Rising anti-migration rhetoric and its link to national populism

From the **Editorial Board**
Populist rhetoric and global anti-migration politics

It seems impossible to open the newspapers without reading about yet another example of anti-migration, national populist rhetoric by politicians. Indeed, migrants are increasingly becoming the scapegoats for global political and economic woes, with populist leaders pointing the finger at migration to rally support, deflect blame and provide 'easy' answers for national problems such as housing shortages and unemployment.

In this DevISSues, we look at this trend from three vantage points. Hein de Haas argues that in Europe, right-wing populist leaders are mobilizing fear of outsiders to bolster their illiberal agendas. They propagate a simplistic approach, focusing on 'push-pull' factors that seemingly drive migration. De Haas questions the veracity of this, arguing that mainstream approaches to migration are based on superficial assumptions about its nature and causes.

Bisharo Ali Hussein analyses migration from a Global South perspective, arguing that many political narratives across Africa, Latin America and Asia are increasingly portraying migration as a risk to national identity, economic security and public order. In a similar vein to the arguments put forward by de Haas, she argues that this distortion camouflages the real reasons for migration and ignores its socioeconomic benefits.

In the US, Donald Trump's return to power has brought sweeping anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric into the mainstream. Michael Sharpe outlines how Trump's MAGA movement weaponizes migration to stoke fear, distract from economic inequality and consolidate power.

In their staff-student discussion, Luisa Cortesi and Vanessa Clavijo Barboza look more closely at another factor that can influence migration — the politics of water and floods. They reject the idea that floods are purely natural phenomena, arguing that political and economic interests as well as inappropriate land use and water mismanagement exacerbate the impact of water crises.

Further in this issue, Marijn Faling and Inge Hutter explore exciting possibilities of joint programmes between ISS and the Rotterdam School of Management. They suggest that such programmes could help students gain a better understanding of private sector involvement in key development issues such a social justice, equity and inclusion.

I hope that this DevISSues gives you food for thought and encourages critical conversations on the important topics it highlights.

Jane Pocock — Editor, DevISSues

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Rector's Blog
Development is dead. Long live Development

The world is changing, and it is changing fast. Some say it is changing irreversibly. For a long time, the United States and Europe were the most important donors for international development. For a long time, they were considered – at least by themselves – as the keepers and protectors of the international rule of law. For a long time, there was a basic trust in the multilateral organizations that helped cope with the many challenges we are facing globally, from pandemics to armed conflicts to human rights violations.

But the world is changing and that is not only a bad thing. Governments in the Global North are saying aloud what we knew was true all along: international development collaboration – and aid – is hardly ever just altruistic. It is transactional and a means to exert influence. Meanwhile, their power and influence are challenged by upcoming economies – China in the lead – with their own strategies. And many countries in the Global South have not only moved to middle-income status, but they have also developed a keen sense of self-confidence in the international political arena.

The world is changing so fast that it is hard to keep up, let alone predict. Except for one thing: partnerships and South-South-North collaborations will be more important than ever. Mutuality and equality will be crucial. Maybe the development decades in the previous style are over, but a new era is starting in which partners in the North and in the South need to join forces to tackle crucial challenges. I don't want to downplay or sugarcoat the dramatic effects of budget cuts from traditional donor countries and of the withdrawal from multilateral organizations. But if that is the reality we live in, it also creates the space ánd the necessity to build something different: a new, truly global, critical, sustainable and just approach to development.

If you ask me what that looks like, I must admit I don't know, but I am eager to find out. At ISS, we are critically rethinking our own strategies. We want to be a knowledge partner for just transitions. I look forward to discovering – together with our network of partners, alumni, like-minded people – what a new era of development could be. We need not hold on to what got lost if we can envision and help shape what is becoming.

Ruard Ganzevoort, Rector ISS

Hein de Haas is Professor of Sociology at the University of Amsterdam

Rethinking migration *as* development

Migration is one of the most hotly debated, but also one of the least understood public issues. The main problem is not so much a lack of knowledge, but rather the polarized nature of the migration debate, particularly its framing in simplistic, dichotomous pro- and anti-terms. Indeed, debates have become so polarized that most nuance gets lost, with pro- and anti-migration camps often exaggerating the harms and benefits of migration by cherry-picking only the facts that fit their narrative.

Meanwhile, anti-immigration rhetoric and largely symbolic border crackdowns distract the attention away from the real questions: Why have over three decades of border controls failed to stop illegal migration and the suffering at our borders? Why have governments failed to address the exploitation of migrant workers? Why are politicians consistently failing to deliver on their promises? Why is the actual effectiveness of policies rarely the subject of serious debate?

As I argued in my book *How Migration Really Works*, border policies have often failed to deliver – or have even backfired – because they are not based on a genuine understanding of migration processes. On the one hand, this is because the truth about migration gets distorted by politicians, NGOs and international organizations which have particularly biased views of migration. On the other hand, most debates – and policies – about migration are based on simplistic, deeply flawed assumptions about the very nature and causes of migration.

Conventional ideas about migration are closely associated to the so-called 'push-pull' model, which has achieved near-total hegemony in popular thinking, education and migration narratives peddled by media, pundits and politicians. Push–pull models usually identify economic, environmental and demographic factors which are assumed to push people out of countries of origin and pull them into destination countries.

A different migration theory:
The aspirations-capabilities model
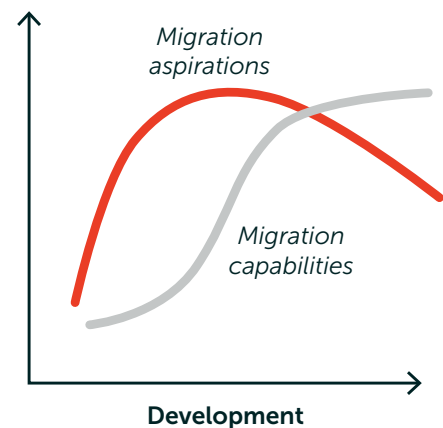
Source: Hein de Haas (2010)

Particularly within the context of so-called 'South-North migration' push-pull models portray the 'root causes' of migration as an outflow of factors like poverty, unemployment, violence, population growth and environmental degradation linked to climate change. The push-pull framework seems attractive because of its apparent ability to incorporate all major factors affecting migration

Far left: View of the refugee camp at the edge of the town of Kebribeyah, 2024. © Simona Vezzoli
Left: An office providing support services for residents needing assistance in applying for a passport online. Adama, 2024. © Simona Vezzoli
Below: Ethiopians waiting for their appointment to give their biographic information for their passport. Adama, 2024. © Ashenafi W. Yemisrach

decision-making. Yet despite its appeal and widespread use, the push-pull model is unable to explain a whole range of empirical paradoxes.

For instance, if poverty and destitution are the root cause of migration, why do the poorest countries in the world tend to have the lowest emigration levels? Why does emigration typically *increase* when low-income countries 'develop', become richer and income gaps with destination countries actually *decrease*? If 'population pressure' really drives migration, why do most migrants move from relatively sparsely populated areas to densely populated areas? Why is emigration generally highest from middle-income countries where population growth is *declining* fast? If environmental degradation really pushes people off the land, why does long-distance migration often decrease during droughts and floods?

And – perhaps most importantly – why do most people *not* migrate despite the abundance of alleged 'push' and 'pull' factors? Over the past decades international migrants have represented roughly 3-3.5% of the world's population. This means that at least 96 percent of the world's population is living in their native country. Schewel (2020) has therefore argued that migration research suffers from a *mobility bias*: by focusing on the causes of migration, we tend neglect the countervailing structural and personal forces that prompt so many people to stay at home.

We therefore need an entirely new way of thinking about migration, particularly in the context of how so-called 'South-North' migration is usually imagined. This should be a *holistic* perspective, that analyses migration as an *intrinsic* part of broader development processes, instead of somehow the antithesis of development and a 'problem to be solved'. Indeed, rather than a stereotypical 'desperate flight from misery', numerous studies have shown that migration is generally an *investment*

in the long-term wellbeing of entire families, something that requires significant resources.

In a recent article, *A Theory of Migration*, I argued that we need to redefine human mobility as people's capability to choose where to live, *including the option to stay*, rather than as the act of moving or migrating itself (de Haas 2021). This yields a vision in which moving and staying are seen as complementary manifestations of migratory agency. I also argued that, from there, we need to reconceptualize migration (the actual act of moving) as a function of people's aspirations and capabilities to migrate within given sets of perceived geographical opportunity structures.

Within this alternative perspective, we need to consider migration as an investment and *resource*. However, it is also a reaction to profound, largely irreversible changes in people's subjective ideas about the 'good life', which typically occurs as societies go through fundamental cultural changes linked to education, modernization and media access.

'migration as a *constituent* part of development and social transformation.'

The resulting framework helps us understand the complex and often counter-intuitive ways in which broader processes of social transformation shape patterns of migration. For instance, it helps us to explain why development and social transformation in low-income countries generally increase migration, as factors like poverty reduction, increasing education and better infrastructure tend to simultaneously increase people's capabilities and aspirations to move within and across borders.

Similarly, we need to see rural-to-urban migration as an intrinsic, and therefore largely inevitable, part of urbanization

'Border policies have failed … because they are not based on a genuine understanding of migration processes'

processes which in turn are part of a broader transformation from rural-agrarian to urban-industrial economies and aspired lifestyles. The latter shows the necessity of adopting a broader social transformation perspective in analysing migration that includes cultural change instead of more limited, income-based definitions of development.

This new paradigm also leads to a very different view on how future development may shape migration from low-income countries. For instance, sub-Saharan Africa is the least migratory region in the world, partly *because* of the high incidence of poverty and poor connectivity. Any form of development is therefore likely to lead to *more* migration within and from Africa.

Workshop to teach sewing and tailoring skills to young refugees and local people. Kebribeyah, 2024 © Simona Vezzoli

Conversely, impoverishment can actually lead to *less* migration. In fact, the biggest victims of environmental (or economic or political) havoc are those who lack the capabilities to migrate and thus get trapped in situations of what Carling (2022) has called 'involuntary immobility'. This challenges the conventional idea that climate change will lead to massive international migration; environmental degradation may actually deprive people of the means to move over long distances (see de Haas 2023). While such factors are likely to increase people's migration aspirations, they may effectively decrease their migration capabilities, rendering the net effect theoretically ambiguous.

Of course, we cannot blindly apply such schemes to individual countries. The PACES project, carried out by a 14-partner consortium led by ISS, explores how societal change, individual life experiences and migration policies shape decisions to stay or to migrate over time and across countries. Preliminary findings highlight the highly diverse ways in which social transformations have shaped mobility transitions across different places and societies.

Ethiopia, for instance, has seen a strong increase in emigration as part of more general development trends. However, PACES research has highlighted significant differences in how Ethiopia's 'mobility transition' is manifested at the local and regional level. For instance, the city of Adama is undergoing very rapid development processes, attracting internal migrants and also changing the economic structure and social fabric of the community. At the same time, young people's notions of the 'good life' are shifting rapidly, reflecting cultural changes and growing expectations about income and job stability linked to growing levels of education. The resulting combination of uncertainty and changing expectations fuel growing migration aspirations. However, in Adama, international migration is strongly perceived as an endeavour of *women* who migrate to *Gulf countries*.

On the other hand, in the smaller city of Kebribeyah, close to the Ethiopia-Somalia border, young people also express migration aspirations linked to the lack of job opportunities that match their increasing education levels. However, in Kebribeyah migration aspirations are strongly projected on the US. This preference has been shaped by the regular resettlement to the US of Somalian refugees living in the refugee camp on the outskirts of Kebribeyah. At the same time, the peacefulness of life in Kebribeyah makes it an attractive destination for internal migrants from

other areas of Ethiopia. These examples highlight how variations in the specific local 'development context' and path dependencies may shape specific mobility trajectories. They also reveal many instances in which people express attachment to their place and their community and their strong desire to stay.

If anything, this shows that global migration has very little to do with stereotypical views according to which global migration is essentially about mass migration from the 'Global South' to the 'Global North'. In fact, this exposes the whole South-North polarity as highly problematic, as most people prefer to stay, most mobility is *within* countries and many low- and middle-income countries are important destination countries in their own right.

This highlights the need to see migration as a *constituent part* of development and social transformation. The consequences of adopting this view are revolutionary. Understanding the *inevitability* of migration, and its central role in economic development and social transformation, will lead us to a totally new way of understanding human mobility.

To achieve such a fundamental rethinking, it is imperative to liberate ourselves from the old ways of thinking as the push-pull model is *fundamentally flawed* in its key prediction and core assumptions about the very nature and causes of migration processes. We need nothing less than a paradigm shift if we are to overcome the current polarization and to facilitate more nuanced debates – and more effective policies – about migration.

Where are they now?

Juliet Gibbs

Study programme Universalizing Socioeconomic Security for the Poor – Post-Graduate Diploma
Year of graduation 2006
Country of origin Uganda
Current occupation Founder of New Cares Ltd
What made your time at ISS special? The cultural diversity, deeply engaging classes and the friendships that blossomed across continents made my time at ISS truly special. I felt like I was part of a global family working toward justice and equality.
What is your best memory of ISS? The India Track fieldwork stands out as one of my best memories. Visiting SEWA and Kudumbashree was eye-opening and deeply influential. Also, the late-night discussions with classmates over tea, wrestling with development theories and our shared passions are moments I truly cherish.
What does ISS mean to you now? ISS remains a corner-stone in my journey. It gave me the tools to analyse, question and design develop-ment interventions that are practical, inclusive and transformative. It also shaped my voice as a woman from the Global South determined to make lasting change.

Tatiana Mora

Study programme Politics of Alternative Development Studies specialization
Year of graduation 1999
Country of origin Costa Rica
Current occupation Executive Director at NTT Data
What made your time at ISS special? Everything! The mix of cultures, the different ways of thinking and how ISS constantly challenged me to see things from new perspectives; that's what made it so special
What is your best memory of ISS? The parties at Dorus Hall and the poetry and music evenings were unforgettable. People stood up to share poetry in all languages! We danced to music from around the world, shared stories and talked about life late into the night.
What does ISS mean to you now? ISS was a window I chose to open; I've never looked at the world - from a social justice perspective - the same since. ISS also means my family, as I met my Dutch husband during this period and it also means very close friends who are still an important part of my life.

Masashi Tsudaka

Study programme MA in Development Studies, SJP Major
Year of graduation 2007
Country of origin Japan
Current occupation Senior Programme Coordinator, Institute for Global Environmental Strategies based in Japan
What made your time at ISS special? From the very beginning, ISS was special because I made friends with people from many different countries, cultures and backgrounds.
What is your best memory of ISS? There was a bar next to ISS called Prince de Tavernais, where we spent time together and socialized after classes. Beyond that, ISS organized activities such as the Sports Day and International Day, which strengthened our community.
What does ISS mean to you now? ISS remains the foundation of my career, education and life. I learnt so much, both inside and outside the classroom. I also still keep in touch with many of my batchmates. We continue to share ideas and experiences, which is something I truly treasure.

Thusitha Kumara

Study programme Universalizing Socioeconomic Security for the Poor – Post-Graduate Diploma
Year of graduation 2005
Country of origin Sri Lanka
Current occupation Professor in Economics, Uva Wellassa University of Sri Lanka and Global Fellow, Habib University of Pakistan
What made your time at ISS special? ISS sparked my interest in development studies. This inspiration shaped my entire career and guided me towards a fulfilling path of teaching economics within the broader social and environmental context.
What is your best memory of ISS? My most cherished memory at ISS is the International Food Festival. It was a beautiful celebration where we came together as one family, sharing our diverse cultures and savouring the unique flavours of cuisines from around the world.
What does ISS mean to you now? A place where humanity takes centre stage. It is a vibrant hub of international intellectuals dedicated to nurturing future leaders who are genuinely committed to addressing global challenges.

Undocumented Cambodian migrants arrive by train at Anranya Prathet, Thailand prior to onward transportation to the border. © IOM 2014 (Photo by Joe Lowry)

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Navigating national populism and migration governance:
Understanding the rise of anti-migration rhetoric in the Global South

The growing influence of national populism and anti-migration rhetoric is increasingly shaping political conversations worldwide (Klein 2024; IOM 2022b). Although much of the discourse has centred on developments in the Global North, similar patterns are emerging across parts of the Global South (Miller-Idriss 2019); though shaped by unique historical, economic and societal factors. This global diffusion of populist-driven migration narratives challenges the assumption that restrictive migration rhetoric is a uniquely Global North

phenomenon, revealing a broader crisis of political imagination around migration in the Global South. In many developing countries, political narratives portraying migration as a risk to national identity, economic security or public order are gaining momentum (IOM 2022b; Wajner et al. 2024), even as migration continues to play a crucial role in supporting local economies and fostering regional integration (IOM 2024; AU Commission 2018). From humanitarian actors, migration governance and policy perspectives (UNHCR 2024; IOM 2024), it is important to unpack how these trends are impacting migration systems,

human rights protections and broader development goals. This article takes a policy-focused view to assess the drivers and consequences of anti-migration rhetoric in the Global South.

Across the Global South, the rise of exclusionary migration rhetoric is often a reflection of deeper structural vulnerabilities. Widespread youth unemployment, entrenched poverty, weak social safety nets and limited political inclusion have created an environment where nationalist messages resonate (IOM 2020; Miller-Idriss 2019). The IOM (2022b) noted that these issues

'Labour mobility, remittance flows and informal cross-border trade are central to regional development strategies'

have been further compounded by global disruptions, including the COVID-19 pandemic, inflationary pressures and climate-related displacement. These compounding crises have provided fertile ground for political actors to redirect public frustration, often by portraying migrants and displaced populations as scapegoats for broader socioeconomic challenges. Populist figures and political actors frequently exploit these socioeconomic grievances by framing migrants and displaced populations as sources of competition for scarce jobs, social services or public resources. This politicization of precarity turns structural failures into cultural grievances, allowing migration to be weaponized as a symbol of national decline. Similarly, Wajner et al. (2024) note that in parts of South Asia and Latin America, governments have introduced restrictive migration policies citing national security or sovereignty concerns, though such measures often lack a strong empirical foundation.

These oversimplified narratives obscure the essential role of migration in supporting regional development. Migration in the Global South is largely intra-regional and economically

motivated, contributing significantly to local economies through remittances, trade and labour mobility. The 2024 World Migration Report highlights that migration has historically served as a resilience strategy for communities facing economic and environmental hardship, enabling people to diversify income sources and strengthen cross-border ties (IOM 2024). Furthermore, frameworks such as the African Union's Migration Policy Framework for Africa (MPFA) emphasize the developmental role of mobility in achieving continental goals around integration, labour circulation and social cohesion (AU Commission 2018).

At the same time, media narratives have played a central role in influencing how migration is understood and debated across the Global South (IOM 2022b). Unfortunately, in many contexts, these narratives are driven by misinformation, sensationalism and polarized reporting.
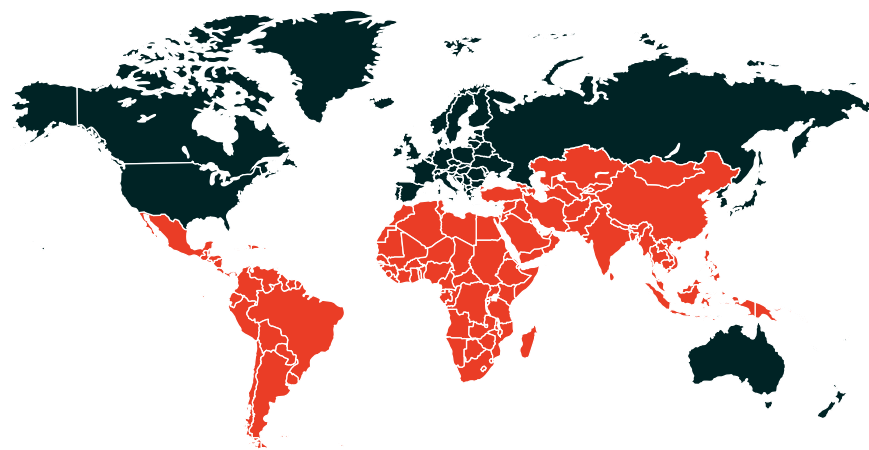
Klein (2024) points out that the rapid growth of social media has further amplified these distortions, enabling anti-migrant sentiments to circulate widely, often unchecked and without factual grounding. Without consistent fact-based reporting and transparent government communication, public discourse becomes vulnerable to manipulation by political elites and interest groups (Akinola, 2020). These dynamics undermine public understanding of migration and place additional pressure on governments to adopt exclusionary measures.

This distorted perception persists despite the well-documented socioeconomic benefits of migration. Remittance flows to low-and middle-income countries reached an estimated US$685 billion in 2024, according to the World Bank; exceeding foreign direct investment in many regions (Ratha et al. 2024). Yet these financial contributions are rarely highlighted in public debates or policy discourse as national development assets. Initiatives such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) recognize the importance of labour mobility and the free movement of people as critical enablers of regional economic growth (AU Commission n.d.). Still, anti-migrant narratives continue to dominate national dialogues. Reframing the migration conversation around its actual impacts supported by data and lived experiences is vital for cultivating more constructive and inclusive attitudes. As public discourse becomes increasingly polarized, policymakers in the Global South are finding themselves navigating a complex landscape, where perception often outweighs evidence. Populist-driven narratives have led to reactive policy responses, such as heightened border surveillance, the temporary suspension of asylum procedures or new laws targeting irregular migration; often intended to signal toughness rather than address root causes (Wajner et al. 2024; IOM 2022b; Miller-Idriss 2019). These measures, while politically expedient, often fail to address the structural causes of migration and displacement. For instance, regional integration efforts in

Returning Cambodian migrants disembark at Poi Pet border crossing, Cambodia.
© IOM 2014 (Photo by Joe Lowry)

Global South and Global North country categorization from the Organisation for Women in Science for the Developing World (OWSD)

East Africa have been strained by national-level political tensions, even as countries remain signatories to frameworks like the IGAD Free Movement Protocol (CSIS, 2024). However, the Global South is far broader than IGAD. Regional bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in West Africa and Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) in South America have also adopted mobility frameworks that aim to harmonize migration rules, though their effectiveness varies (IOM 2020). These variations reflect differing political contexts, economic priorities and institutional capacities across regions. Understanding these diverse models of regional mobility governance is essential to moving beyond one-size-fits-all critiques of migration policy and appreciating the innovative efforts underway to facilitate legal, safe and orderly migration within the Global South.

In Latin America, governments such as Costa Rica have implemented executive measures that affect asylum protections. Recent reforms restricted access to refugee status determination, limiting asylum-seekers' ability to access work permits or regular stay (UNHCR 2023). These changes risk undermining key global commitments, including the

'Populist-driven narratives have led to reactive policy responses...'

Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM) and the Migration Governance Framework (MiGOF), both of which emphasize human rights, cooperation and inclusion in migration systems (IOM 2024). While restrictive policies may offer temporary political capital, they rarely

reflect the broader realities of migration in the Global South. Unlike migration regimes in the Global North, migration across developing regions is largely shaped by proximity, historical ties, informal ties and economic interdependence. In fact, South-South migration now accounts for nearly 39% of all international migration flows, underlining its scale and significance in the global context (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2019). Triangular cooperation has also become a valuable mechanism for capacity building, policy innovation and knowledge exchange in migration governance (IOM 2022a). These collaborative models provide a counterweight to unilateral and exclusionary approaches, and help reinforce solidarity across the Global South.

Labour mobility, remittance flows and informal cross-border trade are central to regional development strategies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. For many communities, migration is not a crisis but a long-standing coping mechanism, one that supports household incomes, sustains small businesses and strengthens resilience to climate or economic shocks. Yet these contributions are often overlooked in both political narratives and public policy. In several African countries, for example, intra-regional migration provides critical labour for agriculture, mining and domestic work – sectors often

A family flees ongoing xenophobic attacks in Ramaphosa squatter camp east of Johannesburg, South Africa. © Jan Hrusa
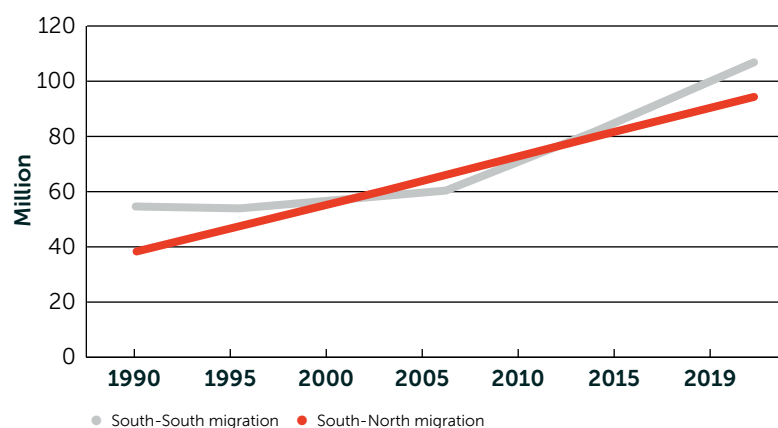
undervalued in national planning but vital for economic stability. At the same time, remittances from migrants have become lifelines for millions of families, accounting for as much as 20% of GDP in some fragile states (World Bank 2024).

'...portraying migrants and displaced populations as scapegoats for broader socioeconomic challenges'

In conclusion, to move beyond reactive and exclusionary approaches, there is an urgent need to reframe migration as a driver of development and regional cooperation. Shifting the narrative requires coordinated efforts among governments, international organizations, media institutions and civil society. Reframing the migration conversation around its actual impacts, supported by data and lived experiences, is vital for cultivating more constructive and inclusive attitudes. Organizations like the IOM play a key role in promoting evidence-based dialogue, supporting policy reforms and aligning national strategies with global and regional frameworks. Crucially, the fight against anti-migration populism is not only a policy challenge but a discursive battle over whose stories, contributions and futures are allowed to shape the national imagination. Strengthening migration governance also requires investment in public awareness, community engagement and amplifying the voices of migrants themselves. By anchoring migration policy in facts, cooperation and human rights, states can push back against populist pressures and build systems that benefit both migrants and host communities.

The author (wearing red headscarf) with a displaced community in Tana River Kenya.
©Bisharo Ali Hussein

South-South migration outpaces South-North migration

- South-South migration
- South-North migration

Note: As measured by total number of migrants.
Source: UN DESA 2019 revision of International Migrant Stock

Anti-immigration: The rise of Trump and MAGA populism in the USA

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With President Trump's 2024 election, the United States, the leading country of immigration, is witnessing a stunning reversal of its immigration regime including mass deportations and the attempted elimination of birthright citizenship and refugee and asylum seeker protections enshrined in international law. The United States and European states are experiencing heightened anti-immigrant rhetoric in their right-wing populist movements. US president Donald Trump has called Latinos, Africans, Middle Eastern and Asian immigrants 'criminals', 'monsters', 'parasites', 'virus'; he has derided Islam and used Hitlerian language to argue that immigrants are 'poisoning the blood of our country' (Trip 2023). Trump-like right wing populists, e.g. Wilders (Netherlands), Meloni (Italy), Le Pen (France) and Weidel (Germany) mobilize voters around international migration with the outcome of electoral victory or more restrictive, if not illiberal, immigration policies.

This article argues that Trump's Make America Great Again (MAGA) movement both dovetails and departs from its contemporary European counterparts. On the one hand, MAGA is similar in its voicing of working and middle-class voters' frustrations over globalization, neoliberal policies, deindustrialization, wage stagnation and unemployment. They mirror each other in the scapegoating of 'undeserving' immigrants, refugees and multiculturalism as emblematic of a dysfunctional state run by 'liberal/leftist elites' that has overlooked 'deserving' 'common people'. On the other hand, MAGA slightly departs from its European cousins in the blatantly self-interested

profit-driven way that Trump and the billionaire oligarchical class, e.g., Musk, Thiel, employ populist rhetoric to mask their pursuits. Paradoxically, Trump and his oligarchical allies actively de/regulate the state for their own gains while compromised state capacity provides diminishing returns for the working poor and middle classes. All of this is facilitated by the dumbing down of US public education and the celebration of billionaire-owned social media platforms that propagate mis/disinformation about immigration and diversity as the root of 'common people's' misfortune. This article will define populism and the links between contemporary and historical anti-migration rhetoric in US populism, the differences between Trump 1.0 and 2.0 and tease out the ramifications for the robustness of US and liberal democracy worldwide.

Defining populism

Political theorist Müller (2016) defines populism, whether on the left or right, as fundamentally antipluralist and undemocratic. He writes, 'Populism, I suggest, is a particular moralistic imagination of politics, a way of perceiving the political world that sets a morally pure and fully unified—but, I shall argue, ultimately fictional—people against elites who are deemed corrupt or in some other way morally inferior. While populists may differ on the issues they focus on, they offer a similar message to voters: The ruling elite is corrupt and disdainful of the common citizen.' (p. 19). As suggested by Müller, philosopher Habermas regarded the notion of a 'single, homogenous, authentic people as fantasy' and argues that the idea of 'the people' can only be 'plural' (p. 3,4,6). Hence, those deemed

'elites' or 'common citizens' in populism are both moving targets that change within the matrix of political opportunism and ultimately antidemocratic.

Despite his long history of racism and misogyny, proof of Trump's appropriation of the 'common people' vs. 'elites' dichotomy is represented in his 2024 electoral gains across demographics. Not only did Trump unsurprisingly win the most votes from white voters, middle-aged and rural Americans, election surveys suggest he also won the majority of white women at 53% compared to 60% of white men (Rutgers 2024). Trump performed particularly well among Black men, receiving 24% support versus 9% of the vote from Black women. He also did well among Latino men, with Harris receiving 50% of the vote compared to 47% for Trump, versus 60% to 38% respectively among Latino women.

Immigrant protest in Los Angeles, California © Selvin Estaban

Although 54% of Asian Americans chose Harris, 39% voted for Trump, reflecting a 5 point rightward shift (NBC news). Harris underperformed among 18-29 year old voters, only narrowly beating support for Trump, gaining 52% to his 46% (AP news). zx Trump is the first republican to win both the electoral college and popular vote in 20 years and he and his MAGA republicans control the executive and legislature and have made significant inroads into the judiciary.

Origins of US anti-immigrant populism

The US has a long history of racist and exclusionary immigration policy with preferences for white Western European and Protestant immigrants. Anti-immigrant populism has roots in the beginnings of the US republic and ranges from the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the infamous anti-Irish Catholic and nativist Know Nothing movement of the 1850s and its American Party (where Trump's 'America first' slogan originated), to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the first federal law targeting a specific ethnic group and effectively restricting immigration. These sentiments continued in the Immigration Act of 1924 with its goal to preserve US 'homogeneity'. Along with its 1952 iteration, it defined US policy for several decades. The 1924 Act established the National Origins Quota System of just 2% of each nationality already in the US according to the 1890 US Census and severely restricted immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe (particularly Italians and Jews) and effectively excluded Asians, Africans and other non-white groups. President Truman's 1942 wartime executive order enabled the incarceration of US citizens of Japanese origin without due process. Due to the civil rights movement and pressure from Southern European groups, racial and ethnic preferences in immigration policy changed with the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act which replaced the discriminatory national origins quota system. The 1965 Act prohibited preferences or discrimination based on race, sex, nationality, place of birth or place of residence. One significant outcome of the 1965 Act was 'the browning of America' or the demographic change from nearly exclusively white European immigration to representation from around the world. Trump's 'Make America Great Again' originates in the late President Ronald

Pro-Trump demonstration © Rosemary Ketchum

Reagan's 1980s campaign slogan Let's Make America Great Again which some view as coded language for a rejection of the diversity and 'rights revolution' of the 1960s and 70s that empowered Blacks, Latinos, Asians, Native Americans and women.

Difference between Trump 1.0 and 2.0

The first Trump victory in 2016 was largely unexpected. On winning he rushed and bungled a range of executive orders which allow the US president to issue orders with the force of law without congressional approval. Trump's included a 'Muslim' travel ban, building a wall on the US border with Mexico, ending 'catch and release' policies for undocumented immigrants and hiring additional border control agents. Several of these were stopped or limited by the US federal judiciary with civil society input.

Trump 2.0 is different. He has had years to plan and strategize since his 2021 electoral loss. This has culminated in Project 2025, a 1000-page mandate written by several former Trump administration officials, initially established by the conservative Heritage Foundation and likeminded organizations. Project 2025 aims to radically deconstruct the federal government in the event of a conservative presidential victory. Although Trump feigned ignorance of it, many authors of Project 2025 are in the current Trump administration. Executive orders and measures to limit immigration include allowing federal immigration agents to arrest in schools and churches, closing off

the CBP One app that allowed migrants to legally enter to request asylum, the elimination of special humanitarian programmes for migrants, the expansion of expedited removal, deportation of migrants to Guantánamo Bay, Cuba and Panama, and the revocation of all federal funding for municipalities deemed 'sanctuary' cities.

Ramifications for democracy

The United States helped to establish the post war liberal democratic order with human rights protections. The Trump model of strong man transactional populist politics by tweet and the blaming of immigrants and diversity for societal woes thinly veils the oligarchical profit-driven state capture that threatens the public good. Mis/disinformation facilitated by billionaire-owned social media, an anti-intellectual ethos and an ill-informed public sows a deep distrust of institutions and jeopardies the US and the entire liberal democratic order. Democracy requires an educated electorate. Theodor Adorno warned in his 1967 essay 'Education After Auschwitz' that democracy requires us to resist the tendency toward social disintegration and the 'veil of technology' that fetishizes technology as a proxy for progress. This populist iteration is a litmus test of US and global liberal democratic resilience. People of goodwill must work to replace populism and practice and promote enlightenment values, reading, critical thinking, voting, a credible press and joining organizations that form the foundation of civil society so critical for liberal democracy.

ISS news

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EUR
events
PhD
projects
research
staff
students

Looking back at human rights in the Palestinian Territories event

On 14 February, ISS and EUR organized a talk by Francesca Albanese – UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the occupied Palestinian territories. Albanese highlighted the findings of her latest report and discussed accountability mechanisms at both domestic and international levels. Some 1,500 people attended the event, either in person or online.

ISS welcomes new professor of International Development Practices staff

Professor Dirk-Jan Koch joined ISS in January as the first professorial Network Chair in International Development Practices. His focus will be on strengthening ISS' international knowledge partnerships.

Dr Daphina Misiedjan Vice-Chair of the Young Academy staff

In February this year, Dr Misiedjan was named Vice-Chair of the Young Academy – a division of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences for young researchers. She will focus on encouraging universities to become more sustainable and on strengthening education and research in the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Pedalling through the gig economy research

In this interview with Studio Erasmus, Dr Roy Huijsmans talks about his research into the experiences with food delivery platforms like Uber Eats and Deliveroo. Rather than relying on second-hand accounts, Huijsmans took a hands-on approach by becoming a courier to experience the job firsthand.

Honorary Doctorate for Professor Wil Hout award

Professor Hout was awarded the Honorary Doctorate in International Development Studies by Ruhn University Bochum, in Germany. The award was presented in recognition of his internationally acknowledged academic publications in the field of development studies and of his excellence in creating, inspiring and leading impactful international interdisciplinary IDS networks.

Climares - new research into climate resilience in Africa research

ISS researchers have been awarded a €6.9 million research grant to investigate climate threats and uncertainties amongst vulnerable African communities. Embedded in The Hague Humanitarian Studies Centre, Climares will focus its research on DCR, Morocco, Mozambique, Senegal and Uganda.

Climate resilience in diverse African contexts:
co-creating knowledge∞action networks

In Memoriam

As an ISS community we send our heartfelt condolences to the family and friends of those former students and staff who have passed away in recent months.

Irene B. Gahid
Irene completed her diploma in Local and Regional Development at ISS in 2000. Originally from the Philippines, she passed away in October 2024.

Krish Nannan Panday
Originally from Surinam, Krish was one of the very first students at ISS (1955-1957). He passed away in March.

Dirk Jacob Wolfson
Dirk was ISS Rector from 1986-1994. He passed away in March.

Rownaq Jahan
Alumna Rownaq from Bangladesh passed away in March. She was on the Population and Development Programme at ISS in 1992.

Susan Holland-Mutter
Susan was from South Africa and completed her MA specialization in Women & Development in 1994. She passed away suddenly at the end of March.

Jenevive Naa Newman
Jenevive from Ghana completed her MA at ISS in 2017 with a Major in Human Rights, Gender and Conflict Studies: Social Justice Perspectives. She passed away in March.

John Abejuro
John Abejuro from the Philippines passed away in April. He completed his studies in 2004 in the Governance, Democratization and Public Policy programme.

Dutch Ministry of Asylum and Migration visits ISS

On 13 February 2025, ISS hosted delegates from the Ministry to exchange thoughts on recent developments in migration research. ISS researchers showcased the diversity of topics addressed at ISS such as the experiences of undocumented migrants, platform workers, LGBTQ+ asylum seekers, post-conflict communities, human trafficking, migration decision-making, the lawfare of 'migration crises' and reception of refugees 'in the region'.

Beatrice Hati wins EGSH PhD Excellence Award
awards

Beatrice won in Best social impact category for her outstanding contributions to fire safety and community resilience in Kenya's informal settlements. She used storytelling, theatre and fire drills to being together communities, officials and fire fighters to improve fires safety and reduce tensions.

PhD defences PhD

Rafael Rosa Cedro
21 March 2025
Policy paradigms, networks and practices: Analyzing change in the thinking about economic development in Brazil in the early 21st century

Mohsen Yazdanpanah
3 February 2025
Money, capitalism and development: The South Schumpeterian hypothesis in developing countries

Maria Dafnomili
27 January 2025
The process of financialization in the world economy: Unravelling the dynamics and crisis nexus

Lorenza Arango Vasquez
16 December 2024
The contemporary land rush in the Altillanura, Colombia

Azucena Gollaz Moran
13 December 2024
Feminist cartographies: Women's daily urban mobilities to work by public transportation in Guadalajara, Mexico

Joan Njagi
25 November 2024
Conforming or challenging: The use of ICTs and the navigation of sociocultural tensions surrounding adolescent girls' SRHR in Kenya

Doi Ra
20 November 2024
The politics of land rush in Myanmar

Quang Nguyen Minh
15 November 2024
Vietnam's Mekong Delta before the floods: Climate adaptation policy and farmer livelihoods

Development and business studies
A joint agenda

While political climate support for pro-development organizations is waning, ISS is looking for new opportunities. ISS researchers Marijn Faling and Inge Hutter are exploring the possibility of establishing joint education with the Rotterdam School of Management (RSM). Currently, they are developing an elective and an open course, with the long-term aim of offering business and development studies to ISS students, RSM students and professionals.

Background

As the world faces growing challenges related to sustainable development, there is a recognition in the fields of business and development studies of the need to collaborate more closely. In academic settings, the intersection of business and development studies has equally gained traction.[1]

At ISS, the student population is partly changing in its outlook on jobs, educational needs and backgrounds. Whereas most ISS students have a background in government and local civil society organizations, the share of students with a background in business grew from 20% in 2022 to 25% in 2023. In the 2024 batch, the largest group of students (33%) comes from the private sector (see Figure 1). Students' interests seem to be equally changing. For instance, over 40% of Governance and Development Policy students in the 2025 batch indicate private sector and civil society interactions as their primary area of interest. Meanwhile, RSM-students - increasingly coming from the Global South – demonstrate a growing interest in business strategizing in the Global South. These trends make the need for an educational programme that bridges business management with development studies not just timely, but essential.
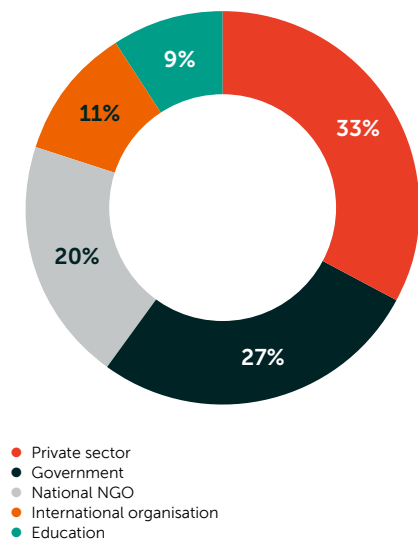
Marijn Faling is assistant professor with a focus on collaborative change processes

Inge Hutter is professor of Participatory and Qualitative Research in Population and Development

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1   Lund-Thomsen et al., 2020

Figure 1. ISS MA Batch 2024-2025 work experience per sector (based on ISS data)

- Private sector — 33%
- Government — 27%
- National NGO — 20%
- International organisation — 11%
- Education — 9%

Connecting business and development is not new. Among other things, ISS and RSM have previously collaborated within the Leiden-Delft-Erasmus International Centre for Frugal Innovation on Civic Driven Change, and have collaborated in an initiative for the horticulture sector in Westland in the Netherlands. The June 2024 SDG Conference at Erasmus University Rotterdam – themed *Mind the Gap* and well-attended by academics, business, NGOs and interested others – highlighted the need for business involvement in sustainable development.

This article reflects our thoughts on establishing joint education between ISS and RSM. The two institutes at Erasmus University Rotterdam - ISS, working on development studies from its key values of social justice and equity, and inclusion; and RSM aiming at 'being a force of positive change in the world' – may have the potential to complement each other.

The growing need for closer integration of business and development studies

The urgency of connecting business and development studies is demonstrated through the recognition that business, including through its interactions with state and civil society, has a major impact on humans and nature, contributing both

to failures and to new market-focused solutions. Let's first have a look at business' inevitable role in economic life. Micro, small and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs) play a significant role worldwide by contributing to employment, economic growth and innovation, while providing essential social and public services.[2] These businesses are thus vital to the overall development trajectory. Development initiatives consequently often work with small enterprises and entrepreneurs to realize their development objectives.[3] At the same time, drawn by a fast-growing middle-class and relatively low entry barriers, larger businesses are identifying opportunities in the Global South. But the space for business to mindlessly capitalize on these opportunities is shrinking. It is crystal clear that economic systems tend to benefit powerful actors such as multinationals over smaller actors, including MSMES and entrepreneurs, often situated in the Global South. Meanwhile, the never-ending quest for profits challenges the earth's limited capacity. The latest feat in curbing corporations' devastating effects on society and nature is the European Union's Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive, expecting companies

2   Eade & Sayer (eds), 2006
3   Knorringa & Helmsing, 2008

Business ... has a major impact on humans and nature

to monitor and mitigate their negative impacts on society and environment.

Business is simultaneously viewed as part of the solution. The UN's Sustainable Development Goals provide a global framework in which business plays a key role. Government, donor agencies, communities and citizens expect business to contribute to societal and environmental outcomes. A better understanding of private sector involvement is needed to critically evaluate their involvement in development. Education programmes need to inform a critical societal attitude to hold development policy and practice from business - as well as other development actors - accountable.

The future of education: Integrating business and development studies

For a more solid approach to business' role in development, four gaps in business and development studies need to be addressed. First, while there are ample theories and frameworks concerning strategic management and business development in general, very few educational programmes in Europe are tailored to the Global South. Meanwhile, business and development studies acknowledge the significant differences in legal, political, cultural and economic characteristics of Global South contexts and ecosystems, implying greater volatility and uncertainty. Second, business studies has largely overlooked structural issues relating to power that tend to concentrate wealth, voice and wellbeing in the hands of a few powerful actors. Third, while development studies interprets development from a range of perspectives, there is a tendency to embrace an antagonistic attitude towards business' role in development, overlooking leverage points to improve business operations. Fourth, the critical approach of development studies does

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an excellent job in critically approaching development and unpacking faulty assumptions behind business' role in realizing development. This comes at the expense of the technical, logistical, administrative, professional and practical side of 'doing development'. With an increased interest from students to absorb knowledge and skills for professional involvement, development studies could capitalize on this wealth in business studies by developing curricula that promote interdisciplinary thinking and equip students with the tools to work at the intersection of business and development.

An education programme combining business and development studies should aim to equip students with a deeper understanding of how business practices can complement development goals. The curriculum should cover a range of topics, including intercultural communication, leadership in diverse contexts, the capacity to understand the defining characteristics of diverse Global South contexts and sustainable business strategies specifically tailored to the Global South. It should include a focus on professional knowledge and skills. Students could learn about the various interpretations of development and the related role of businesses in this process, with frameworks drawn from theories such as modernization, dependency and post-development. There should be attention for the inherent challenges in

marrying business and development, as such formulating an answer to the dominant win-win discourse which portrays business and development as easily combinable.

Challenges in integrating business and development studies

This does not mean, however, that combining development studies and business studies is an easy task. There are significant challenges that must be addressed including, primarily, unequal access to funding between students with a business and development background. As with any multidisciplinary initiative, the epistemologies and paradigms of business and development studies differ. Business education often relies on positivist approaches, focused on market-driven solutions and practical skills. Development studies tends to embrace interpretivism or critical social science approaches that critically consider the broader social, political and economic forces at play.

Some may be convinced that combining business and development studies represents a capitulation to neoliberal and capitalist thinking. The ability to bridge these differences in a meaningful way – while recognizing the value of each perspective – will be critical for the success of any interdisciplinary education programme.

Another key issue is the heterogeneity of the Global South itself. The contested concept of 'Global South' encompasses diverse economic, cultural and political contexts. Successful business models and development strategies in one region may not be appropriate in another. An education programme must therefore teach how to adapt models and strategies to unique challenges and opportunities of different regions, while acknowledging differing and rich interpretations of what development and sustainability entail, depending on the context.

Finally, there is the issue of values and skills. Business and development studies come from distinct intellectual traditions, with different goals, values, norms and skill sets. A successful educational programme will need to support students to navigate these differences, enabling them to complement their strengths rather than view them as conflicting. Awareness, acceptance and bridging of the differences between the two fields will be crucial in fostering collaboration.

Marijn and Inge will continue exploring the space for combining business and development studies, while remaining mindful of the challenges and tensions involved in this journey.

The ability to bridge ... differences in a meaningful way ... will be critical for the success of any interdisciplinary education programme.

ISS alumna Vanessa Clavijo Barboza interviews Dr Luisa Cortesi on the politics of water and floods.

Water, floods and scarcity

Vanessa Clavijo Barboza (V): Hi Luisa, would you say we're living in a global flood era?

Luisa Cortesi (L): Yes, we're witnessing more frequent and unpredictable floods than a few decades ago. Floods are now occurring in places and contexts where droughts were previously the primary concern. More places and people than ever are being devastated by water they didn't anticipate and don't know how to handle.

V: Do you think this is due to climate change?

L: Climate change certainly plays a role, but it also aggravates the results of inappropriate land use and water mismanagement, which have made our landscape impermeable or at least unable to absorb weather events that might be less exceptional than we think.

V: Floods dominate the media. Is this because they're the worst disaster, or just the most visible?

L: Floods receive more media attention because they are fast-onset disasters, making them easier to document and depict visually. Unlike slow-onset disasters, floods create immediate and dramatic images – flooded streets, stranded people and submerged houses – that attract media coverage. They can also be easily depoliticized.

V: What do you mean by depoliticized? Does the media play a role here?

L: Depoliticization happens when floods are presented as purely natural events rather than as the result of human actions and decisions. By blaming floods solely on climate change, the media often ignore the role of poor land management, negligent urban planning, inappropriate infrastructure and deficient land management. This narrative makes it easier for governments and corporations to avoid accountability. Most floods are preventable, but that requires systemic changes in policy and planning, which are rarely addressed in media coverage.

V: How can the media foster better flood prevention awareness?

L: Media outlets should not just report on flood aftermaths but also on causes and preventive measures. They can highlight failures in urban planning, in deforestation and ineffective policies that worsen floods. They should challenge policymakers, raise awareness about solutions and educate the public about mitigation strategies.

V: What role does academic research play in flood mitigation?

L: Academics often research and forecast disasters, but our warnings are frequently ignored. Academia is also increasingly under political and financial pressure, limiting its independence and impact.

V: How do power and inequality shape flood impacts?

L: Disasters may seem like equalizers, but they are not. Wealthier individuals can prepare better, relocate or recover more quickly, while marginalized communities suffer longer-lasting effects. Those living in low-lying areas are more exposed to floods and their aftermath – stagnant water, mud and contamination. Disaster relief is distributed unevenly, reinforcing existing social inequalities. Recovery is also shaped by government and non-governmental support and infrastructure that operate according to power structures.

V: Can you share a real-world example?

L: Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans is a well-documented example of how social inequality worsens disasters. Poorer communities, particularly Black communities, were disproportionately affected due to a history of systemic neglect. In the ISS course on water, we study cases around the globe where floods exacerbate existing inequalities.

**V:** How do community knowledge and experience shape disaster responses?

L: In areas with recurrent floods, local knowledge is often more advanced than that of external specialists, with communities developing adaptive strategies over generations. However, with 'new floods' caused by changing climate patterns, past knowledge may no longer be applicable.

V: In terms of drinking water, people seem to associate clear water with safety, but does appearance really reflect quality?

L: Not always; some of the most dangerous contaminants, like PFAS, are completely colourless and odourless. And yet in some cases we could have avoided terrible disasters if we had listened to people's complaints.

Floods create immediate and dramatic images – flooded streets, stranded people and submerged houses – that attract media coverage.
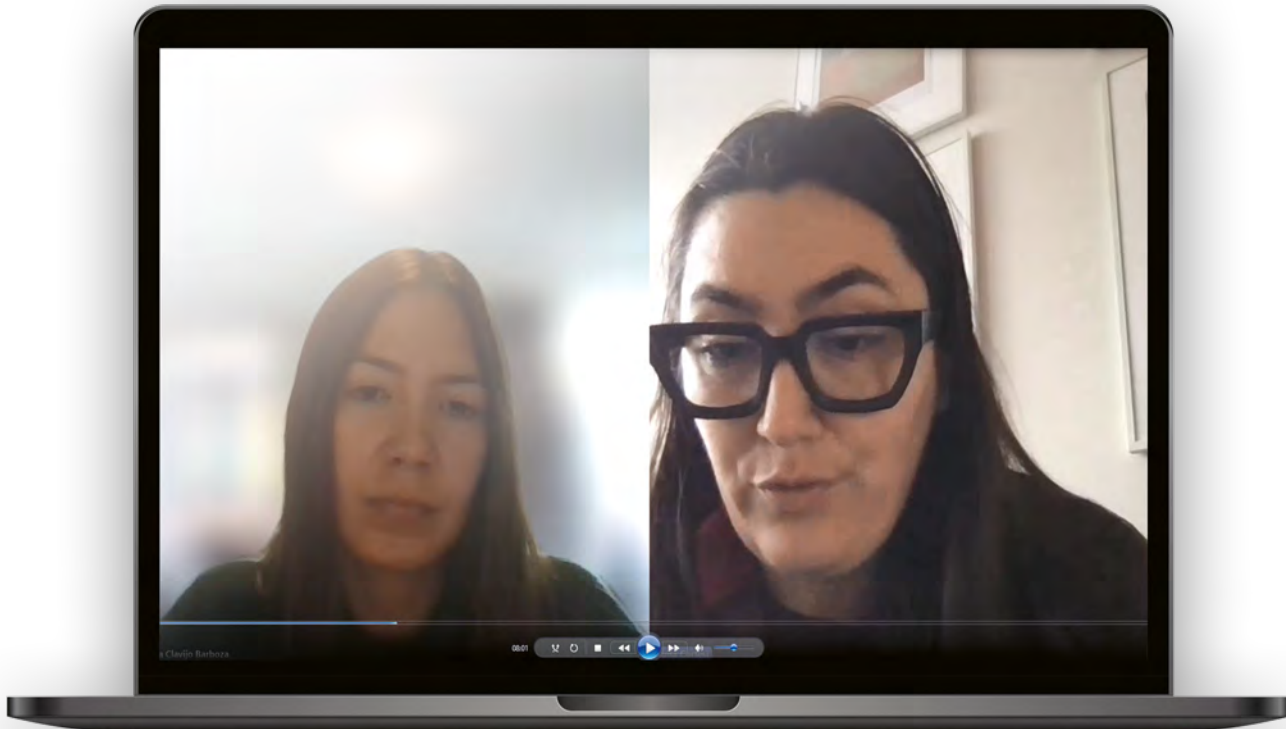
V: How does this link to misconceptions about water treatment?

L: I refer to this as 'hydrotopias' – idealized but often flawed beliefs about water. Many assume that certain filtration technologies are universally effective when, in reality, they may not address all contaminants, suit local conditions or be the most sustainable option. Technologies carry cultural biases, and an over-reliance on industrialized purification methods can prevent exploration of more sustainable, locally appropriate solutions.

V: What challenges do resource-limited communities face in securing clean water?

L: These communities may still face extractive agri-business campaigns pushing for unsustainable water extraction. They also experience marketing of expensive water-related solutions that do not address local needs. In many cases, this leads to dependence on costly and ill-suited solutions, even in cases when local expertise and supply management would have been sufficient.

V: Does this align with the discourse on 'leaving no one behind' in water access?

The push for water access has justified over-extraction of natural resources, worsening long-term scarcity and even contamination

L: Unfortunately, that phrase is often used as a political slogan rather than a genuine commitment. In many cases, the push for water access has justified over-extraction of natural resources, worsening long-term scarcity and even contamination.

V: How should we rethink water issues in the context of environmental justice?

L: Addressing water issues requires an interdisciplinary approach. Water justice is not just about environmental science but also has social, cultural and political dimensions. Academia, however, is still structured in disciplinary silos, making it difficult to find holistic thinkers and therefore solutions.

V: What are your main recommendations for promoting water justice?

L: Governments should move beyond short-term thinking and consider long-term sustainability. Policies must be based on interdisciplinary science. Decision-making should prioritize future generations and the most vulnerable populations, not just economic interests.

V: And finally, what inspired you to study water?

L: Part of my childhood was spent in a water-scarce region where we had to think about every drop. Later, working in India during catastrophic floods and water contamination crises inspired me to pursue interdisciplinary training that could address the many complexities of water problems.

V: And now you share that experience with students like me. Thank you, Luisa!

L: Teaching is the best part!

New publications
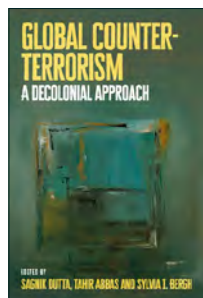
Global Counter-Terrorism: A decolonial approach
This book, co-edited by Sylvia Bergh, examines the connections between counter-terrorism strategies worldwide, high-lighting shared ideas, historical influences and the ways local and global factors intertwine.

(Un)Settling Place: Diverse and divergent place-making of people on the move
Co-edited by Nanneke Winters, (Un)Settling Place recentralizes the 'out-of-the-way' places that migrants occupy as key sites in the shaping of people's mobility and identities.
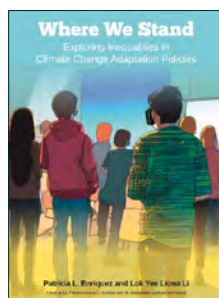
Where we stand: Exploring inequalities in climate change adaptation policies
Co-researched and authored by ISS alumni, this booklet examines how four neighbourhoods in Rotterdam South are impacted by climate change. Based on a series of workshops, it amplifies the voices of residents to share their perspectives.
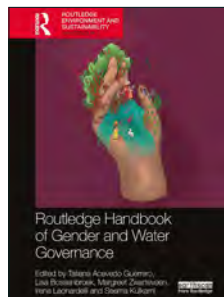
Routledge Handbook of Gender and Water Governance
Published as one of the outputs of the Well-being, Ecology, Gender and cOmmunity research project, this book is a collection of reflections and studies on feminist water governance.

De vrije markt bestaat niet (The free market does not exist)
Irene van Staveren provides a critique of the illusory idea of a free market. She analyses the shortcomings of neoliberal thinking and makes a plea for an economy of connection.

An Exercise in Worldmaking
This book is a collection of the best MA student essays. The essays illustrate how ISS' diverse student body can contest, construct and redefine the notion of development.

Development and Change

Development and Change is an interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal devoted to the critical analysis and discussion of current issues of development. It was established by the ISS in 1969, in response to the perceived need for a multidisciplinary journal dealing with all aspects of development studies.

More books and articles on development studies by ISS researchers:

STUDENT LIFE

1. MA student Uma speaking at a Women's Day event organized by the Cameroonian Embassy. © Kristina Timkova
2. A group of students visited the Keukenhof and walked through the world-famous Dutch flower gardens in bloom. © Amina Said
3. Three members of Scholas (ISS student association) during a working lunch with the student recruitment office. © Kristina Timkova
4. MA student Adenike was one of the panellists discussing the USAID funding freeze. © Kristina Timkova
5. ISS students at the Valentine's Day party photobooth that took place at the Butterfly Bar. © Liza Lamen

The Good Humanitarian Podcast series

Have you ever wondered how disasters such as floods and earthquakes intersect with conflicts, or how climate change will influence the disasters and responses of tomorrow?

A collaborative project between The Hague Humanitarian Studies Centre and the International Institute of Social Studies, The Good Humanitarian Podcast delves into these questions and comes up with some surprising answers.

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Making Minds Matter