” (PDD, 2019b, p. 2). According to Atle Solberg, Head of the PDD Secretariat, PDD’s work includes identifying legal, policy and operational gaps and then encouraging and advocating for States, UN, and other actors to take action by providing coordination, technical capacity, and communication on disaster displacement-related issues (Solberg, interview data, 2020). PDD’s 2019-2022 strategy, approved by its

Steering Group comprising 18 geographically diverse states and the European Union,⁶¹ includes four strategic priorities related to: i) supporting the implementation of existing global policy frameworks, ii) promoting the development of policies and norms to address protection gaps related to disaster displacement, iii) facilitating the implementation of effective practices at national and regional levels to prevent, reduce and address disaster displacement, and iv) strengthening disaster displacement data and evidence (PDD, 2019b, p. 2).

Given the multi-causal nature of disaster displacement, supporting the institutionalization of disaster displacement norms requires simultaneously engaging multiple international and regional diplomatic policy areas (Platform on Disaster Displacement, 2017; PDD, 2019c). Political science scholar Katharina Coleman uses the term “venue” to refer to “the institutional setting in which an official diplomatic encounter occurs” (Coleman, 2013, p. 167). In particular, she describes diplomatic venues as sites where norm entrepreneurs and “norm leaders”⁶² use persuasion and negotiation as part of a “crystallization process in which the emerging norm acquires its specific shape and content – as well as its international support – through interactions both between states and non-state actors and among states” (Coleman, 2013, p. 166). To help understand this process, Coleman proposes a conceptual framework to explain how state and non-state actors strategically choose a venue where they think their norm will have the most success based upon a venue’s characteristics, such as “membership, mandate, output status, rules of procedure/operating procedures and legitimacy”(Coleman, 2013, p. 168), as distinct from a venue’s “physical/geographic space” (Coleman, 2013, p. 167). Recognizing that arriving at a specific set of laws or policies is not necessarily a linear or rational process, this research uses the term “development” to describe the process through the disaster displacement norm is understood, adapted, shaped, and reframed to reflect the specific venue within which it is being discussed. In this sense, “development” is used to convey a potentially amorphous process of persuasion and contestation — when the conception of a norm expands, contracts, and extends — before clarity emerges within each venue and the norm is “crystallized” into specific policies and laws.

⁶¹ In July 2022, PDD’s Steering Group members included: Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, European Union (Chair), Fiji, France, Germany, Kenya (Vice-Chair), Madagascar, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Norway, Philippines, Senegal, and Switzerland (PDD, 2022d). Prior Chairs included Germany, Bangladesh, France, and Fiji.

⁶² Coleman uses the term “norm leaders” to refer to states that have endorsed norms initially proposed by “norm entrepreneurs,” who are often non-state actors. (Coleman, 2013, p. 166))

5.1.2 DISPLACEMENT and PDD collaboration

This case focuses on DISPLACEMENT's collaboration with PDD⁶³ to develop disaster displacement norms in three distinct venues: i) Migration Week in Marrakesh, Morocco, which included the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) and the UN Intergovernmental Conference to Adopt the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (2018), ii) the Conference of the Parties of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP25) in Madrid, Spain (2019), and iii) the UN Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction (GPDRR) in Geneva, Switzerland and Bali, Indonesia (2019 & 2022). Rather than trying to coerce States to act differently, PDD acts to persuade States and other members of the international community to endorse and act upon disaster displacement norms (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 900).

My curatorial practice is inspired by Maria Lind's expanded notion of curating as "making art public" through various formats that extend beyond exhibiting artworks in galleries (Hoffmann and Lind, 2011). However, my practice differed from Lind's "curatorial" approach, which applies "a methodology that takes art as its starting point, but then situates it in relation to specific contexts, times, and questions in order to challenge the status quo" (Hoffmann and Lind, 2011). Rather than beginning with the art and then crafting a compelling question to guide the exhibition, my curatorial process for each exhibition begins with an assessment of the venue. I research the conference's i) subject matter; ii) geographical location and host; iii) format; and iv) anticipated outcomes. In consultation with the DISPLACEMENT Advisory Team members, I then seek to understand PDD's policy and communication objectives for the conference, as well as more practical information, such as the physical conference facilities, PDD's planned activities at the event, and the amount of time and money available to plan an intervention.

⁶³ DISPLACEMENT's partnership with PDD is based upon the inclusion of art more generally in the PDD Communication Strategy (PDD, 2019a) and as an operational partner in a project agreement between PDD and the Government of Norway (PDD, 2021a). The reference to collaboration with PDD includes the recognition of NRC, a key DISPLACEMENT partner, as a member of the PDD Advisory Committee. PDD and NRC staff members also serve as members of DISPLACEMENT's informal Advisory Team. In practical terms, the collaboration draws upon my membership of the PDD Advisory Committee as a disaster displacement researcher and my ongoing relationships with PDD Secretariat and NRC Geneva staff, maintained in part through policy-related consultancy work.

From the beginning, I intended to set DISPLACEMENT apart from documentary photo exhibitions commonly exhibited at intergovernmental conferences, which in my experience had limitations for their ability to raise awareness and assert policy positions. Documentary photography undoubtedly can influence political discourse, including on sensitive displacement issues.⁶⁴ However, at diplomatic conferences, my colleagues and I observed delegates frequently walk by photography exhibitions without pausing or giving only passing attention (El Labbane, interview data, 2019; Kälin, interview data, 2020). Many displays also lack visibility because they are placed in lost spaces, like corridors or remote display areas,⁶⁵ and are designed for solitary viewing, without opportunities for further discussion. Exhibits I viewed at diplomatic conferences also failed to represent the spectrum of what art could contribute to policy discussions. I particularly noted the absence of socially engaged art practices and art research projects.

5.1.3. Diversity of positions in diplomatic venues

Global intergovernmental conferences, such as those organized by the United Nations, frequently convene diplomatic delegations from over 190 States in both large, media-frenzied events as well as smaller, less visible *ad hoc* meetings, relying on an agreed protocol to guide the proceedings (Kaufmann, 1996; Hecht, Boulgaris and Jazairy, 2015). During the conference, State delegations, with their distinct situated positions and relations of power, may develop and advance common advocacy positions based upon shared priorities, such by working through regional groups,⁶⁶ or on the basis of economic or other common policy interests.⁶⁷ While States' alliances and situated positions vary depending on the diplomatic venue, with

⁶⁴ The political outcry at the devastating image of the two-year-old Syrian boy, Alan Shenu, on a beach in Turkey in 2018 is just one example that occurred during this research.

⁶⁵ Artist Ormond-Skeaping observed at COP26 in Glasgow that photographs were often lost in branded booths or placed in inconspicuous spaces like by the canteen (Ormond-Skeaping, interview data, 2022).

⁶⁶ For instance, the United Nations recognizes the following regional groups among its Member States: African States, Asia-Pacific States, Eastern European States, Latin American and Caribbean States, Western European and other States (Department for General Assembly and Conference Management, no date).

⁶⁷ For example, the United Nations Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States serves “92 vulnerable member states” that include “45 [Least Developed Countries](#), 32 [Landlocked Developing Countries](#) and 39 [Small Island Developing States](#)” that have “special challenges” (Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States, no date).

respect to the disaster displacement issues discussed in this chapter, it is worth highlighting that some government delegations may face more challenges than others when traveling to and participating in intergovernmental conferences. Despite their diplomatic status, many countries still require government diplomats to apply for visas prior to arriving in a country hosting a conference. Thus, delays or challenges related to processing visa requests can result in delegates arriving late to conferences or not being able to attend at all. Small, less economically advantaged States may also have insufficient financial resources to send large delegations, even though they may represent the countries most adversely affected by disaster displacement. In this case, the governments or intergovernmental entities hosting the conference may offer support to facilitate participation in international conferences, such as by paying some or all of a government delegation's costs associated with conference attendance (United Nations, no date c).

However, intergovernmental conferences convene more than diplomats. While the spectacle-like nature of diplomatic conferences is nothing new (Doran, 1993; Oglesby, 2010; Death, 2011; Van Alstine, Afionis and Doran, 2013), the exponential growth of attendance at the UNFCCC COPs in recent years⁶⁸ is evidence of the diverse positions and interests of individuals attending intergovernmental meetings. For instance, following her participation at COP25 in Madrid as an Official Observer representing the NGO the Quaker United Nations Office,⁶⁹ Lindsey Fielder Cook reflected on the multiplicity of activities and perspectives within intergovernmental meetings:

Within the massive Madrid conference halls, there were rooms full of civil society energy, of side events and of innovative and courageous ideas and action. There were country pavilions with discussions and cultural celebrations and examples of actions. And then there were the negotiation rooms, where life and colour were quickly drained by positions that negotiators were instructed to hold, even when their own countries were burning as they spoke (sometimes literally, as with Australia) (Fielder Cook, 2019, p. 1).

As Fielder Cook illustrates, although the formal diplomatic proceedings may be at the core of a diplomatic conference, these processes are complimented by other activities that also directly

⁶⁸ For example, attendance at COP28 in Dubai in 2023, estimated at around 100,000 participants, was some four times higher than at the 2019 COP25 in Madrid presented in this chapter. For a detailed breakdown of attendance since COP1, see (McSweeney, 2023).

⁶⁹ The Quaker United Nations Office, Geneva is also a member of the PDD Advisory Committee.

or indirectly contribute to political change, such as official side events and pavilions, as well as lobbying efforts by public and private interest groups (Hanegraaff, Beyers and De Bruycker, 2016; Michaelson, 2022; Joselow, 2023), protest activities in and outside the meeting site (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Maiguashca, 2003), or parallel events organized in separate locations, such as shadow conferences organized by NGOs (Kaufmann, 1996) or art exhibitions (Lam *et al.*, 2013).

With this diversity of activities comes a diversity of actors and situated positions. Depending on a diplomatic venue's openness, non-State actors may be able to observe or participate in official conference events to varying degrees based upon their respective roles as: UN staff members, technical experts, researchers, civil society, affected persons, private sector or industry representatives, journalists, artists, youth, and philanthropists. Diplomatic conferences are also supported by drivers, caterers, cleaning staff, multimedia technicians, translators, graphic designers, secretarial staff, photographers, videographers, and security staff.

My ability to travel to the conferences discussed in this chapter was eased by my US and Swiss nationalities, which allowed me to obtain visas on arrival, and the financial support I received from PDD and NRC to cover travel and accommodation costs.⁷⁰ Attendance at the conference also required a conference ID to access the meeting facilities. Because I participated in my personal capacity and was not a UN staff member, PDD facilitated my registration for two conferences with more restrictive rules for participation by non-State actors.⁷¹ Finally, in this research, I recognize my privileged position to assume the role of "art curator" at these conferences, engaging disaster displacement issues in a way that some may find frivolous or inconsequential given the overall human rights and humanitarian challenges facing displaced persons and migrants, and the existential nature of the climate emergency. While I care deeply

⁷⁰ While I paid my own travel and accommodation costs related to Marrakesh, PDD and NRC, respectively, paid these expenses for my attendance in Madrid and Bali.

⁷¹ To attend the Global Forum on Migration and Development Summit in Marrakesh, PDD registered me as part of its delegation, noting that Morocco, as host government, was also a member of the PDD Steering Group. Similarly, to attend COP25, PDD arranged my registration under "Party Overflow" as part of the French Delegation. However, I was able to register directly as an NGO to the UN Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction because DISPLACEMENT's proposal to have an exhibition stand at the Innovation Platform had been accepted by the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction.

about disaster displacement, I have not been personally or directly affected by disaster displacement other than through my work. That said, growing up in rural Indiana in the United States with tornado watches and warnings as a regular part of my childhood, I am keenly aware how deadly and destructive hazards like tornados can be.

Recognizing that most of the artworks exhibited as part of DISPLACEMENT were not specifically created by artists for the specific “site” of diplomatic conferences, this chapter also examines the role of “curatorial framing,” understood as contextualizing the artworks through exhibition design, paratextual materials, and political association to increase the influence of an artwork as part of norm development efforts. Given the inherent nature of art’s openness to interpretation, particularly in the context of conferences bringing together delegates from over 190 different countries, it is inevitable that the curatorial framing, or the artworks themselves, may not have had the intended effect on all viewers with respect to persuading them to support developing disaster displacement norms. As artist Martha Rosler has commented, “Criticality that manifests as a subtle thread in iconographic details is unlikely to be apprehended by wide audiences across national borders”, particularly when coming from countries with “repressive regimes” (Rosler, 2010). Changing geopolitical contexts and historical events may also alter how an artwork is interpreted over time. Over the duration of the research, I encountered individuals who discounted the political value of exhibiting art in diplomatic venues, NGO representatives who only supported the inclusion of community-based art created in displacement-affected communities, those who found artworks either too abstract or too simplistic, as well as other individuals who enthusiastically welcomed the inclusion of artworks and artists in the conference proceedings. Thus, the research recognizes that, like any advocacy initiative and the subjective nature of art itself, efforts at curatorial framing will not resonate with everyone and should undergo continued reflexivity to reflect evolving political contexts, including those that may have grown increasingly receptive to incorporating art within diplomatic venues.

Relatedly, curators working within contemporary art institutions examining similar themes may have selected other artworks deemed more “critical” with respect to how they illuminate the underlying causes that culminate in displacement and precarity (Halperin, 2019; Demos, 2020; Burchert, 2024) than some of those presented in this chapter. Like others exhibiting

contemporary artworks to diverse audiences in non-art contexts to advance global policy objectives (UN Live, no date; *ART 2030*, no date), the artworks may have been intentionally selected for their “legibility” (Demos, 2016, p. 97), their subtle way of highlighting the underlying causes of disaster displacement, or their emphasis on novel policy solutions, recognizing that the intended audience comprised an extremely diverse group of diplomats, technical experts, civil society representatives, and others who did not necessarily have a background in contemporary art. As will be discussed, the curatorial decisions described throughout this chapter thus reflect a consideration of the specific diplomatic venue, the physical site where the meeting is held, the diverse and multi-cultural audiences viewing the works, the identified collective norm development priorities for a conference, the conference organizers’ policies for art exhibitions, as well as the practical and political challenges associated with the DISPLACEMENT project’s novel approach to integrating art within diplomatic processes and meeting facilities.⁷²

Finally, recognizing that I conducted this research as someone personally engaged in co-founding, advocating for, and implementing the DISPLACEMENT project, this chapter attempts to incorporate reflexivity by drawing on interdisciplinary literature and the perspective of other individuals who also participated in the exhibitions. Nonetheless, practice-based research undeniably has a different level of criticality than research conducted by a more detached observer (Barrett, 2010a), resulting in both advantages and disadvantages with respect to developing research questions, data collection, and analysis (Berger, 2015). Future research could offer alternative interpretations of the artistic interventions and their potential influence than those described in this chapter.

With this in mind, this case explores the various roles art might play as part of a larger collaborative effort, such as within a transnational advocacy network, to persuade international policymakers to institutionalize disaster displacement norms in relevant diplomatic venues. Refining the artistic strategies set out in Chapter 2, this case describes four artistic strategies used, often simultaneously, by DISPLACEMENT in exhibitions: i) manifesting

⁷² For example, while valued for their aversion to closed meaning, some contemporary artworks are intentionally vague or obscure and require expert knowledge of (often Western) art history to interpret. Otherwise relevant artworks may also require an extended time period to view or experience, or be too complicated and/or expensive to install and maintain in an unguarded diplomatic venue given the short duration of an event or available financial resources.

ideas, values, and power; ii) stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate; iii) contributing novel information, knowledge, and methods; and iv) investigating or modelling solutions.

To contextualize why certain artistic strategies were selected, the analysis of each DISPLACEMENT exhibition focuses on one strategy (communication, research, or promoting potential policy solutions) PDD uses to develop disaster displacement norms. It then compares DISPLACEMENT's artistic and curatorial strategies with these approaches to examine the perceived influence of art on norm development. In so doing, the case takes inspiration from art historian Vid Simoniti, who argues, "If socially engaged artists intend to bring about a certain positive sociopolitical change, then we should judge their work not only in comparison to other artworks but within a broader context of political activity" (Simoniti, 2018, p. 80). In other words, understanding the potential influence of art on norm development at diplomatic conferences requires understanding the institutional framework of each specific venue and how art interventions compare to other activities seeking to similarly influence norm development at the conference. Ultimately, the research finds that DISPLACEMENT's artistic interventions influence the development of international norms in three, often interconnected, ways: i) increasing awareness and understanding, ii) exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment, and iii) generating creative thinking and solutions.

The chapter concludes with reflections on what forms of artistic engagement in diplomatic conferences are possible, what is more challenging, and the implications for curators, artists, and others exhibiting art in diplomatic contexts.

5.2 Communicating about Disaster Displacement in a Migration Venue

This section focuses on how DISPLACEMENT contributed to PDD's communication efforts to generate awareness about disaster displacement during Migration Week in Marrakesh, Morocco in December 2018. Migration Week was notable for bringing together two intergovernmental conferences addressing the topic of international migration. The week began with the Summit of the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), a "state-led, informal and non-binding" (*Global Forum on Migration and Development*, no date) venue established by states in 2007 to discuss sensitive migration issues outside the UN system. Discussions at the GFMD in Marrakesh were expected to shape the final negotiations during

the subsequent UN Intergovernmental Conference to Adopt the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (Global Compact for Migration). The Global Compact for Migration ultimately became the first UN agreement to comprehensively address international migration, a historically sensitive topic that, until recently, had only been discussed outside UN processes, notably the GFMD (IOM, no date).

PDD’s overall communication strategy focuses on building awareness about disaster displacement, sharing information about its activities, strengthening the PDD’s profile as an important voice on issues related to disaster displacement, and, ideally, gaining new supporters. According to Solberg, communication is a cross-cutting component of PDD’s overall strategy that requires precision and nuance given political sensitivities around climate change, migration, and displacement issues (Solberg, interview data, 2020). The organization’s communication efforts primarily target states with diplomatic representations in Geneva and New York where the UN has its main headquarters, donors, and all actors engaged in PDD activities (El Labbane, interview data, 2019; PDD, 2019a). It uses communication tools such as social media networks, a monthly email newsletter, maintaining its website with news, analysis, and resources, and media relations.⁷³ The PDD strategy recognizes art as a “non-traditional” communication tool, alongside apps such as Prezi and Mail Chimp, used, respectively, to design presentations and emails (PDD, 2019a). The use of alternative forms of communication is consistent with research on climate change communication that concludes the complexity and lack of immediacy posed by climate change threats demand new ways of communicating information that leave people empowered with knowledge about how to address the challenge (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016, p. 65).



5.2 Visualization of discussions about PDD’s communication strategy during the PDD Advisory Committee’s 2017 workshop. Image: PDD/Joshua Knowles, 2017.

⁷³ Most of these communication “products” are freely available on PDD’s website and social media networks. However, given PDD’s overall objectives and limited communication capacity, the interested public at large is not a core target audience (El Labbane, interview data, 2019).

To prepare a communication plan for diplomatic conferences, PDD considers each diplomatic venue and the issues to be discussed during the conference to assess their relevance to advancing disaster displacement norms. Finnemore and Sikkink contend that “the construction of cognitive frames is an essential component of norm entrepreneurs' political strategies, since, when they are successful, the new frames resonate with broader public understandings and are adopted as new ways of talking about and understanding issues” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 897). Similarly, PDD’s communication efforts create cognitive frames for delegates by undertaking different communication activities that associate disaster displacement with topics discussed at the conference, governments’ policy positions and priorities, the format of the meeting, and the anticipated policy or legal outcomes of the conference.



5.3 Plenary session of the Summit of the Global Forum on Migration and Development in Marrakesh, Morocco, 2018. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst.

For example, part of the communication plan includes developing a targeted set of key messages for delegates negotiating the conference outcomes, and journalists covering the event for more general audiences. PDD’s communication plan then builds on key moments during the conference, for instance events organized by PDD and its partners, to amplify and

contextualize the inclusion and visibility of disaster displacement messaging in conference deliberations, such as by highlighting the latest disaster displacement figures, showcasing country experiences and effective practices, and stating specific desired policy outcomes from the conference. These collective efforts aim to persuade States and other actors about the importance and relevance of disaster displacement as a policy issue, a core activity during the emergence stage of norm's evolution that continues into the second stage of the norm life cycle.

5.2.1 Artistic Strategies and Communication

DISPLACEMENT was requested to support PDD's primary communication objective to ensure visibility and continued support for the comprehensive inclusion of disaster displacement in Migration Week outcomes. Diplomats had previously negotiated draft texts of the Global Compact for Migration during six sessions at the UN headquarters in New York that ended in July 2018 (Permanent Representatives of Mexico and Switzerland to the United Nations, 2018), with seven paragraphs in particular dedicated to disaster displacement-related issues. However, because the compact addressed a wide range of issues, from border security to labour migration, PDD wanted to ensure that disaster displacement remained high on the international agenda and avert any risk that words or even paragraphs related to disaster displacement could be removed or changed during the final negotiations.

Intergovernmental conferences typically have packed agendas that include formal plenary meetings, high-level bilateral meetings, closed door negotiation sessions, side events for sharing information and discussion, informal strategy meetings, coffee breaks, unstructured interactions while visiting exhibition spaces and attending receptions, and working meals. While every moment allows for diplomatic exchange, diplomats are often pressed for time and focus on achieving their national political priorities. Creating moments for conference delegates to engage and deeply consider new information, particularly on a politically sensitive and complex policy area like disaster displacement, can be extremely challenging.

Communication messaging on disaster displacement often begins by highlighting the millions of people displaced by disasters each year. While this information is critical, research has shown that compassion for the suffering of other people tends to wane when numbers reach

the millions, even though laws and policies are designed to address such large-scale needs (Scarry, 2019: 29; See also Moeller, 1999; Bloom, 2016). Psychological research studies on controversial subjects, such as climate change, have also found that “strictly science-based messages” may reinforce and further strengthen people’s pre-existing views, rather than change people’s minds (Roosen, et al., 2018: 86; See also Hamilton, 2013: 17). Similarly, although information can be understood through facts and images, cognitive science research concludes that physical experiences that engage touch, sound, and smell are also powerful ways to transmit information (Damasio, 2006; Johnson, 2008). Communication tools based solely on facts and rational arguments also risk ignoring the role that emotions play in political decision making (Cohn, 1987; Lakoff, 2004; Bleiker and Hutchison, 2008; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017, p. 11; Hall *et al.*, 2017; Mintz, Valentino and Wayne, 2022).

The DISPLACEMENT exhibition for Migration Week focused on accentuating two artistic strategies: manifesting the notion of disaster displacement and stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate about the topic. To identify artworks for Migration Week, I reflected on which artists’ works would best speak to the PDD’s policy and communication objectives for the conference (PDD, 2018). Because I sought to capture delegates’ attention and draw them into conversation about disaster displacement related themes, as well as inspire personal reflection and an emotional connection to the issue, I prioritized participatory or dialogical artworks with a strong visual presence and that emphasized displacement as a human issue that could impact everyone. Recognizing that art, unlike typical communication messaging, often allows for multiple interpretations, I also sought artworks that delegates, who may not be art experts, could understand with minimal paratextual content (Lowry, 2015, 2016). I was also cognizant of a report on employing art for human rights messaging, which noted a potential tension between superficial or “low art” resonating with more people, while “high art” may have more nuanced messages that resonate with fewer people (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017, p. 12). Thus, as will be discussed below, some of the exhibited artworks were selected for their ability to gain immediate attention, while also offering the opportunity for deeper reflection on the relevance of disaster displacement to international migration policy development.

5.2.1.1 Manifesting the notion of disaster displacement

Departing from textual, fact-dominated communication tools, the exhibition in Marrakesh centred around two large interactive artworks, selected for their strong visual metaphors and embodied experiences, with the hope that engaging with the artworks would inspire policymakers to build a personal connection to the issue of disaster displacement and support developing and institutionalizing disaster displacement norms in the migration venue (See also 5.2.3).

The first artwork, Lucy + Jorge Orta's *Antarctic Village-No Borders* (Orta and Orta, 2007) and *Antarctica World Passport Bureau* (Orta and Orta, 2018), part of the ongoing meta-project *Antarctica* project that began in 2007, was installed in the large atrium at the core of the conference building located in a five-star hotel and golf complex in the northern suburbs of Marrakesh, which hosted the GFMD and side events for the UN migration conference. Over the course of the week, some 1,500 delegates stood in line to receive a stamped copy of the *Antarctica World Passport*. Inspired by the 1959 Antarctic Treaty, the passport symbolizes world citizenship and a world unencumbered by national borders. Among other commitments, passport holders agree to "Support humanitarian actions aiding displaced peoples of the world" (Orta and Orta, 2008). Part of a series that began in 2008, the fifth edition of the passport printed for Migration Week also highlights the large number of people displaced by disasters, in addition to those fleeing conflict. The passport office, roughly assembled of wood and found objects from Marrakesh, and the four colourful tents made of national flags from around the world were a striking contrast to the building's traditional Moroccan architecture.



5.4 Lucy + Jorge Orta's *Antarctic Village-No Borders* and *Antarctica World Passport Bureau* installed in the center of the conference building hosting the 2018 Global Forum on Migration and Development in Marrakesh, Morocco as part of the DISPLACEMENT exhibition. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst.

Outside the main entrance to the conference centre, artist Søren Dahlgaard invited delegates to carry his sculpture *The Inflatable Island*⁷⁴ (Dahlgaard, 2013), the second artwork featured in the exhibition, that resembles a children's bouncy castle. Influenced by his time living with his family in the Maldives where he experienced first-hand the existential threats of sea-level rise on low-lying island states, Dahlgaard created the island topped by three palm trees out of parachute fabric to symbolize the threat of people forced to leave their homes by climate change impacts. The intentionally playful work embodies the tension between tropical islands and inflatable water toys as symbols of leisure and escape for many in the Global North with the disproportionate climate impacts faced by low-lying island nations, whose residents seek safety elsewhere, including by attempting perilous water crossings in precarious vessels and rafts. As noted previously (see Section 2.1.2.2), *The Inflatable Island* is one element of *The Maldives Exodus Caravan Show* (Dahlgaard, 2012), initially created by the artist for the 2013

⁷⁴ Dahlgaard also refers to the sculpture as *Fuppidooh*, explaining, "In Dhivehi, the Maldivian language, *fuppi* means inflated, and *dhoo* is the most common suffix attached to Maldivian island names and means island" (Dahlgaard, 2019, p. 125).

Venice Biennale, with curatorial support by Elena Gilbert and Paolo Rosso of Microclima. In this larger work, the inflatable is perched precariously on a caravan that houses the works of international and Maldivian artists,⁷⁵ accompanied by games, Maldivian music, videos, and performances (Centre for Contemporary Art Laznia, 2015). For example, inspired by the former exiled Maldivian president and climate activist Mohamed Nasheed's media-catching underwater cabinet meeting in 2009 (Dahlgaard, 2019, pp. 127–128), Dahlgaard placed small monitors inside the caravan screening *The Island President* (2011), a documentary film about the democratically elected leader prior to his resignation amidst political upheaval in 2012, as well as a text by Nasheed calling for climate justice.

In the context of Migration Week in Marrakesh, inviting delegates to collectively carry *The Inflatable Island* to a “safer” location was conceived as an act symbolizing global solidarity with low-lying island nations and the need for international migration policy to protect residents of vulnerable countries from future harm. Despite this intention, it is possible that some people, such as television viewers watching news broadcasts of conference delegates carrying the island, may have taken offense at the notion of global elites participating in an infantilising spectacle rather than doing the hard work of negotiating international migration agreements. The performance could also be understood as embodying a vision of jet setting diplomats and conference delegates, whose international plane travel to attend diplomatic conferences at luxury venues with palm trees only further contributes to sea-level rise that forces people to flee their homes.⁷⁶ Conversely, for delegates from countries where palm trees are native flora, the trees may have been viewed as a familiar and welcomed symbol of home amidst diplomatic processes often dominated by States from temperate climates in the Global North. For people from arid, desert countries with nomadic populations, the palm trees may have evoked associations with life, water, and safe havens. Finally, humour and play, while commonly engaged in artistic activist strategies (Duncombe and Lambert, 2021), may not

⁷⁵ Artists and contributors for a 2015 iteration included: “Viktor Bedo, Else Marie Bukdahl, Christian Falsnaes, Funko, Mark Harvey, Antti Laitinen, Harry Lee, Maldivian music, Virginie Moerenhout, Fathmath Nadira, Amani Naseem, Mohamed Nasheed, Mariyam Omar, Tom Penney, Bik Van der Pol, Alexander Ponomarev, SUPERFLEX, Meir Tati, [and] Rirkrit Tiravanija” (Centre for Contemporary Art Laznia, 2015).

⁷⁶ For instance, four years after the GFMD in Marrakesh, tens of thousands of people, including those representing fossil fuel companies, flew to attend COP28 in Dubai, a city famous for its artificially created Palm Islands financed by petroleum extraction that host some of the city's most elite luxury resorts, private residences, and entertainment facilities.

translate across cultures or be viewed as appropriate for a diplomatic conference. Cognisant of the diverse potential interpretations, this research concludes, as will be discussed below, that directly participating in or witnessing the playful act of carrying *The Inflatable Island* contributed to building solidarity and prompting conversations about the need to address disaster displacement in international migration agreements, including critical reflection on delegates' own personal and professional relationships to the issue.



5.5 Delegates to the GFMD take a lunch break next to *The Inflatable Island*.
Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst, 2018.

In addition, three video screens in the hallway adjacent to the Orta installation displayed art photography and films depicting displacement themes in diverse disaster and geographic contexts.⁷⁷ Rhino Ariefiansyah and Marie Velardi's silent film *Aléa* explores displacement and utopian futures in coastal France following a severe storm. Video documentation of Lars Jan's haunting performance *Holoscenes* illuminates people from different cultural backgrounds determinedly trying to carry out mundane activities in a giant glass aquarium as water in the tank rises and falls. Art collective Relocate Kivalina featured its multi-media archive

⁷⁷ We originally intended to project the images and videos onto large screens to make the viewing experience more immersive. However, this was not possible due to financial and logistical challenges.

documenting Alaskan indigenous community's administrative and cultural relationship with planned relocation related to climate change impacts. Finally, Chris Wainwright's 2015 visually striking photo series *We Are All Stars* suspends moments of a performance with survivors of the Fukushima tsunami disaster, including individuals running up a tsunami evacuation route carrying red light wands.



5.6 Chris Wainwright, *Escape route at Houraikan*, Nr Kamaishi, Iwate Prefecture, Japan, Group performance, Colour photograph, 2015. Image: © Anne Lydiat Wainwright.

Collectively, the artworks manifested the notion of disaster displacement in its diverse forms and contexts, selected to resonate with delegates from different geographic regions. The exhibition, with a utopian passport and collective action to move an island to safety, also provided visual metaphors for normative action on disaster displacement. The artworks quickly captured delegates' attention, but also contained enough nuance to prompt deeper reflection on relevant policy challenges (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017). According to sociologist Ron Eyerman, who studies the role of art in social movements, "Artistic representations are important to internal movement dynamics and in communicating movement ideas to the wider world" and to its own members (Eyerman, 2014).

Nonetheless, renowned social practice artist Suzanne Lacy cautions that art exhibited outside museum contexts needs to “operate on more than one level, teaching diverse audiences how to ‘read’ particular images” (Lacy, 2012, p. 3). Recognizing that delegates may not be familiar with art or have limited time to engage with the works, delegates could also read a printed brochure with coloured photographs providing an explanation in English of the exhibition and its purpose, a brief description of each artwork, and the sponsoring organizations. In addition to passing out the brochures with the *Antarctica World Passports*, individuals working with the DISPLACEMENT project were also stationed in the exhibition spaces inside and outside the conference centre to handout the brochures and discuss the exhibition with delegates. A poster with an overall description of the exhibition was hung by the entrance to the atrium with the Orta installation. Each artist also had a poster describing the artworks hung next to the works. The descriptions were based upon texts originally provided by the artists that I refined to emphasize how the work related to disaster displacement. I edited the texts as minimally as possible to retain the artists’ intention of how they wanted to portray their work. Finally, a roll-up banner stating “Engaging Art in the Global Response to Disaster Displacement” was displayed next to the artworks exhibited on three monitors in an alcove framed by three arches to further associate the artworks with the policy issue of disaster displacement.



5.7 A roll-up banner announcing the exhibition and posters describing individual artworks were displayed in exhibition spaces during Migration Week. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst, 2018.

5.2.1.2 Stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate

The installation of Lucy + Jorge Orta's *Antarctica World Passport Bureau* and *Antarctic Village-No Borders* in the GFMD conference space drew a constant stream of curious visitors that created opportunities to discuss why the exhibition was at the conference, highlighting the issue of disaster displacement as it related to international migration. Lucy Orta explains: "The idea of an Antarctica *world* passport available to anyone is a means through which we can discuss the topic of migration, the right to move freely and safely into a peaceful territory where cooperation and solidarity amongst peoples are tantamount" (Orta, interview data, 2023). Delegates could not surreptitiously pick up a copy of the passport. They needed to speak with the "immigration officer" sitting at the passport booth, who would take the delegate's contact information and talk to them about PDD's efforts to highlight disaster displacement issues during Migration Week. During breaks between the formal sessions, senior delegates, as well as hotel service staff and drivers, lined up to receive a stamped copy of the *Antarctica World Passport* from the artists and lingered by the tents as they spoke with other delegates. Lucy Orta was particularly mindful of the expressions of fear or concern about climate-related migration by the drivers and cleaners "at the closed-door convening restricted to invited conference delegates", finding that the installation "also provided a forum for these unheard voices to speak out, iterating the urgent need for intergovernmental agreements and policies that propose recommendations for climate-induced migration" (Orta, interview data, 2023). I also recall delegates returning with their colleagues and one person requesting additional passports for their children so they could talk to them about the challenges of displacement related to climate change. As PDD Communication Officer Chirine El Labbane observed, the crowd attracted a crowd, and the finely-crafted passport became an object of conversation that others also wanted to receive (El Labbane, interview data, 2019).

Amidst these reportedly positive interactions surrounding the *Antarctica World Passport Bureau*, it is possible that some conference delegates may have questioned why British and Argentinian artists, based in France, were invited to speak to global policymakers on the issue of disaster displacement, as opposed to artists living in climate-vulnerable areas who lack the ability to gain legal residency in a country other than their own. Others may have preferred artworks with "gritty, weathered surfaces and textures" (Glazer, 2016), rather than brightly

colored, stylized tents, to more accurately represent the harsh reality of what it would mean for people forced to flee their home countries to collectively survive in Antarctica’s severe conditions. As migration experts, delegates might have asked whether, taken to its extreme, the utopian concept of “world citizenship” sufficiently responds to the complexity of why people from climate-vulnerable countries may lack legal migration pathways to access short and long-term safety. Recognizing that these and other potential readings may run counter to curatorial intentions described here and in the previous section, this research nonetheless concludes that the Orta’s installation contributed to increasing delegates’ awareness and understanding of disaster displacement as relevant to international migration policy debates and provided opportunities for delegates to have embodied experiences that contributed emotional connections to the issue (see Section 5.2.2).



5.10 Artist Lucy Orta (left) hands an *Antarctica World Passport* to the Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh, H.E. Shahidul Haque, (right) at the GFMD in Marrakesh. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst.

Similarly, *The Inflatable Island* created the opportunity for delegates to share an embodied experience related to disaster displacement. The artist designed *The Inflatable Island* as an “activating sculpture” intended to prompt personal and collective reflection, in this case on the challenge of climate change and displacement, a process Dahlgaard describes as

“transformation through play” (Dahlgaard, 2019, p. 219).⁷⁸ During coffee and lunch breaks, the island became a gathering point for some fifteen delegates at a time to participate in a performance that included lifting and carrying the sculpture a short distance. Dahlgaard recalls, “when conference attendees saw us struggling to carry the inflatable island, many came over to help out and care for the inflatable island and this too sparked conversations around the topic of the conference and artwork” (Dahlgaard, interview data, 2022). For PDD Envoy of the Chair, Walter Kälin, the act of delegates to a migration conference collectively carrying the sculpture further imbued the island with “a strong message about international cooperation” (Kälin, interview data, 2020), adding another layer of meaning to the island as a visual metaphor.



5.11 Delegates to Civil Society Days of the GFMD carry Søren Dahlgaard’s *The Inflatable Island* in Marrakesh in December 2018. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst.

5.2.2 Influence on Norm Development

From the perspective of international norm development on disaster displacement, the ultimate adoption of the Global Compact for Migration by over 160 states was ground

⁷⁸ According to Dahlgaard, “1. The sculptural object is the starting point for collaboration. 2. The activating sculpture extends an invitation to play. 3. The invitation to play is a method to include audience members to become part of the process of completing the work” (Dahlgaard, 2019, p. 108).

breaking. The final document retains five paragraphs under Objective 2 devoted to “Natural disasters, the adverse effects of climate change, and environmental degradation” with respect to minimizing drivers and factors that may “compel” people to leave their countries (United Nations, 2019, para. 18(h)-(l)). Objective 5, which addresses enhancing pathways for regular migration, also includes two paragraphs related to disasters and climate change (United Nations, 2019, para. 21(g) and (h)). Notably, paragraph 18(l) specifically calls on States to consider “relevant recommendations” from the Nansen Initiative Protection Agenda and the Platform on Disaster Displacement when developing “coherent approaches to address the challenges of migration movements in the context of sudden-onset and slow-onset natural disasters”.⁷⁹ Although non-binding, the Global Compact for Migration signifies an important shift in UN Member States’ willingness to discuss and agree upon international cooperation around migration-related issues, including disaster displacement.⁸⁰

Prior to Migration Week, PDD distributed written key messages to Member States and partners to ensure delegates took them into consideration when drafting their statements. During the two conferences, PDD also distributed the messages, co-organized an official side event highlighting disaster-related human mobility as a critical migration issue, made an official statement during the UN conference, and hosted a cocktail reception at the French residence that included an installation of *Antarctic Village- No Borders* and *The Inflatable Island*. The artworks were intended to complement and reinforce these more standard diplomatic activities and messages.

While the artworks exhibited during Migration Week likely did not directly influence the final text in the Global Compact for Migration, which had largely been negotiated long before the

⁷⁹ According to PDD, “It is the first document negotiated in the framework of the United Nations in which the international community makes specific commitments to **address the drivers** that compel people to leave their countries of origin in the context of natural hazards, environmental degradation and the adverse effects of climate change, and **to protect and assist** those who are compelled to leave their countries in these contexts” (PDD, 2018, p. 1).

⁸⁰ The UN International Organization for Migration (IOM), responsible for supporting the implementation of the Global Compact for Migration, explains, “It is a non-binding document that respects states’ sovereign right to determine who enters and stays in their territory and demonstrates commitment to international cooperation on migration” (IOM, no date). New Zealand’s Crown Law Office and Ministry for Foreign Affairs and International Trade stated that while the compact only represents “moral and political commitments”, not legal ones, the agreement may still aid national courts as they interpret immigration laws (Hardy and Hallum, 2018).

conference took place, they arguably contributed to the socialization process of institutionalizing disaster displacement norms. As artist Suzanne Lacy has observed, “visual images can be manipulative, biased and ultimately, harmful, but they are also charismatic, compelling, and transforming in ways we don’t always immediately understand” (Lacy, 2012, p. 4). This section explores how artworks increased awareness and understanding of disaster displacement. It also examines how the artworks inspired or helped policymakers exhibit ideational commitment to addressing disaster displacement in migration venues, both personally and as part of diplomatic alliances.

5.2.2.1 Increasing awareness and understanding

The research concludes that art contributes to norm development in diplomatic venues by deepening awareness and understanding of disaster displacement in terms of its causes and consequences, as well as the lived experience of displacement. At a minimum, the physical presence of the artworks in the DISPLACEMENT exhibition created a visual manifestation of disaster displacement, affirming the validity of addressing the topic in an international migration venue without relying on technical language or arguments. For example, during Migration Week, delegates likely initially questioned the presence of a giant, inflatable island, or colourful camping tents in the conference space. However, as Dahlgaard has observed, “Something, which seems absurd at first encounter, can indeed be logical and rational upon reflecting on the ideas behind” (Dahlgaard, 2019, p. 107). Regardless of whether delegates ultimately agreed on the policy priorities advanced by PDD, the artworks’ open-ended nature allowed delegates to “make meaning within and to challenge their own referents” (Lacy, 2012, p. 4) about the relevance of utopian passports and inflatable islands to the conference’s deliberations on international migration. The artworks’ surprising presence may have prompted delegates to reflect anew on their respective governments and personal positions on the how international migration laws and policies should respond to the challenges posed by climate change.

The artworks may have also disrupted or challenged delegates’ assumptions about what normative options were feasible or possible in an international migration venue. As Lucy Orta explains, the *Antarctica World Passport’s* “Utopian notion is underpinned by our suggestion to

ratify Article 13 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, with the addition ‘13.3’ (Orta, interview data, 2023), which states:

Article 13:3 - Everyone has the right to move freely and cross frontiers to their chosen territory. No individual should have an inferior status to that of capital, trade, telecommunication, or pollution that traverse all borders (Orta and Orta, 2008).

This proposal for visa-free travel may not seem particularly provocative by some contemporary art theorists, who might call on the work to more forcefully tackle “issues of power, privilege, appropriation, exploitation” (Lowe, in Burton, et al., 2016, p. 446). However, placed in the context of a diplomatic conference, the work subtly questions the foundations of international migration law related to international borders and state sovereignty by reminding delegates – many whose daily responsibilities as migration officials include ensuring borders are controlled – that national borders are human-made creations that could be otherwise. Similarly, the collaborative act of physically carrying *The Inflatable Island* to a safe location underscores the need for practical and tangible international responses to aid the most climate-impacted countries.



5.12 Artists Jorge Orta and Lucy Orta issue copies of the *Antarctica World Passport* during a reception at the French Residency in Marrakesh, Morocco as part of a DISPLACEMENT event hosted by PDD. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst, 2018.

In a sensitive political environment, artworks that are too radical in challenging the status quo may risk being discounted by diplomats and experts as being too naïve or unrealistic. Artworks could also potentially be viewed as trivializing the gravity of the policy issues under discussion. Research on visual communication and climate change has also found that while catastrophic or dystopian images, including artistic representations, may prompt awareness about climate change, they may also leave viewers feeling helpless or overwhelmed whereas images of positive action may promote a sense of self-efficacy (O'Neill and Smith, 2014, pp. 81–82; Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018). In this case, rather than naming and shaming governments, the artworks provide alternative visions of what could be, allowing diplomats and experts to consider the artists' positions from a place of curiosity rather than defensive posture (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016, p. 66). Delegates from countries most severely impacted by disasters and climate change may have also felt that the artworks recognized and validated their experiences and policy positions (Kälin, email communication, 2023a). The informal nature of the exhibition space may have allowed people to engage with the artworks and reflect on their roles and responsibilities without making formal political statements that would otherwise require approval from their respective capitals or headquarters. For Kälin, the artworks by Dahlgaard and Lucy + Jorge Orta, with their utopian and playful approaches, struck an appropriate balance during Migration Week of being “thought provoking, but not in a way that is so provocative that experts immediately reject it” (Kälin, interview data, 2020).

5.2.2.2 Exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment

The experiential, performative, and visual characteristics of the artworks also created opportunities for delegates to understand and reflect on their political positions on disaster displacement through embodied experiences that create meaning by engaging the senses and emotions rather than rational arguments (Johnson, 2008). Legal scholars have argued that personal, emotional connections to an issue improve the effectiveness of governance (Richardson, Barritt and Bowman, 2019, p. 60). From a curatorial perspective, I hoped the artworks would remind delegates that disaster displacement is ultimately about people, fellow human beings, an obvious fact that can sometimes get lost in policy debates. During Migration Week, one delegate told me she was deeply moved by watching Jan's *Holoscenes* videos. While she may not have been able to articulate in words the ultimate impact of the experience, watching people attempt to sleep, play the guitar, and sell oranges amidst rising and falling

water left a mark in her memory, arguably creating some form of an “embodied, perceptual meaning” (Johnson, 2008, p. 234).

Research in psychology has found that art that evokes a strong emotional response by creating a direct and personal experience to climate change, particularly large-scale immersive installations, may create an “emotional basis for taking action” (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018, p. 92). Applied by analogy, DISPLACEMENT’s interactive, immersive installations engaging disaster displacement themes may have also created an emotional connection to the complex issue that created a desire to act. For instance, Dahlgaard reflected, “The people, who helped carry the inflatable island in one of our walks, will have a physical memory stored in their body. This is a powerful way to leave an impression that may remain with people for years” (Dahlgaard, interview data, 2022).⁸¹ Nina Birkeland, Senior Policy Advisor on Climate Change and Displacement at NRC, argues that this emotional connection is significant, stating, “You always prioritize the things you care about. If you have 100 things on your desk to do, and they have equal value, you will find a way of sorting (out the issue you care about)” (Birkeland, interview data, 2023). The impacts of the physical experience of lifting the object may have been further reinforced by the “collective enterprise” (Marshall, 2015, p. 229) of coordinating their movements with other conference delegates.

Finally, when art captures a conference’s overall debates and conclusions in visual and experiential forms or makes a deep emotional impact, it may also clarify and reinforce a conference’s diplomatic outcomes over time by making them more memorable (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018, p. 92; Birkeland, interview data, 2023), which will be important for continued diplomatic discussions in subsequent years. Kälin found that the popularity and central location of Lucy + Jorge Orta’s installation became a trademark for the conference, with the passport serving as an important metaphor for the discussions dedicated to “developing a vision of a world where migration is well managed” (Kälin, interview data, 2020). From a communication perspective, the artworks also provided an engaging visual hook for disaster displacement messaging for journalists seeking newsworthy approaches to cover the

⁸¹ See additional information about bodily memory see (Dahlgaard, 2019).

diplomatic conference, which typically provide few photographic moments other than officials shaking hands, signing agreements, or making statements (Birkeland, interview data, 2023).⁸²



5.13 Screen shot of Twitter post commenting on DISPLACEMENT as an “innovative” way to communicate. Image: the author, 2018.

Finnemore and Sikkink “argue that states comply with norms in stage 2 for reasons that relate to their identities as members of an international society” and that “peer pressure” from other states may be motivated by “legitimation, conformity, and esteem” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, pp. 902–903). In particular, international conferences have been highlighted for creating “arenas for forming and strengthening networks” (Keck and Sikkink, 1999, p. 93). Psychological research in the role of art and climate change action has also found that “[a]rt may also help to

⁸² Notably, scenes of delegates carrying *The Inflatable Island* were featured in the 2019 UN Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction conference video (*2019 Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction Overview* [online video], 2019).

establish a group identity and to give people a sense of being supported in their efforts to help combat climate change” (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018, p. 85). Thus, exhibiting art at diplomatic conferences may create opportunities that build solidarity necessary for achieving common goals, in this case, related to developing disaster displacement norms.

In practical terms, the shared, informal experience of viewing an art exhibition or moments of levity while participating in a performance also creates opportunities to hold conversations with other delegates, make new allies, and reinforce existing relationships (Doeser and Nisbett, 2017; Solberg, interview data, 2020). For instance, PDD’s Steering Group and Advisory Committee Members carried the island together during a lunch break as other delegates looked on, creating an informal but attention-grabbing moment for the senior officials to symbolically advocate for improved responses to disaster displacement in international migration venues. The artwork’s openness to interpretation allowed delegates to show unity around the issue of disaster displacement without stating a specific policy position (McGarry *et al.*, 2020, p. 18), broadening the potential number of participants by allowing delegates that may hold differing opinions about how the issue of disaster displacement should be developed in normative terms to still stand together in an overall show of support for addressing the topic at international diplomatic conferences on migration. Months later, PDD Steering Group members reportedly enjoyed viewing documentation of the performances, appearing to remember the moment fondly as a shared experience (Solberg, interview data, 2020).



5.14 Walter Kälin (centre), Envoy of the Chair of the Platform on Disaster Displacement, carries *The Inflatable Island* with other delegates at the 2018 Global Forum on Migration and Development in Marrakesh. Image: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst.

Such informal experiences and opportunities outside professional contexts can help establish a level of familiarity and trust that creates the potential for a positive environment for formal negotiations (Kälin, interview data, 2020). For instance, Birkeland found that the participatory artworks made it easier for civil society representatives to speak directly and exchange ideas with senior government diplomats and UN officials, who are normally less accessible (Birkeland, interview data, 2023). Watching and participating in the island performances, I noticed that senior diplomats initially seemed self-conscious, laughing, sometimes uncomfortably, as they tried to look dignified carrying the island. However, the absurdity of the act, with the encouragement of the artist, PDD staff, and me, ultimately appeared to dissolve their discomfort as the tone changed to an enjoyable confidence of doing something out of the ordinary in the company of others.

Finally, art may also inspire a continued commitment amongst norm entrepreneurs to push for the further development of disaster displacement norms, recognizing that such norms have been developing gradually over decades. Some people, like me, may welcome alternatives to

only relying on policy documents and data as ways to understand, engage, and promote the issue. Solberg has observed in his coordination role that the DISPLACEMENT exhibitions energize and motivate some disaster displacement advocates and that they can complement and support messaging in standard side events that focus on policy messages (Solberg, interview data, 2020). In more immediate terms, Dahlgaard found that interactive artworks at diplomatic conferences ignited “new energy and inspiration into the long and often tiring day at the conference because art offers a different language and format of communication” (Dahlgaard, interview data, 2022) associated with different forms of play (Dahlgaard, 2019).

5.2.3 Considerations for Curatorial Strategies

In selecting the artworks, I reviewed artists identified through my ongoing research, complemented by a focused search for artists from Morocco and the surrounding region as an opportunity to collaborate with local artists and highlight local disaster displacement issues.⁸³ While many works may address disaster displacement issues, it was challenging to identify those that speak to disasters and voluntary migration pathways. For instance, as Kälin pointed out, while the *Antarctica World Passport*'s vision for visa-free travel was perfect for a migration venue, it would not resonate as well with a disaster risk reduction venue “where the message is to help people to stay or to safely relocate them within their own countries” (Kälin, interview data, 2020). In comparison, *The Inflatable Island*, with its more general message about helping people from low-lying island states find safety from adverse climate change impacts, could equally speak to migration, disaster risk reduction, climate change, humanitarian, and human rights venues since the artwork does not propose a specific policy measure. The final selection of artworks was also influenced by discussions within the DISPLACEMENT Advisory Team and the DISPLACEMENT curatorial team⁸⁴ regarding the available physical exhibition spaces and financial resources.

⁸³ On two occasions during this research, I attempted to organize half-day workshops with local art and cultural actors in Kathmandu, Nepal and Marrakesh, Morocco, respectively, to discuss the theme of how art can contribute to international policymaking. However, despite interest from local art institutions and artists, including in-country preparatory meetings, neither came to fruition, largely due to financial and time restrictions.

⁸⁴ The curatorial team included graphic designer, photographer, and videographer Gorm Ashurst and artist liaison Kate Sedwell, who both had been part of the initial UAL-led DISPLACEMENT project under the leadership of Chris Wainwright.

Once the proposal was agreed, the PDD Secretariat shared the proposal prepared by the DISPLACEMENT curatorial team with its Chair, which in the case of Migration Week was the Government of Bangladesh and the key donor and previous Chair of the PDD, the Government of Germany, to authorize PDD's association with the project. Noting that communication strategies do not typically include art, the PDD's Steering Group's ultimate decision to include DISPLACEMENT followed a gradual process of education and explaining the value of the project and how it can support the policy messages that PDD is promoting (El Labbane, interview data, 2019). This comprised endorsements by the Head of the Coordination Unit/Secretariat and the Envoy of the Chair, recommendations from the PDD Advisory Committee,⁸⁵ and systematically listing the art project alongside other communication activities (El Labbane, interview data, 2019). For Solberg, DISPLACEMENT's inclusion in the PDD workplan signals that governments acknowledge a role for art in diplomatic processes, explaining, "It means that there was an opportunity for States participating in the process to object" (Solberg, interview data, 2020) and they did not. Yet, when presenting the proposals, he said that governments primarily focused on an exhibition's budgetary implications, raising few if any questions about individual artworks. Rather than indicating a lack of interest, he attributed this to his government counterparts' busy schedules, the trust granted to the PDD Secretariat, and, in turn, the PDD Secretariat's trust in me as curator who understood PDD's policy priorities and approach with respect to disaster displacement (Solberg, interview data, 2020). While valuing my experience in art and law, Birkeland believes that policy expertise is not essential for gaining support for including art in policymaking processes. Rather, she felt that as long as a curator or artist was a strong communicator and had access to technical policy information, she would have been convinced to try exhibiting art as part of promoting disaster displacement policymaking (Birkeland, interview data, 2023).

⁸⁵ See the 2017 Communications Working Group report: "New, creative ways of communication, including through the Arts should be explored. The 'Displacement- uncertain journeys' arts project is based on research and a global network of artists. It could accompany PDD's public and side events" (Coordination Unit, 2017, p. 22). 2019 Communications Working Group "The discussion highlighted the importance of non-traditional and visual communication tools that seek to connect with the audience on both an intellectual and emotional level and incite to engage." (Coordination Unit, 2019, p. 24) Recommendation from the 2019 Communications Working Group "Continue to engage with displacement art projects, as applicable: mobilise artists, integrate artwork or visual research findings into meetings and conferences." (Coordination Unit, 2019, p. 24).

However, the inclusion of art within PDD's communication strategy poses potential dilemmas for artists, me as curator, as well as PDD. By agreeing to include their artwork in a DISPLACEMENT, artists consent to collaborate with national governments, the UN, NGOs, academic institutions, and others who participate in PDD's activities. Artists participating in DISPLACEMENT exhibitions unsurprisingly shared differing views on their positions as artists. For Lucy Orta, it was important that *Antarctica World Passport* was not "an accessory" but rather "embedded in a state-led negotiation process through the DISPLACEMENT research project" (Orta, interview data, 2023). Alluding to a facilitatory role, Dahlgaard stated, "The role of art is to inspire and present original, unexpected and new aesthetic experiences and ideas, which may be poetic, utopian, playful or nonsensical in an unlimited number of ways" (Dahlgaard, interview data, 2022). Notably, an embedded approach in a state-led initiative to engage diplomats will not appeal to all artists. Notions of artistic "activism" (McKee, 2016; Hartle and White, 2022; Sholette, 2022; Tate, no date) often connote artists making demands for change from outside government institutions, although this is not always the case (Burton, Jackson and Willsdon, 2016). Some artists may feel that engaging from within an intergovernmental institution restricts their ability to express themselves freely and "challenge the status quo" (Lind in Hoffmann and Lind, 2011).⁸⁶

Although I try not to censor how artists present their work, whenever possible, I explain the policy nuances of different venues to participating artists to avoid their artworks or personal statements being discounted or misunderstood because they do not address the specific policy context. Artists may then knowingly choose to use whatever terminology they wish, such as speaking about "climate refugees," understanding the political connotations of their decision. For instance, I provided textual suggestions for the fifth edition of the *Antarctica World Passport* distributed in Marrakesh to align its text with terminology used within the field of international migration. Orta also found these technical discussions and introduction to legal and policy documents useful for refining and developing the *Antarctica World Passport* project, explaining:

⁸⁶ Unsurprisingly, artists do not agree on what it means to challenge the status quo or how we can know if it was done successfully (The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018). While the Cambridge Dictionary simply defines "the status quo" as "the current situation" ('The Status Quo', no date), Oxford Languages precises that the phrase denotes "the existing state of affairs, especially regarding social or political issues" ('Status Quo', no date).

Being part of Displacement enabled us to discover the research objectives of co-curator Hannah Entwisle Chapuisat, and to be part of an experiment, testing ways in which artists get closer to the heart of the negotiation process and Hannah was thoroughly invested in giving artists a prominent voice. With her background in law and policy, she was a vital bridge to better understanding the technical language of policy implementation and *vice versa* rendering the language of art more accessible to policy makers (Orta, interview data, 2023).

Thus, because artistic approaches to engaging policy issues are unfamiliar to many diplomats and technical experts, having a clearer understanding of the venue gives artists the ability to articulate for themselves how their work contributes to the diplomatic deliberations.

Journalists are also an important audience for PDD's communication strategies at diplomatic conferences. Thus, when artists speak directly to the press, as Lucy + Jorge Orta and Dahlgaard did during Migration Week, questions may arise as to whether the artists are speaking in their personal capacity or on behalf of PDD, as well as whether their statements are consistent with PDD's messaging. While it was not an issue in Marrakesh, in retrospect, El Labbane thought that artists might have benefited from receiving common messages to inform their comments to the press to ensure consistency with PDD's messages while also providing artists the freedom to talk about their work (El Labbane, interview data, 2019). During the research, I observed that artists' association with the DISPLACEMENT project creates a political distance that avoids concerns of direct attribution to PDD, which has a coordinating structure that allows for diverse opinions. For instance, PDD regularly invites civil society representatives to speak at their events who make spirited demands for more State action.



5.15 and 5.16 Artists Søren Dahlgaard (left) and Lucy Orta (right) speak to journalists during the GFMD meeting in December 2018. Images: DISPLACEMENT/Photo by Gorm Ashurst.

In sum, this section, highlights DISPLACEMENT's approach to manifest disaster displacement norms and stimulate reflection, conversation and debate through the use visual metaphors and interactive, bodily experiences. This framing was found to increase awareness and understanding of disaster displacement create opportunities for delegate to exhibit or inspire ideational commitment for the issue. It also highlights how DISPLACEMENT's collaborative approach with PDD, anchored in the communication strategy, creates potential dilemmas. However, the degree of distance provided by the project, and the artworks' potential for multiple interpretations, appears to provide a sufficient degree of separation to allow for collaboration.

5.3 Researching Disaster Displacement in a Climate Change Venue

Innovative solutions to entrenched political problems are unlikely to emerge from the mindset that has come to frame existing political interactions.

-Roland Bleiker
(Bleiker, 2001, p. 531)

To be effective, international norms on disaster displacement need to reflect the real-life challenges, needs, and desires of individuals, communities, and governments facing disaster displacement risk. Finnemore and Sikkink argue that the provision of information, particularly to decisionmakers and the media, is a key task of organizational networks promoting norms, emphasizing that "(a)ffect, empathy, and principles or moral beliefs" play an important role in this process (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 900). States need factual information to justify endorsing a new norm, but also information that helps motivate other States to support institutionalizing the norm once the "facts" are known. This section examines how art contributed to norm development through research about disaster displacement during the UN climate change conference, COP25, in Madrid in December 2019, where DISPLACEMENT collaborated with PDD and the Coalition for Art and Sustainable Development (COAL).⁸⁷

⁸⁷ The collaboration between COAL, PDD, and DISPLACEMENT was thanks to an introduction by Lucy Orta. Based upon this collaboration, COAL made a call for its annual prize with the theme "Climate, Disasters and Displacement". In addition to the regular 10,000 euro grant awarded by COAL to complete an artistic project, the 2019 prize included the opportunity to be featured as part of future DISPLACEMENT exhibitions developed in collaboration with PDD.

In the venue associated with facilitating international negotiations and action on climate change, notably the forums related to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and subsequent agreements,⁸⁸ global policymakers primarily discuss disaster displacement under the rubric of “loss and damage associated with the adverse effect of climate change.” While the phrase has no formally agreed definition, in the context of the UN climate change negotiations, the expression broadly refers to economic and non-economic losses that arise from a failure to mitigate or adapt to the impacts of climate change, including the displacement of people.⁸⁹ The UNFCCC Secretariat (UN Climate Change) categorizes “human mobility,” which refers to migration, displacement, and planned relocation, as a non-economic loss (‘Loss and Damage- Online Guide’, 2018). In 2015, COP21 in Paris established the Task Force on Displacement under the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage associated with Climate Change to develop “recommendations to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change” (Task Force on Displacement, 2017a).⁹⁰

At COP25, conversations about displacement as a form of loss and damage focused on reviewing the Task Force’s first phase of work that focused on global knowledge mapping exercises, and discussing future implementation of the group’s second phase⁹¹ that sought to “enhance cooperation and facilitation in relation to human mobility” (UNFCCC, no date) in the context of climate change. PDD has been an active member of the Task Force since its

⁸⁸ Key intergovernmental agreements on climate change include the 1992 Framework Convention on Climate Change, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, and the 2015 Paris Agreement, whose implementation is supported by the UNFCCC Secretariat (UN Climate Change) based in Bonn, Germany.

⁸⁹ Article 8 of the 2015 Paris Agreement states, “Parties recognize the importance of averting, minimizing and addressing loss and damage associated with the adverse effects of climate change, including extreme weather events and slow onset events, and the role of sustainable development in reducing the risk of loss and damage.” See also COP Decision 2/CP.19 that established the Warsaw international mechanism for loss and damage associated with climate change impacts and in which Parties acknowledged “that loss and damage associated with the adverse effects of climate change includes, and in some cases involves more than, that which can be reduced by adaptation...” (Conference of the Parties, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2014, p. 6).

⁹⁰ Kälin argues that this decision created the norm, enshrined in the Task Force’s mandate, that displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change must be averted, minimized, and addressed (Kälin, email communication, 2023a).

⁹¹ In 2018, the Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage extended the mandate of the task force until 2022 (Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage associated with Climate Change Impacts, 2018).

founding,⁹² and at COP25 was advocating for States that had ratified the climate agreements (Parties) to express their continued commitment and action to address disaster displacement within international climate policy.

COPs take place over a two-week period, with events divided into two physical spaces targeting different stakeholders. The Blue Zone, managed by the UNFCCC Secretariat, is a space reserved for Parties and organizations granted observer status.⁹³ In addition to hosting the formal conference sessions and negotiations, the Blue Zone includes spaces for “panel discussions, side events, exhibits, and cultural events” (UK COP26, 2021). The Green Zone is open to the general public, with programming and exhibitions organized and approved by the COP Presidency typically hosting the conference rather than the UN.⁹⁴ The UK Presidency described the Green Zone as “a platform for the general public, youth groups, civil society, academia, artists, business and others to have their voices heard through events, exhibitions, workshops and talks that promote dialogue, awareness, education and commitments” (UK COP26, 2021). Although the two locations are usually near one another, activities in the Green Zone run in parallel to, as opposed to directly feeding into, events in the Blue Zone.

Diplomatic conferences typically incorporate research and other forms of expertise in various ways. Diplomats or intergovernmental civil servants draw on and reference research to inform drafts of negotiated texts, such as research conducted by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that views itself as “recognized globally as the pinnacle of science/policy interfaces, providing governments, stakeholders and academia at all levels of society with a solid evidence base for further action to combat climate change” (Ad Hoc Task Group on

⁹² One of PDD’s knowledge contributions to the Task Force on Displacement was a report drafted by the author (Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage associated with Climate Change Impacts, no date).

⁹³ Article 7, paragraph 6 of the UNFCCC states, “Any body or agency, whether national or international, governmental or non-governmental, which is qualified in matters covered by the Convention, and which has informed the secretariat of its wish to be represented at a session of the Conference of the Parties as an observer, may be so admitted unless at least one third of the Parties present object” (*United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*, 1992). Applicants must request observer status months prior to the conference through an online process facilitated by UNFCCC Secretariat (UN Climate Change, 2022). Notably, some have criticized the high number of fossil fuel lobbyists granted Observer Status, particularly during COP27 which reportedly had 636 oil and gas industry representatives (Michaelson, 2022).

⁹⁴ The Government of Chile was serving as the President during COP25, but civil unrest linked to protests over social and economic inequality in the country led to a decision to move the conference to Spain.

Finance, 2017, p. 1).⁹⁵ Governments, UN institutions or NGOs may conduct their own research or engage independent consultants to inform their negotiating positions. Researchers and operational actors also participate in diplomatic conferences directly, such as through forums called side events that are official conference events that allow for informal conversation and exchange of ideas. Researchers from official observer organizations may also participate in formal sessions that typically consist of government officials making three-to-five-minute statements in succession and without discussion. Other forums for presenting research at conferences include designated areas for panel presentations, trade-fair style booths, press-conferences, or self-organized events held on or off-site.

When preparing research interventions, PDD calls on its Advisory Committee, comprised of international experts, researchers, and operational organizations, that acts as a global community of practice by sharing research and lessons learned from diverse sources of knowledge from around the world and developing new research priorities based upon policy needs. Advisory Committee members also review and make recommendations to the Steering Group about how to shape PDD's strategy and workplan, as well as contribute to the outcomes through the Advisory Committee's individual and collective research, advocacy, and operational activities ('Advisory Committee (AC) Terms of Reference', no date). In 2019, the Advisory Committee's Communications Working Group made the recommendation to:

Recognize that research can be visual (not just written word): establish relationships with art research institutions that specialize in visual and qualitative research, ensuring that they have links to PDD policy and research priorities: Images, human stories, visualization of research findings (Coordination Unit, 2019, p. 24).

Admittedly, El Labbane and I moderated the working group's discussion, but it included active participation by individuals representing diverse institutions, including the University of the Arts London. The group also recommended to "integrate artwork or visual research findings into meetings and conferences" (Coordination Unit, 2019, p. 24). Thus, this section focuses on art's ability to contribute research insights on disaster displacement in diplomatic venues.

⁹⁵ Regarding funding, the IPCC Co-Chairs note "We have heard from IPCC members that it is important that the IPCC remains impartial and steers clear of potential conflict of interest. Many have noted that it is important that Member Governments continue as the main funders of this intergovernmental process. Others have pointed to the potential of global crowd funding among citizens of the world" (Ad Hoc Task Group on Finance, 2017, p. 1).

5.3.1 Artistic Strategies and Research

Over recent years, many artists have actively engaged in previous COPs through large and small-scale events and exhibitions, particularly in the Green Zone and off-site venues (ArtCOP21, 2015; *Culture: The Missing Link*, 2021). However, because PDD sought to influence policymakers, not the general public, PDD identified multiple opportunities at COP25 to feature artworks in the Blue Zone, recognizing that negotiators typically do not have much time to visit the Green Zone.⁹⁶

First, PDD secured time to present the COAL prize winners as part of an official side event co-organized by IOM, UNFCCC Secretariat, and PDD entitled, “Moving Forward Together: Averting, Minimizing and Addressing Displacement- The Second Phase of the Task Force on Displacement”. According to UN Climate Change, “Official side events are a platform for admitted observer organizations, which have limited speaking opportunities in the formal negotiations, to engage with Parties and other participants for knowledge sharing, capacity building, networking and exploring actionable options for meeting the climate challenge” (*Events at COP 25*, no date). Side events are also video recorded as livestream events, and saved on an UN Climate Change managed website for subsequent viewing (*Side Events and Exhibits: Overview*, 2022).

As the main body charged with discussing disaster displacement under the UNFCCC, the Task Force on Displacement has a mandate to “develop recommendations for integrated approaches to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change” (Task Force on Displacement, no date, para. 5). These recommendations are meant to inform the COP and Parties with respect to Action Area 6 of the Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism’s workplan that seeks to “enhanc(e) the understanding of and expertise on how the impacts of climate change are affecting patterns of migration, displacement and human mobility; and the application of such understanding and expertise” (Task Force on Displacement, no date, para. 4). Thus, the Task Force on Displacement seeks research contributions that have practical application in real world situations facing human mobility challenges associated with climate change impacts.

⁹⁶ I, myself, never found time to visit the Green Zone during my five days attending COP25, nor was I able to visit all the pavilions and exhibits in the Blue Zone.

The second key event took place at the French Pavilion, where Brigitte Collet, the Government of France’s Ambassador for Climate Change Negotiations, Renewable Energy and Climate Risk Prevention (Climate Change Ambassador), formally awarded the 2019 COAL prize, an annual award of 10,000 euros to fund an artistic proposal addressing an environmental theme (COAL, 2019). Awarding the prize created an opportunity for the Government of France to showcase its commitment to addressing disaster displacement issues at the COP. The hour-long ceremony included introductory statements by the Government of France, including a delegate and the Ambassador, followed by five-minute remarks from senior representatives from the UNFCCC Secretariat, IOM, and UNHCR reflecting on the importance of addressing displacement in the climate negotiations and the role of art in the process. Following the statements, COAL Director Lauranne Germont presented artworks by COAL prize finalists, before the Ambassador declared Lena Dobrowolska and Teo Ormond-Skeaping the winners and presented them with a certificate that included all partner States’ and organizations’ logos.



5.17 French Ambassador Brigitte Collet and COAL Director Lauranne Germont present the 2019 COAL prize to artists Lena Dobrowolska and Teo Ormond-Skeaping in a ceremony at the French Pavilion. Image: PDD, December 2019.

The work of all COAL Prize finalists⁹⁷ was exhibited in Madrid. While noting that the artistic interventions at COP25 were not all formally presented as research contributions, the presence of Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping with their practice firmly grounded in interdisciplinary research presents an opportunity to reflect on art as research within norm development processes. Thus, this section describes how the artworks contributed to PDD's wider efforts to gain and share knowledge about disaster displacement.

An expansive body of literature examines art practice as research (Biggs, Karlsson and Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, 2012; McNiff, 2013), including its forms (Barone and Eisner, 2012), methods (Nelson and Writing-PAD (Network), 2009; Smith and Dean, 2009; Barrett and Bolt, 2010; Leavy, 2015, 2018), and outcomes (Borgdorff, 2012). A growing body of research examines the specific contributions of art research to research on environmental (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019) and climate change (Gabrys and Yusoff, 2012; Kagan, 2015; Galafassi *et al.*, 2018) issues more broadly, and particularly with respect to artists' use of the imagination and scenarios related to climate change (Yusoff and Gabrys, 2011; Tyszczyk and Smith, 2018). Climate change research regularly includes modelling and scenarios, with the Paris Agreement itself based upon scientific models to determine the politically desired target of 1.5C. Disaster displacement models also exist, drawing on a wide spectrum of information from different disciplines, including weather data, economic projections and policy decisions related to land management (IDMC, 2023a).

Thus, while art research is not unique in terms of proposing multiple visions of what could be, it is arguably distinct in that unlike in the physical or social sciences, artists' scenarios do not need to reflect factual data or probabilities, nor do they need to appear objective. Kathryn Yusoff and Jennifer Gabrys usefully define imagination as a "way of seeing, sensing, thinking, and dreaming the formation of knowledge, which creates the conditions for material interventions *in* and political sensibilities *of* the world" (Yusoff and Gabrys, 2011, p. 1). Eirinni Saratsi *et al.* propose numerous ways that "arts research can contribute in shaping decisions, directly or indirectly" (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019, p. 5) on environmental issues, including:

⁹⁷ The 2019 COAL Prize finalists were Firoz Mahmud, PLATFORM, honey & bunny, Jad El Khoury, Justin Brice Guariglia, Lena Dobrowolska and Teo Ormond-Skeaping, Lucy Hayto, Maria Lucia Cruz Correia, Mélanie Pavy, Mélanie Trugeon and Claire Malary.

- “Bring things to vision.
- Spark imagination and trigger serendipity.
- Communicate message between diverse groups.
- Provide a source of motivation.
- Reframe the issue at stake.
- Suggest alternative solutions and promote new ideas.
- Change perceptions and inform decisions” (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019, p. 22).

These various categories arguably overlap and could also be used to describe the impact of art, and even research in other fields more generally, on social and political discourse related to climate change and the environment (Lam *et al.*, 2013; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016; Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018; Sommer and Klöckner, 2019), as done in this case.

Saratsi *et al* attempt to further define art research’s contributions with respect to “transdisciplinary learning processes of knowledge integration” on environmental issues, in which art research is purported to “Promote informed discussion and debate. ... Bridge differences between disciplines, groups and people ... Suggest alternative ways of knowing and doing. ... Embracing [sic] social-ecological complexity” (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019, p. 23). To achieve this, the authors highlight that, “Arts research and artists can raise research questions and use a range of artistic and other methods to develop understandings and conclusions that manifest in the form of art (process or product; image, object or performance) as well as in other forms (data sets, papers, policy and practice notes)” (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019, p. 16). In the context of climate change and ecological issues that enmesh many disciplines, the authors argue that artists undertake “un-disciplinarity” and “a-disciplinarity” (Roberts, 2015) research. Un-disciplinarity research refers to “collaborations between scholars, artists, practitioners, and activists that go beyond narrow disciplinary practices to achieve broader understating [sic] and find solutions to complex ecological challenges”, while a-disciplinarity research begins from an “aesthetic perspective” to research across disciplines (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019, p. 17). While this literature does not specifically address human displacement in the context of climate change, the multi-causality and interdisciplinary nature of disaster displacement as a policy issue indicates that such art research could arguably make similar contributions to research in the field.

Little attention has focused on how art research on environmental issues can contribute to intergovernmental diplomatic processes. A notable exception is TBA21-Academy, an off-shoot of Thyssen-Bornemisza Art Contemporary (TBA21), that has reflected on the contributions of art research in UN intergovernmental processes governing sea-bed mining following TBA21's acceptance as an official observer to the International Seabed Authority (Hessler, 2018; Hessler, Linke and Latour, 2019b; Hessler, 2021). For TBA21-Academy director Markus Reymann, art has the possibility to "make entanglements visible, draw our attention to an otherwise maybe intentionally removed topic, and perhaps incite change" (Hessler, Linke and Latour, 2019a, p. 10).

In many ways, art research was presented at COP25 as a proposal for future collaboration. Thus, this section asks, what influence might art research have on the future development of disaster displacement norms in a climate change venue? This section explores how art interventions presented by PDD, COAL, and DISPLACEMENT during COP25 primarily engaged two artistic strategies with respect to research: 1) stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate about disaster displacement and 2) contributing novel information, knowledge, and methods. It explores how the interventions at the Task Force on Displacement side event and events at the French Pavilion explicitly and implicitly encouraged reflection, conversation, and debate about climate change policy and displacement, as opposed to the more subtle or implied invitations previously described in the migration venue. It also reflects on what influence these art interventions may have had as part of PDD's efforts to develop disaster displacement norms within the wider conference deliberations.

5.3.1.1 Stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate

The Task Force on Displacement serves as an important organizational platform for consolidating and sharing knowledge on displacement related to climate change. At the same time, Section IV of the Task Force on Displacement's workplan is dedicated to "Framing and linkages", which includes activities designed to "Stimulate and awaken commitment, cooperation and action to avert, minimize and address displacement in the context of climate change" (Task Force on Displacement, 2017b). This implies that "integrated approaches" to address climate change related displacement include efforts to persuade States and other

relevant actors to become actively engaged in developing and implementing international responses to disaster displacement.

Within this context, the art interventions were intended to engage participants and inspire discussions and reflections on disaster displacement throughout the hour and a half long event. Beginning with a format developed in a previous DISPLACEMENT intervention,⁹⁸ delegates entering the side event viewed FLATFORM's film *That Which to Come Is Just a Promise* (*That Which to Come Is Just a Promise*, 2019) on two screens in the front of the large room, which played for about ten minutes until the formal session began. Panel moderators and members could also watch the film on smaller monitors facing them. The film features the low-lying island nation of Tuvalu, with scenes of residents undertaking everyday activities, like playing games and chatting with friends, in dry conditions that gradually shift to the same scenes taking place amidst puddles and flooded areas, reminding delegates that climate change and displacement was already a reality for many people, particularly in low-lying states.

Following the opening statements and more than an hour of panel presentations that discussed the Task Force on Displacement's new workplan, the panellists left the long table, allowing COAL's co-founder and director, Germont, to take the podium and introduce the COAL prize and its winners. Her five-minute presentation was followed by the COAL prize laureates, Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping, who also had five minutes to present their film project *You Never Know, One Day You Too May Become a Refugee* that flips the traditional narrative of so-called "climate refugees" by telling the story of a family in the Global North that applies for asylum in the Global South. The presentation included strong graphic images of fires, drought, and flight, accompanied by music and a voiceover that made the message clear: any person in the room could find themselves at risk of displacement. The artists concluded by inviting COP delegates to discuss with them potential ways that they, as artists, could complement or contribute to efforts to improve responses to displacement as part of the climate negotiations.

⁹⁸ During a side event at the UNHCR consultations with NGOs in Geneva in June 2018, Lars Jan's *Holoscenes* was screened as participants entered and exited the room. Chirine El Labbane also played an extract of the film and read a statement from the artist as part of the panel discussion.



5.18 Artists Lena Dobrowolska and Teo Ormond-Skeaping stand at the podium to present their prize-winning film proposal *You Never Know, One Day You Too May Become a Refugee* during the Task Force on Displacement side event. Image: PDD, December 2019.

The side event concluded with a question-and-answer period that was accompanied by a video performance by COAL prize finalists honey & bunny. In the film, two elegantly dressed people in top hats drink tea in china cups while treading water chest deep in the Danube River wearing bright orange life preservers, underlining the absurdity of pretending that extravagant lifestyles could continue untouched in the age of climate change. The film was originally planned to screen at the conclusion of the official programme but was ultimately left running when the video began playing unexpectedly and could not be quickly stopped without disturbing the proceedings.



5.19 An audience member (far right) asks a question to the Co-Facilitators of the UNFCCC Task Force on Displacement while a video by honey & bunny plays in the background. Image: PDD, December 2019.

The side event's format did not allow for deep engagement with the artworks, particularly the two films that ran amidst chatter, movement, and discussions. Nevertheless, the artworks created a human and emotional thread for the event's proceedings, providing quiet moments for reflection before the event began, opportunities to open new conversations, and provocations about the urgency to act on the information shared by the panellists. For instance, while *That Which to Come Is Just a Promise* was playing, I noted one delegate from Tuvalu reacting with joyful surprise, saying, "Who did this? Who did this? This is my home!".

In addition to the side event, three art-related events at the national French Pavilion in the Blue Zone also created opportunities for policymakers to reflect and discuss the challenges the climate emergency poses to preventing and addressing displacement. Like a commercial trade fair, Parties and observers can sponsor pavilions to use for national or organizational displays, hosting panel discussions and cultural events, presenting research, and inviting informal conversations and networking. These spaces are typically outward facing, creating

opportunities for Parties and observers to promote their policy priorities, with many pavilions organized by groups of Parties or organizations (UNFCCC, 2019).⁹⁹ Unlike the dark formality of the side event conference room, the French Pavilion consisted of an airy frame constructed of brown cardboard tubes and adorned with hanging green plants. Small tables and chairs, movable cubes and cushions for modular seating, and a large monitor created an inviting environment to facilitate conversations and host informal social events that in one way or another reflected French activities or priorities (Government of France, 2019). The prominent display of the hashtag “#MAKE OUR PLANET GREAT AGAIN” appeared to be a statement against the US pulling out of the Paris Agreement at a time when international cooperation to address the climate emergency was critical, although I personally found the slogan distracting rather than motivational.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Notably at COP25 the US Government’s space was walled off and used only for office space for US negotiators. Although the US had formally submitted its intention to withdraw from the Paris Agreement the month prior, US diplomats were still actively engaged in ongoing negotiations to influence climate policy as Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. Discussions regarding implementation of the Paris Agreement also took place during the COP, referred to as the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Paris Agreement (CMA). The withdrawal process from the Paris Agreement takes one year. Thus, the US officially withdrew from the Paris Agreement in November 2020, but subsequently rejoined in January 2021.

¹⁰⁰ Donald Trump notoriously ran his 2016 US presidential campaign with the slogan Make America Great Again.



5.20 COP25 delegates watch a pre-recorded presentation by 2019 COAL prize finalist Justin Brice Guariglia in the French Pavilion. Image: PDD, December 2019.

On 4 December 2019, France’s Climate Change Ambassador formally presented the 2019 COAL prize at the French Pavilion. The hour-long ceremony included introductory statements by the Government of France, including a delegate and the Ambassador, followed by five-minute remarks from senior representatives from the UNFCCC Secretariat, IOM, and UNHCR reflecting on the importance of addressing displacement in the climate negotiations and the role of art in the process. Following the formal statements, Germont presented artworks by COAL prize finalists, after which the Ambassador declared Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping the winners and presented them with a certificate that included all partner States’ and organizations’ logos.

In her statement, the French Climate Change Ambassador explained her government’s view of the role of art in climate policy negotiations:

“Unfortunately, climate change is not a distant or theoretical concept, but a terrible reality. It is essential that the art world is able to participate in our efforts to mobilize and raise awareness about displacement related to disasters and climate change. Artists should be welcomed to use their talent and put it to work on themes that are absolutely crucial not only for the future of our planet, but also for our humanity. By pulling us out of the technicalities of negotiations, which are often disconnected from reality, the

artists' works expand our capacity for understanding and reflection. For this, I thank them" (As cited in PDD, 2019).

Thus, the Ambassador highlights art as creating opportunities for delegates to reflect on and better understand the challenges that diplomats need to solve.

5.3.1.2 Contributing novel information, knowledge, and methods

Two additional hour-long events at the French Pavilion on 3 and 5 December 2019 showcased the artworks of COAL prize finalists using the same format as during the prize ceremony, which included a three-minute video created by each artist or collective accompanied by a brief description written and read by COAL cultural producer Phoebe-Lin Elnan and Germont. During these events, PDD also invited members of its Advisory Group to join panel discussions on the relevance of the artworks to the ongoing climate negotiations. The artworks were grouped according to three themes: making disaster displacement visible, imagining futures, and working with communities. Collectively, these interventions showcased how art could offer new or alternative ways of understanding disaster displacement and its relevance to norm development within the climate change negotiations.

For example, as moderator for discussions at these two events, I invited COP delegates to reflect on the significance of two artists' work, introduced by COAL. The participants included representatives from An Organization for Socio-Economic Development (AOSED) working in Southern Bangladesh, the International Center for Climate Change and Development (ICCCAD) based in Dhaka, Bangladesh, IOM, UNHCR, and PDD. In front some 25 audience members, I asked questions such as:

- Art allows for multiple interpretations and understandings. What do you see when you view PLATFORM's film about sea-level rise in Tuvalu alongside Lucy Hayto's photographs documenting coastal erosion in the UK?
- Tell us a bit about IOM's work in the Pacific. How can you imagine incorporating such artwork in your future activities in the region?
- How can we make sure artworks like these are included as part of future policy processes and discussions? How can it help advance our messages about the need to address disaster displacement?

- The University of Florida has emphasized the importance of storytelling in communicating the complexity of displacement related to climate change. What is your reaction to the artworks? To what extent do these works tell stories that are relevant to the communities your organization represents? What stories do you think need to be told and from where?
- What issues about climate change and displacement would you hope that artists could represent?



5.21 Phoebe-Lin Elnan of COAL, Saleemul Huq of ICCCAD, Dina Ionesco of IOM, and the author serving as moderator discuss the role of art in intergovernmental climate negotiations at COP25 during an event at the French Pavilion (from left to right). Image: PDD, December 2019.

Thus, delegates were asked to reflect on the meaning of the artworks as well as how art could contribute new knowledge and research methods for developing disaster displacement norms in the climate change venue. In particular, delegates were encouraged to reflect on how art's distinct visual, sensorial, and use of narrative could contribute new knowledge and ways of understanding the complexity of disaster displacement as a policy issues, as compared to the policy briefs, PowerPoint presentations, and formal statements that typically dominate the presentation of research in policy spaces.

Intending to enable delegates to experience art as a form of research, Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping originally planned to lead COP delegates in an interactive workshop to develop speculative futures about displacement and the climate emergency. However, moments before beginning, the individuals managing the French Pavilion objected to the artists' use of paper in the pavilion for ecological reasons.¹⁰¹ Adjusting the format, the artists instead presented a detailed introduction to their film proposal for *You Never Know, One Day You Too May Become a Refugee*, explaining that their script was grounded in field research carried out in places like Bangladesh and Uganda. They then invited the audience to provide suggestions and feedback regarding the storyline and identify opportunities for collaboration between artists and policymakers.



5.22 Still from Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping's film, *You Never Know, One Day You Too May Become a Refugee*. Image: Courtesy of the artists, 2022.

The resulting discussion with delegates underscored the potential of art as a form of “a-disciplinary” research, understood as a process led by artists, but informed by a multitude of stakeholders (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019). Through a free-flowing conversation, Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping asked what issues they could address as artists that were difficult for

¹⁰¹ Intergovernmental conference organizers increasingly promote paper-free meetings to reduce environmental impact.

policymakers to understand or communicate and that could be usefully shared as research findings in a film. Delegates highlighted the complex, multi-causal conditions that can lead to disaster displacement and the psychological consequences of displacement. Art was also recognized for its ability to explore the emotional lives of displaced people and the officials charged with implementing policy decisions, potentially exposing new or unanticipated challenges that policymakers need to address. The discussion also reflected on the freedom of artists to develop imaginary futures drawing upon knowledge from multiple disciplines that could contribute to and inform policy discussions.



5.23 Artists Lena Dobrowolska and Teo Ormond-Skeaping (left) discuss their proposal for the film *You Never Know, One Day You Too May Become a Refugee* with COP25 delegates at the French Pavilion. Image: PDD, 2019.

Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping's conversation with COP25 delegates also exhibited art's capacity to generate and share new knowledge about topics that might not otherwise emerge due to political stalemates or polarized positions. For example, the artists' speculative film touches on some of the most politically contentious issues under debate in the climate negotiations related to climate justice and compensation. Through their practice, the artists ask policymakers, particularly from wealthier countries, to better understand the claims of

countries seeking compensation for disproportionate, adverse climate-related impacts by challenging the predominant narrative that climate change will result in millions of people from the Global South fleeing to the Global North. Thus, the artists disrupt the frame that is typically, if not implicitly, cited to imagine what policy solutions might be possible when approached through an alternative narrative. In so doing, Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping are able to “materialize and articulate what would otherwise be un-sayable and un-thinkable” (Gabrys and Yusoff, 2012, p. 17).

Differentiating themselves from diplomats and policymakers, artist Ormond-Skeaping later explained, “We don’t have the same limitations about what is economically or politically possible. We can imagine anything” (Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping, 2019). Similarly, Dobrowolska elaborated her view of art as a “speculative tool in the toolbox for policy research to explore what we don’t know” while also allowing art to act as the “glue” to develop the interdisciplinary approaches required to address disaster displacement (in Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping, 2019).

5.3.2 Influence on Norm Development

Following the three days of events at COP25, PDD issued a press release, cleared by the Government of France, as well as reviewed by COAL and DISPLACEMENT, entitled “When Art Meets Politics: Art, Climate, Disasters and Displacement at COP25”. The statement highlights PDD, DISPLACEMENT, and COAL’s collaboration to “create a platform for exchange between artists and policymakers” at COP25 in recognition that “artists can encourage policymakers to understand and act on the reality of displacement caused by climate change” (PDD, 2019d).

This section explores how art research may simultaneously increase understanding of the phenomenon of displacement in the context of climate change while also inspiring ideational commitment to address disaster displacement and generate creative thinking about policy solutions. It focuses on artists’ use of imagination, a-disciplinary research methodology, and the engagement of emotions and affect to influence norm development in diplomatic venues.

5.3.2.1 Increasing awareness and understanding of the issue

Developing a cognitive frame for a norm that facilitates greater understanding while also providing information about a norm that is challenging to comprehensively articulate, such as the benefits of protecting human rights, can play a critical role in persuading States and other actors to endorse and promote a norm (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). The art presented at COP25 arguably increased policymakers' understanding about some of the intangible consequences of displacement — as well as art's potential to research these elements — by creating spaces for reflection and conversation and by exhibiting artworks that portray climate change-related displacement as a human issue, complementing critical statistical information and legal arguments.

Most, if not all, experts working on displacement-related issues acknowledge that displacement often causes detrimental impacts, impacting people's social, cultural, economic, and personal lives. Yet, capturing and fully understanding these impacts is difficult in abstract legal concepts, policy documents, and statistics. Delegates' reflections about the role of art in climate policy development underscored how the artworks reminded delegates of the urgency of the issues under negotiation, and the role of art in highlighting the human side of displacement. For example, in her formal statement during the COAL prize ceremony, Madeleine Garlick of UNHCR emphasized art's capacity to frame technical policy debates about displacement with respect to individuals' present and future lives. She stated,

These artists challenge us in a striking way. They remind us that it isn't just about meetings, speeches and documents. It is ultimately about families, youth, children and older people whose lives have been turned upside down by floods, cyclones, drought, desertification and sea-level rise (PDD, 2019d).

Garlick highlights art's role in reminding policymakers what is at stake in diplomatic efforts to combat climate change in political contexts, where it is easy to get lost in the politics of procedures and minute interpretations of words. However, this recognition does not necessarily mean that artists are providing policymakers with information that they do not already know. Her use of the word "remind" points to art as a way to communicate existing information or knowledge in novel formats that help diplomats stay motivated and focused on the urgent political tasks at hand.

Art may also act as the “glue” that brings together a multiplicity of complex and sometimes contradicting perspectives (Dobrowolska, interview data, 2022) as well as the link between operational needs in affected communities and the text of negotiated documents (Ionesco in Calliari, 2022). In her presentation at the French Pavilion, Dina Ionesco from IOM stated, “It is easy to talk about environmental migration in terms of laws, technical issues, statistics and politics. But art can push us to have a much deeper, more nuanced understanding of the issue” (PDD, 2019d). In a subsequent discussion she described this greater nuance as referring to the emotional, psychological, and cultural consequences of human mobility, stating: “It’s human. It’s emotions. It’s life. It’s dreams. It’s fears. It’s happiness. It’s sadness. That’s migration. It’s about people” (Calliari, 2022, 00:15:00-00:15:14). Thus, art calls on conference delegates to add this layer of emotional understanding to their engagement of policy issues related to disaster displacement. Coincidentally, the idea of COP delegates as “sensory beings” was echoed by TBA21-Academy director Markus Reymann in another conversation at COP25 that took place in the Spanish Pavilion, which hosted a panel discussion entitled “Art, Sustainability and Climate Change” that focused on TBA21’s work on art research related to oceans (*Art, Sustainability and Climate Change*, 2019). TBA21 founder Francesca Thyssen-Bornemisza also spoke about art’s potential to move beyond the decorative or illustrative to help delegates understand “issues that are too big, too explosive, or too removed for us to even begin to comprehend” (*Art, Sustainability and Climate Change*, 2019, p. 50:10).

Research on social movement communication echoes such statements. In their research on communicating about displacement in the context of climate change, Annie Neimand, Ann Christiano, and Lauren Parker argue that stories and visual language, particularly when they include detail, can help an audience understand complexity by engaging viewers’ emotions, which “provide an anchor point for future decisions on the issue” (Neimand, Christiano and Parater, 2019, chap. 2). They argue that the emotional impact of stories can be further reinforced by film, art, or photographs that “create a visceral experience” and “illustrate what displacement feels like” (Neimand, Christiano and Parater, 2019, chap. 2). Similarly, Eyal Weizman emphasizes that Forensic Architecture’s investigative research on human rights violations, violence, and environmental damage uses “aesthetics as a way of intensifying the investigation process by augmenting our senses and increasing our sensitivities to space, matter, narrative or images” (Bois, Foster and Weizman, 2016, p. 120). Thus, framed within

policy discussions to develop norms, art can deepen emotional, sensorial understandings of disaster displacement that complement and further cement other forms of knowledge about the issue.

5.3.2.2 *Inspiring ideational commitment*

Norm development depends upon expanding the number of actors endorsing a particular norm and then subsequently persuading or socializing other actors to endorse the norm. In addition to informing the negotiations about how displacement norms might be institutionalized within a venue, art research's use of affect and empathy can also inspire or deepen policymakers' personal commitment to promoting and institutionalizing a norm in a diplomatic venue. Finnemore & Sikkink emphasize that many norm entrepreneurs maintain their commitment to their issue due to "empathy, altruism, and ideational commitment", particularly when the norm entrepreneurs are not personally or directly implicated in the norm they are promoting (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 898).

During an event at the French Pavilion, Saleemul Huq, Director of ICCCAD, highlighted art's ability to capture the emotional impacts of climate change in a way that inspires policymakers to act:

Art plays a very important role in how we address the issue of people displaced by the impacts of climate change. Art forces us to look at displacement from the perspective of human beings, and not only as negotiators at COP25. This is the power of art. It speaks to the heart, it evokes emotion (PDD, 2019d).

Thus, in contrast to a human rights-based perspective in which the importance of people's emotional experiences is implied, but seldom explicitly described in policy language, art can influence norm development by motivating delegates to act from a position of empathy.

For example, Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping's film depicts the difficult choices a displaced family from a fictional country in the Global North makes as they seek safety abroad, including the psychological toll of those decisions. Ormond-Skeaping, while well aware that diplomats have official functions and directives, was still struck at COP25 by the fact that diplomats are also people who carry their convictions and personal experiences with them into negotiation rooms. Consequently, when developing the plot for *You Never Know*, he sought to engage this

tension by imagining a diplomat who is trying “as hard as he can to exploit whatever tiny bit of leeway his government gives him” (Ormond-Skeaping, interview data 2022). Reflecting on the potential influence of her work to policymaking, Dobrowolska stated,

I think art could contribute an emotional understanding of the issues at stake bringing in the lived experience into the policy discourse as well as providing a speculative dimension that allows to rethink the issues from a different perspective, help to manage uncertainty and facilitate enquiry into self-criticality and gaps in knowledge” (Dobrowolska, interview data, 2022).

Thus, *You Never Know’s* counter-narrative appeals to the identities and emotions of policymakers, particularly from the Global North who may see themselves as immune from displacement, and urges them to imagine and reflect on what they would consider a just and appropriate policy response if they were displaced themselves. The UK-based Cultural Value Project found that art may foster more engaged and reflective individuals and citizens by “facilitating greater understanding of themselves and their lives, increasing empathy with respect to others, and an appreciation of the diversity of human experience and culture” (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016, p. 7). Illustrating this point, Elisa Calliari, an Italian migration researcher at University College London, described how viewing a draft version of *You Never Know* impacted her: “When I watched the film, it was like if I understood what was the topic of my research was for the first time. It was the first time that I was really somehow understanding what it means to be a person on the move in the context of climate change” (Calliari, 2022, 00:43:24-00:43:40).

In a more immediate sense, art may also inspire ideational commitment to work with others to develop norms during intense conference negotiations. The negotiators at COP25 worked in spatial voids, with bare white cubes serving as negotiating rooms, furnished only with tables, chairs, microphones, country name plates and projector. The formality and terminology of the negotiations potentially further isolated diplomats from reflecting on how their decisions might impact people’s lives. Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping were surprised to see negotiators “scrunched on the seats, floors and in the corridors during the late hours” (Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping, 2019, p. 3). In this context, several people highlighted how art’s capacity to engage diplomat’s senses and emotions could instil a sense of urgency at COPs by helping policymakers see “the impact policy negotiations have on people beyond the walls of the

negotiating chamber” (Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping, 2019; Dobrowolska, interview data, Ormond-Skeaping and PDD Secretariat, 2020; *Addressing the Climate Change-Migration Nexus Through Policy and Art* [online video], 2022). Drawing on her years of experience working on environmental migration issues in a variety of venues and her own experience as a refugee, Ionesco concluded: “I think this sense of urgency can come stronger through art sometimes, more than an alarmist way with statistics that sometimes lose the human dimension of it” (Calliari, 2022, 00:39:49-00:40:07). Thus, the art may keep policymakers motivated to focus on the most critical issues during long, often tedious and politically charged, negotiations.



5.24 and 5.25 Corridors outside meeting rooms where COP25 delegates conducted formal negotiations. Images: The author, December 2019.

5.3.2.3 Generating creative thinking and innovative solutions

Diplomats who may be well-versed in climate policy may be unfamiliar with the topic of displacement or the relevance of other venues to the topic, and consequently, limit their considerations of potential law and policies options. According to Keck and Sikkink, “Non-state actors gain influence by serving as alternative sources of information” (Keck and Sikkink, 1999, p. 95), often sharing facts, testimonies, and stories from affected people that an advocacy network has shaped with the intention of persuading others to act in a particular way.¹⁰² Within such efforts to develop norms, art research can provide information that spurs creative

¹⁰² Keck and Sikkink note the risk that people can lose control over their own stories when they become part of transnational advocacy network’s strategy.

thinking and innovative solutions, as diplomats and policymakers refine and institutionalize a norm within a specific venue. In particular, the a-disciplinary approach of artistic research, which often spans multiple policy fields without relying on venue-specific discourse and jargon, creates opportunities for policymakers to consider alternative or unconventional policy solutions.

Artistic research need not necessarily propose specific policy options to generate creative thinking or solutions. As art historian Andrew Brown observes:

Without the responsibility of needing to find answers, the artist can fulfil a vital role simply by looking at a problem from an innovative angle, or by posing a difficult or unexpected question that might otherwise go unasked. ... opening up areas of research to entirely new approaches and discoveries ... communicate in imaginative ways... (Brown, 2014, p. 109).

In other words, art may inspire new approaches simply by asking questions differently or presenting information not previously considered. For philosopher Isabelle Stengers, the role of art research is to influence the process or methods used by asking, “How can we present a proposal intended not to say what is, or what ought to be, but to provoke thought, a proposal that requires no other verification than the way in which it is able to ‘slow down’ reasoning and create an opportunity to arouse a slightly different awareness of the problems and situations mobilizing us?” (Stengers, 2005, p. 994). Similarly, Stephen Wilson argues that engaging art as part of scientific research

can define new kinds of research questions, provide unorthodox interpretations of results, point out missed opportunities for development, explore and articulate wide ranging implications of the research, represent potential user perspectives, and help communicate research findings in effective and provocative ways (Wilson, 1996).

Applied to the context of international policymaking, these aspects can prompt creative approaches to norm development. Consequently, when art proposes different policy options, as in the case of *You Never Know* that imagines a specific immigration category for “climate refugees” under the Refugee Convention, the fact that the research is presented as *art* enables diplomats to reflect on the proposal through the lens of creativity, without immediately dismissing it as irrelevant or utopian.

Research on art and climate change in the field of psychology has found that “[p]eople who view art also tend to think more creatively because they are trying to figure out what it means,” noting that such mindful “moments of reflection may be needed to disrupt everyday routines and open a window of opportunity for the consideration of behavioural changes” (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018, p. 90). Furthermore, artworks like *You Never Know*, which use speculative storytelling to imagine possibilities that may not be financially or politically possible (Ormond-Skeaping, interview data 2022), may also enable policymakers to ask questions and consider new approaches by engaging “a different perspective unburdened by the legislative realities or political possibilities” (Dobrowolska, interview data, 2022). Thus, the process of analysing and critiquing “unrealistic” art proposals may result in policymakers realizing that, in fact, some of the “utopian” proposals may be possible, or that addressing the policy issue from a different angle opens new or previously unconsidered policy options. In the case of *You Never Know*, grounded in research about the real-life experience of displaced people and individuals who administer immigration systems, the proposal for a new refugee category, currently viewed as a political impossibility, may seem feasible, if only fleetingly, because the film builds upon an in-depth understanding of the existing legal and policy framework to imagine alternative possibilities.

5.3.3 Considerations for Curatorial Strategies

Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping concluded their presentation at the Task Force on Displacement side event by stating, “Art does not change the world, policy does. But art does play a role, it cultivates a society that allows paradigms to shift, for policies and practices to change.” However, the presence of art within diplomatic processes is not a given. This section explores the curatorial challenges of securing physical space and time to exhibit art within diplomatic conferences. It also discusses the extent to which curatorial frames are needed to contextualize artworks as a form of research in diplomatic venues, and potential barriers artists may face to being accepted as “experts” as part of norm development efforts.

Nearly everyone I interviewed about the DISPLACEMENT project said that the biggest curatorial challenge, aside from financing, was securing adequate space and time to meaningfully exhibit artworks in diplomatic venues. Reflecting on the exhibition in Marrakesh, Lucy Orta, stated, “it was hard to engage in a meaningful discussion with delegates primarily because of their limited

time and because we were overwhelmed by the large crowd queuing for passports” (Orta, interview data, 2023). After participating in two DISPLACEMENT exhibitions, Dahlgaard highlighted additional issues:

The program and use of space can change at any time. A new security guard or other conference staff member may not be briefed about the art events or turn out to be unwilling to cooperate for instance. Your job as curator of the DISPLACEMENT project at conferences seems intense and time consuming (Dahlgaard, interview data, 2022).

Indeed, each exhibition posed challenges to simply gain permission to exhibit artworks, and then subsequently maintain that permission, including the physical presence of artists, throughout the duration of the conference.

I found it particularly difficult to exhibit art research, which often requires dedicated time for viewing and may benefit from paratextual materials or other forms of contextualization so that viewers can understand the relevance of an artwork to policy discussions. Kälin agreed: “Some art requires more focus and time, and even explanations, but once you have some background, it is suddenly very powerful” (Kälin, interview data, 2020). Artists participating in DISPLACEMENT also resoundingly agreed that ideally art interventions should be included and recognized as a valued part of the official conference programme that delegates are certain to attend, as opposed to exhibitions outside the meeting spaces that may be seen as optional or simply entertainment (Dahlgaard, interview data, 2022; Dobrowolska, interview data, 2022; Ormond-Skeaping, interview data, 2022; Velardi, interview data, 2022; Ariefiansyah, interview data, 2023; Common Room, interview data, 2023; Orta, interview data, 2023).

When justifying the importance of carving out space for art research in formal sessions, part of my job as curator was articulating the relevance and legitimacy of a particular artwork to a specific policy context and why artists should be invited to participate and share their work alongside other technical and research experts. According to the Task Force on Displacement’s Terms of Reference, selected experts need “qualifications and expertise” described as:

(a) **Practical international, regional and/or national experience** related to integrated approaches to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse effects of climate change, at a range of different levels; (b) **Demonstrable expertise relevant for developing recommendations** for integrated approaches to avert, minimize and address

displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change, is desirable (Emphasis added. Task Force on Displacement, no date, para. 10).

In other words, experts are expected to have “practical” experience related to displacement and, ideally, expertise to assist with forming recommendations to the WIM ExCom. Notably, this is for permanent members of the Task Force, not invited contributors. Nonetheless, for Solberg, the notion of applied research is important in diplomatic processes, explaining, “If it is too theoretical or abstract, it’s not useful” (Solberg, interview data, 2020). Thus, when establishing relevant “expertise,” curators and artists should ideally be able to explain art’s relevance to policy deliberations. In her experience, Birkeland found it very useful to show examples of past exhibitions to NRC leadership or government funders when requesting budget authorizations for including art as part of policy advocacy activities, noting in particular the importance of video documentation and the DISPLACEMENT website (Birkeland, interview data, 2023).

Wanting to avoid the perception that art is somehow compromised to fit within a policy context that values utility, it is not surprising that some artists and curators “argue that presenting artistic outcomes through formal channels to influence decision-making can be a straining and undesirable way for arts to influence the outside world” (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019, p. 24). As curator, I sought to ensure the art and participating artists could present their work in a meaningful way, ideally through their personal participation, while also adapting paratextual materials to the particular conference format and policy context.

Participants in the DISPLACEMENT project did not agree as whether some forms of art research are better suited than others for exhibiting in diplomatic venues. Both Solberg and Kälin underscored that art exhibited at diplomatic conferences for the purposes of influencing norm development should not be too abstract. A self-described “policy nerd,” Solberg explained, “We need to make this understandable and accessible for people like myself. If it becomes sort of too postmodern or surrealistic, it may not serve the policy purpose” (Solberg, interview data, 2020). Kälin was also sceptical about the role of art research in diplomatic contexts that gather the world’s leading policy experts, stating: “Just because research is done by an artist does not necessarily make the research better, because the artist is not the expert” (Kälin, interview data, 2020). He further elaborated, “art research has to be well researched, but it

also has to have the attributes of good art. That's creativity. That's technical mastery — a commitment to artistry. If you just visualize statistics, then it's design" (Kälin, interview data, 2020). Sharing Kälin's point about the importance of rigorous research, Dobrowolska contended,

Art should be allowed to translate the technical language of policymaking into "poetry". I do not mean it literally but as a symbolic language that is used to express the lived experience of the effects of policies, policies operating on the ground, how they affect lives and how they impact the changes in the world (Dobrowolska, interview data, 2022).

Looking beyond art research, Dahlgaard and Ormond-Skeaping agreed any form of artwork could potentially work well in a diplomatic conference setting, but that a work's reception depended on how well curation facilitated its viewing and understanding, such as through exhibition brochures or a curator or artist explaining an artwork prior to viewing (Dahlgaard, interview data, 2022; Ormond-Skeaping, interview data 2022). Like the latter two artists, I see the potential to show a wide variety of artworks in diplomatic settings, even abstract or conceptual works, provided viewers have sufficient context, time, and space to engage with a work in congested conference settings. At COP25, the interventions established the artists as credible researchers on disaster displacement by placing them alongside other experts as part of the Task Force on Displacement side event and the full hour sessions at the French Pavilion.

Notably, these events did not provide an ideal viewing environment for all the artworks, and attendance at events of some 40 to 150 people was relatively small for a conference of some 17,600 delegates. Looking ahead to future interventions, because many delegates return year after year, it may be important to consistently present art interventions during each COP to build relationships with delegates and enhance their understanding about the relevance of art research to the negotiations (Birkeland, interview data, 2023; Solberg, email communication, 2023). In addition, if the key strategies of art research are to ask questions, stimulate conversation, and investigate policy options, art research may have more influence in preparatory meetings that are less formal and permit more time for technical discussions. As Birkeland noted, climate negotiations take place throughout the year, and there are multiple key policy moments for engagement (Birkeland, interview data, 2023). For example, art research might also be appropriately received as part of the preparatory meetings for the COP known as "intersessional" meetings, where diplomats hold more technical negotiations over

“both promising and difficult areas” and that provide “an opportunity to take stock and identify immediate actions which could achieve a better result at the next COP, with time for discussion between the different groups” (Huq, 2022), as compared to the highly visible and political COPs where many issues and negotiating positions have already been set.

In addition to seeking to contribute their own a-disciplinary research, artist researchers might also gain increased recognition, access, and influence in diplomatic venues by creating or joining “un-disciplinary research” projects (Saratsi *et al.*, 2019), in which artists work join pre-existing, expert research groups in a given policy field. Such collaboration may also help build artists’ fluency of the diplomatic venue they seek to influence. Similarly, an artist actively participating in a transnational advocacy network, like PDD, may also benefit from exchange and “peer view” on art research, as Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping have done by consulting and receiving feedback on drafts of their film from PDD’s Advisory Committee members (Dobrowolska, interview data, 2022; Ormond-Skeaping, interview data 2022). For Ormond-Skeaping, networked collaboration and “direct person learning” has been essential part of his and Dobrowolska’s research practice that enable them to make “informed interventions” and avoid potential “missteps” (Ormond-Skeaping, interview data 2022). Lucy Orta also valued being linked to a global network of experts that allowed her to refine the content and strategy of the *Antarctica World Passport* project (Orta, interview data, 2023). Given my background in both disaster displacement policy and art, I saw my role as curator to include facilitating such exchanges and creating opportunities for artists and policymakers to learn from one another.

In conclusion, this section describes the various strategies used to exhibit art research in a climate change venue, showing how artworks created spaces for reflection that challenged delegates to look at policy debates anew through visual and experiential approaches that inspired empathy and emphasized the human, emotional and intangible implications of disaster displacement. In particular, Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping presented themselves as active participants in the deliberative process to develop norms, to which they, as artists, contribute through their ability to work in the realm of imagination and speculation from an a-disciplinary research perspective. Finally, this research concluded that art research may influence norm development by contributing an additional layer of information or meaning

that provides delegates with a new way of understanding the issue, inspires ideational commitment, or generates creative thinking, but that curatorial framing to establish the relevance and legitimacy of the research and securing dedicated moments in the conference agenda is important to maximizing art's influence.

5.4 Promoting Policy Solutions for Disaster Displacement in a Disaster Risk Reduction Venue

At its best, art cultivates the counterintuitive, manifesting the notion that everything can be different- through means that we did not expect, have not yet imagined, or maybe even forgot existed.

-Maria Lind (Lind, 2021, p. 5)

While facts and moral arguments can go a long way in convincing States to express political support for a norm, ultimately norms need to be formally institutionalized within “specific sets of international rules and organizations” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 900). Consequently, Finnemore and Sikkink identify “demonstration” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 898), alongside socialization and institutionalization, as an important element in the second stage of norm development to persuade States to adopt particular norms so that they will “cascade” toward the final stage of “internalization”, when “norms may become so widely accepted that they are internalized by actors and achieve a ‘taken-for-granted’ quality that makes conformance with the norm almost automatic” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 904).

This section examines how the process of norm development includes showing how norms can manifest in real-life, both in terms of laws and policies but also practical actions. It explores how DISPLACEMENT contributed to PDD's efforts to promote policy guidance about how to address disaster displacement during the UN Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction (Global Platform) in Bali in May 2022. According to the UN Disaster Risk Reduction Office (UNDRR), disaster risk reduction aims “at preventing new and reducing existing disaster risk and managing residual risk, all of which contribute to strengthening resilience and therefore to the achievement of sustainable development” (UNDRR, 2007). Co-chaired by the Government of Indonesia and UNDRR,¹⁰³ the Seventh Session of the Global Platform at the Nusa Dua

¹⁰³ The 2022 Global Platform was co-chaired by Muhadjir Effendy, Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Cultural Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, and Mami Mizutori, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for Disaster Risk Reduction.

Convention Center on the island of Bali¹⁰⁴ brought together some 5,000 delegates from 185 countries (*Co-Chairs' Summary: Bali Agenda for Resilience*, 2022). During the week-long conference, States reviewed their progress in implementing their political commitments under the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (Sendai Framework) (UNISDR, 2015).

Unlike the legally binding Paris Agreement treaty adopted by States in the climate change venue, the Sendai Framework was not negotiated as legally binding on the 187 UN Member States that adopted it at the 3rd World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction in 2015 (SDG Knowledge Hub, 2015).¹⁰⁵ Notably, disaster displacement norm entrepreneurs in 2015, at that time coordinated through the Nansen Initiative, supported States in negotiating multiple references to disaster displacement and other forms of disaster-related human mobility issues in the Sendai Framework (Kälin, 2015). In 2018, following this important institutionalization of disaster displacement norms, NRC led partners in developing guidance for States about how to incorporate disaster displacement issues in their national disaster risk reduction (DRR) strategies in line with the Sendai Framework. Ultimately published by UNDRR, the Words into Action on Disaster Displacement (UNDRR, 2019b) document, for which I served as the lead author, also provides information and guidance to policymakers about the relevance of disaster displacement to the DRR venue.

At the 2022 Global Platform, NRC and PDD sought to use this first in-person, global DRR gathering since the Covid pandemic to promote use of the Words into Action guidance and advocate for the DRR venue to continue prioritizing disaster displacement as a key policy issue. Disaster displacement featured prominently in the Global Platform's Official Agenda as one of 16 thematic sessions. During the session entitled Strengthening Governance to Reduce Disaster-Related Displacement, panellists representing States, regional organization, indigenous communities, and academics discussed "data and governance, and specifically the inclusion of disaster displacement in DRR strategies and policies, as well as the integrated

¹⁰⁴ While perhaps best known internationally as a vacation destination, Bali holds extensive conference facilities, with infrastructure capable of hosting thousands of delegates and providing high-level security for international and domestic events, such as the G20. In a predominantly Muslim country, I was told by Indonesians that the island is also known domestically for welcoming people from different religious and cultural backgrounds.

¹⁰⁵ Notably, conclusions from the Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction are also not legally binding on States. For further discussion, see 5.4.2 below.

implementation of these strategies and policies” (UNDRR, 2022b). PDD and NRC, which had helped shape the session’s content, also collaborated with other partners to further institutionalize disaster displacement norms in future DRR policy and practice.

Efforts included PDD sponsoring an official side event that sought to link discussions in the Global Platform with policy conversations around loss and damage in the UNFCCC process (PDD, 2022b). NRC secured a booth in the Innovation Platform to feature its eLearning platform on the Words into Action guide on disaster displacement and a technical operational checklist that had been translated into Spanish and French (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2020; PDD, 2021b). PDD also received a 20-minute slot on the informal Ignite Stage to screen a video documenting its 2022 cross-border disaster-displacement simulation exercise on the border between Colombia and Ecuador to illustrate how States could effectively collaborate and prepare for future disasters and displacement (PDD, 2022a). Outside the conference centre, another disaster displacement norm promoter and member of the PDD Advisory Committee, the Global Network of Civil Society Organisations for Disaster Reduction (GNDR), organized a hybrid webinar in a neighbouring hotel to present the findings of their research on durable solutions to disaster displacement (GNDR, 2022). PDD also drafted a set of key messages and background materials for the conference (PDD, 2022c). Thus, the partners promoting disaster displacement norms at the Global Platform sought to provide States and other partners with a spectrum of knowledge, skills, and practical examples to inspire norm institutionalization and internalization.

The next section describes the artistic strategies used in the DISPLACEMENT interventions sought to complement these collective efforts to promote and further institutionalize disaster displacement norms. In particular, the project featured art practices that directly engaged communities exposed to disaster displacement risk, namely by investigating and modelling policy solutions, and stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate. The following section then explores the perceived influence of these artistic strategies during the conference with respect to increasing awareness and understanding, and generating creative thinking and solutions related to disaster displacement. It discusses how artists engaged viewers’ senses and emotions, drew on the imaginary, and presented experimental forms of DRR to create “contact zones” (Pratt, 1999) between artists and the conference delegates. The section

concludes with reflections about exhibiting art as investigating or modelling policy solutions in diplomatic venues, including how such a framing may pose potential dilemmas for artists and curators.

5.4.1 Artistic Strategies and Policy Solutions

Given PDD and NRC's priorities during the Global Platform, the DISPLACEMENT interventions were founded on two artistic strategies: 1) investigating or modelling policy solutions through artists' practical or utopian engagement with communities that had experienced disaster displacement or were exposed to disaster displacement risk, and 2) stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate around potential DRR policy and action.

A vast and diverse set of art practices propose solutions to pressing social and political problems (Lowe *et al.*, 1993; Chin, 2008; Iskandar, 2009). While some practices might seek legal or policy change (Cortada, 2018), use creative activist strategies (Rahmani, 2021), or provide technical solutions (SUPERFLEX, 1996), other practices propose utopian solutions or practices that might not be financially or practically viable if scaled (Mattingly, 2017). For some artists, such practices equate to "acting in ways and spaces that formal organizations, other artists or the city itself would not" (Langlois and Sabelli, 2016), while others are driven to "re-establish aspects of civic life, helping governments and business fill the vacuum and claim back responsibility" (Studio Morison, n.d.). In the field of art criticism, practices with social aims have been accused of creating the illusion that artists can effectively solve whatever societal ill their project addresses (Davis, 2013), when ultimately the "government has a role: the large-scale response" (Finkelpearl in Finkelpearl and Jackson, 2016: 415). Others question whether such practices constitute "good" art (Bishop, 2012), or ask if the art should be evaluated based upon its efficacy as compared to similar "non-art" practices (Simoniti, 2018).

Cognizant of these practices and debates, the DISPLACEMENT exhibition, entitled "When Art Meets DRR", featured artists who directly engaged people who had been displaced by disasters or who faced disaster displacement risk. The main artistic intervention was a booth in the Global Platform's Innovation Platform, which included some 30 booths in two exhibition spaces and an online platform. Located adjacent to the conference's main meeting rooms, the Innovation Platform intended, among other things, to "stimulat(e) awareness-raising, behavior

change and shared learning” and “motivate the application of new knowledge and approaches to DRR” (*Innovation Platform 2022*, 2022). Unlike the largely government sponsored pavilions at COP25, the Innovation Platform booths were mostly organized by NGOs, UN entities, research organizations, civil society groups, and the private sector.¹⁰⁶ In this case, DISPLACEMENT’s application to the open call to participate in the Innovation Platform was endorsed by NRC, PDD, the Anticipation Hub, and GNDR.¹⁰⁷ UNDRR ultimately allocated the project two prominently placed, adjacent booths in between NRC’s and the Anticipation Hub’s booths. Artists were personally present at the booth throughout the conference.

¹⁰⁶ This more open approach reflected the conference as a whole that welcomed non-State participation. As host country, the Government of Indonesia also established a large exhibition area called Indonesia House located close to the Global Platform conference center that featured booths and programming showcasing national DRR efforts and culture, with many panel discussions held in Bahasa Indonesian for national delegates.

¹⁰⁷ Applications to obtain a spot in a conference’s official programme are often more successful when a diverse group of partners jointly organize an event. In addition to helping conference organizers allocate limited slots, joint proposals also indicate the perceived importance of an issue to delegates. Given DISPLACEMENT’s previous collaboration with UNDRR at the 2019 Global Platform, PDD shared the proposal with the UNDRR Communication Office. It was agreed that formal inclusion within the Innovation Platform would also make it easier for UNDRR to negotiate on our behalf to include artistic interventions in other conference locations, which would require approval from the Government of Indonesia as host of the event. Unfortunately, this was ultimately not necessary since we were unable to implement Cortada’s *HELLO* project.



5.26 The main exhibition space for “When Art Meets DRR”, which was allocated two adjacent booths in the Innovation Platform. Image: The author, May 2022.

In addition, artists also presented or performed as part of the PDD side event, the GNDR webinar, and the Anticipation Hub’s Ignite Stage presentation. I also presented the DISPLACEMENT interventions during the Displacement Constituency Session as part of the Stakeholder Engagement Mechanism (UNDRR, 2022a) and at a press briefing on disaster displacement organized by PDD.

5.4.1.1 Investigating and modelling policy solutions

DRR as a venue emphasizes prevention of and preparedness for disasters, as opposed to disaster response. Thus, the DISPLACEMENT interventions presented socially or politically engaged art practices in which artists worked with experts from different disciplines on themes related to reducing disaster displacement risk. Recognizing that many conference delegates would be Indonesian, the artistic interventions featured Indonesian artists as an opportunity to collaborate with local artists and explore domestic disaster displacement challenges that would resonate with delegates from the host country. This approach differed from the previous

DISPLACEMENT exhibition I curated for UNDRR as part of the 2019 Global Platform in Geneva, which had primarily focused on building awareness and visibility for disaster displacement as a DRR issue by presenting a geographically diverse set of artists addressing a spectrum of issues through a wide variety of artistic practices.



5.27 DISPLACEMENT exhibition on the lake border in Geneva, Switzerland commissioned by UNDRR as part of its communication activities for the 2019 Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction. Photo: The author, 2019.

At the 2022 Global Platform in Bali, DISPLACEMENT featured projects with indigenous communities in West Java by the Indonesian collective Common Room Networks Foundation (Common Room), a film about disaster displacement in France by Indonesian anthropologist Rhino Ariefiansyah and Swiss artist Marie Velardi, projects addressing sea-level rise in Miami, Florida and beyond by Cuban-American artist Xavier Cortada, and traditional Indonesian musical performances by Yoppi Andri about the local wisdom regarding “smong” (tsunamis) passed down over multiple generations on Simeulue Island on Aceh. Each artwork spoke to actions that DRR actors could take to address disaster displacement risk.

Common Room’s projects in rural Ciptagelar indigenous communities include direct collaboration with the communities to identify and meet practical needs. However, the non-profit art collective’s multidisciplinary projects merge art, culture, information communication technology, and digital media in atypical ways. Common Room’s approach to working in

communities begins with long-term observation and relationship building, as the group seeks to appreciate how the indigenous community understands and responds to the challenges it faces. Rather than arriving with a specific skill set to provide a particular form of assistance, the artists spent months conversing with and engaging community members. As one outcome, Common Room artist Arum Dayu, working with Yoyo Yogasmana, created *Sawen Lembur* (Dayu, 2021), a series of photographs and videos that depict community rituals used to ward off evil spirits. Dayu created the work after realizing that the community members performed these complex rituals as preventative protection measures against disaster risk and other threats (Dayu in Common Room, interview data, 2023), an alternative, indigenous form of DRR. To communicate their significance, *Sawen Lembur* captures elements from these rituals through floating soap bubbles, which the artist uses to symbolize an imaginary protective dome that the rituals place over the community. Common Room's long-term engagement also led to other projects based upon conversations and workshops to discuss what the community identified as priorities. For instance, the group provided training and capacity building to develop internet infrastructure among rural community with the *School of Community Networks program* (Cunha, 2021) and, at the time of the exhibition, was in the process of developing Internet connected flood risk detection tools in a project called *Mangrove Hacklab* (DISPLACEMENT, 2022), both which could be used to create early warning systems to avoid future disasters and potential displacement as traditionally understood by DRR actors.



5.28 Documentation of Common Room's *The School of Community Networks* project that supports the development of community-based internet infrastructure in remote areas across nine provinces. Here, women and youth in Ciptagelar village discuss how to engage their peers in tech adoption during a livestream event in 2020. Image: Courtesy of the artists.



5.29 Selected image from *Sawen Lembur*, 2021, by Arum Dayu with Yoyo Yogasmana. Image: Courtesy of the artist.

Common Room director Gustaff Harriman Iskandar also shared the collective's unique approach at the PDD side event, where he gave a presentation entitled "Art and Disaster Displacement" alongside other experts during the 90-minute event. Describing how Common Room's artistic approach differed from a typical DRR response, Iskandar explained how the group had been driven by artistic curiosity to methodically document indigenous farming knowledge despite uncertainty of its ultimate utility (*GP22 Side Event - Addressing Loss and Damage Supporting the Most Vulnerable*, 2022). This multi-year data set ultimately provided valuable information about how the community's agricultural production thrived amidst harsh climatic conditions, while other farmers' yields fell. Iskandar later elaborated:

I think a cultural approach is quite an important tool. ...not only to mitigate and adapt to the situations, but also to ignite imaginations and assumptions about our daily realities when disasters come. ...not only to rebuild loss and damage, but also to rebuild the culture, our understanding of the local knowledge, ... our imaginations (*When Art Meets Disaster Risk Reduction in Bali*, 2022, sc. 00:39-01:03).

Thus, Common Room modelled at the Global Platform how curiosity, creativity, and the imagination can drive approaches to DRR that build upon a nuanced understanding of a community's own knowledge practices to arrive upon concrete responses DRR challenges.

The exhibition of Common Room's work included a selection of images, videos, and text to highlight the collective's durational approach to community engagement that blends cutting edge technology with indigenous knowledge. Interviews with Common Room members indicate that Dayu's *Sawen Lembur* photograph particularly sparked conversations with delegates, many reportedly from Indonesia (see Section 5.4.1.2). Thus, while the elements of Common Room's work that feature rituals and spirituality could be read as a problematic essentialization and exoticization of people from the Global South for a white, privileged public from the Global North (see also discussion in Section 5.4.2.1), the Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction, hosted in Indonesia, convened delegates representing governments, civil society, international organizations, and other institutions from around the world. As curator, I sought to feature the work of Indonesian artists, and in particular work collaborating with indigenous communities, who are among the most adversely impact by disaster displacement – particularly given their strong cultural connection to land (Sardiza Miranda *et al.*, 2020).



5.30 Gustaff Harriman Iskandar presents Common Room’s work with an indigenous Indonesian community during a PDD-sponsored official side event. Image: The author, May 2022.

The PDD side event also highlighted how Indonesia’s cultural traditions have historically engaged DRR issues by featuring an Indonesian musical performance. Many DRR practitioners and scholars credit traditional storytelling practices on Simeulue Island in Aceh with saving the lives of thousands of people in 2004 and 2005 when tsunamis, known locally as “smong,” struck the coast (Suciani *et al.*, 2018; Rahman and Munadi, 2019). Stories passed down through generations warned that one should run to higher ground when the ocean recedes. With Common Room’s assistance to identify the artist, DISPLACEMENT invited traditional musician Yoppi Andri from Simeulue Island to open the PDD side event with a “nandong” performance of the smong poem.¹⁰⁸ Through the emotive poetry and music that conveyed the grief and loss from previous disasters, Andri set the tone for the session with the message that local communities may have their own effective ways to avoid or reduce disaster displacement risk.

¹⁰⁸ As compared to more formal “nandong” performances, the “smong” poem is also commonly described as emerging from informal storytelling called “nafi-nafi” (Aiyub, 2018; Editorial Team, 2022).



5.31 Yoppi Andri prepares to perform a traditional Indonesian poem about escaping tsunamis at the PDD side event. Image: The author, May 2022.

Andri's *Smong* and Common Room's approach to integrating new technology with indigenous knowledge and practice also supported UNDRR's efforts to highlight the importance of integrating traditional and indigenous knowledges, which are often discounted or ignored, in disaster risk reduction efforts (UNDRR, 2021). For instance, UNDRR subsequently released a short video on social media about indigenous knowledge related to escaping tsunamis, which featured Andri's performance at the Global Platform (UNDRR, 2023). (UNDRR, 2023). Nonetheless, it is noted that some view the integration of indigenous knowledge within intergovernmental processes addressing climate change, including as part of artworks, with skepticism (Foyer and Dumoulin Kervran, 2017; Burchert, 2024).

The DISPLACEMENT exhibition booth also featured Rhino Ariefiansyah and Marie Velardi's speculative film *Aléa* (*Aléa* [Silent], 2014) about a 2010 storm in Vendée, France that killed more than 60 people and causing severe flooding and displacement. For Ariefiansyah, the film

was a way to “bring experience from the field”, providing “alternative perspectives or a different angle for the people to understand complex elements of displacement disaster issues” (Ariefiansyah, interview data, 2023). Originally developed in collaboration with the Nansen Initiative, the silent video includes subtitles composed from interviews with displaced people, as well as those who refused to move. When the subtitles shift to italics, the artists employ speculative narrative to imagine what can be learned from the disaster and how to live with disaster risk and uncertainty. In addition to envisioning floating homes that rise with the tides, Ariefiansyah and Velardi propose the creation of a School for Natural Hazards to help French coastal residents re-learn their historical knowledge about how to “read the sea” and cope with natural hazards, an idea inspired by Indonesian field schools for farmers in the 1980s (Ariefiansyah, interview data, 2023). While some of the proposals in the film might seem fantastical, the linkages to historic Indonesian practices imply that some of the actions might indeed be feasible and that countries can learn from one another’s experiences.

Finally, the exhibition booth featured artworks by Xavier Cortada, self-described as “a socially engaged artist, an artist that tries to use the elasticity of art to work across disciplines to reframe the way we think and work together to problem solve” (Cortada, 2020, 00:00:23-00:00:34). Working in his hometown of Miami, Florida, with its predominantly Hispanic and Latino population,¹⁰⁹ the artist primarily focuses on sea level rise associated with climate change. Through his project *The Underwater* (Cortada, 2018), the artist, practicing lawyer, and professor of practice at the University of Miami facilitates conversations across the city with his neighbours and fellow citizens, combining compelling imagery with technical expertise and scientific data, to inspire a collective desire for government officials to take anticipatory action on sea-level rise (Cortada, 2020). As part of the project, Cortada has also facilitated monthly *Underwater Homeowners Association (UHOA)* meetings bringing together people living at the same elevation in conversation with technical experts and local officials to discuss the need for policy change. *The Underwater* also includes the distribution of yard signs that visualize houses’ current elevation above sea level against the backdrop of his *Ice Paintings* series created using Antarctic sea ice (Cortada, 2007), an online resource centre hosting research about sea level

¹⁰⁹ According to the annual US Census, Population Estimates Program, in 2022, 72.3 per cent of respondents in the City of Miami identified as having a Hispanic or Latino origin, noting that this number could include individuals identifying with one or more origins (United States Census Bureau, 2022).

rise in Miami called *Underwater Intel*, and workshops reaching thousands of local high school students to build awareness about the need for action on sea level rise.

Contrary to a prevailing popular sentiment in the United States that resists government intervention in private property, Cortada's reference to the quintessentially American "homeowners association" detours the ideological emphasis on individuals acting in their own self-interest to manage their private property investments by, alternatively, seeking to bring people together as a community to apply collective pressure on local government officials. Both *The Underwater* and *Aléa* were intentionally selected to remind delegates, particularly those from the Global North, that natural hazards and climate change can adversely affect everyone, even wealthier or middle-class communities. Yet, by encouraging Miami residents to learn more about the potential need for rezoning and planned relocation of at-risk communities, *The Underwater* could be understood as following the tradition of socially engaged art practices that seek to replace inadequate government interventions, such as those highlighted by art critics with respect to participatory art practices characterized as being instrumentalized by neoliberal ideologies that cultivate "submissive citizens who respect authority and accept the 'risk' and responsibility of looking after themselves in the face of diminished public services" (Bishop, 2012, p. 14). However, Cortada arguably understands that responding to the existential threats posed by sea level rise requires large-scale government action, which the project advocates for through its calls for policy change. In this sense, Cortada's work can be understood in the tradition of other socially engaged artists, who seek to "[query] how artistic practice can engage publics in their urban environment in order to identify, and positively and creatively mediate, power imbalances attached to imaginary and material aspects of urban space" within a neoliberal city (Sachs Olsen, 2019, p. 5).



5.32 Xavier Cortada, *Underwater HOA: Marker 8*, Miami, Florida, 2018. Photo: Guido H. Inguanzo, Jr.

Collectively, the artworks exhibited at the 2022 Global Platform investigated or modelled different artistic approaches and actions to address disaster displacement risk, showing how art creates “the possibility of seeing and doing things otherwise” (Lind, 2021, p. 5).

5.4.1.2 *Stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate*

The art exhibited during the Global Platform worked in different ways to stimulate reflection, conversation, and debate amongst delegates about disaster displacement and DRR, as well as art’s potential relationship to the two.

Some artworks sparked interest simply by their presence at the conference. Dayu noticed how her *Sawen Lembur* photographs with bubbles acted as a visual language that attracted people into the booth, which then led to a discussion about displacement, DRR, and Common Room’s work in indigenous communities (Common Room, interview data, 2023). In addition to the conversations and self-reflection that the exhibited artworks themselves may have inspired, the very presence of art in the Innovation Platform also caused people to stop and ask

questions. While at the exhibition booth, I remember at least three people specifically asking me, “What does it mean, ‘When Art Meets DRR’? How does art relate to DRR?”, while others were simply curious to learn more about the artwork. Reina Wulansari of Common Room, who spent many hours at the Innovation Platform booth, agreed. As compared to a typical gallery show where people talked about aesthetics and personal interpretations of an artwork, the delegates she spoke with were curious to learn about the role of artists in disaster risk reduction, and Common Room’s work in particular (Common Room, interview data, 2023).



5.33 Gustaff Harriman Iskandar (facing camera) and Reina Wulansari (far right) from Common Room speak with Global Platform delegates about their work at the Innovation Platform booth. Image: The author, May 2022.

Other artworks included participant engagement as an element of the piece itself. In addition to *The Underwater*, the exhibition booth also featured Cortada’s project *HELLO* (Cortada, 2021). Originally launched in October 2021 in Miami and activated during COP26 in Glasgow, the participatory project invites people to write on nametags, introducing themselves by their “fears, hopes, purposes, futures, and elevations” above sea level rather than their first names (Cortada, 2023). We had planned to activate the *HELLO* project as part of the exhibition, so

that delegates could experience first-hand the potential of socially engaged art practices by encouraging delegates to consider their own vulnerability to disaster displacement risk. Although it was ultimately not possible to implement the *HELLO* project,¹¹⁰ the still images, texts, and video presentation of Cortada's work nonetheless modelled to DRR delegates how the arts can proactively engage people in conversation to address their fears around future climate change impacts and prepare accordingly (Cortada, 2020, 00:05:38-00:05:47).



5.34 Image of *HELLO* badges presented by Xavier Cortada at COP26 in Glasgow. Image: Xavier Cortada, 2021.

¹¹⁰ Despite significant planning and effort, the artist was unable to attend the conference at the last minute. I was also unable to implement the *HELLO* project on my own given other curatorial responsibilities during the conference.

Learning from past exhibitions, I also moderated three public talks at the booth between artists and Global Platform delegates to facilitate dedicated conversations about the relevance of the artworks to the policy discussions. Prior to arriving at the space, I had hoped to livestream the conversations and allow for the possibility of people sending questions from around the world. However, the background noise, poor WIFI, and constant power outages forced me to settle on an audio recording, with the intention to subsequently edit and post the conversations on the DISPLACEMENT website. The informal, twenty-minute conversations included the artists presenting their artworks and then reflecting on how the artworks contributed to discussions at the Global Platform through discussions with representatives from GNDR and IOM, and other conference delegates.



5.35 Artist Rhino Ariefiansyah (left) listens as Nick Bishop, Disaster Risk Reduction Lead at IOM (right), reflects on the film *Aléa* during an artist talk at the Innovation Platform booth, moderated by the author (centre). Image: PDD, May 2022.

The exhibition booth also sought to create space for self-reflection within the busy conference space through the viewing of *Aléa*, which delegates could then discuss with Ariefiansyah. As

noted previously, the musical performances by Andri also carved out moments for delegates to reflect on the gravity of disaster displacement while providing inspiration that, with knowledge and preparedness, some risk can be reduced.



5.36 A delegate watches *Aléa* at the When Art Meets DRR booth. Image: The author, May 2022.



5.37 Andri performs *Smong* on the Ignite Stage before an audience of some 100 people as part of a session sponsored by the Anticipation Hub. Image: The author, May 2022.

In sum, the DISPLACEMENT exhibition intervened in various ways throughout the conference, sparking curiosity, conversations, and opportunities for self-reflection about how to address disaster displacement risk. Reflecting on his experience throughout the conference, Iskandar concludes, “Art is also a way to share and disseminate knowledge as well as our imagination and perceptions about realities. ... It can create broader discussions, not only about art, *per se*, but many other aspects of our life, including disaster relief and displacement” (Common Room, interview data, 2023).

5.4.2 Influence on Norm Development

The Global Platform’s outcomes are recorded in a summary of conclusions, as opposed to binding decisions, drafted by the co-chairs to highlight what were deemed the most important issues discussed during the conference. Notably, the six and a half page “Co-Chair’s Summary: Bali Agenda for Resilience” dedicates a paragraph to disaster displacement under the heading “Taking the Sendai Framework implementation forward”:

“Provisions to address disaster displacement and other forms of human mobility should be included in national, local and regional disaster risk reduction policies and strategies, as done by some countries. The risk of disaster displacement should be assessed and reduced, including through addressing the underlying causes of such displacement and preparing for its adverse consequences.” (*Co-Chairs’ Summary: Bali Agenda for Resilience, 2022*, para. 29)

As in 2019, DISPLACEMENT artists were also featured in the final conference video (*2019 Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction Overview* [online video], 2019; *7th Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction highlights, 2022*). While the paragraph and inclusion of artists in official conference events confirm the relevance and importance of disaster displacement to the DRR venue, the co-chairs acknowledge that only “some countries” have addressed the issue in their DRR policies and strategies, underscoring that more must be done. This section argues that the art interventions influenced norm development on disaster displacement by creating a space for delegates that generated creative thinking and innovative solutions as they reflected on potential actions for their own countries.

5.4.2.1 Generating creative thinking and innovative solutions

Keck and Sikkink caution that the existence of policies does not guarantee that States will behave accordingly. Thus, they explain that transnational networks may use “accountability politics” to hold States to account for their public commitments and “expose the distance between discourse and practice” with the hope that States will seek to avoid embarrassment by acting in accordance with their positions (Keck and Sikkink, 1999, pp. 97–98). Rather than trying to embarrass States, efforts to develop norms at the Global Platform focused on inspiring States to act by providing learning opportunities and showing and discussing possible actions.

The Bali exhibition highlights how art can inspire “out of the box” thinking to find innovative solutions to a complex policy area like disaster displacement. Although DRR experts obviously cannot know everything about disaster displacement, delegates at the conference are arguably among the most informed in the world on the topic. Most do not need to be told about the severity of the problem, which is increasingly well documented. Less evident is what works to effectively avoid disaster displacement or help communities build resilience to future disaster risks. Ultimately, Wulansari was struck by how much her conversations at the Innovation

Platform led to an exchange of experiences, as delegates sought to understand Common Room’s work and then reflected on the art with respect to their own projects or responsibilities (Common Room, interview data, 2023).

Reflecting on art’s capacity to help people “think and act on climate change”, Crossick and Kaszynska propose that “art might be effective in this area precisely because it provides a space where experimentation and risk-taking can happen” (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016, p. 66). Likewise, in the process of persuading States to endorse and internalize disaster displacement norms, art can act as an experimental or generative space for new ideas that inspire “bigger things, even if it doesn’t actually solve everything by itself” (Davis in Burton, et al., 2016: 450–451). While not necessarily scalable solutions, speculative and utopian projects can model alternatives to mainstream approaches, as well as help reveal what is *not* there (Norman, 2011). In the DRR, climate change, and migration venues, art contributes to norm development by challenging delegates to re-think how they understand the challenge of disaster displacement and encouraging them to imagine new or alternative policy solutions or ways of working.

This idea was shared by many participating in the project over the years. For instance, Kälin concluded: “The added value of art is making these experts think out of the box, to reassess their own ideas, what they think is reality or the right conclusion or the right recommendation” (Kälin, interview data, 2020). Similarly, Ionesco stated that art can give policymakers the freedom to imagine possibilities beyond the bureaucracies with resources and time constraints (Calliari, 2022, 00:16:34-00:16:43). Ormond-Skeaping also felt that his strength as an artist was not being bound by budgetary, political, or scientific limitations when exploring speculative policy solutions. Through this process, he noted that art could also expose potential blind spots or limitations so that policymakers could address them when developing their interventions (Ormond-Skeaping, interview data, 2022). In the case of Ariefiansyah and Velardi’s speculative proposals in *Aléa*, while floating homes and a school for natural hazards might not seem realistic DRR measures in coastal France, by reflecting on the experience of others, the film still might inspire new ideas about how to engage communities facing similar risks (Ariefiansyah, interview data, 2023). According to Velardi, “Art can provide other points of view, different from those of the media. It allows us to convey experiences in a sensorial and shareable way,

to ask questions without necessarily having ready-made answers, to discover possibilities” (Velardi, interview data, 2022).¹¹¹ Thus, art’s engagement with the imaginary and speculative thinking can create generative spaces for new ideas that policymakers may not consider otherwise, advancing possibilities for further internalization of disaster displacement norms.

For artists like Common Room and Cortada that directly engage communities to support practical and policy change using artistic methods, delegates may find themselves wondering how they could adopt similar non-conventional approaches in their own work. Several people at the Innovation Platform booth told me that they were unaware that artists worked directly with communities, other than with respect to communication activities, but were inspired by the exhibition to think about alternative ways they might in the future. Members from Common Room also repeatedly met with delegates unaware of interdisciplinary artistic practices but were curious to learn more, resulting in an exchange of information and experience between the artists and the conference delegates about their respective practices and projects (Common Room, interview data, 2023).

In this sense, one potential role of art in the process of persuasion and socialization is to show what can be done, and motivating States to take actions in line with their political statements. In addition to modelling how DRR actors could work differently, socially engaged art projects can also place pressure on States to take action with the implicit message that if artists can understand and tackle the challenges communities are facing, so can governments.

¹¹¹ Daniel Barney translated the original in French: « L’art peut apporter d’autres points de vue, différents des points de vue médiatiques. Il permet de donner des formes sensibles et partageables, de transmettre des expériences, de poser des questions sans forcément avoir de réponses toutes faites, d’ouvrir des possibles. »

5.4.3 Considerations for Curatorial Strategies

“I am often asked when interviewed a question that frankly confounds me— Am I an artist first, or an activist? — repeatedly reminding me that as a profession we have not reconciled these two tropes: how to apply critical analysis to the broad range of political meanings of our work, to assume responsibility for them, especially among diverse audiences, and how to trust an intuitive and completely un-rationalized imaginary.”

-Suzanne Lacy (Lacy, 2012, p. 2)

Bringing art into a diplomatic venue to investigate or model policy solutions to generate creative thinking about how to institutionalize and internalize disaster displacement norms raises numerous curatorial challenges because such interventions blur the line between art and non-art.

One challenge is simply presenting the artworks as art for conference delegates, particularly artworks that use artistic methods to engage in concrete problem solving as opposed to employing speculative narratives or the imaginary. For example, in my initial conversations with Iskandar, it took some time to tease out how Common Room’s projects were guided or informed by art practice so that I could explain how their approach to engaging with indigenous communities likely differed from other DRR actors. He explained that it had been several years since he had spoken with an art curator, as compared to his daily collaborations with community members and technical experts (Common Room, interview data, 2023). In Bali, El Labbane and I met with Iskandar multiple times to help him prepare for his presentation during the PDD side event, ensuring he was at ease with how disaster displacement was discussed in the DRR venue and providing feedback on how he explained his work to DRR delegates. Ultimately, Iskandar settled on an approach that began with a story (Common Room, interview data, 2023) to present how artistic inquiry, founded on a community’s past, could lead to unexpected information and enable imagining alternative futures to inform DRR responses to disaster displacement (*GP22 Side Event - Addressing Loss and Damage Supporting the Most Vulnerable*, 2022).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, curatorial framing also requires communicating how an art practice relates to policy debates. This was done at the Global Platform by inviting Iskandar to speak alongside other experts at the side event. Similarly, at the Innovation Platform, we had requested that the When Art Meets DRR booth be placed next to the NRC booth on the Words

into Action Disaster Displacement eLearning course. Thus, people physically passed between the spaces discussing the same topic from different perspectives. The art booth displayed exhibition brochures alongside PDD booklets to further contextualize the relevance of the artworks to broader international efforts to develop disaster displacement norms in different venues. The logos of the exhibition partner organizations were also displayed next to the booth's title. Thus, during the Global Platform, the artworks allowed for both a physical and discursive space for experimentation and deliberation that imbedded artists among other conference delegates. As compared to an "art-centric" approach where a museum expands to bring others within (Lind, 2021, p. 13), the curatorial framing expanded the space for art in the Global Platform to participate in norm development.



5.38 Booklets about PDD were on display next to the art exhibition brochures at the When Art Meets DRR booth in the Innovation Platform. Image: The author, May 2022.

This framing also sought to avoid the risk that an artist is tokenized as "an artist" when speaking alongside other experts. In the case of Iskandar's presentation during the PDD side event at the Global Platform, the artist was allotted the same amount of time to present as other panellists and was also assigned to speak in the middle of the session to convey that his

presentation had equal standing to the others. For Birkeland, Iskandar’s presentation was important not only for recognizing the role of artists in policymaking processes, but also diversifying the representation of voices in international conferences more broadly (Birkeland, interview data, 2023). Over the years, all the artists noted the usefulness of speaking with me as curator and others associated with PDD to understand the nuances of policy issues and facilitate conversations with policymakers on more technical issues. Dobrowolska said that she frequently experiences “policymakers oversimplifying things when they speak to artists” and consciously adjusts her language to align with “policy jargon” while also ensuring not to “dilute the concepts or use euphemisms” (Dobrowolska, interview data, 2022). Ultimately, Dobrowolska concluded: “I felt that my artistic agency expanded because I was supported and speaking with and to relevant people (policymakers, diplomats, human rights lawyers, researchers)” (Dobrowolska, interview data, 2022). Velardi, likewise, also appreciated having a curator “to build bridges between distant professional activities that rarely have the opportunity to connect, meet up and exchange ideas, like those of artists and delegates, for example” (Velardi, interview data, 2022).¹¹²

¹¹² Daniel Barney translated the original in French: « Tu as la capacité de faire des ponts entre des activités professionnelles distantes, qui ont peu l’occasion de se rejoindre, de se retrouver, d’échanger, comme celles des artistes et des délégué-es par exemple. »



5.39 The author and artists Marie Velardi and Søren Dahlgaard (from left) meet with Mami Mizutori, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Disaster Risk Reduction, and Kirsi Madi, UNDRR director (centre), while viewing the DISPLACEMENT exhibition with other conference delegates (right) in Geneva during the 2019 Global Platform. Image: PDD, May 2019.

At the same time, inviting artists to participate in policy discussions in diplomatic venues elevates the perceived importance of an artist's practice and places a curator in a position of power, exerting pressure on the curator to justify why a particular artist should be provided with a global platform to exhibit their work. As international relations theorist Roland Bleiker cautions, "art too is a form of representation; incomplete and problematic by nature. ... Artistic and aesthetic knowledge does not automatically produce convincing insight. Nor is it situated beyond power and domination" (Bleiker, 2001, p. 528). During COP25, Ormond-Skeaping personally felt the pressure of the "imposter syndrome", questioning whether he and Dobrowolska were the "right artists" to represent people facing the risk of displacement even though they had spent years researching the subject and visited at risk communities (Ormond-Skeaping, interview data, 2022). As curator, I continuously sought new artworks, particularly by artists from countries facing high levels of disaster displacement risk, and ensured that

selected artworks contributed to each venue's policy debates.¹¹³ In Bali, a significant number of conference delegates were Indonesian and told me they were more comfortable speaking Bahasa Indonesian than English. The Indonesian artists' presence at the booth proved critical for not only speaking the local language, but also understanding how to situate art in the national DRR context. This exchange was further facilitated by both Iskandar and Ariefiansyah's prior experience collaborating with Indonesian DRR actors, with Iskandar invited to join in a panel discussion during the Global Platform at the Indonesia House pavilion.

Finally, artists may face dilemmas about how to describe their role as an artist who supports finding concrete policy solutions. Velardi was motivated to join the DISPLACEMENT project because of its approach "to link political issues with artistic practices" and speak directly to policymakers as a distinct audience (Velardi, interview data, 2022).¹¹⁴ However, as opposed to proposing solutions *per se* through her work, Velardi seeks to translate political questions into artistic form (Velardi, interview data, 2022). Although embedded in a wider artistic practice in indigenous communities, Dayu similarly described how she saw her photographs exhibited at the Global Platform as a starting point for engaging in conversation around complex issues (Common Room, interview data, 2023). Lucy Orta described her practice as "situated within the sphere of social engagement and seeking ways to balance an aesthetic enquiry within an ethical framework" (Orta, interview data, 2023). Dahlgaard is inspired by UK-based Pakistani artist and writer Raheed Araeen's concept of "ecoaesthetics" (Araeen, 2009), which according to Dahlgaard, "challenges the artist to make a real impact in the world and critiques the traditional artwork as a bourgeois fetishized object, which only exists for the art market" (Dahlgaard, 2019, p. 57). Ormond-Skeaping described the pressure he felt from the art world to not be too explicit or practical when addressing political issues in his work, having received the message that that is not what "good" art does (Ormond-Skeaping, interview data, 2022). Similarly, Dobrowolska has observed that various art discourses, while critically examining

¹¹³ This is a difficult issue for diplomatic venues that extends beyond artists and raises the question as to how to bring the experiences of disaster displaced people within policy fora without tokenizing individuals or prioritizing one person or community's experience over another.

¹¹⁴ See original in French : « Le projet DISPLACEMENT aborde ces questions-là aussi, en tentant de relier les problématiques politiques avec des pratiques artistiques. Je trouve cette approche très intéressante, et plutôt rare, cela a motivé ma participation au projet. Aussi, le contexte de présentation des oeuvres a été aussi pour moi très particulier, le fait d'ouvrir l'adresse publique des oeuvres, en s'adressant à des personnes décideuses politiquement, a été une expérience exceptionnelle. »

political issues, are not “functional enough” in terms of “real solutions (such as policies)” (Dobrowolska, interview data, 2022). As curator, I sought to design exhibitions and interventions in a way that accommodated and accentuated these different approaches.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter describes the artistic and curatorial strategies tested through three DISPLACEMENT interventions exhibited in collaboration with partners at intergovernmental conferences. Beginning with the assumption that disaster displacement norms still require further institutionalization in different venues to become internalized, the case describes how art can be part of a transnational advocacy networks’ efforts to develop norms by drawing from a set of potential artistic strategies:

- Manifesting or revealing abstract ideals, values, and power dynamics
- Stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate
- Contributing novel information, knowledge, and methods
- Investigating and modelling policy solutions

It describes how artworks engaged these strategies differently, with various approaches to using visual imagery, metaphor, embodied knowledge, speculative narrative, empathy, utopian imaginaries, a-disciplinary research methodology, and practical problem solving.

Comparing these artistic strategies to PDD’s standard approach to norm development, the study draws on theories of art and curation, international relations theory on norm dynamics, and psychology and cognitive science research to conclude that the artworks influenced the norm development process on disaster displacement in diplomatic venues by:

- Increasing awareness and understanding of the issues
- Exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment
- Generating creative thinking & innovative solutions

To support this influence, the case describes how curatorial strategies were adapted to contribute to partners' policy objectives in a specific diplomatic venue. It underscores how curating in diplomatic conferences with the intention to develop norms requires an understanding of site-specificity that assesses the venue's institutional characteristics, including understanding relevant policy discussions and terminology, the meeting format, the people present, and the anticipated legal or policy outcomes of the conference.

Notably, the case does not conclude that art's influence directly resulted in new international laws and policies. International policymakers are ultimately responsible for institutionalizing norms. However, the case shows that art can play a role in shaping the scope and content of norms before they crystalize into international agreements. As Iskandar concluded, "In the end of the day, the policymaking process has to be formalized through certain processes, including the political process. But I think art can enrich the process by stimulating a broader discussion before arriving at the formal policymaking process itself" (Common Room, interview data, 2023).

While this case study primarily focuses more on art's contribution to the deliberative aspects of developing norms, it also demonstrates art's potential role to create the conditions through which diplomacy can take place. The DISPLACEMENT interventions arguably created "contact zones" for norm development between artists and the conference delegates, which anthropologist Mary Louise Pratt describes as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt, 1999). Similarly, James Clifford refers to museums as contact zones when they serve as "places of hybrid possibility and political negotiation, sites of exclusion and struggle" (Clifford, 1997, p. 212), which in turn can result in "possible new collaborations and alliances" (Lind, 2021). In other words, the artworks created a physical and discursive space in the norm development process for delegates to think anew about disaster displacement as a global policy issue and what might be possible to address it, including potential collaborative efforts with artists.

Art's contributions may be particularly helpful with respect to complex policy issues like disaster displacement, which require institutionalizing norms in multiple venues to achieve the final stage of the norm life cycle, internalization. In this sense, the case study shows how art

can contribute to developing disaster displacement norms adapted to each venue, not only through the more commonly recognized role of artistic contributions as a form of communication, but also by contributing research findings and proposing potential policy solutions.

Finally, the case study highlights various challenges for curating art exhibitions in diplomatic venues, such as establishing the legitimacy of artworks to policy deliberations, negotiating suitable time and physical spaces to exhibit artworks, identifying artworks, financing exhibitions, and ensuring the artistic integrity of exhibited works. It concludes that curation, and partnerships with States and official observers, play a critical role in both physically accessing conferences spaces as well as shaping the political relevance of artworks in diplomatic venues.

6. Enhancing Understanding of Art's Role in the Evolution of International Norms

This research began with the understanding that climate change impacts pose a real and significant existential threat to the future of humanity, evidenced in part by the current and anticipated displacement of people that disproportionately affects the Global South. The scale of the current challenge demands a concerted effort by all interested parties, including artists, to achieve policy and operational responses that protect the rights of displaced persons and those facing the risk of displacement.

In the art world, there is an assumption that art consequentially affects social and political change, including with respect to climate change-related issues, although there are ongoing debates as to how this occurs (Kester, 2011; Dobson and McGlynn, 2013; Finkelpearl and Kester, 2013; Lam *et al.*, 2013; The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018; Madoff, 2019; Sholette, 2022). Building on the findings from the case studies in the two previous chapters, this chapter presents a proposal for understanding and conceptualizing art's potential contributions to political change in diplomatic venues. In so doing, it returns to this study's two overall research questions:

1. What is the potential influence of art as part of collective efforts to develop international norms on disaster displacement in diplomatic venues?
2. What forms of collaboration between artists, NGOs, intergovernmental institutions, States, and other actors could advance the development of disaster displacement norms?

To answer the first question, Section 6.1 proposes a conceptual framework to better understand how artistic strategies may influence norm development as part of collective efforts in diplomatic venues. Because it was developed to consolidate the findings of the two case studies in this research, future research could test and evaluate the framework to understand its utility in other contexts and potentially propose iterations. Reflecting on the second question, Section 6.2 introduces the notions of "policy-oriented art" and "policy-oriented curating" to distinguish art practices that seek social and political change in the form

of law and policy, highlighting the important role that curating plays in shaping the potential influence of such practice. Section 6.3 offers final reflections on considerations for all actors seeking to include policy-oriented art as part of norm development efforts in diplomatic venues.

6.1 Conceptualizing Art as Part of Norm Development in Diplomatic Venues

How might art influence the development of international norms as part of collaborative efforts in diplomatic venues? To answer this question, this section draws on the two case studies presented in Chapters 4 and 5. The first case explores how art has historically been understood as part of diplomatic activities at the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG). It concludes that art is primarily conceived as a diplomatic gift that Member States donate to the United Nations (UN) as a form of cultural diplomacy that contributes to a “dialogue amongst civilizations” in support of multilateralism. The second case examines art’s role as part of a transnational advocacy network’s efforts to develop disaster displacement norms in various diplomatic venues through the DISPLACEMENT: Uncertain Journeys project that I curated from 2016-2022. In comparison to the first case that examines the “status quo” of how art is understood in international relations and diplomacy more broadly, the second case explores the potential for a more active and engaged role for art and artists in diplomatic decision-making processes.

In analysing these two cases, this section returns to Finnemore and Sikkink’s (1998) norm life cycle, which describes how a constellation of actors’ actions may lead to international legal and policy change, to identify four artistic strategies from the case studies that were used to develop norms in diplomatic venues. The section then presents a conceptual framework to describe *how* the use of these artistic strategies may influence international norm development as part of collaborative efforts to develop norms in diplomatic venues, emphasizing the importance of curatorial framing in the process.

6.1.1 Artistic Strategies in Diplomatic Venues

Through my conceptual and empirical research, I argue that artistic interventions in diplomatic venues can be characterized as employing one or more four strategies: i) manifesting ideals,

values, and power; ii) stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate; iii) contributing novel information, knowledge, and methods; and iv) investigating or modelling policy solutions, each of which is elaborated below.

First, the UNOG case illustrates how art played a role shaping the visual identity of the League of Nations and the UN to convey the institutions' ideals and values as esteemed, multilateral institutions committed to diplomatic solutions to international disagreements and global challenges. The art thus helped cement the establishment of the organizations and, in the case of the UN, continues to contribute to the organization's ongoing legitimacy by linking it to a historical lineage of global diplomatic institutions. Gifting artworks, and the diplomatic rituals surrounding gifting, also allows States to visually manifest their own political ideologies and cultural diversity, as well as assert their political and economic power within the institutions, recognizing the financial resources and diplomatic alliances required to donate art or exhibit artworks in impactful ways. Similarly, the prominent display and personal engagement with artworks presented as part of DISPLACEMENT exhibitions at diplomatic conferences enabled State and non-State actors to publicly exhibit their ideals and values, in this case, in support of efforts to advance the development of disaster displacement norms. States have also arguably deployed art in a defensive policy position to counter political attacks in formal diplomatic proceedings, such as the example of China sponsoring art exhibitions at UNOG in the context of Human Rights Council meetings. Artworks, then manifest ideals, values, and power in diplomatic venues by drawing on strong imagery, visual metaphor, engaging narrative, and creating immersive experiences.

Second, both cases highlight how art can stimulate self-reflection about diplomacy itself and specific policy issues by inspiring personal, moral, and emotional responses. In the UNOG case, former UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld exemplifies the 1951 UN Arts Committee principles in this regard by using art as a touchstone to reflect on his leadership responsibilities. Likewise, artworks such as *Aléa* and *You Never Know* in the DISPLACEMENT project, also created opportunities for conference delegates to undertake self-reflection and imagine themselves as disaster displaced persons. The case studies also exemplify art as prompting and creating spaces for conversation and debate. Notably, UNOG frames its cultural programme as a contribution to the "dialogue amongst civilisations" and "building bridges and facilitating

cooperation and partnership” (Pisano in Doeser and Nisbett, 2017, p. 3) through exposure and familiarity with other countries’ cultures. In this context, an artwork’s openness to interpretation is understood to support multilateralism by prompting self-reflection on biases and assumptions, building empathy for others’ perspectives, and approaching problems creatively. Both cases also illustrate how art exhibitions create opportunities to establish or strengthen institutional and personal diplomatic relationships in informal settings. In the UNOG case, art openings allow for exchange and networking outside formal meetings governed by protocol. Similarly, the DISPLACEMENT exhibitions show how participatory artworks can create situations and pose artistic proposals that encourage delegates to talk to one another and engage in a shared experience, such as Dayu’s *Sawen Lembur* photographs, Dahlgaard’s *The Inflatable Island*, and Lucy + Jorge Orta’s *Antarctica World Passport*. Thus, both cases demonstrate how art interventions can stimulate reflection, conversation, and debate amongst international policymakers by appealing to viewers’ emotions, using speculative narratives and imagination, and presenting strong imagery that sparks curiosity.

Third, the cases demonstrate how art exhibitions and projects contribute novel information, knowledge, and methods into policymaking processes. The UNOG case describes how States have gifted artworks or sponsored art exhibitions in recent years that contribute information, knowledge, and methods to increase understanding and highlight specific policy issues. Expanding beyond works intended to promote broad values such as cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and the peaceful resolution of conflict, UNOG has hosted Member State sponsored art exhibitions on policy issues as varied as displacement and migration, environmental protection, violence against women, water as a human right, and sustainable fashion. Such events may commemorate certain days, such as World Refugee Day, or accompany formal sessions addressing the topic as alternatives to formal statements or research papers. The DISPLACEMENT project similarly presents artworks that draw on extensive research drawing on multiple disciplines or engagement with people affected by displacement, such as *You Never Know*, *Aléa*, Common Room’s multi-year engagement with indigenous Indonesian communities, and Cortada’s *The Underwater*. The artworks exemplify how art can present novel information, knowledge, and methods drawing on the imagination, artistic research methods, and sensorial and affective forms of experiential knowledge.

Finally, the research reveals how art aids in investigating or modelling policy solutions. Most of the artworks addressing specific policy issues explored in the UNOG case largely illustrate, focus on the human dimensions of, or inspire self-reflection and dialogue about a policy challenge, such as *Ecce Homo II* (Jarnuszkiewicz, 2016) exploring the theme of international migration and international human rights law. However, the DISPLACEMENT case highlights art that also investigates or models possible policy solutions. For instance, *Antarctica World Passport*, *You Never Know*, and *Aléa* examine arguably utopian solutions to disaster displacement, at least in the current political context, such as a passport permitting uninhibited global travel without visas, an expanded refugee status, and floating homes on the French coast, respectively. However, other artworks like Common Room's engagement with indigenous communities and Cortada's community-based project with his fellow Miami residents present conference delegates with real-life experiences of seeking policy solutions using artistic means. Thus, art can investigate or model potential policy solutions by asking questions that might not otherwise be asked, engaging the imagination and speculative solutions, and testing ideas without concern for scalability or financial or political viability.

Art is not alone its ability to enact strategies that seek to conceptualize values and ideas, enrich diplomatic relationships, introduce new knowledge and perspectives, or explore policy solutions. However, the case studies illustrate how art arguably works in distinct ways as compared to communication, research, or policy development efforts typically carried out by NGOs, governments, or the UN. For example, art's visual and affective qualities allow artworks to translate ideas, values, and relations of power into sensible and physical form or experience. The use of sensory or interactive elements can create attractive or engaging spaces for reflection, dialogue, and debate in contrast to the formal, protocol-heavy meeting formats typically found in diplomatic venues. Unconfined by academic disciplines or institutional mandates, art can also engage policy issues from transdisciplinary or a-disciplinary perspective, without relying on technical jargon, working with complexity and abstraction in forms that may appear deceptively simple. Artists can also draw on their imaginations and build narratives to explore multiple policy options through utopian or dystopian futures, unencumbered by the political and financial constraints typically faced by international policymakers. The two cases also illustrate how art's potential for multiple interpretations allows policymakers to informally show support for or discuss elements of a policy issue without aligning themselves to a specific

position. Collectively, art's sensorial and affective qualities, including when accompanied by diplomatic rituals around exhibiting art as gifts, enable artworks to convey multiple layers of meaning in international relations that need not rely on rational, disciplinary, political, or financial constraints. Consequently, artists adopting strategies seeking to influence international policymaking processes in diplomatic venues may have more freedom to ask and pursue questions that are less likely to be addressed by others, with reflections and findings emerging in forms that might simultaneously and unabashedly engage fact and fiction, rationality and irrationality, and knowledge and experience.

6.1.2 Art's Influence on Norm Development

How might adopting these artistic strategies influence collective norm development efforts in diplomatic venues? Given the complex process through which international norms crystallize (Coleman, 2013), it is highly unlikely that any one artwork will be credited for the formal institutionalization of a new norm. As art historian Kester observed with respect to political change, "Pragmatic effects, concrete changes in social policies, the transformation of consciousness or perception, subtle changes in cultural discourse, all of these things get mixed up together in really complex work" (in Finkelpearl and Kester, 2013, p. 121). Thus, in proposing a framework to conceptualize art's influence on norm development, this section returns to Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) norm lifecycle model that understands norm evolution as occurring within a complex process of negotiation and contestation of norms amongst a multitude of different actors in which norms move through three stages: norm emergence, "norm cascade," and internalization. Rather than presupposing direct causation, the framework presented below is offered as an analytical tool to conceptualize how artistic strategies may influence efforts to advance international norm development in diplomatic venues in support of the ultimate goal to institutionalize the norms in laws and policies.

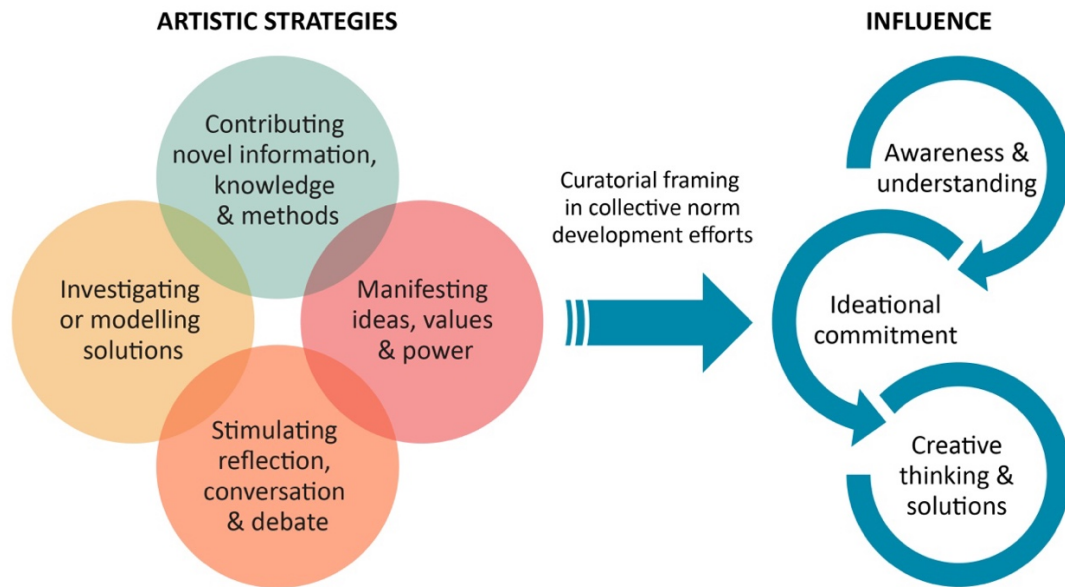
Ultimately, the framework contends that art exhibited in diplomatic venues may influence the development of international norms in one or more ways: i) increasing awareness and understanding of the norm; ii) exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment to the norm; and iii) generating creative thinking and innovative solutions to implement the norm. As discussed below, the three forms of influence could be understood as corresponding to the three stages of Finnemore and Sikkink's norm lifecycle. However, as illustrated in the

DISPLACEMENT case, the influence may also occur simultaneously or as a series of feedback loops (Bertrand, 2019), recognizing that norm development — used to convey a potentially amorphous process of persuasion and contestation before a norm is institutionalized — is not necessarily a linear process.

Importantly, Finnemore and Sikkink's model recognizes that individual actions, not just state interest and power, influence international norm evolution. Similarly, the framework presented in this section conceptualizes artists and art as participating in a wider transnational advocacy network (Keck and Sikkink, 1999), recognizing that artists, like NGOs and other non-State actors, must persuade rather than coerce powerful States represented by individual diplomats to take specific actions by harnessing factual information alongside "affect, empathy, and principled or moral beliefs" (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 900) to "bring new ideas, norms and discourse into policy debates, and serve as sources of information and testimony" (Keck and Sikkink, 1999, p. 90). Thus, as discussed in Chapter 5, the potential influence of artistic strategies is connected to the wider norm development objectives for a particular venue.

The framework also recognizes that curatorial decisions play a crucial role in shaping an artwork's potential influence in diplomatic contexts, as illustrated in both cases. Artworks may not have been created with the intention of adopting any strategy at all with respect to contributing to norm development. Once placed in the context of a diplomatic venue, artworks may subsequently be understood to employ one or more strategies. According to international relations theorist Thomas Payne, constructivists seeking to understand how persuasion influences norm evolution often draw on social movement theorists' conception of cognitive frames to "order normative content and provide boundaries for political discourse," even as such frames may assert competing visions (Payne, 2001, p. 41). Similarly, cultural framing has been described as "conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action" (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996, p. 6). Thus, the conceptual framework, presented as a graphic and further developed below, recognizes the role of curatorial framing as a part of collective norm development efforts. Such framing comprises a wide variety of activities, including developing partnerships, identifying physical spaces for exhibiting works, securing

spaces in the conference agenda for artists to actively participate, and writing paratextual materials that explain the relevance of artworks to a venue. Taken together, curatorial choices can selectively emphasize one or more artistic strategies to seek to influence a norm development processes in a particular way.



6.1 Figure conceptualizing art’s influence on international norm development in diplomatic venues. Image: the author. Graphic design: Cyril Chapuisat.

Exploring the framework in more detail, art is found to influence norm development in diplomatic venues in three, potentially interconnected, ways. First, art can increase international policymakers’ awareness and understanding of a norm and why it is important. This is particularly important during Stage 1 of the norm lifecycle when norm entrepreneurs clarify the nature and scope of the problem to be addressed, and then attempt to persuade States to support or endorse the inclusion of the emerging norm in relevant diplomatic venues. As the DISPLACEMENT case shows, awareness and understanding might mean policymakers understand why climate change is relevant to a migration venue and call into question what legal or policy options might be available to institutionalize disaster displacement norms. Art might also influence norm development by helping experts understand and conceptualize the intangible emotional and cultural considerations implicated in a norm, such as through strong narratives or sensorial experiences that highlight the visceral and emotional experience of being forced to flee one’s home in a disaster situation. The UNOG case underscored how art

can also help build a more nuanced awareness and understanding of other diplomats' cultural backgrounds and negotiating positions, further contributing to an environment in which a norm can be constructively developed in consideration of diverse viewpoints and perspectives. Art may also allow diplomats to informally discuss and gain enhanced knowledge about politically sensitive issues by discussing art, relying on its absence of closed meaning.

Second, art can inspire individual and collective ideational commitment to a developing and institutionalizing a norm. The DISPLACEMENT case study showed how artworks that inspire empathy can enable policymakers to personally connect with the importance of a norm, such as how the film *You Never Know* invited policymakers to understand the importance of the norm to avert, minimize and avoid disaster displacement by imagining themselves as displaced. Similarly, collectively carrying the participatory sculpture, *The Inflatable Island*, allowed PDD Steering Group and Advisory Committee members to publicly show their commitment to the disaster displacement norm without necessarily adopting a specific policy position. This playful experience creating a lasting, embodied experience shaped by a shared commitment to addressing disaster displacement, helping to build and establish institutional and personal relationships centred on developing and institutionalizing norms. In a more immediate sense, artworks may also inspire ideational commitment that keeps policymakers motivated to work through long negotiating sessions. According to Finnemore and Sikkink, ideational commitment is critical in Stage 1 for those actively promoting an emerging norm, who are often driven by shared values, empathy, and ideals (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 898). Inspiring ideational commitment remains important in Stage 2, as States seek to persuade other States to support the institutionalization of a norm.

Third, art can influence norm development by generating creative thinking and solutions about how to institutionalize a norm in the form of laws and policies. While creative thinking is arguably important throughout the norm life cycle, innovative approaches are particularly important during Stages 2 and 3 when a growing number of States seek to institutionalize a norm in both international venues and domestic institutions. Noting research in psychology that found that viewing artwork prompts creative thinking as one trying to interpret a work's meaning (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018), art may inspire innovative solutions simply by asking questions that challenge policymakers to consider new information or unconventional

approaches addressing a policy challenge. For example, as demonstrated in the DISPLACEMENT case, artworks may prompt creative thinking by presenting seemingly politically impossible solutions, such as amending the Refugee Convention to include climate change impacts as proposed by Dobrowolska and Ormond-Skeaping's film. Even artworks that enact practical interventions, such as Common Room's disaster risk reduction-related activities in indigenous communities in Indonesia, may prompt creative thinking as policymakers consider how such approaches might be adaptable to their own countries. Less hindered by political or financial constraints, art practices may offer generative spaces for experimentation and innovation, inspiring policymakers to think about how they might find ways to translate norms, such as protecting the rights of disaster displaced persons, into tangible, actionable, and effective laws and policies.

The framework proposed in this section conceptualizes art's influence with respect to contributing to the development of norms, not their institutionalization. As actors negotiate the content of a norm in a particular venue, the three forms of influence may act as feedback loops—creative thinking about solutions might lead to enhanced understanding about the norm itself, which in turn leads to a strengthened commitment to institutionalize a norm, and so on. Ultimately, States need to act to translate norms into international and domestic law and policy. Nonetheless, this section argues that art and artists can play a real and significant role in the process of shaping and conceptualizing norms by influencing the diplomatic processes through which norms may ultimately crystalize.

6.2 Policy-Oriented Art: Practice and Curation

Understanding that art can influence the development of international norms in diplomatic venues, this section explores how to create conditions for maximizing that influence by answering the question: What forms of collaboration between artists, NGOs, intergovernmental institutions, States, and other actors could advance the development of disaster displacement norms?

The first section presents the notion of “policy-oriented art” to describe art that is exhibited with the intention of contributing to norm development in diplomatic venues. Recognizing that

curating plays a role in shaping the potential influence of an artwork, particularly works that may not have been initially created by the artist with the intention of influencing policy, the second section presents the notion of “policy-oriented curating.”

6.2.1 Conceptualizing Policy-Oriented Art

While art can influence social and political change in a range of abstract and concrete ways (Bradley and Esche, 2007; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016; ICASC, 2018; The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018), “policy-oriented art” characterizes art practices that seek to influence international norm development processes in diplomatic venues. As compared to “political,” “activist,” “socially engaged,” “artist,” or “arte útil” practices, policy-oriented art has four distinguishing characteristics.

First, policy-oriented art seeks evidence of change in the form of law and policy. In the context of diplomatic venues, the art is explicitly exhibited for international policymakers who have the authority to negotiate laws and policies addressing the norm under debate. Thus, this type of practice is distinct from art that seeks other forms of change, such as community cohesion, increased general awareness, or a “practical, beneficial outcomes for its users” (*Arte Útil / Arte Útil*, no date). Consequently, as will be discussed further in the next section, policy-oriented art is created and/or exhibited with a specific audience in mind: policymakers in a particular diplomatic venue.

Second, policy-oriented art is often collaborative and solutions-oriented. Distinct from activist art practices that seek disruption (McKee, 2016), policy-oriented art may be provocative in terms of ideas, but not seek to impede or block diplomatic proceedings. The collaborative and solutions-oriented approach of policy-oriented art reflects a shared intention with other members of an advocacy network seeking to institutionalize a norm. As both cases show, artists need to build relationships to gain influence and access to diplomatic venues, often through collaboration or sponsorship with Member States or official observers. This collaboration may not only increase the influence of an artwork by amplifying its exposure, it also embeds an artwork in the technical policy discussions and strategic priorities of wider norm development efforts. Thus, while collaboration may not be an element of the work itself, policy-oriented art is created and/or exhibited as an integrated component of collective norm

institutional efforts, which could include advocacy, research, or exploring specific policy solutions as described in the DISPLACEMENT case. Nonetheless, policy-oriented art is not a form of propaganda or solely didactic in the sense of only communicating an advocacy network's message in a format that closes off multiple interpretations. As the DISPLACEMENT case study shows, art can simultaneously maintain a critical position and be solutions-oriented in the sense of seeking legal and policy change. For instance, artworks like the *Antarctica World Passport* and *You Never Know* may prompt policymakers to question and reflect on their values, humanity, and identity within the international community, which may in turn help them to arrive at a legal or policy solution that more fully addresses the complexity of a norm under debate.

Third, policy-oriented art conceives of the artist as an independent, engaged expert. As described in the previous section and reminiscent of the Artist Placement Group's "incidental person" that developed an "intuitive and critical model for interdisciplinary collaboration" (Jackson, no date), artists are distinctive in their ability to tackle policy issues through practices that combine critical, interdisciplinary thinking and research approaches to engage viewers' imagination, affect, and sensorial experience. The case studies found that this expertise is primarily recognized with respect to communication or cultural diplomacy, although there is arguably a growing recognition of artists contributing to norm development in other ways, namely in the areas of research and knowledge production and promoting the creation of law and policy solutions. Importantly, an artist's independence should not be confused with neutrality. When art is exhibited in a diplomatic forum, its meaning, and thus art's potential influence, is shaped by this wider political context and thus can never be neutral. That said, artists typically do not claim neutrality, but take critical positions on policy issues with the implicit or explicit message for a norm to develop in a particular way. For instance, an artist who has created a work seeking to highlight the humanity of refugees would certainly not endorse their art being used to justify legal or policy measures that fail to uphold refugees' basic human rights. At the same time, policy-oriented art, or its creator, is not "used" by other actors, but rather the artist shares the commitment to contribute to wider efforts to institutionalize a particular norm, either when the artwork was created or at the time of exhibition. Thus, the conception of artists as independent *engaged* experts distinguishes policy-oriented practice from the Artist Placement Group's notion of an "incidental person" in

which the artist is embedded within an institution “without a predetermined intention” (Incidental Unit, no date).¹¹⁵

Finally, policy-oriented art has the capacity to simultaneously build conditions conducive for diplomacy to occur and contribute to substantive diplomatic processes. As discussed in UNOG case, art is typically situated in international relations literature as a source for sovereign states to exercise soft power or conduct cultural diplomacy. However, when contributing to norm development efforts in diplomatic venues, art’s influence can be understood as extending beyond domestic foreign policy objectives to encompass elements that underpin multilateral diplomacy itself: building personal and institutional relations, respect for difference, and cultivating confidence in diplomacy to resolve international conflict. Thus, in terms of art’s contributions to diplomatic relations, we can think of art as acting as the glue, the grease, or the solvent (Cross, 2019) with respect to creating conditions that allow for new relationships, easing into sensitive or polarizing debates by presenting issues in abstract or, or breaking deadlocks by reframing contentious policy discussions. In terms offering substantive contributions to international debates, policy-oriented art can clarify, challenge, or disrupt the status quo on how a policy issue is conceived, understood, and addressed in ways that inspire new perspectives about how to address a norm through international law and policy. For instance, an artwork might conceptualize a policy issue with respect to its emotional impact on an implicated community, as opposed to economic or security implications that have historically guided diplomatic debates. Art may also be able to encapsulate complex ideas and multiple perspectives within a concise form that allows for nuanced reflection and understanding, without being simplistic. Consequently, diplomatic negotiations might arrive at more comprehensive and nuanced policy or legal solution, such as by including measures that address psychological and cultural impacts of disaster displacement alongside economic implications.

This conception of policy-oriented art may sit uneasily with proponents of political art who ascribe to Theodore Adorno’s assertion: “Insofar as a social function can be predicated for artworks, it is their functionlessness” (Adorno, 2002, p. 227). Similarly, proponents of activist

¹¹⁵ Notably, subsequent iterations of Artist Placement Group focused more on art’s role in policy and advocacy (Frieze, 2007).

art may cringe at participation with institutional processes. Policy-oriented art builds on contemporary art practices that do not shy away from art as seeking a specific social function. For example, curator Stéphanie Bertrand contrasts Adorno's position with supporters of "arte útil" or "useful art" that "call for more concrete social engagement" by "effectively negating this tradition by introducing a pragmatic action that aims to directly transform reality (i.e., the civic sphere) in view of a tangibly beneficial effect" (Bertrand, 2019, p. 4). Nonetheless, exhibiting art in diplomatic venues, as with any collaboration, does entail risk. For instance, as the case studies show, UN Member States or other actors may attempt to leverage the perceived independence of artists by sponsoring artists as independent thinkers to raise politically sensitive positions that they might not articulate themselves. Artists who want to present artworks that challenge a particular government's policies or positions will also face difficulties accessing diplomatic venues unless they can partner with a UN organization or sympathetic Member State and draw attention to a policy issue without explicitly identifying a Member State. While the latter reflects a UN rule that is unlikely to change (United Nations Geneva, 2010), in many instances, the active physical presence of artists during art exhibitions or their express consent to have their work exhibited in a specific context can assuage concerns that an artist or their artwork is instrumentalized to serve broader political goals.

In conclusion, the notion of policy-oriented art attempts to strike a balance between describing artworks that embrace the idea of seeking tangible political change while also allowing art to do what it does best: inspiring curiosity, challenging preconceived beliefs, prompting questions, tackling complexity and paradox, communicating knowledge that is difficult to transmit through words, and engaging the emotions and senses. However, as the next section argues, policy-oriented art requires more than simply physically placing an artwork in a diplomatic conference building.

6.2.2 Conceptualizing Policy-Oriented Curating

Curation plays a critical role in policy-oriented art's ability to influence norm development. As shown in the case studies, an artist does not have to have originally intended for an artwork to be "policy-oriented" for it to be considered "policy-oriented art." Rather, it is curation that *orients* the art towards engagement in policy debates. This section describes how policy-oriented curating relies on an expanded notion of site to create an interpretative frame to

guide policymakers to engage with artworks as part of wider diplomatic processes by using exhibition design, interpretative materials, and partnerships. It concludes by contrasting policy-oriented curating with the predominant curatorial strategy, which this research describes as “white cube activism,” often used by art institutions for public exhibitions on social and political issues like the climate emergency and displacement.

First, curating policy-oriented art requires a nuanced understanding of the norms being developed by wider collaborative efforts. As the DISPLACEMENT example highlighted, a general norm to protect the rights of people displaced in disaster contexts assumes a high degree of complexity when translated into policy language. A curator needs to understand the advocacy network’s policy priorities and be informed on relevant legal and policy developments. This knowledge enables curators to identify artists whose work could amplify key issues or engage neglected, technical, or controversial areas that may be challenging for other actors to examine for practical or political reasons. Policy experts within the advocacy network can serve as critical sources of information and advice. Communications experts in the network can also advise regarding key policy priorities, messages, and audiences.

Second, policy-oriented curators often need to act as a translator between artists and other members of the advocacy network, mediating between the worlds of art and diplomacy.¹¹⁶ This means ensuring artists understand the advocacy group’s objectives and priorities, and vice-versa, explaining the relevance of a work – or art in general – to advocacy networks members. In my experience, the curator’s “translation” role is particularly important for explaining conceptual or participatory artworks in which a physical object alone is not the artwork. The concept of artists as researchers similarly needs explanation, usually by providing examples.

Third, preparing artistic interventions requires including the notion of diplomatic “venue” as part of “site” or “context” analysis. In contrast the open-endedness of an artwork’s potential meaning, the institutionalization of norms into law and policy ultimately involves agreement on

¹¹⁶ This linking role extends beyond the Artist Placement Group’s “connector,” who was a designated pre-existing employee within a business or government ministry responsible for facilitating the incidental person’s placement, but whom did not necessarily have an art background.

a precise set of words with a clearly understood meaning. Including the international relations notion of “venue” (Coleman, 2013) as part of a comprehensive notion of site helps maximize an artwork’s potential contributions to norm development efforts. It enables the curator to select artworks that speak to the specific policy issues under debate as understood by experts on the topic, while also cautious not to trivialize or oversimplify a complex, political issue. Such decisions should be based on an assessment of factors such as the institutional host of the conference, the venue’s technical terms and conceptual approach used to address the norm, the meeting format and level of formality, the roles, ranks, and institutional affiliation of delegates, the physical event location, and the anticipated legal or policy outcomes of the conference. Such analysis enables a curator to be cautious of attempts by partners to instrumentalize an artist or their work, and to assert an artist’s particular expertise or position to contribute to a topic. A curator can share this knowledge with artists, particularly if they are attending in person, so that they are informed and aware of how their work is likely to be understood and interpreted by viewers. In turn, artists can use this information to reflect on their own engagement and participation in such interventions.

Fourth, policy-oriented curating should identify and establish the conditions to accentuate the artistic strategies used to contribute to norm development efforts. Is an artwork seeking to raise awareness, generate continued support for a known issue, or inspire creative solutions? While a work can potentially do more than one of these things at a time, the physical and political framing can shape how the work is interpreted, and arguably its influence. Lind’s broader notion of a exhibition-making as “making art public” is useful (Hoffmann and Lind, 2011) by recognizing that exhibiting policy-oriented art in diplomatic venues may take many forms, such as a mounted display on panels and plinths, an installation in a hallway, a panel presentation as part of a formal process, or stage performance – all the while embedded within a wider set of efforts to advance norm development. Working closely with collaborators, policy-oriented curators need to consider the time, physical space, and technical background of delegates attending the conference to identify the best moments in the conference agenda, understanding when and where an artwork’s contributions are best likely to be received. Potential considerations on which artworks to feature and how to exhibit them are too vast to summarize here but might include identifying when policymakers may benefit from a reflective moment to engage with ambiguity, complexity, or sensorial forms of

knowledge, or at what point in an agenda an artist could serve as a panellist in formal deliberations. For example, a playful, interactive installation like Dahlgaard's *The Inflatable Island* would likely not be well received during a five-minute pause amidst heated negotiations over a legally binding treaty. Conversely, few delegates are likely to prioritize watching an hour-long, conceptual art film during a busy afternoon with multiple simultaneous sessions, regardless of how well the film captures the policy issues under debate.

Fifth, curating policy-oriented art requires negotiating the meaningful inclusion of art and artists in diplomatic venues, both in terms of policy processes and physical exhibition spaces. This research found that while artists have been invited to speak to global policymakers at the highest levels in the past, their interventions often focus on cultural policy or art as making cultural contributions to a policy issue,¹¹⁷ separating artists from wider policy discussions that may include experts from diverse fields. Thus, in many situations, a key challenge for policy-oriented curators is to carve out space for artists to contribute to policy debates on non-art topics, not just communicating existing messages. In practical terms, each diplomatic venue has its own characteristics, including varying degrees of control over exhibitions and displays. While some diplomatic conferences may have more open registration policies, others are restricted to a limited number of government delegations and official observers who have been approved months prior to the event. Similarly, rules for exhibiting artworks during diplomatic proceedings likewise vary, although the inclusion of an art component requires some form of approval by the conference or event organizer. Consequently, both case studies underscore that partnerships, including with States, UN entities, and NGOs, are critical for endorsing the relevance of art to the diplomatic deliberations and to negotiating meaningful inclusion of art and, when possible, artists themselves. In this respect, curatorial decisions are often not made at the sole discretion of an individual as "curator," but, as shown in the two case studies, in negotiation with administrative rules and partner States and organizations.

Above all, curating policy-oriented art requires recognizing that intergovernmental institutions are not art museums. All curating involves creating an interpretive frame for engaging with

¹¹⁷ For instance, Alfredo Jaar, the Tate Modern Director, and the director of the NGO Art 2030 were invited to speak at the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies and Sustainable Development (Art 2030, 2021).

artworks, in the sense that an exhibition features artworks according to a theme, or artworks are exhibited in a specific location, either inside or outside museum walls, to contextualize and shape viewers' experiences. However, in diplomatic settings, curators may need to set a much narrower interpretative frame, especially when exhibiting artworks where the viewer does not expect to find art. A visually appealing work that sparks curiosity may benefit from additional information or visual cues to encourage more nuanced reflection about its meaning, since time-pressed diplomats may not investigate an artwork in more detail unless given the time and tools to do so. Setting the interpretative frame also requires assessing political, financial, and time constraints that will impact the reception of an artwork in a highly politicized institution. For instance, given the multicultural context of diplomatic venues, policy-oriented curators need to be sensitive to unintended confusion or offense by works. Which State or institution sponsors an art exhibition or the affiliation and level of individuals present at an art opening will also add layers of meaning to how viewers interpret artworks, and in turn, may impact the artworks' potential influence on norm development.

Policy-oriented curating is distinct from "activist curating" as discussed in the literature. Reilly's notion of "activist curating" draws on institutional critique to describe curators working from within art institutions to counter the dominance of Western art canons in exhibitions (Reilly, 2018). When curators tackle broader social and political issues like the climate crisis and displacement, such exhibitions speak to the general public from within museum walls (Madoff, 2019) and do not have a specific policy objective in mind other than to raise general awareness about an issue even when an exhibition explicitly coincides with a diplomatic conference (Witzke in Lam *et al.*, 2013). Recognizing the rich and multitude of approaches too diverse to describe here, this predominant curatorial strategy can be described as "white cube activism," in the sense that it begins and stays within cultural institutions, bringing outside political debates within the context of art. Policy-oriented curating employs the opposite strategy of situating art as a direct participant in diplomatic policy processes with an objective to contribute to the development of a specific norm, noting wider calls to move outside curating outside art institutions (Diego, 2018; Bertrand, 2019; Obrist, 2019) particularly linked to the notion of "useful art" (Abse Gogarty, 2017). Thus, similar to Bertrand's proposal for "useful curating" that undertakes "an urgent problem-solving assignment toward the resolution of a specific social issue" (Bertrand, 2019, p. 13), policy-oriented curating has an even more specific

audience and objective in mind for seeking social and political change in the form of international law and policy. Policy-oriented curating adopts a theory of change that focuses directly on convincing policymakers to enact laws and policies, as compared to a more indirect model that seeks to compel policymakers to act as a consequence of widespread support from the public at large.

6.3 Summary of Findings

This research has found that artists and curators are increasingly seeking to engage diplomatic processes in meaningful and impactful ways, including by working in collaboration with diplomatic institutions, states, and non-governmental organizations. Finding the absence of a consensus about how art impacts global politics in the fields of art and a lack of research in the field of international relations about the role of art in norm evolution, this research sought to better understand art's influence in global political change, particularly with respect to the creation of international laws and policies on disaster displacement.

By proposing a framework that describes how art may influence the development of international norms when conceived as part of collective efforts, the research offers artists, curators, and other actors a way to strategize art's potential contributions towards achieving the ultimate goal of seeking change in the form of international law and policy. In so doing, the framework is cautious to not overstate art's influence. Art is clearly not the dominant force in diplomatic policymaking processes. At the same time, the framework recognizes that art's influence may be indirect or personal, or at least difficult to capture, with its result felt over different timescales: an immediate sudden insight, a gradual awareness, or perhaps an embodied, memorable experience. Recognizing these issues, the framework depicts how art can meaningfully and strategically complement the work of other actors through its distinct ways of communicating, conceptualizing, researching, and engaging with policy issues. Notably, while the types of influence described in the framework may be widely recognized in the art world, the framework helps to explain why such influence is consequential for international policymaking as part of a wider norm evolution process, rather than just assuming it makes a difference.

The notions of policy-oriented art and policy-oriented curating speak to the second question of what forms of collaboration between artists, NGOs, intergovernmental institutions, States, and other actors could advance the development of disaster displacement norms. By grounding policy-oriented art within a wider network of actors and actions, the terms conceptualize how artists and curators can work with others to advance norm development efforts, describing specific strategies for working within diplomatic venues as compared to more predominant “white cube activist” curatorial strategies in which art engages international policy debates from within cultural institutions.

7. Summary of Research

Driven by the real and existential threats posed by the climate emergency, this research sought to increase understanding about the neglected issue of how art can contribute to political change in the form of international laws and policies that address displacement triggered by natural hazards and the adverse impacts of climate change (disaster displacement). The research drew on my background in humanitarian affairs, law, and curating art for intergovernmental conferences to explore the possibilities and consequences of exhibiting arts for international policymakers as part of diplomatic policymaking processes, as compared to art exhibitions within cultural institutions created for public at large that address themes related to global policy issues.

This chapter summarizes how the research aims and objectives were achieved, identifies the research's contributions to knowledge, discusses limitations of the research, and concludes with reflections on future research that may emerge from the findings.

7.1 Achievement of Aims and Objectives

This research project sought to increase understanding about the neglected issue of how art can contribute to political change in the form of international laws and policies that address critical global challenges, like climate change and displacement, by exploring the possibilities and consequences of exhibiting arts within intergovernmental venues. It aimed to better understand how art's interdisciplinary capacity to engage emotion, create sensorial experiences, and prompt critical and reflexive thinking, could positively influence the process of advancing norm development on disaster displacement. The research also sought to identify and characterize strategies for artists, curators, and other actors seeking to include art within norm development efforts in diplomatic venues, and to explain the relevance of such artistic contributions to international policymakers.

With these aims in mind, the research sought to achieve the following objectives:

1. Survey art practice, art theory, and histories of art on contemporary and socially engaged art practices to identify and describe artistic strategies used for engaging disaster displacement, climate change, or environmental issues (Section 2.1).
2. Survey theories of social and political change in the fields of art and international relations to understand if and how art has been understood to contribute to international political change and the evolution of international norms (Section 2.2).
3. Undertake a case study about the United Nations Office at Geneva to better understand how art has historically been conceived as part of diplomatic relations at an intergovernmental institution (Chapter 4).
4. Undertake a case study about my curatorial practice leading the DISPLACEMENT: Uncertain Journeys project to examine how art strategies may contribute to current international policymaking efforts at intergovernmental conferences to address disaster displacement (Chapter 5).
5. Integrate international relations theory on norm evolution, drawing on research from the fields of art and psychology, to develop a conceptual framework to enhance understanding about how and why artistic strategies may influence norm development efforts in diplomatic venues (Section 6.1).
6. Conceptualize art and curatorial practices that seek to influence international policymaking processes as part of collaborative efforts to develop international norms (Section 6.2).

First, the practice and literature review surveyed art and curatorial practice and theory, as well as international law and policy developments, with respect to addressing displacement and migration issues associated with climate change. This review resulted in the identification and description of four artistic strategies: i) making issues visible, ii) encouraging conversation and provoking questions, iii) interpreting existing research and generating new knowledge, iv) problem solving, and introduced the term “white cube activism” to describe the predominant curatorial strategy that engages in international policy debates from within cultural institutions, often addressing the public at large to promote general awareness raising (See Section 2.1).

Second, the practice and literature review surveyed how the fields of art and international relations, respectively, understood the role of art in the process of international policymaking. It concluded that there was a lack of consensus in the fields of art as to how art influenced international social and political change, and found that international relations research on international norm evolution had not specifically considered the role of art in such processes (See Section 2.2). Addressing this gap, the research sought to answer the following questions:

1. What is the potential influence of art as part of collective efforts to develop international norms on disaster displacement in diplomatic venues?
2. What forms of collaboration between artists, NGOs, intergovernmental institutions, States, and other actors could advance the development of disaster displacement norms?

To answer these questions, the research used two case studies to find further evidence and better understand the artistic strategies used to influence international relations in diplomatic venues. Both case studies were explored through contextual art writing in the tradition of arts and humanities research and feminist theory, grounded in my experience working within intergovernmental institutions in various capacities.

Thus, third, the first case study examined the historic and current practice of gifting art in diplomatic relations, focusing on gifts to the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG). As an overall finding, the case study observes that UNOG's administrative processes regarding the receipt and display of art and temporary art exhibitions as "gifts" at the Palais des Nations constitute curatorial decision-making, informed by political, financial, and practical considerations, that both enables and restricts art's potential contributions to international diplomacy. The case ultimately concludes that art may contribute to the evolution of international norms at UNOG in two ways. First, art contributes to building conditions conducive to international diplomacy, in the sense of establishing the UN as a credible institution and foster diplomatic relations. Second, art supports diplomacy through the more recent, but less common, practice of using art and exhibitions to address the substantive

content of multilateral discussions, including politically sensitive topics such as displacement, migration, and climate change (See Chapter 4).

Fourth, the second case study examined my curatorial practice leading the DISPLACEMENT project, further identifying and describing artistic and curatorial strategies for including art as part of collective efforts to develop disaster displacement norms during intergovernmental conferences in three distinct diplomatic “venues” (Coleman, 2013), recognizing that “venue” refers to the institutional setting, not the physical site, within which a conference takes place. Beginning with the assumption that disaster displacement norms still require further institutionalization in different venues to become internalized, the case describes how art can be part of a collective efforts to develop norms by drawing from a set of potential artistic strategies: i) Manifesting or revealing abstract ideals, values, and power dynamics; ii) Stimulating reflection, conversation, and debate; iii) Contributing novel information, knowledge, and methods; and iv) Investigating and modelling policy solutions. The study draws on theories of art and curation, international relations theory on norm dynamics, and psychology and cognitive science research to conclude that the artworks influenced the norm development process on disaster displacement in diplomatic venues by: i) Increasing awareness and understanding of the issues, ii) Exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment, and iii) Generating creative thinking & innovative solutions. While the case does not conclude that art’s influence directly resulted in new international laws and policies on disaster displacement, it finds that art can play a role in shaping the scope and content of norms before they crystalize into international agreements (See Chapter 5).

Fifth, drawing on the collective findings from the two case studies and the practice and literature review, the research proposes a conceptual framework for understanding art’s influence as part of collective efforts to develop international norms in diplomatic venues, noting in particular the role that curating plays in shaping the potential influence of art. This framework offers an answer to the first overall research question regarding the potential influence of art on norm development processes. It also helps explain the relevance and potential influence of such artistic contributions to international policymakers (See Section 6.1).

Sixth, with respect to identifying and characterizing strategies for artists and curators seeking to contribute to efforts in intergovernmental venues, these strategies are included in the conceptual framework, and are further developed in the proposed notions of “policy-oriented art” and “policy-oriented curating.” These terms, grounded in the collective efforts of others seeking to develop international norms in diplomatic venues, are proposed to answer the second research question regarding forms of collaboration between artists, NGOs, intergovernmental institutions, States, and other actors to advance the development of disaster displacement norms (See Section 6.2).

7.2 Contributions to Knowledge

This research sought to address gaps in knowledge with respect to better understanding and conceptualizing art and artists’ potential contributions to developing international norms in international policymaking processes in diplomatic venues. The first contribution to knowledge reflects the research’s approach to analysis, which offers new insight by bringing together the fields of art theory and international relations theory. Additional contributions to knowledge emerged from two in-depth case studies that led to a conceptual framework to describe art’s influence on norm development, and the terms “policy-oriented art” and “policy-oriented curating.”

7.2.1 Integrating International Norm Evolution Theory to Understand Artistic Interventions in Diplomatic Venues

This research makes an original contribution to knowledge by applying an analytical approach that brings findings from theories of art about art and social change in conversation with international relations theories on norm evolution to enhance understanding on how the qualities of art contribute to collective efforts to advocate for the development of international laws and policies in diplomatic venues. Despite addressing the role of art in social change, including to a limited extent transnational movements, art theorists and critics have not appeared to engage significantly with international relations research. This research bridges that gap by examining artists’ role in collaborating with intergovernmental institutions on international policy issues by building upon Finnemore and Sikkink’s norm life cycle model (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998) to analyse the influence of artistic engagement in developing norms in the context of diplomatic venues.

In so doing, it contributes to existing literature on contemporary art's role in political change (Hoffmann and Lind, 2011; Kester, 2011; Giannachi, 2012; The Center for Artistic Activism, 2018; Madoff, 2019; Saratsi *et al.*, 2019; Sommer and Klöckner, 2019; Bruguera and Bishop, 2020; Demos, 2020) and international norm evolution (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; McAdam, 2016; Schriever, 2017; Bleiker, 2018; Jakobsson, 2018; Okeowo, 2018; Jung, 2019), building on the two fields' shared recognition that the development, exchange, and distribution of ideas lie at the core of social and political change. In the field of art, the approach provides an analytical lens for understanding about how art influences social and political change with respect to international policymaking processes. It also advances research in the field of international relations by joining norm evolution theory with theories of art. In particular, it expands existing research on international relations and aesthetics by looking at artists and art as change agents to complement dominant approaches that view art and aesthetics as an interpretative lens. It also extends the notion of "cultural diplomacy" to recognize art as contributing to substantive policy debates, as opposed to promoting a nation's culture abroad.

7.2.2 Developing a Conceptual Framework for Art's Contributions to International Norm Development

Drawing on conclusions from the two case studies, the framework further contributes to and bridges ongoing debates related to art and international political change in the fields of art (Kester, 2011; Mesch, 2013; Weibel, 2015; Demos, 2020), international relations (Baudot, 2010; Danchev, 2014; Bleiker, 2018b, 2018a), and psychology (Roosen, Klöckner and Swim, 2018; Sommer and Klöckner, 2019; Sommer *et al.*, 2019) by depicting how art exhibited in diplomatic venues may influence the development of international norms in one or more ways: i) increasing awareness and understanding of the norm; ii) exhibiting and inspiring ideational commitment to the norm; and iii) generating creative thinking and innovative solutions to implement the norm. The framework also highlights the crucial role that curatorial decisions play in shaping an artwork's potential influence in diplomatic contexts. The research also contributes to the development of Finnemore and Sikkink's "norm life cycle" model (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998) in the field of international norm evolution by applying the norm life cycle to empirical research developed through the DISPLACEMENT project and

conceptualizing art's role in the development of norms as a feedback loop through which norms are contested.

Thus, the framework may serve as an analytical tool for researchers in diverse fields seeking to conceptualize and assess the influence of artworks exhibited in diplomatic venues as part of collective norm development efforts. For example, in addition to research in art and social change, norm evolution in international relations, and psychology, the framework may provide research in communication (Neimand, Christiano and Parater, 2019; Rahman and Munadi, 2019) and cognitive science (Lakoff, 2004; Currie, 2013; Marshall, 2015; Seeley, 2015) a basis to examine how art's use of imagery, narrative, symbolism, speculative futures, immersive experience, the imaginary, and interdisciplinary and a-disciplinary research may help persuade policymakers in diplomatic venues to adopt new norms. The framework may also aid curatorial theorists examining "activist curating" (Reilly, 2018; Bertrand, 2019; Madoff, 2019) in analysing the potential influence of curatorial decisions for exhibiting artworks in diplomatic venues, by offering a starting point for reflecting on how curating decisions may or may not align within wider norm development goals.

On a practice level, the framework may be a useful heuristic tool for informing strategic collaborations between artists, curators, and other actors seeking to include art as part of norm development efforts in diplomatic venues, both in terms of deciding which artworks to exhibit and evaluating the potential influence of exhibitions. For instance, by illustrating how artistic strategies may link to wider norm development efforts, the framework may provide a basis to help curators work with partner organizations to decide which artworks might best contribute to meeting a collective advocacy goal for a conference, such as awareness-raising or discussing policy proposals, and what curatorial framing might be required to enhance the potential influence of an artwork at the specific venue. Similarly, the framework may also prove helpful for individuals or institutions seeking to negotiate access and financial support for exhibiting art in diplomatic venues. For example, an organization may find it useful as a starting point to develop arguments that describe how the potential influence of artworks aligns with broader organizational objectives and strategies.

As the framework has not been tested for the analytical and practical purposes outlined above, further investigation is needed to demonstrate its utility and the potential benefit of new iterations for these different purposes.

7.2.3 Proposing the Terms “Policy-Oriented Art” and “Policy-Oriented Curating”

This research proposes the notion of “policy-oriented art” to describe art that is exhibited with the intention of contributing to norm development efforts in diplomatic venues with the overall objective of seeking social and political change in the form of international laws and policies. Recognizing that curating plays a role in shaping the potential influence of an artwork, particularly works that may not have been initially created by the artist with the intention of influencing policy, the research also proposes the notion of “policy-oriented curating.” Importantly, policy-oriented curating relies on an expanded notion of site, recognizing that diplomatic venues are not art museums, to create interpretative frames that encourage policymakers to engage with artworks as part of wider diplomatic processes by using exhibition design, interpretative materials, and partnerships.

These terms are useful because they offer a starting point for conceptualizing and analysing the increasingly common practice of exhibiting art in the context of diplomatic conferences. Building on the discussion in the literature review (Chapter 2.1.2.5), the terms distinguish policy-oriented art and policy-oriented curating from predominant art and curatorial strategies, which the study proposes to call “white cube activism,” that seek to influence social and political change by speaking to the public at large from within cultural institutions to achieve general awareness raising, as opposed to engaging policymakers from within diplomatic venues as part of collaborative efforts to contribute to the development and ultimate institutionalization of norms in the form of law and policies. Policy-oriented curating also builds upon Bertrand’s notion of “useful curating” (Bertrand, 2019) and Lind’s conception of curating as “making art public” (Hoffmann and Lind, 2011) and the notion “curatorial” (Lind, 2021, p. 20) to explore the tension between understanding curating as building an argument related to a policy issue (the curatorial) and propaganda (instrumentalism), which is concern often raised in the context of politically-engaged art practices.

7.3 Limitations of the Research

The study acknowledges limitations in the research that influence its overall findings. With respect to methodology, the study includes only two cases that are not necessarily representative of all art's engagement in intergovernmental policymaking processes. Furthermore, one of the cases examines my curatorial practice, which affects how I describe and understand art's influence as an individual personally implicated in the artistic interventions given my role as curator as well as a researcher on disaster displacement policy issues. Thus, the research chooses a descriptive, abductive methodology (Alasuutari, 1995; Barrett, 2010a; Yin, 2018; Blaikie and Priest, 2019; Saeidzadeh, 2023) to describe and understand the role of art in international policymaking. In using this abductive approach, the research seeks to ascertain how people engaging with diplomatic venues understand and give meaning to art, and then describe that meaning so that, in this case, artists, curators, and others can understand and use this knowledge. A researcher approaching the study from a different discipline and positionality could have applied a different methodological approach that might result in alternative conclusions.

As an active researcher and curator in the field of disaster displacement, I was able to conduct this research and participate in diplomatic events with restricted access due to my acquired knowledge, professional experience, access to financial resources,¹¹⁸ and nationalities that facilitated my ability to travel internationally. By describing my own background and the underlying objectives of my research (Anderson, 2020), I attempt to incorporate reflexivity (Harding, 1988; Adams, Ellis and Jones, 2017; Saeidzadeh, 2023) regarding “the researcher’s standpoint” (Reinharz, 1992, p. 259) from which I undertake the study and how it influences the research design and analysis.¹¹⁹ That said, I am cognizant that diplomatic conferences often convene thousands of individuals from around the world who hold diverse positions and interests with respect to disaster displacement, and whose ability to attend and participate in conference proceedings is either eased or hindered by their respective nationalities and access to economic resources. Recognizing the limits of my own “situated

¹¹⁸ See footnote 12 for detailed description of DISPLACEMENT project’s funding arrangements. See also Section 3.7 regarding the potential influence of these funding arrangements on this research.

¹¹⁹ See, in particular, Section 1.3, Section 3.3.3, Section 3.7, and Section 5.1.3.

knowledge” (Haraway, 1988), I try to be attentive to different subjectivities and other positions when seeking to understand the roles art may play in diplomatic venues by considering diverse types of data, including interviews with other individuals who share their own observations.

Nonetheless, although the research methods included drawing on a wide variety of data sources, including archives, personal letters, interviews, exhibition catalogues, administrative documents, photographs, and legal and policy documents, the research could have relied on other types of data or delved more deeply into one of these data sources. For example, while I took field notes and reflected on my personal experience when curating exhibitions, I chose not to significantly feature my personal emotions and experiences related to my role as curator.

With respect to analysis, while acknowledging the range of research on norm evolution theory within the field of international relations, this research chose to primarily rely on Finnemore and Sikkink’s norm life cycle model. This model was selected due to its wide use in the fields of law and international relations and its concise description of three stages of norm evolution, with the understanding that these qualities could help facilitate an initial link between theories of change in the field art. However, the research could have developed a more nuanced and detailed analysis of norm evolution, drawing on research that has contested and developed the norm life cycle (See Section 2.2.2). Likewise, although the research draws on key studies in the field of psychology related to art and climate change action and communication theory, the study did not delve deeply into research in these fields. The study also references art history but does not use it as the primary lens for analysis. Finally, while recognising its potential relevance, the study chose to neglect research in the areas of policy design (Howlett and Mukherjee, 2018) and design practices more generally to limit the scope of the research. Again, the choice of other methods would likely result in alternative findings.

7.4 Future Research Possibilities

This research was inspired by art critic, curator, and activist Lucy Lippard, who stated,

There is no reason to exaggerate the elusive power of art. Artists cannot change the world... alone. But when they make a concerted effort, they collaborate with life itself (Lippard, 2007, p. 6).

Looking to the future, the study's findings create opportunities to expand the scope of existing conversations between the fields of art and international relations, highlighting potential new areas of collaboration and research.

As a growing number of artists, curators, and researchers engage in the field of art and diplomacy, such as emerging scholarship on "summit art" (Burchert, 2022, no date), "useful curating" (Bertrand, 2019), and curating and activism (Thompson, 2012a; Reilly, 2018; Madoff, 2019), more opportunities will arise to test and evaluate the artistic and curatorial strategies described in this research.

While this research focuses on the issue of disaster displacement, the concepts of "policy-oriented art" and "policy-oriented curating" and the conceptual framework on art's influence on norm development could be applied and assessed with respect to art practices addressing other international policy areas. All the examples of art exhibited in diplomatic contexts presented in this research also relied on some form of sponsorship or collaboration with other non-art actors, notably States or UN institutions.

Future research could explore more autonomous ways for artists and art organizations to engage in international norm development efforts in diplomatic venues, including on topics other than disaster displacement. For instance, research could examine the Madrid-based "international art and advocacy foundation" Thyssen-Bornemisza Art Contemporary (TBA21) and its "research arm" the TBA21-Academy (TBA21, no date) with respect to how the foundation has used its official observer status at the International Seabed Authority (ISA) (Assembly, 2016; *Observers*, 2020) (see also Section 3.2) to advocate for international norm development related to seabed mining at the United Nations based upon the TBA21-Academy's ongoing support for artistic research on the topic (Creative Community Outreach Initiative, 2018; Hessler, Linke and Latour, 2019; Hessler, 2021). Such research could include

reviewing diverse data sources, such as TBA21's statements and submissions to the ISA, documentation of any art exhibited at the venue, direct observation of meetings, and interviews with individuals representing TBA21, the ISA, or other delegations to the ISA, to identify and describe TBA21's norm development objectives and how the organization seeks to achieve those objectives. This analysis could then be compared to the conceptual framework presented in this study to determine if it adequately captures the potential influence of the organization's work, or if further iterations are required.

Future research could also offer comparative, critical analysis of different arts organizations and projects seeking to influence international norm development in varied diplomatic venues with different institutional relationships to intergovernmental organizations, such as ART 2030 (*ART 2030*, no date), ARTPORT_making waves (ARTPORT_making waves, no date), DISPLACEMENT, Julie's Bicycle (Julie's Bicycle, no date), TBA21, and Ways of Repair: Loss and Damage (Ways of Repair: Loss and Damage, no date). Such research could describe: i) the overall objectives of the project or organization, ii) the distinct diplomatic venue or venues engaged, iii) the organization or project's status with respect to that venue, iv) the specific norm development objectives sought in that venue, v) partners and funding, vi) the artistic strategies and activities undertaken, and vii) examples of potential influence of such activities on norm development. Again, this analysis could then be compared to the conceptual framework presented in this study to determine if further iterations would be useful to reflect the experiences of these other projects and organizations. Such research could complement this present research by highlighting how these organizations and projects' strategies have evolved over the years, and by providing analysis by a researcher not directly engaged in norm development efforts or associated with an intergovernmental institution.

Similarly, the research opens opportunities to expand current research in the field of international relations and aesthetics (Moore and Shepherd, 2010; Bleiker, 2018a) to include norm evolution theory, as well as empirical research examining practical experience and collaborations. It also creates opportunities to expand research on "cultural diplomacy" to examine art as making substantive contributions to global policymaking processes, as opposed to States primarily using art to promote their culture and image abroad.

Future research could also consider how the concepts and the conceptual framework could be adapted or further developed to reflect national and sub-national policymaking contexts. For instance, the findings could contribute to design for policy research exploring the benefits of engaging civil servants' imagination (Hillgren, Light and Strange, 2020) and addressing "wicked problems" (Hermus, Van Buuren and Bekkers, 2020), particularly with respect to international policymaking processes (Chou and Ravinet, 2019; Kimbell *et al.*, 2022, p. 3).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Sample Research Participant Consent Forms

Chelsea College of Arts
16 John Islip Street
London
SW1P 4JU

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Policy-Oriented Art: Developing Disaster Displacement Norms in Diplomatic Venues

Researcher: Hannah Entwisle Chapuisat, Chelsea College of Arts, University of the Arts London

Please initial each
box

- | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------|
| 1 | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated _____ for the above research study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without my legal rights being affected. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | I understand that research data collected during the study may be looked at by designated individuals from the University of the Arts London where it is relevant to my taking part in this study. I give permission for these individuals to access my data. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of the Arts London Research Administration and Management Section. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6 | I understand how this research will be written up and published. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7 | I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8 | I consent to being audio recorded. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9 | I consent to having my photo taken. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10 | I understand how audio recordings / videos / photos will be used in research outputs. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11 | I give permission to be quoted directly in the research publication against my name. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12 | I agree to take part in the above study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent

Date

Signature

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please speak to Hannah Entwisle Chapuisat (h.entwislechapuisat0520161@arts.ac.uk). The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how they intend to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the University of the Arts London's Research Management and Administration Section, which will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner: researchdegrees@arts.ac.uk; Address: Research Management and Administration, University of the Arts London, 5th Floor, Granary Building, 1 Granary Square, King's Cross, London, N1C 4AA.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Policy-Oriented Art: Developing Disaster Displacement Norms in Diplomatic Venues

Researcher: Hannah Entwisle Chapuisat, Chelsea College of Arts, University of the Arts London

I would like to invite you to take part in my research. Before you decide, I would like you to understand why the research is being carried out and what it would involve for you. I will go through the information sheet with you and answer any questions you may have.

1. *Background and aims of the study*

The ultimate objective of the research is to identify and characterize strategies for artists and curators seeking to contribute to efforts in intergovernmental fora to improve protection for people displaced by the impacts of climate change, and to explain the relevance of such artistic contributions to international policymakers.

Central research questions:

- What is the potential influence of art as part of collective efforts to develop international norms on disaster displacement in diplomatic venues?
- What forms of collaboration between artists, NGOs, intergovernmental institutions, States, and other actors could advance the development of disaster displacement norms?

2. *Why have you been invited to take part?*

You have been invited because you partner with the DISPLACEMENT: Uncertain Journeys project, and have extensive expertise on international law and policy development related to displacement in the context of disasters and climate change.

3. *Do you have to take part?*

No. You can ask questions about the study before deciding whether or not to participate. If you do agree to participate, you may withdraw yourself and your responses from the study at any time, without giving a reason and without penalty, by advising the researchers of this decision.

4. *What will happen in the study?*

If you are happy to take part in the study, you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview. This should take approximately an hour and a half. The interview will take place by in person in compliance with social distancing guidance related to the COVID-19 pandemic. You may also be contacted for a follow-up interview. With your consent, the interview will be

audio recorded. Your informed consent will be required if published material identifies you, and research will be treated in compliance with the UAL Code of Practice on Research Ethics and its principles of respect for persons, justice and beneficence.

5. *Expenses and payment*

Participation in the research is completely voluntary.

6. *Are there any potential risks in taking part?*

The risks (professional, emotional, etc.) to participating in this research are minimal. However, in order to mitigate any potential risks, the researcher will provide you with an opportunity to withdraw comments and/or approve an interview record. All participants will be asked for their permission to use direct quotes.

7. *Are there any benefits in taking part?*

There will be no direct benefit to you from taking part in this research.

8. *What happens to the data provided?*

The personal and research data will not be shared with third parties, and will be stored confidentially, in compliance with the Data Protection Act, on an encrypted external hard drive for a minimum retention period of 3 years after publication or public release of the work of the research.

9. *Will the research be published?*

If you agree to participate in this study, the research will be written up and included in a PhD thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research. The thesis will be published open access. The research may also be published in academic journals / online / books.

10. *Who has reviewed this study?*

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Research Ethics Committee of Chelsea College of the Arts, University of the Arts London.

11. *Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?*

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please speak to Hannah Entwisle Chapuisat (h.entwislechapuisat0520161@arts.ac.uk). The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how they intend to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the University of the Arts London's Research Management and Administration Section, which will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner:

Address: Research Management and Administration, University of the Arts London, 5th Floor, Granary Building, 1 Granary Square, King's Cross, London, N1C 4AA.

12. Further Information and Contact Details

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

Hannah Entwisle Chapuisat
Chelsea College of Arts
16 John Islip Street
London
SW1P 4JU

Tel: 020 7514 2078

Email: h.entwislechapuisat0520161@arts.ac.uk

Appendix 2: Table of Persons Interviewed

Name	Relevance to study	Format	Data	Year
Anonymous	Staff member, Institutional Memory and Archive Section, UNOG Library & Archives	Semi-structured: Video conference	Handwritten notes	2021
Ariefiansyah, Rhino	Artist, with personal participation in DISPLACEMENT exhibition	Written questions	Written responses	2023
Arlot, Fabrice	Former UNOG Cultural Activities Coordinator	Semi-structured: Video conference	Handwritten notes	2021
Birkeland, Nina	Senior Policy Advisor on Climate Change and Displacement, Norwegian Refugee Council, and member of DISPLACEMENT Advisory Team	Semi-structured: Video conference	Audio recording and automated transcript	2023
Common Room (Gustaff Harriman Iskandar, Reina Wulansari, and Arum Dayu)	Artists, with personal participation in DISPLACEMENT exhibition	Semi-structured: Video conference	Audio recording and automated transcript	2023
Dahlgard, Søren	Artist, with personal participation in DISPLACEMENT exhibition	Written questions	Written responses	2022
Dobrowolska, Lena	Artist, with personal participation in DISPLACEMENT exhibition	Written questions	Written responses	2022
El Labbane, Chirine	Communication Officer, Platform on Disaster Displacement (PDD) and member of DISPLACEMENT Advisory Team	Semi-structured: Video conference	Audio recording and automated transcript	2019
Kälin, Walter	Envoy of the Chair of PDD, and member of DISPLACEMENT Advisory Team	Semi-structured: In person	Audio recording and automated transcript	2020
Kryger, Thomas	UNOG Cultural Activities Coordinator	Semi-structured: Video conference	Handwritten notes	2021
Ormond-Skeaping, Teo	Artist, with personal participation in DISPLACEMENT exhibition	Semi-structured: Video conference	Audio recording and automated transcript	2022

Orta, Lucy	Artist, with personal participation in DISPLACEMENT exhibition	Written questions	Written responses	2023
Sim, Pascal	Former UNOG Cultural Activities Coordinator	Semi-structured: Video conference	Handwritten notes	2022
Solberg, Atle	Head, PDD Secretariat	Semi-structured: In person	Audio recording and automated transcript	2020
Velardi, Marie	Artist, with personal participation in DISPLACEMENT exhibition	Written questions (French)	Written responses (French)	2022

Appendix 3: Selected Conference Presentations

“Engaging Art in Diplomatic Venues Addressing Disaster Displacement: A Case for ‘Policy-Oriented Art Practice,’” Conference Paper, Summit Art and Political Events Since the 1970s, Institut für Kunst- und Bildgeschichte, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany (15-16 October 2022).

“Artistic Engagement in International Responses to Disaster Displacement: Opportunities for Policy-Oriented Artistic Practice,” Conference Paper (virtual), Climate Change Temporalities Conference, University of Bergen, Norway (11-13 August 2021).

“New European Bauhaus: Opportunities for Policy-Oriented Artistic Practice,” Panel Presentation (virtual), More than Sustainability Panel, Unbauhaus, UAL (7 July 2021).

“COP26 and Art: A Conversation with Hannah Entwisle Chapuisat,” Presentation (virtual), UNFIX Festival, Scotland (23 June 2021).

“Art and Disaster Displacement: Opportunities for Policy-Oriented Artistic Practice,” Panel Presentation (virtual), Climate Justice Panel, Culture and Sustainability Symposium, Onassis Stegi, Athens, Greece (14 June 2021).

“Art and International Norm Development: Opportunities for Policy-Oriented Artistic Practice,” Panel Presentation (virtual), Art, Policy and the Public Imagination, UAL Social Design Institute (22 March 2021).

“Addressing Disaster Displacement through Contemporary Art: How can art contribute to international policymaking?” Panel Presentation (virtual), Focus on Artistic Creation Session, Cultural Adaptations Conference, Creative Carbon Scotland (3 March 2021).

“Artistic Engagement *Artistic Engagement in International Policy Responses to Disaster Displacement: Ways of Working and Potential Impacts*,” Poster presentation (virtual), Conference on the Arts in Society (June 2020).

Addressing Disaster Displacement through Contemporary Art: How can art contribute to international policymaking? Presentation (virtual), Humanitarian Collaborative Research Roundtable, University of Virginia, (27 January 2020).

Addressing Disaster Displacement through Art: How can contemporary art contribute to disaster risk reduction? Ignite Stage, UN Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction, Geneva, Switzerland (15 May 2019).

Context Is Everything, or It’s Not What You Know, but Who You Know: The highs and lows of curating an exhibition for an intergovernmental conference, RNUAL, UAL, London (8 February 2019).

Engaging Art: How artists contribute to the development of international norms on human displacement related to disasters and climate change, Discussion. Conference on the Arts in Society, Emily Carr University, Vancouver (27-29 June 2018).

Artistic Strategies for Influencing International Norm Development on Disaster Displacement,
Conference Paper, London Conference in Critical Thought, London South Bank University,
London (1 July 2017).