RESEARCH PLAN 2016

G I G A
German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Leibniz-Institut für Globale und Regionale Studien

- Institute of African Affairs
- Institute of Asian Studies
- Institute of Latin American Studies
- Institute of Middle East Studies
RESEARCH PLAN 2016
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Preface

All institutes of the Leibniz Association – and the GIGA is a proud Leibniz member since the formation of this research alliance – are evaluated by an independent review board at least every seven years. In July 2015 the Leibniz Association concluded the latest evaluation of the GIGA with the official statement by its Senate. We were delighted to read that the institute “has developed outstandingly in recent years”.

We are pleased to present to you today our Research Plan 2016. It builds on the strengths highlighted by the reviewers – our in-depth area expertise on Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, our specific approach of Comparative Area Studies, and our interdisciplinary research on topics of both academic and political relevance – and it further sharpens our scientific profile, as recommended in the evaluation report.

We are convinced that in an increasingly globalised world, scholarship also needs to become truly global. To fulfil this ambition, we believe it is critical that we take into account the philosophical traditions and historical experiences of the regions, and advance a well-informed, inclusive, and pluralistic approach to scholarship and policy. Dealing with the driving forces and repercussions of the manifold transitions we are witnessing in the world today requires an approach that is global in content, global in reach and global in structure.

With interdisciplinary and comparative methods, the GIGA analyses political, social and economic transitions, and how they originate and unfold in the world regions of the “Global South”. Our research focuses on questions of global relevance and investigates how they impact upon multiple levels in the regions and vice-versa. It balances our commitment to rich empirical detail with keeping a close eye on how these details add up to the bigger picture. Our commitment to outstanding excellence in research is evidenced in our publications in top peer-reviewed academic journals and publishing houses.

Scholarship that wants to make a difference also needs to be global in reach. Research-based policy advice and knowledge transfer to the wider public are essential elements of our mandate, following the Leibniz motto “theoria cum praxi”. Our outreach activities include three well-established open-access publication series and impactful public and exclusive events in Hamburg, Berlin, and abroad.

The research undertaken on Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East is carried out in close cooperation with these regions. We have a dense network of international partners and operate research platforms in Brazil, South Africa, China, India, Japan, Tunisia, and Lebanon. As part of our aim to promote research that is global in structure we also have a policy of international recruitment at all levels, train junior scholars from all over the world, and foster an institutional culture that appreciates diversity.

This Research Plan will give you both an overview of and details on GIGA’s global research agenda.
Since the end of the East-West conflict new forms of conflict have dominated in many regions of the world. Intrastate and transnational armed conflicts, often with asymmetrical conflict structures, have replaced bipolar confrontation. Today state failure, international terrorism, tensions between ethnic and religious identity groups, and conflicts regarding scarce strategic raw materials are considered to be among the most important global security challenges. Recent developments illustrate that the question of how to prevent conflicts and how to create a sustainable order in post-conflict societies will remain key in the next decades. This is not only a major question in peace and conflict studies but also, first and foremost, a real-world concern with the potential to affect millions of people living in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

The combination of global forces – for instance, the demand for natural resources – and local conditions – such as the influence of identities and ideologies (religious and ethnic groups, youth and other social identity groups) – is at the root of most current violent conflicts and civil wars. GIGA research examines, for example, the influence of Islamic movements (see project descriptions on pages 62 and 70) and deals with the question of how religion and natural resources influence the probability of violent conflict (see project descriptions on pages 52 and 76). The GIGA's cross-regional research has made major contributions to this debate (Basedau/Lay 2009). The basic but significant distinction between resource dependence and resource abundance makes an important difference for explaining the probability of violent conflict. A huge security apparatus combined with generous distributional policies decreases the chance of outbreaks of violence within oil-exporting nations. Using a wide range of different qualitative and quantitative methods, further studies have identified a number of other resource-specific and contextual conditions that critically impact the likelihood of armed conflict (e.g. Basedau/Koos forthcoming, Basedau/Pfeiffer/Vüllers 2016, Vüllers/Pfeiffer/Basedau 2015, Basedau/Pierskalla 2014, Wegenast/Basedau 2014).

Research at the GIGA takes place in the context of the institute’s global approach to scholarship. This approach consists of three sets of ideas: global in content, global in structure, and global in reach, as exemplified in the preface of this Research Plan.

An approach that is global in content means working with the historical experiences and philosophical traditions of the regions that are covered by the institute’s research, and no longer allow the marginalisation of the so-called “rest” from the mainstream debates in research and policy. This does not mean being “critical” for the sake of it, but engaging with theoretical and empirical content from the regions on its own terms. The two key words are inclusiveness and pluralism in scholarship, while remaining uncompromising on international standards of excellence.

Research Topics

The GIGA uses academic rigor to address questions which are both relevant in the “Global South” and the “Global North” as well as in academic and real-world contexts. Its researchers are committed to the Leibniz motto “theoria cum praxi” and investigate a number of different, yet interrelated, topics which revolve around the common puzzle of global challenges. These include new forms of violence and conflict, opportunities and also constraints posed by a globalised economy, the different types and levels of socio-political dynamics that can be observed in democratic and non-democratic regimes, and the reconfiguration of power in the international system that is connected to the rise of the BRICS countries.

Many of these challenges are related to political, economic, and social developments in the countries of the Global South. The GIGA with its long-standing expertise on Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East is uniquely well equipped to investigate their causes and repercussions.
Another topic of equal importance researched at the GIGA in the context of questions on peace, conflict and security relates to the promotion of sustainable peace through the design and reform of political institutions (see project descriptions on pages 72, 80, and 84). Results from different world regions highlight, for instance, the potential and limits of power-sharing arrangements in post-conflict societies. These studies focus on topics like the appropriation of peace processes by elites (Meihrer 20099), but equally point to the recent romanticisation of local actors in such peace processes (Simons et al. 2012). The studies suggest that implementing an integrative power-sharing approach is the most promising route for bridging major social cleavages (Rosiny 20159) and point to the inability of ethnic parties to alleviate conflict, as well as to the risk of such bans being used to oppress the opposition (Basesau/Moroff 20119). A special issue of Civil Wars (2013, 15, 1; co-edited by Meihrer/Kurtenbach9), an annotated database bibliography of datasets on institutions and conflict in divided societies (available at datarium), and a forthcoming edited volume on institutional reforms and peacebuilding (Ansorg/Kurtenbach9) accentuate the emerging influence of GIGA research on institutions for sustainable peace. The institute’s international visibility in this area is supported by the Institutions for Sustainable Peace (ISP) network, through which the Leibniz Competition (see project description on page 68). It was established by the GIGA in collaboration with the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies/ Geneva, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, the School of African and Oriental Studies/ London as core partners. The GIGA acts as the network’s central hub of research and coordination.

Future GIGA research in this context will also deal explicitly with the question how interventions by outside actors try to influence peace and conflict dynamics on the national and local level. A project already investigates the impact of international sanctions imposed by the UN, the US and EU. It combines statistical analysis, qualitative comparative analysis (tsQCA) to establish the characteristcs of persistent authoritarian regimes under sanction pressure and to select country case studies for further in-depth analysis, and process tracing in eight country case studies – Belarus, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Colombia, Syria, North Korea, Iran, and Burundi – are analysed comparatively. In addition, two data sets were created (see project description on page 68). Results show the importance of legitimisation strategies, the relevance of the interplay between regime characteristics, sanctions and further international factors, and the different causal pathways leading to regime persistence (Grauvogel/Von Soest 20149) and protest (Grauvogel/Licht/von Soest forthcoming10). The assessment also shows that three factors mainly drive US and EU policymakers’ decisions to impose democratic sanctions: the strength of trigger events, coups for instance, the vulnerability of the target country and the sanctions’ costs for their senders (von Soest/Wahman 20159).

The second overarching set of questions investigated at the GIGA refers to the challenges of sustainable development and inclusive societies. The former encompasses research on issues such as climate change and large-scale land acquisitions, the latter refers to aspects of inequality, inclusive growth, and employment dynamics.

Climate change is a central global issue with much relevance to the regions researched by the GIGA, particularly as the growth in greenhouse gas emissions over the past two decades has been almost entirely driven by increasing emissions from developing countries. While research on climate change is often dominated by natural sciences, the GIGA’s research is contributing to these debates from various social science perspectives, including country specifics (e.g. Lay et al. 20139) and general patterns of climate governance and policy (Pysz/Wojcewski 20159, Never/Betz 20149). Furthermore, both cross-country studies and single country and policy case studies have illustrated the trade-offs involved in mitigating climate change while achieving economic development. Research shows that developing countries can reduce emissions and thrive only if economic growth is disentangled from energy-related emissions. Efforts should focus on feasible mitigation actions such as fossil-fuel subsidy reform, decentralised modern energy and fuel switching in the power sector (Jakob et al. 20149). GIGA researchers have secured funding for a project that combines these different strands, systematically compares mitigation-development trade-offs and domestic climate governance in three fast-growing emerging economies (Mexico, South Africa, Thailand) and also analyses the international climate governance context (see project description on page 98).

Trade-offs between economic growth and environmental and social sustainability are also at the core of a topic to which GIGA research is making significant contributions: the issue of “land-grabbing” or, with less normative judgment, large-scale land acquisitions or land-based investment (see project description on page 108). The institute is a major partner in the Land Matrix project (www.landmatrix.org), which has become the global reference in academic and development policy circles, as well as in the media, for data on large-scale land deals. An oft-cited report based on the data (Anseuwe et al. 20129) shows that the “land rush” is real and that recent land-based investments have slowly been coming into operation. It also reveals that biofuels are indeed an important driver of the demand for land. These investments have very strong local repercussions that have also been scrutinised in in-depth case studies in Africa, the region most heavily affected by the phenomenon (Nolte/Väth 20159, Nolte 20149, Nolte/Vogel-Klieschin 20149).

GIGA’s research on inclusive societies deals with questions that are highly relevant for most countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. The past four decades have seen an ever-increasing number of people in the world enjoying higher living standards. Yet, the progress has been uneven, and many have been excluded from the supposed gains. The degree to which economic growth is shared by the population at large differs considerably between countries. GIGA researchers contribute to the debate on how economic growth is disentangled from energy-related emissions from developing countries. The assessment also shows that three factors mainly drive US and EU policymakers’ decisions to impose democratic sanctions: the strength of trigger events, coups for instance, the vulnerability of the target country and the sanctions’ costs for their senders (von Soest/Wahman 20159).

The second overarching set of questions investigated at the GIGA refers to the challenges of sustainable development and inclusive societies. The former encompasses research on issues such as climate change and large-scale land acquisitions, the latter refers to aspects of inequality, inclusive growth, and employment dynamics.

While democratisation was long believed to be yet another global trend, the controversy about the expansion of non-democratic and the “backlash against democracy promotion” reflects the continued presence of different kinds of dictatorships within all the world regions. Authoritarian powers such as China, Russia, Iran and Saudi Arabia have exerted a strong influence in their neighboring regions, e.g. in Central Asia and the Middle East, and will continue affecting political dynamics in the future.

Research on authoritarian politics is thus a major field of study at the GIGA. Research results based on single case studies as well as cross-regional and intraregional comparisons highlight the diversity of authoritarian regimes and their numerous strategies to resist (re)legitimising and stabilise their rule in the twenty-first century (e.g. on Africa: Diederich/Flescher 20139, on Asia: Holtz 20159, Holtz/Giley 20109; on Latin America: Hoffmann 20159; on the Middle East: Richter/Bank 20169, Bank/Richter/Sunik 20159, Josua/Edel 20159). The GIGA’s position as a hub for national and international research on authoritarian regimes is further exemplified by special issues / forum sections (European Journal of Political Research 2015, 54, 4, co-edited by von Soest; Democratization, 2013, 20, 1; Politische Vierteljahresschrift, 2013, 47, co-edited by Köhler). With funding from the Berlin Association the GIGA operates the network-maintaining Diffusion and Cooperation of Authoritarian Regimes (DCAR; see project description on page 34). The network addresses the conceptual and empirical research challenges of the international dimension of authoritarian regimes by bringing together researchers with backgrounds in different world regions as well as in diverse theoretical and methodological approaches.

GIGA’s research on the overarching topic of participation and accountability includes societal dynamics, such as mobilisation and contentious politics, media use, and the reassertion of ethnic, religious or other identities under different regime conditions. Under democratic rule, the participation of diverse groups of civil society, popular mobilisation, and the regulatory response of mechanisms of representation often contribute to improving accountability and regime legitimacy (Schilling/Vacca/Flemming forthcoming9). At the same time, the prevalence of informal practices, such as clientelism, patronage and corruption can be expected to increase across the board ( see, for example, Giesbert/Steiner 20159). In this work, GIGA research stresses the role of micro and small firms in developing countries (see project description on page 112). Future research will focus on these issues in the middle class – as a possible sign of more inclusive growth patterns – and its effects on economic, political and social development (see project description on page 114).

The third large set of topics of GIGA’s research is clustered around the question how participation and accountability can be achieved and maintained. Various projects investigate institutional change, political processes, and social developments in both democratic and authoritarian political contexts.
research question at the GIGA. Its scholars investigate electoral politics (with a focus on marginalised populations), questions of citizenship and migration, relations between state institutions and problems of horizontal accountability (such as judicial independence), and politics of social movements and protest (see project descriptions on pages 26, 28, 36, and 42).

**Power relationships and ideas** influence many of these issues and are also affected by politics at the local and national level. This interplay between the various levels is especially strong in the case of regional powers. Given their economic clout, population size and innovation potential, countries such as China, India, Brazil, or South Africa exert considerable influence on the stability of financial markets, the way to deal with climate change, the effectiveness of security regimes, or the application of international human rights norms, to name but a few. Regional/rising powers are demanding greater leverage in international institutions and have developed active foreign policies with institutional and discursive strategies at the global and regional levels to realise these demands. They also bring to international negotiations distinct understandings about international justice and global equality, as well as distinct worldviews about cooperation and international law, that need to be taken into account (Narlikar 2015b). There is still substantial uncertainty about what these states want, how challenging their demands are to the existing liberal order and whether existing institutions can accommodate them.

The GIGA started investigating these developments a decade ago and was among the first institutes to systematically examine the activities of regional powers from a comparative and multi-level perspective. GIGA researchers cooperate with colleagues in the University of Oxford, Sciences Po/Paris and the University of Hamburg established the Regional Powers Network in 2008 (see project description on page 138). They have provided conceptual tools to identify regional powers (Nolte 2010), discussed the role of regions (Flemes/Whehrter 2015, Flemes/Lobell 2015), the structural, behavioural, historical, and domestic drivers of secondary powers’ strategic reactions are being investigated in the research project Contested Leadership: Power Politics in South America, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, funded through a Schumpeter Fellowship by the Volkswagen Foundation (see project description on page 126).

A second focus of research in the context of the overall question on global power shifts is related to the interconnections between ideas, processes, and agency in global politics. GIGA researchers have started investigating to what extent ideas constitute, assign, and deny agency in politics across the globe, and how politically relevant ideas emerge and diffuse. Demand for new ideas is especially high when power relations are fluid, when new powerful actors enter the scene, and when strategies are unclear or lack consensus.

**Methodological Toolkit**

The approach GIGA researchers take when investigating the structural, behavioural, historical, and domestic developments in the countries of the “Global South” shape – while maintaining the key assets of profound area knowledge and long-term engagement with the scholarly communities from the studied regions, much needed to a truly global perspective.

CAS research designs have been developed and applied at the GIGA, for example, to analyse the influence of religion on conflicts in different world regions, to understand to what extent judicial independence prevails in new democracies of the regions of Africa and South America, to investigate the challenges related to reconciling economic development with climate change in fast-growing economies in Africa, Latin America and Asia, and to compare sub-national units within post-conflict countries with regard to power-sharing effects or alternative forms of security provision. The experiences collected in these and many other GIGA projects clearly show the added value of the CAS approach. It can, first, mutually enrich the theoretical and conceptual repertoires, analytical frameworks, and methodological toolboxes of both the respective sub-disciplines (Comparative Politics, Peace and Conflict Studies, International Relations, or Development Economics) and area-specific studies in question. Furthermore, it helps to find new and powerful ways to operationalise social phenomena and theories are geographically and/or culturally bound and to delimit the scope of concepts by determining whether – and how far – these concepts can “travel.” Thirdly and finally, the CAS approach has the potential to develop theoretical frameworks and concepts on the basis of comparative, context-sensitive evidence.

The CAS approach is complemented by multi-level research. While the former builds the horizontal axis of GIGA’s research, the latter constitutes the vertical axis which serves to identify interdependencies between the local, national, regional, and global level. GIGA researchers pay special attention to interactions from the local to the global level and investigate how developments in the countries of the “Global South” shape and/or are affected by global transitions. Through its close collaboration with leading institutions and its Research Platforms in the regions, the GIGA is able to identify relevant challenges – which are increasingly being generated outside of the global centres – early and to translate them into research topics.

An example of the multi-level approach of the GIGA – which in most cases goes hand in hand with the comparative approach described above – is the IDCAR network, which deals with the diffusion and cooperation of authoritarian regimes. Members of the IDCAR network employ large-N quantitative studies as well as small-N comparisons and case-study based research for the impact of the behavior of authoritarian regimes on various levels. Similar research designs are also successfully applied, for example, in the GIGA’s research on large-scale land acquisitions, on the dynamics of emigrant policies, on youth in postwar societies, or on the relationship between ethnicity, religion and conflict.

The third attribute of GIGA’s research is its pluralistic approach. The GIGA is a place where different ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches grounded in the social sciences are combined with approaches focusing on the historical, philosophical, and cultural foundations of developments in various world regions. The GIGA’s research identifies and works with the views from these regions. Such a pluralistic approach has the potential to challenge conventional theories and supposed empirical regularities that implicitly or explicitly build on observations from the “Global North.”

The GIGA is the only institute of its kind that enjoys a comparative advantage in rich empirical research in and across the regions. Via the IDCAR network, the GIGA has built a solid reputation for studying the countries in the regions on their own terms. It has always been open to a range of methodological approaches and its scholars show a collective eclecticism in their theoretical approaches. The GIGA is aware of the theoretical limitations that derive from Western-driven scholarship and to systematically draw on the historical experiences and philosophical and cultural traditions of the countries that form a part of its various projects. The institute is now drawing concordantly and explicitly on these strengths.

One example is the work of early-career GIGA scholars working on the “Joy of Destruction,” where they focus on developing countries to investigate motivations under which standard (often Western-centric) expectations of cooperative outcomes do not in fact play out. This work has potentially remarkable and counterintuitive implications for the assumed benefits of competition, and thereby challenges some of the fundamental premises of standard economic theory. Another example is an innovative project in the pipeline on the different political ideas deriving from the rising powers, which may help to come up with a normative theory on global govern-
The benefits of adopting this pluralistic approach are first and foremost intellectual: getting this right will help to fill some significant gaps in existing theories. But there are also important policy implications. For instance, under-

The first challenge is related to the different epistemo-

Another challenge refers to the organisation of interdisci-

Finally, academic work at the GIGA is characterised by the close interaction of researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds. While the academic staff consists predominantly of political scientists, the GIGA has systematically recruited economists, sociologists, historians, and anthropologists during the past few years. Interdisciplinary research presents several challenges that the GIGA aims to address.

The first challenge is related to the different epistemo-

It also relates to the way the GIGA reaches out to different audiences and contributes to academic, political, and societal debates and to the way its structures and processes are designed. Through its global approach to scholarship - global in content, reach, and structure – the GIGA aims to serve as an intellectual bridge between theory and practice, and also between theories, frame-

Research Structure

Board of Trustees
Academic Advisory Board
Council for Financial Affairs
Equal Opportunity Commissioner

President
Executive Board

Research Programme 1: Accountability and Participation
Research Programme 2: Peace and Security
Research Programme 3: Growth and Development
Research Programme 4: Power and Ideas

Service Departments
Information Centre: Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Middle East Libraries
Administration, Publications, Communications

The GIGA tries to deal with this challenge by paying special attention to the internal quality assurance for research proposals and publications and by putting an emphasis on career development of its staff.

Research at the GIGA is driven by the conviction that in an increasingly globalised world also scholarship needs to become truly global. This refers to the content of and approaches to the institute’s research, as laid out above.

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Research at the GIGA is driven by the conviction that in an increasingly globalised world also scholarship needs to become truly global. This refers to the content of and approaches to the institute’s research, as laid out above.
The research structure of the GIGA reflects the institute’s mission. At its core is a matrix that combines four regional institutes and four research programmes. All scholars are affiliated with one regional institute and are members of at least one research programme. This guarantees a continuous exchange of knowledge between the units of the matrix and stimulates the institute’s research.

The regional institutes – the Institute of African Affairs (IAA), the Institute of Asian Studies (IAS), the Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS), and the Institute of Middle East Studies (IMES) – are the permanent units of the matrix. They bring in the necessary area competence, maintain close ties to their respective regions, coordinate the GIGA’s Research Platforms, and act as hubs for the area studies communities. The performance of three of the institutes was rated as “very good” in the Leibniz’s evaluation report on the GIGA in 2015, and the Institute of African Affairs was rated as “excellent”.

The four research programmes (RP) are the more flexible units of the matrix. They are designed in a way that they promote the comparative, multi-level, pluralistic and interdisciplinary approach presented above. They provide corridors for impactful research around a set of overarching questions The common theme that unites the members of Research Programme 1 – “Accountability and Participation” – is socio-political dynamics in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. Its scholars study institutional change, political processes, and social developments in inclusive and restrictive political contexts and analyse the effects of different forms of participation and mobilisation on accountability and regime legitimacy. Members of Research Programme 2 – “Peace and Security” – deal with the overarching question of how to overcome conflict, and how to create sustainable peace. The overarching question The common theme that unites the institutes was rated as “very good” in the Leibniz’s evaluation report on the GIGA in 2015, and the Institute of African Affairs was rated as “excellent”.

The heads of the eight academic units, together with the GIGA president, the academic director of the GIGA, the programme director and the institute’s research manager constitute the Research Council. The Research Council develops the research agenda, elaborates the annual research plan and discusses strategic and material options that affect the GIGA’s research capacities.

Binding decisions are taken by the Executive Board which – following the goal of equal opportunity at the GIGA – strategically guides the institute, manages the allocation of human and financial resources, and formulates the programme budget. The Executive Board is chaired by the president, who directs the foundation internally and represents it externally. It is advised and monitored by external committees (the Academic Advisory Board, the Board of Trustees, the Council for Financial Affairs), whose members represent academia, politics and business.

Four service departments – the GIGA Information Centre, the publications department, the communications department and the central administration – support the academic staff in their work and help to disseminate the GIGA’s research findings to academic audiences, decision-makers, the media and the broader public.


(22) Nolte, Kerstin (2014), Large-Scale Agricultural Investments under Poor Land Governance in Zambia, in: Land Use Policy, 38, 688–706.


37) Köllner, Patrick, Steffen Kailitz (eds) (2013), Autokratien im Vergleich (Autocracies in Comparison), special issue of Politische Vierteljahresschrift, 47.


52) Ahram, Ariel, Patrick Köllner, Rudra Sil (eds.), Comparative Area Studies: Methodological Rationals and Cross-Regional Applications, book manuscript.
Research Programme 1:
Accountability and Participation

Research Projects

- Anti-Corruption Policies Revisited. Global Trends and European Responses to the Challenge of Corruption (ANTICORP) (Dr. Christian von Soest, Dr. Thomas Richter, Prof. Dr. Detlef Noote, Dr. Jana Warkotsch)
- Civil Society Organisations as Supporters of Authoritarian Rule? A Cross-Regional Comparison (Vietnam, Algeria, Mozambique) (Prof. Dr. Patrick Köllner, Bettina Bunk, Jasmin Lorch, Dr. Jörg Wischemann)
- desiguALdades.net – Migration and Unequal Citizenship (Prof. Dr. Bert Hoffmann, Dr. Henio Hoyo)
- Ethnic Voting in Latin America (Prof. Dr. Detlef Noote, Aline-Sophia Hirseland, Dr. Ahmut Schilling-Vacallor, Dr. Oliver Strijbis, Siri Völker)
- Ideological Change and Regime Legitimacy in China (Prof. Dr. Heike Holbig, Maria Bondes, Dr. Sandra Heep)
- International Diffusion and Cooperation of Authoritarian Regimes – IDCAR Network (Maria Josua, Dr. André Bank, Julia Grauvogel, Prof. Dr. Bert Hoffmann, Dr. Thomas Richter, Dr. Christian von Soest, Georg Stüver)
- Judicial (In)dependence in New Democracies. Courts, Presidents and Legislatures in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa (Dr. Mariana Llanos, Charlotte Heyl, Jun-Prof. Dr. Alexander Stroh, Cordula Tibi Weber)
- Political Regimes, Reduction of Poverty and Inequality (NOPOOR) (Dr. Marina Dodlova, Anna Giolbas, Apl. Prof. Dr. Jann Lay)
- Polities beyond Borders. The New Dynamics of Emigrant Politics and Policies in Latin America (Prof. Dr. Bert Hoffmann, Pau Palop García, Dr. Luicy Pedroza)
- The Effects of Electoral Reform on Party Systems and Parliamentary Representation in Japan and New Zealand (Prof. Dr. Patrick Köllner)
- The Institutional Presidency in Latin America (Dr. Mariana Llanos, Carolina Guerrero, Anne Hoffmann, Prof. Dr. Detlef Noote, Cordula Tibi Weber)
- The Return of Race-based Inequalities in Contemporary Cuba: Analyzing the Impact of Past Migration and Current Reforms (Prof. Dr. Bert Hoffmann, Prof. Dr. Katrin Hansing)

Dissertations by Fellows of the GIGA Doctoral Programme

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<td>Institutional Determinants of Strategic Behaviour of South-American Governments in the UNASUR</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Detlef Noote / Prof. Dr. Patrick Köllner</td>
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<td>Peters, Ina</td>
<td>Cohesion and Fragmentation in the Social Movement against Belo Monte: How Frames and Identities Promote Movement Dynamics</td>
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<td>Rosales, Maria Isabel</td>
<td>The Determinants of State-led Transnationalism: A Comparative Study of Central American Sending States and their Emigration Policies</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Detlef Noote</td>
<td>self-funded</td>
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Dissertations by Associates of the GIGA Doctoral Programme

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<td>Bondes, Maria</td>
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## Dissertations by Associates of the GIGA Doctoral Programme

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## Concluded Doctoral Studies 2015

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**Research Questions**
The main research questions of the ANTICORRP consortium are:
- What are the causes of corruption? What accounts for low levels of corruption?
- How does corruption impact societies?
- How do corruption levels differ between regions? What accounts for these differences?
- What impact does the behaviour of governmental and non-state actors have on the fight against corruption?

**Contribution to International Research**
While there is increasing awareness of corruption, as well as an interest in curtailing it, there has been no systematic research on questions relating to the transition of particularistic societies towards those characterised by ethical universalism – that is, public good-oriented governance. There is also a lack of consensus regarding definitions, possible causes, and effective measures of fighting corruption. The main aim of ANTICORRP is therefore to align different concepts and insights through interdisciplinary research. Existing research gaps shall be addressed by a comparison of EU countries’ trajectories with neighbouring states and a global sample of countries. In this framework, the GIGA project comparatively analyses country cases in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East and studies patterns and trends of corruption within each of the four regions.

**Research Design and Methods**
In a first step governance regimes worldwide were diagnosed, using well known indicators of good governance and corruption. Based on this large-N quantitative study, countries were identified that were successful in reducing corruption and the respective countries’ trajectories were analysed in more detail. Based on these case studies, the most effective countries in fighting corruption were selected for more in-depth process tracing. Being situated in different world regions, their comparison aided in discovering and explaining intra- and inter-regional variation to gain a better understanding of why various societies developed different equilibria of political accountability and control of corruption. In a second step that has started in the fall of 2014, four cases situated in Africa and North Africa were selected to explore the intersection between EU assistance and development. The specific focus is on the effectiveness of EU aid in promoting good governance and the fight against corruption.

**Preliminary Results**
Preliminary findings from the first work package indicate that successful control of corruption results from a specific interplay of material and power opportunities as well as legal and normative constraints. The following countries were identified as regional achievers: Botswana, Chile, Costa Rica, Qatar, Rwanda, South Korea, Taiwan and Uruguay, which were then subject to in-depth case studies studying their historical development. For the second work package Ghana, Tanzania, Egypt and Tunisia were chosen due to the high volume of aid each country receives from the EU. Results are expected by spring 2016. However, first insights raise doubts about a linear relationship between aid and the development of governance regimes conducive to the fight of corruption.

**Selected Events**
- "How to Foster Good Governance and Anti-Corruption in European Development Aid", GIGA Talk, Berlin, 19.05.2016 (J. Warkotsch).
- "Corruption and Political Power from a Comparative Area Perspective", panel at the Annual Meeting of the Comparative Politics Section, German Association of Political Science (DVPW), Leipzig, 11.10.2013 (T. Richter, C. von Soest).

**Selected Publications**
Civil Society Organisations as Supporters of Authoritarian Rule? A Cross-Regional Comparison (Vietnam, Algeria, Mozambique)

The project explores in which ways civil society organisations (CSOs) contribute to the preservation or weakening of the authoritarian state’s infrastructural and discursive power. It is based on cross-regional comparisons of CSOs in the post-socialist countries Algeria, Mozambique, and Vietnam. The basic assumption is that CSOs and the state form an interdependent whole in which the two sides reciprocally influence each other. Which features CSOs develop, and which effects their various activities might have, become apparent only from a relational perspective and by analysing these relationships of dependence and influence. CSOs are thus “polyvalent” (Kössler).

Research on authoritarian regimes and civil society lacks theoretically based and cross-regional comparisons regarding what the power of the authoritarian state is based on and how this power is preserved. The variety of roles that CSOs play in this context is also under-researched. The project’s main contribution to the international research will thus be the generation of new and complex hypotheses on the interdependency between activities by CSOs and the preservation/weakening of various forms of authoritarian state power.

The cross-regional comparison of three most-similar cases includes all the CSOs in the capitals of Vietnam, Algeria and Mozambique, as well as those in one additional large city per country. All three post-socialist and post-colonial countries have authoritarian political regimes. Each of the three countries has experienced a phase of civil war in recent decades.

The project’s basic assumption is that CSOs and the state are interrelated and interdependent. The features that CSOs develop and the effect their various activities might have become apparent only from a relational perspective and through the analysis of these mutual relations and interdependencies. These interdependencies and the polyvalency of CSOs (Kössler) are explored in two steps:

First, we investigated the context in which various types of CSOs develop authoritarian and authoritarianism-supportive and democratic and democracy-conducive features – or mixtures of both – in their internal structures and activities, and in the worldviews of their representatives. We also investigated how such features are related to particular understandings of civil society. Here we applied a tested typology of CSOs and three criteria checklists. Second, we examined whether and in which ways various types of CSOs that deliver services in the health sector and CSOs that are involved in the formulation and implementation of economic policies help strengthen or weaken the infrastructural power of the state. We also examined how various types of CSOs help strengthen or weaken the discursive power of gender norms propagated by the state.

In all three countries, the infrastructural power of the state strongly influences – at least indirectly – the internal decision-making processes, the choice of activities, and the selection of leadership personnel in and by the CSOs studied. While CSOs in Algeria and Vietnam tend to strengthen the power of the state in the area of health (combating HIV/AIDS), CSOs in Mozambique tend to weaken the power of the state in this area by helping to improve the self-determination and autonomy of the people concerned. In all three countries, CSOs representing business people and professions have been co-opted by the state. In all three countries CSOs help to strengthen the discursive power of the state in the area of gender equality. The political role of CSOs in authoritarian regimes always reflects the interdependencies between the state and CSOs in question. In stronger states (here: Vietnam) but also in weaker states (here: Algeria) and even in fragile states (here: Mozambique) the power of the state tends to be greater and more determining than that of civil society and its organisations.

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The project addresses the dilemma of migration as a form to overcome socio-economic inequalities embedded in the international hierarchy of states while at the same time calling into question the citizenship status of the migrants, creating new inequalities and dependence on the political spaces for negotiation within the framework of the receiving nation-state. It hence asks how two current trends a) to extend citizenship rights to non-citizen migrants (denizens) in the country of residence, and b) to extend rights to emigrated citizens in the country of origin (diaspora engagement policies) reshape the nature of citizenship and how this impacts on the stratification of multi-dimensional inequalities.

International research on social inequalities has moved beyond uni-dimensional models focused on income or class cleavages to include multiple dimensions and modalities of inequalities such as those based on gender or ethnic identities. However, even these broader approaches, as forwarded in the inter-sectionality literature, has scarcely addressed the impact of transnational relations and the implications of mass migration on societal inequalities. In analysing the unequal citizenship status of the migrants in regard to both the country of origin as that of destiny the research project thus addresses a blind spot of current research on interdependent inequalities. Moreover it fills a gap by explicitly linking this analytical perspective on the changing nature of societies with the empirical study on governmental initiatives to reach out to their diaspora or to promote the entitlement of non-citizen residents, thus changing the forms and norms of citizenship in an increasingly interdependent world.

Three Latin American countries (Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia) were selected for comparative case studies on the inclusion of migrants as denizens in the state of residence as well as on policies of diaspora engagement adopted or debated in the political arena. A key question is as to how far the countries’ institutional configurations and migration profiles shape the policy approaches regarding the entitlement of denizens and/or migrants to citizenship rights. To this end, the project will systematically analyse political documents, parliamentary debates and other data on these questions, and researchers will conduct interviews with key actors in the process.

Preliminary results show profound differences in the region as to the policies applied to diasporas abroad and those applied to migrants in the country. For instance, in 1998 Mexico re-defined its citizenship-by-birth as ‘permanent’, therefore allowing dual citizenship. Then, in 2005 external voting rights were introduced. All these benefited Mexican communities abroad. In contrast to this ‘external liberalisation’, foreign residents in Mexico itself are still legally deprived of all kind of political rights, and also face important restrictions in both civic and labour ones. Such unequal treatment also applies to other communities such as naturalised citizens or dual nationals living in Mexico. All this points at a strong influence of ideological (e.g. nationalist) considerations, and goes against the current trends in Latin America, where more liberal policies towards migrants are increasingly been adopted, including political rights in the local level.

Preliminary
Results

Cooperation
Partners
- Institute for Latin American Studies, Berlin, FU Berlin, Germany (lead institution)
- Ibero-American Institute of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, Berlin, Germany

Selected
Events

Selected
Publications
Ethnic Voting in Latin America

Research Questions
What are the levels of ethnic voting among different ethnic groups in different Latin American countries across time? How can variance in ethnic voting across groups, countries, and time be explained?

Contribution to International Research
The project contributes to research on interethnic relations, electoral behaviour, and party-voter linkages. Research on ethnic voting in Latin America lacks comparative historical analyses and focuses primarily on indigenous groups, ignoring Afro-Americans. This research project analyses variance in ethnic voting across time, Latin-American countries and ethnic groups. Its aim is to generate insights on the dynamics of ethnic voting and so doing contributes to a deeper understanding of interethnic relations, electoral competition, and democratic representation in Latin America and beyond.

Research Design and Methods
The aim of the project is to further develop theories on ethnic voting and test them empirically on the basis of a longitudinal comparative study over an extended period of time (25–30 years) of free and (relatively) fair elections. The three central theories along which ethnic voting is tested are identity-based, patronage and spatial models of electoral competition. The data employed to measure ethnic voting consists of census data on ethnic group size according to self-categorisation, official election results and survey data. It makes use of a large variety of methods including quantitative, comparative, and qualitative methods.

Preliminary Results
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Cooperation Partners
- Dr. Fernando Mayorga, Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Bolivia
- Dr. Rodriguez Veltze, Universidad Católica, Bolivia
- Dr. Simón Pachano, FLACSO, Ecuador

Selected Publications
- Nolte, Detlef (2015), Lateinamerika: Flexible Verfassungen und starre Machtstrukturen (Latin America: Flexible Constitutions and Rigid Power Structures), GIGA Focus Lateinamerika, 08/2015
I Ideological Change and Regime Legitimacy in China

Against the backdrop of the increasing emphasis that the CCP has put on ideological adaptation and innovation in recent years, this project analyses the changes in official party ideology and their implications for regime legitimacy. Based on discourse analytical methods and interviews with political and intellectual elites in China, the project explores (a) how ideological change is organised in institutional, personnel and financial terms; (b) which ideological innovations have been made since the 1990s; (c) which positive and negative lessons have been drawn from international experiences; (d) which impacts on regime legitimacy and stability can be detected; and (e) which implications these factors have for future institutional change and political reform in China. Based on interviews among the populace, the second project phase (2015-2016) focuses on the question to which extent the ideological discourses produced by China’s political elites find resonance among the populace and hence contribute to a legitimisation of the party regime.

The contribution to International Research

The project explores the above questions using discourse analytical methods and interviews with political and intellectual elites as well as among the populace in China. The analysis of qualitative data is carried out with the software MAXQDA.

Research Design and Methods

Our research has drawn attention to the fact that the leaders of authoritarian regimes propagate official frames in an effort to reproduce the populace’s belief in the elites’ leadership qualities, and in their determination to serve the common interest. It has also clarified the relationship between official frames and official ideologies, arguing that official ideologies are both more abstract and more comprehensive than official frames and thus function as their theoretical underpinnings. In applying this framework to the case of China, we have shown that the CCP has demonstrated its dedication to the public good by drawing on the guiding ideology of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The main shift in the frames propagated in recent years has been a greater focus on the people’s well-being. This can be understood as a direct response to popular grievances. Through recent English-language publications, the changes in Chinese official discourse since the 198th Party Congress in November 2012, when Xi Jinping stepped to power as the new general secretary of the party, have been analysed and their significance in the domestic as well as in the international realm has been illustrated. Moreover, research findings have been introduced to a Chinese academic audience through a lively scholarly exchange with colleagues from the China Center for Comparative Politics & Economics (CCPPE) in Beijing.

Contribution to International Research

The explanation of the resilience of non-democratic systems in general and authoritarian China in particular has become one of the major challenges confronting political scientists. In recent years, a growing number of scholars have studied the importance of institutional factors such as elections for the stability of authoritarian regimes. However, since these researchers’ work has to a significant degree been shaped by expectations of democratisation, the political adaptability of authoritarian regimes has so far been neglected in scholarly work. This project thus draws attention to the normative dimension of authoritarian regimes’ legitimacy by examining the role that innovations in official party ideology play in the reproduction of regime legitimacy in China.

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International Diffusion and Cooperation of Authoritarian Regimes – IDCAR-Network

Research Questions
- How do international diffusion and cooperation impact on different authoritarian regimes?
- How do authoritarian diffusion and cooperation among authoritarian regimes operate as power maintaining mechanisms?

Contribution to International Research
In politics and political science alike, the increasing international influence of authoritarian regimes has become a central concern. The controversy about a ‘reverse wave’ of democratisation, the expansion of non-democratic rule (Merkel 2010; Puddington 2008, 2009), and the ‘backlash against democracy promotion’ (Carothers 2006, 2009) reflects this trend. The strand of research that does approach the issue from an authoritarian durability perspective still needs to develop a comprehensive conceptual approach (Ambrosio 2010; Erdmann et al. 2013). By bringing together some of the most renowned experts in the field, the IDCAR network contributes to the systematic study of international diffusion and cooperation of authoritarian regimes, connecting this research agenda to the overarching theoretical debates of the discipline. The IDCAR network is defined by the research topic and a shared interest in the dynamics of authoritarian politics beyond an exclusively domestic perspective. The collaborative network brings together international experts from twelve institutions in Europe and North America. Individual findings are exchanged among the network researchers, thematic agendas are discussed and developed at conferences and workshops and then carried out in concrete research and publication projects. The networking process is institutionalised by an academic exchange programme and a substantive research unit at the GIGA.

Research Design and Methods
Using a CAS approach, the network brings together researchers who study authoritarian diffusion and cooperation from divergent explanatory perspectives using a broad range of comparative methods. The IDCAR network is defined by the research topic and a shared interest in the dynamics of authoritarian politics beyond an exclusively domestic perspective. Members of the IDCAR network employ large-N quantitative studies as well as small-N comparisons and single-case studies for studying the diffusion and cooperation of authoritarian regimes. The studies include both cross-regional and within-area comparisons.

Preliminary Results
Network members from the GIGA have started to develop an analytical framework to study the international cooperation of authoritarian regimes (Erdmann et al. 2013). Various contributions appeared in a forum section of the November 2015 issue of the European Journal of Political Research guest edited by two IDCAR members. The first IDCAR network conference, held in December 2014 at the GIGA, presented the network members’ current research projects and discussed new conceptual and methodological approaches relating to the international dimensions of authoritarian regimes. In 2015, IDCAR’s second network conference was held in Austin, Texas and focused on ‘Regional Clusters of Authoritarian Diffusion and Cooperation: Interest vs. Ideology?’.

Cooperation Partners
- Prof. Dr. Julia Bader, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands
- Prof. Dr. Jason Brownlee, University of Texas (Austin), USA
- Prof. Dr. Valerie Bunce, Cornell University, USA
- Prof. Dr. Aunt Croissant, Heidelberg University, Germany
- Prof. Dr. Thomas Demmelmüher, University of Erlangen, Germany
- Prof. Dr. Marites Glasius, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands
- Prof. Dr. Marianne Kneuer, University of Hildesheim, Germany
- Prof. Dr. Karrie Koesel, University of Oregon, USA
- Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Merkel, WZB Berlin Social Science Center, Germany
- Prof. Dr. Christoph H. Stites, University of Colorado (Deron), USA
- Dr. Olaf Tansey, King’s College (London), UK
- Prof. Dr. Lucan Way, University of Toronto, Canada
- Prof. Dr. Kurt Weyland, University of Texas (Austin), US
- Prof. Dr. Laurence Whitehead, University of Oxford, UK

Selected Publications
- “Comparing Legitimation Strategies in Russia and other Post-Soviet Countries”, presentation at the 57th ISA Annual Convention, Atlanta, 17.03.2016 (C. von Soest, J. Grauvogel).
- “Creating the Enemy, Constructing the Threat: The Diffusion of Autocratic Policies in the Middle East”, presentation at the second IDCAR Network Conference, Austin, Texas, 03.10.2015 (J. Grauvogel).
- “Stemming the Wave: International Learning and Cooperation of Authoritarian Regimes”, IDCAR workshop, Hamburg, 08.–09.11.2012
- Josua, Maria (2016), Co-optation Reconsidered: Authoritarian Regime Legitimation Strategies in the Jordanian “Arab Spring”, in: Middle East Law and Governance, 8, 1, 32–56.
- Josua, Maria, Mirjam Edel (2015); To Repress or Not to Repress – Regime Survival Strategies in the Arab Spring, in: Terrorism and Political Violence, 27, 2, 289–309.
Judicial (In)dependence in New Democracies. Courts, Presidents and Legislatures in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa

The project analysed different degrees of judicial independence and dealt especially with the following questions:
- Which structural arrangements are designed to promote the insulation of judges from undue pressure?
- What is the political context in which courts operate?
- What mechanisms (formal and informal) have the elected branches of government employed to increase their influence on the judicial branch?
- What impact has political influence had on judicial structure, appointments, tenure?
- What factors (for example, competitiveness of the party system, constitutional rules, political ideology, international pressure, and informal practices) explain different degrees of political constraints on judicial independence?

The study of judicial independence shows the interaction among the three branches of government and concentrates, especially, on the ways in which the two elected branches – the executive and the legislature – interfere with the judicial branch. The project stressed the difficult balance between judicial independence and judicial accountability, a classical topic in political science, and analysed it in new democracies of the developing world. Theoretically, the project contributed new insights to the academic debate on judicial formal institutions, informal politics, and the role of political actors in judicial departures. Empirically, it provided original data on under-researched countries in the judicial politics literature (particularly, Paraguay and the African cases in the sample).

This project adopts a cross-regional small-N comparative design. It includes six cases from two different regions. The cases belong to similar intra-regional contexts in terms of culture and history, but have differential judicial independence assessments. In short, the sample includes one pair each of best-performers (Chile, Benin), medium-performers (Argentina, Senegal), and low-performers (Paraguay, Madagascar). Benin and Chile are renowned for their powerful constitutional courts and the low level of direct political interference with these courts’ actions, whereas Argentina’s and Senegal’s relatively professional judges are exposed to intermittent constitutional courts and the low level of direct political interference with these courts’ actions, and low performers (Paraguay, Madagascar). The project collected data on constitutional and statutory norms (and the successive amendments to them) as well as on actual cases of judges’ appointments or removals, the approval of budgetary enlargements or reductions, the creation of new courts, etc. These data helped us approximate both a de jure and a de facto assessment of judicial independence.

The main project results include:
- An index of formal judicial independence that reflects the degree of judicial independence in five dimensions (ex ante constraints, ex post constraints, powers, access, reach).
- A conceptualisation of informal interference in the judiciary that distinguishes these actions according to types – direct or subtle – with different levels of severity as well as an empirical study of informal interference through 145 semi-structured interviews including 45 high court judges (Llanos et al 2015). This work highlights the importance of considering informal mechanisms of pressure at the moment of assessing judicial independence.
- A dataset on judicial tenures and judicial departures containing inter alia data on all former and sitting judges of the six selected countries since democratisation (to be available after publication).

Based on these data, a comparative analysis of due and undue judicial departures in the six selected third-wave developing democracies (in preparation).
- Several case-studies on judicial reforms and the state of the executive-judicial relations in the selected countries.

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The main project results include:
- An index of formal judicial independence that reflects the degree of judicial independence in five dimensions (ex ante constraints, ex post constraints, powers, access, reach).
- A conceptualisation of informal interference in the judiciary that distinguishes these actions according to types – direct or subtle – with different levels of severity as well as an empirical study of informal interference through 145 semi-structured interviews including 45 high court judges (Llanos et al 2015). This work highlights the importance of considering informal mechanisms of pressure at the moment of assessing judicial independence.
- A dataset on judicial tenures and judicial departures containing inter alia data on all former and sitting judges of the six selected countries since democratisation (to be available after publication).

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- Several case-studies on judicial reforms and the state of the executive-judicial relations in the selected countries.
Political Regimes, Reduction of Poverty and Inequality

Research Questions
Poverty reduction strategies aim to foster growth patterns that favour the poor (millennium development goals and poverty reduction strategy papers). However, in the past rapid economic expansion in developing countries has often been associated with increased inequality. Redistributive policies could counteract such trends. But redistribution and poverty alleviation policies are not always chosen because of efficiency, rather they prove to be a result of political processes. Therefore, such policies are likely to differ according to political regime type. The project’s basic questions are thus as follows:
- How and why do redistribution and pro-poor policies differ between political regimes (democracies, autocracies, hybrid regime)?
- Which policy or policy mix is most effective for poverty alleviation in specific regimes?
- Which political conditions are effective institutional arrangement for poverty reduction?

Contribution to International Research
The general assumption is that democracies are more responsive to public demands than authoritarian regimes; hence democracies are more likely to adopt policies to combat poverty and promote redistribution. However, autocracies may choose certain types of social policies to please citizens and relax the revolutionary threat. Quite a few studies focus on how political institutions influence social policies and what distortions they generate for poverty reduction strategies. What kind of pro-poor policy mix given specific political constraints is most effective and efficient remains unclear. Further, cross-country research on the relationship between political regimes and poverty/inequality is inconclusive. There are various reasons for this state of affairs: case and period selection, the limitations of the statistical instruments, and conceptual and measurement shortcomings.

Research Design and Methods
Our approach will enhance the differentiation of the regime variable to overcome the democracy/dictatorship dichotomy by introducing hybrid-regime categories as well as disentangle particular political institutions that are crucial for social policy choices and implementation. In addition, we will specify different qualities within the regime categories, such as diminished subtypes and partial regimes. We intend to:
- assess the relationship between poverty/inequality and regime type;
- examine which policies are most likely to be adopted by specific regime types; and
- analyse the differences in the effectiveness and efficiency of specific policies under different regime types.

Such an analysis will provide answers as to why some countries are less effective in poverty reduction or less intend to adopt certain types of social policies. The study will comprise both a cross-country large-N analysis and within-country evaluation of specific policies. A small-N comparison of selected country cases from Africa, Asia and Latin America according to regime type, policies, and governance efficacy will help to identify key variables and main patterns of pro-poor policies across regimes.
Polities beyond Borders. The New Dynamics of Emigrant Politics and Policies in Latin America

A current of research in migration studies – transnationalism – has since the mid-1990s demonstrated that emigrants are increasingly maintaining economic, social, and political ties with their country of origin. However, only recently has political science research begun focusing on what we call “emigrant policies” – that is, policies adopted by the sending states that primarily concern their citizens abroad. The findings thus far have been largely confined to either case studies that cannot be generalised to other situations or broader work on specific sub-issues, such as external voting rights. As a result, the reasons why states adopt these policies, as well as their variations and their effects, remain largely unknown.

Focusing on the Latin American and Caribbean countries as global front-runners in the adoption of emigrant policies, this research project thus addresses two central questions: (1) How do homeland states reach out to emigrants, and what drives the adoption of these policies? (2) How do “emigrant politics” – that is, the interaction of homeland political actors with emigrants – play out in the adoption of these policies?

The project will adopt a comprehensive empirical and mixed-methods approach. It will provide new insights on how and why sending states actively adopt policies to engage with their emigrated citizens abroad, and on how this interaction impacts not only the politics but also the polities of the sending societies.

The proposed project seeks to address key gaps in the extant research. First, research on emigrant politics and emigrant policies is still stuck between a large number of migrant-centred studies that document the transnational political practices of emigrants on the one hand, and a more limited number of studies on sending-state policies on the other hand. Second, research on emigrant politics is usually conducted on a case-study basis. The analysis has generally been conducted at the regional level (e.g. Escobar 2007, Rhodes and Hanlyyuran 2010) and has been limited to very specific policies. It therefore has not explained the broader development of emigrant policies in Latin America. This study’s development of an original, solid and quantifiable emigrant policies index for all the countries of the study region and the combination of this index with a small-N analysis in a nested research approach will break new ground. This approach promises to overcome the major limitations of the political science research on transnational migration.

The project is based on a mixed-methods research design that proceeds in three steps: First, we will generate an original data set that identifies and codifies the principal emigrant policies of all Latin American and major Caribbean countries at the large-N level. This is something that has been missing in the research to date. Second, we will use this database for a quantitative large-N analysis in order to test hypotheses on the structural reasons for the adoption of emigrant policies. To do this we will correlate a number of structural factors regarding the sending state and its emigration community as the independent variable with the emigration policies codified above as the dependent variable. Third, we will undertake a qualitative, small-N case study to understand the political dynamics of the sending states and emigrants in the design and adoption of emigrant policies. In accordance with Lieberman’s concept of “nested analysis”, we will select the cases for this latter step as a result of the large-N analysis.
In both comparative and national-level terms we want to know how, in the context of concurrent social change, the adoption of mixed electoral systems – a mixed-member majoritarian (MMM) system in Japan and a mixed-member proportional (MMP) system in New Zealand – has impacted on party-system development and parliamentary representation in these two countries during the past 20-odd years. More specifically, we ask whether/to what degree the predicted move to a two-party system in Japan has taken place and whether/to what degree the party system in New Zealand has become more diverse. At the intra-national level, we seek to understand how electoral system change has affected the parliamentary representation of established smaller parties in Japan and the parliamentary representation of women and ethnic minorities in New Zealand.

The research project will talk to and build on extant research concerning a) the effects of electoral system on party systems (in particular Duverger’s laws/assumptions and its critics) and on representation of women and ethnic minorities, b) the particular consequences of mixed-member electoral systems (most prominently Shugart and Wattenberg eds. 2001), and d) recent party-system change in Japan (Schoppa ed. 2011; Scheiner 2012) and in New Zealand (Miller 2010a, 2010b). The project will reassess early studies on the consequences of electoral reform on parties and the party systems in Japan and New Zealand (e.g. Barker et al. 2001; Reed and Thies 2001; Köllner 2006) in the light of more recent evidence.
The Institutional Presidency in Latin America

The goal of this project is to analyse the development of the institutional Presidency (IP) in Latin America after the processes of re-democratisation in the 1980s. The institutional Presidency (Moe 1993; 1994), also known as the core executive (Peters et al 2000), refers to the bulk of agencies that directly support the chief of the executive in his/her governing tasks. The IP evolution is characterized by the functional differentiation and professionalisation of the administrative structures directly supporting the president. Over the last decades the Latin American IP has undergone an extraordinary change and growth, but its features remain understudied. Our research aims, first, to analyse the change and evolution of IP structures in the region; second, to explore what factors account for explaining differences across countries and along years in such evolution; third, to assess to what extent presidents use those structures as a strategic tools to improve their informational, administrative and control capacities, particularly in dealing with their cabinets and the institutional environment in which they act.

For a long time, a history of democratic and institutional instability in Latin America connected the study of presidentialism to the survival of presidential regimes (Linz 1990). However, after decades of democratic rule in the region, presidential scholars have become more concerned with themes that also interest their US counterparts, such as those dealing with managerial issues of government. This more recent literature on presidentialism, particularly that which focuses on coalition experiences, sheds light on the *executive toolbox* that is available to the different heads of state for building legislative majorities (Raife, Pereira and Power 2011). Our analysis highlights a specific tool herein that previous studies have not yet explored: the strategic redesign of the bureaucratic structures of the presidential office, undertaken by the president. It suggests that presidents can use the making of structural changes in their office as a tool with which to manage their relations with the wider political environment in general, and with the cabinet in particular. These changes are resources that the president can use to complement or substitute other tools, such as agenda-setting power, pork-barrel, and ministerial nominations.

Empirically, the study deals with both the size of the IP and with its internal complexity. We systematically collect data and compare them in different countries using statistical tools. The dataset *Institutional Presidency in Latin America 1988-2014* (PRIALA) includes variables on presidential agencies, presidential cabinets, ministerial coalitions, legislative coalitions, political parties, economic indicators, presidential popularity, presidential resignations, among others. The selected sample of Latin American countries accounts for coalition (Brazil, Chile, Colombia), single-party (Argentina, Mexico), and mixed governments (Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay). Through case-studies, the project in turn analyses the impact of determinate types of presidential designs on presidential performance (particularly, on foreign policy design and implementation). A further goal in this new research stage is to set the basis for a cross-regional analysis on the development of the presidential institution.
The Return of Race-based Inequalities in Contemporary Cuba: Analysing the Impact of Past Migration and Current Reforms

Our research project aims to examine and understand the forces driving Cuba’s growing race-based inequalities, most notably the role of migration, remittances and foreign citizenship in the context of the island’s current market-oriented economic reforms. In particular, we will examine: 1. the socio-racial implications of current remittance sending/receiving practices; 2. the role of remittances, investments and/or loans, and material goods from family members abroad, towards private business ventures on the island; 3. the role of mobility (either through additional foreign citizenship which many Cubans of Spanish descent have been able to acquire of late as well as Cuba’s recent migration reform), in facilitating economic opportunities for some sectors of Cuban society and how this is in turn contributing to new racial inequalities.

The project stands at the centre of global debates on inequality, migration, and development, and focuses in particular on the persistence of race-based social inequalities. As such it contributes to the debate on the developmental impact of remittances (Orozco 2013; Rath 2005; for sceptical positions: Abdih et al 2008; Chami et al 2008; Kapur 2003); on the efforts to overcome the racial stratification in ethnically heterogeneous societies (de la Fuente 1995, 1999, Helg 1995; Robaina 1990); and on the social impact of market reforms in once centralised but gradually opening economies (e.g. Mesa-Lago and Pérez-López 2009). Through the proposed case study we aim to contribute important insights to scholarly debates on: social inequalities in the context of market reforms (e.g. Mesa-Lago and Pérez-López 2009); the developmental and social implications of remittances (Orozco 2013; Rath 2005; for sceptical positions: Abdih et al 2008; Chami et al 2008; Kapur 2003); and the long-term persistence (and re-fueling) of structural, racial inequalities in ethnically heterogeneous societies (de la Fuente 1995, 1999, Helg 1995; Robaina 1990).

At the heart of the research project lies a survey questionnaire (n= 1,000 Cubans across the island) which will provide us with a unique data set on the relationship between migration/remittances, foreign citizenship/mobility, and the increasing racial inequalities during Cuba’s current economic reforms. The survey, carried out with an experienced local team, will be followed by in-depth, formal interviews with 100 survey participants which will complement the quantitative survey with qualitative insights into the underlying social processes and dynamics and will provide the study with a high degree of ethnographic “thickness”.

- Pedroza, Lucy, Pau Palop, Bert Hoffmann (2016), Neue Nähe: Die Politik der Staaten Lateinamerikas zu ihren Emigranten (New Closeness: The Politics of Latin America’s States on their Emigrants), GIGA Focus Lateinamerika, 02/2016.
- Hoffmann, Bert (2015), Kuba-USA: Wandel durch Annäherung, GIGA Focus Lateinamerika, 02/2015.
Research Programme 2:
Peace and Security

Research Projects

- A Dangerous Liaison: Ethnicity, Natural Resources and Civil Conflict Onset (Prof. Dr. Matthias Basedau, Dr. Carlo Koos, Dr. Annegret Kuhn (geb. Mähler), Jan Pierskalla)
- Against all Odds - Youth in Post-War Societies (Christoph Heuser, Dr. Sabine Kurtenbach, Martin Ostermeier, Janina Pawelz, Isabel Rosales)
- Explaining Reluctance in International Politics: Rising Powers and Crisis Management (Dr. Sandra Destradi)
- From Civil War to Social Contract (Dr. Carlo Koos, Dr. Alexander De Juan)
- From Quietism to Politics: The Egyptian Salafist Movement from 1970 to 2012 (Prof. Dr. Henner Fürtig, Justyna Nedza, Dr. Annette Ranko, Nikolai Röhl)
- Governing People’s Safety in Areas of Extremely Limited Statehood (South Sudan and the Central African Republic) (Dr. Lotje de Vries, Tim Glawion, Prof. Dr. Andreas Mehrer)
- Institutions for Sustainable Peace. Comparing Institutional Options for Divided Societies and Post Conflict Countries (Dr. Nadine Ansorg, Prof. Dr. Matthias Basedau, Felix Haaß, Prof. Dr. Detlef Nolte)
- Inter-Elite Trust and the Fragility of Transitions: A Comparison between the Party Elites of Tunisia and Egypt (Dr. Mazen Hassan, Dr. Annette Ranko)
- Power-sharing in Multi-ethnic Societies of the Middle East (Dr. Stephan Rosiny, Prof. Dr. Henner Fürtig)
- Religions and Conflict: On the Ambivalence of Religious Factors in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East (Dr. Matthias Basedau, Georg Strüver, Prof. Dr. Andreas Mehrer)
- Secondary Theaters of War: The Syrian War in Jordan (Dr. André Bank, Yazan Doughan)
- Security Sector Reform and the Stability of Post-War Peace (Dr. Nadine Ansorg, Sabine Kurtenbach, Prof. Dr. Andreas Mehrer, Julia Strasheim)
- The Influence of Religion on Sustainable Development (Prof. Dr. Matthias Basedau, Dr. Simone Gobien, Prof. Dr. Kai-Uwe Schnapp)
- The Local Arena of Power-Sharing. Patterns of Adaptation or Continued Disorder? (Charlotte Heyl, Prof. Dr. Andreas Mehrer, Prof. Dr. Christian von Soest)
- The Territorial Dynamics of Colonial State-Building (Dr. Alexander De Juan, Jan Pierskalla)
- War Economies and Postwar Crime (Christoph Heuser, Sabine Kurtenbach, Dr. Annegret Mähler, Prof. Dr. Angelika Rettberg)
- War that Produces Peace? Military Victory and Sustainable Peacebuilding (Dr. Giulia Piccolino)

Dissertations by Fellows of the GIGA Doctoral Programmes

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A Dangerous Liaison? Ethnicity, Natural Resources and Civil Conflict Onset

The research project focuses on two core questions:
- Do ethnicity and natural resources jointly increase the risk of conflict onset?
- Which ethnicity-related, resource-related, and other conditions have an impact on conflict?

According to the literature on conflict, ethnicity and natural resources can, under certain conditions, increase the risk of intrastate conflict. Theoretically, the combination of ethnic diversity and resources should be particularly dangerous, as both together may generate strong motives for resistance and increase an ethnic group’s capacity for insurgency by providing financial means and recruitment pools. In sum, ethnicity and resource-specific conditions can assist in overcoming the collective-action problems that rebellion (and hence civil war) entails.

However, studies on ethnicity and conflict on the one hand (e.g. Gurr, Cederman, Wimmer, Horowitz) and resources and conflict on the other (e.g. Collier/Hoeffler, Le Billon, Ross) have operated independently of each other thus far. Moreover, previous research has investigated causal mechanisms only at a rather aggregate level. This project unifies both strands of the literature and investigates the precise mechanisms that may lead to violence in the presence of both resources and ethnic diversity.

Methodologically, the project engages in georeferencing below the national level and combines macro-, meso- and microperspectives in a three-level analysis. At the macro level, a global database that identifies the overlapping locations of resources, relevant and deprived ethnic groups, and conflict is being created in order to uncover general patterns. For this purpose, existing data on resources (PETRODATA, GEMDATA, DIADATA, US Geological Survey) and ethnicity (Ethnic Power Relations Dataset and its georeferenced variant GEO-EPR) is being used. At the meso level, the project is engaging in a within-country comparison of two pertinent country cases (Bolivia and Nigeria) where the presence of resources and relevant ethnic groups, as well as the level of violence, varies across subnational units. While Nigeria has experienced high-intensity violence, Bolivia is well suited for a study of lower levels of violence. At the micro level, extensive fieldwork in two carefully selected local sites per country aims to uncover the exact mechanisms through which the combination of ethnicity and resources leads (or does not lead) to violence.

Preliminary results suggest that ethnicity indeed conditions the impact of natural resources. In a spatial analysis of grid cells in Africa from 1990 to 2010, both ethnic exclusion and the presence of oil increases the risk of conflict events. However, when groups with (monopoly) access to power settle in oil-rich areas, the conflict-increasing effect is reversed. Apparently, these groups can use revenues to buy off peace. Subnational studies for the cases of Bolivia and Nigeria, including collection of novel data, seem to confirm these results.

- Dr. Sira Aas Rustad, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Norway

Selected Events

Selected Publications
Against all Odds – Youth in Post-War Societies

Research Questions
- How can we explain variations in youth violence in the high-risk contexts of post-war societies?
- How can young people transition into adulthood without using violence?
- Which actors and processes are relevant for successful youth transitions in post-war contexts?

Contribution to International Research
The project contributes to the research on conflict and transformation, which until now has rarely systematically investigated the role of youth in post-war contexts. Most research on youth in post-war contexts focuses either on deviant behaviour (violence) or on youths’ peace-building potential. Research on youth in situations of political transition seldom investigates developing countries or post-war societies. The specific mechanisms and processes influencing youth transitions to adulthood in these contexts are particularly under-researched, even though the interface between youth and society is highly relevant there. From a quantitative and a qualitative perspective, youth are extremely important actors in the social space of post-war societies. At the same time, patterns of youth integration (or exclusion) mirror the broader developments in the society in question.

Research Design and Methods
Theoretically the project combines two strands of research that have generally been unconnected to date: theories on youth violence and concepts on youth civic engagement. Using the question of how young people can perform central status passages into adulthood as a point of departure, the project will identify different patterns of youth integration or exclusion. The research will utilise a nested design. As a first step, it will collect data on the risks of youth participation in violence (e.g. youth bulge, rapid urbanisation, lack of economic growth) for a sample of 27 post-war countries. From this group a small-N sample of post-war societies will be identified according to a most similar design regarding risk factors.

The second step will consist of a structured comparison of the ways young people manage transitions into adulthood (particularly into economic independence and political citizenship) in these difficult contexts. This comparison will focus on similarities and differences between and inside the regions and cultures, urban and rural contexts, and male and female youths. Methodologically, this theoretically grounded structured comparison will be done on the basis of field research (expert interviews, focus groups, primary data collection in collaboration with local partners). This multilevel comparison promises to generate systematic knowledge on the interaction between structures (post-war societies) and actors (youth).
Explaining Reluctance in International Politics: Rising Powers and Crisis Management

Research Questions
The project asks why rising powers are often reluctant in their regional policies and in the provision of global public goods and what the consequences of their reluctance are. To this end, the project compares India and Germany, which have unequivocally emerged as the regional powers in South Asia and Europe, respectively, and can also be considered rising powers in global politics. Despite radically diverging regional context conditions – with Europe being the most integrated and South Asia the arguably less integrated region in the world – these two countries have displayed a strikingly similar reluctance to make use of their predominance in terms of power capabilities to emerge as leading actors within their regions and to shape regional governance mechanisms. The project focuses, first, on the conceptualization of reluctance and links it with theoretical discussions on leadership and hegemony in International Relations. It then develops a range of hypotheses on the causes for reluctance and tests them for selected cases of crisis management on the part of India and Germany. Finally, it will discuss the impact of rising powers’ reluctance on regional and/or global governance.

Contribution to International Research
The project contributes to the ongoing research on rising regional powers in international politics. By focusing on cases of crisis management, it connects the fields of International Relations and Security Studies / Peace and Conflict Studies.

Research Design and Methods
The project is conceptualized as an intra- and cross-regional qualitative comparison of cases of conflict management in South Asia and Europe. In order to test the hypotheses on the explanations for reluctance, the project will apply a range of qualitative methods. For the analysis of ideational factors and foreign-policy makers’ perceptions, a qualitative content analysis of official documents will be carried out, complemented by an assessment of primary and secondary sources. The results of the analysis will be triangulated with semi-structured expert interviews with policy makers in the relevant ministries and with local observers.

Preliminary Results
In a first step, the project developed a conceptualization of reluctance by identifying the concept’s semantic field and discussing how reluctance relates to the similar but distinct notions of exceptionalism, isolationism, under-aggression, and under-balancing (concept reconstruction); on that basis, two constitutive dimensions of reluctance were identified: hesitation and recalcitrance (concept building). A preliminary analysis of Germany’s recent approach to crisis management in Europe and the European neighbourhood in the cases of the Eurozone crisis (2009-15), Libya (2011), and Ukraine (2014-15) reveals that Germany was initially reluctant (i.e., hesitant and recalcitrant vis-à-vis the demands articulated by others). Over time, however, reluctance gradually declined in the fields of economic/financial policy as well as security.

Selected Events
- “Rising India’s Foreign Policy under Prime Minister Modi”, panel discussion as part of the India Week Hamburg 2015, Hamburg, 04.11.2015 (S. Destradi, A. Narlikar, J. Plagemann).

Selected Publications
Extracting justice? Exploring the Role of FPIC and Consultation, and Compensation Related to Socio-environmental Conflicts in Latin America

- To what extent do consultation and consent procedures inhibit or enable genuine intercultural negotiations, given that these procedures often involve contrasting forms of knowledge, information and cultural understandings of nature, development, and economy?
- To what extent and through what specific practices do affected peoples influence the outcome of the consultation and consent processes?
- How do local indigenous and Afro-descendant groups re-articulate prior consultation and FPIC to their own ends, particularly to defend their cultural integrity and autonomy?
- How do different forms of compensation and benefit-sharing practices condition processes of participation and influence socio-environmental conflicts?
- To what extent, and under which conditions, do consultation, benefit-sharing and mitigation practices provoke conflicts and frictions between and within local communities?

Recognizing the increasing number of socio-environmental conflicts surrounding resource extraction in Latin America over the last decade, this research project aims to study the nature and outcome of currently available mechanisms for conflict resolution. The project in particular questions whether “prior consultation” and “free, prior and informed consent” (FPIC) processes represent a set of effective mechanisms for preventing and resolving resource conflicts. Whilst also considering the potential for resolution, in this project we intend to go beyond this to ask how consultation, consent and compensation practices strengthen or weaken affected peoples’ democratic participation and rights to self-determination. Consultations with different indigenous peoples and Afro-descendant and peasant groups involve the meeting, translation and negotiation between different cultural traditions, worldviews, forms of knowledge and perceptions of nature. A central focus of the project is therefore to study empirically the cultural dimension of desirable and un-desirable processes and outcomes.

The project is interdisciplinary in nature and involves research partners from nine different university and research institutions and civil society based organisations in Europe, Latin America and the US. The collaborative research project produces a series of country specific case studies from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. The case studies, mostly based on ethnographic fieldwork, semi-structured interviews and participatory research methods, capture local dynamics and histories whilst also considering consultation, consent and benefit-sharing/compensatory practices within a wider domain of national and regional politics and economics. The project has specific policy relevance in relation to ongoing initiatives to develop and implement FPIC guidelines and principles by national governments and by international institutions and actors such as the UN Special Representative on Indigenous Peoples Rights, the UN Special representative on Business and Human Rights, the International Council on Mining and Minerals, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.


Cooperation
- University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA
- Noragric, University of Stockholm (Dr. Esben Leifsen, project leader), Norway
- Rainforest Foundation Norway
- Proceso de Comunidades Negras de Colombia (PCN), Colombia
- Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), Mexico
- Observatorio de conflictos ambientales (UTPL), Ecuador
- Centro de Estudios Juridicos y de Investigacion Social (CEJIS), Bolivia

Selected Events
- “Prior Consultation/FPIC and Environmental Impact Assessment: Towards Environmental and Socio-Cultural Sustainability?”, presentation at the Conference “Governance by Sustainable Development Goals”, Amsterdam, 27.06.2016 (A. Schilling-Vacaflor).
- “Mecanismos de participación en la gobernanza ambiental: consulta previa”, panel at the XXIII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), San Juan, Puerto Rico, 30.05.2015 (A. Schilling-Vacaflor).

Selected Publications
From Civil War to Social Contract: State Services, Political Trust, and Political Violence

Research Questions
- Does the effective and equitable delivery of basic services affect levels of political trust in fragile situations?
- How should external/international support for service provision be designed in order to contribute to improvements in trust levels?

Contribution to International Research
Development agencies claim that international support to service delivery can contribute to state-society relations and state-building. The rationale is that improved access to education, health care or drinking water increases output legitimacy and people’s trust in state institutions. Ensuring access to basic services for the population is considered an essential welfare function of the state. Even more importantly, service provision is interpreted as a form of direct interaction between the individual and the state’s institutions and actors. It may thus be understood as an “interface between citizens and the state”. The state’s ability or inability to deliver on this responsibility is directly felt by the population and will thus shape its attitudes and actions towards the state. Academic debates on post-conflict state-building and conflict recurrence have largely been detached from research on political trust. The role of legitimacy and political trust is emphasised in peace and conflict studies; however, it is not adequately conceptualised and is seldom analysed empirically. Similarly, few studies on political trust explicitly consider how intrastate conflict might affect such trust. The research project aims to bring both areas of research together and to analyse the determinants of political trust in post-war societies by focusing on the role of basic service delivery.

Research Design and Methods
The project will combine quantitative and qualitative research methods. The first pillar will be based on household and village-level surveys from three different country contexts: Afghanistan, Burundi and Peru. Opinion surveys will target a minimum of 100 villages and 1,500 households per country and will be designed as so called “population based experiments”. Questionnaires will focus on people’s perceptions of various state-institutions and of current service provision (with respect to quality, quantity, providers, and responsiveness). Qualitative analyses at the subnational level will constitute the project’s second pillar. In addition to the quantitative techniques, in-depth comparative analysis will take place in selected subnational regions of the countries under investigation. Through focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews, the researchers will cross-check the correlations found in the quantitative analyses.

Preliminary Results
Preliminary analyses of quantitative and qualitative Data from Burundi and Afghanistan lend support to the general assumption that basic service provision is in fact related to people’s perception of state institutions. In both cases interviewees have proven to be significantly more confident in the state when they objectively and subjectively profited from service delivery improvements within a two-year period prior to the implementation of the survey. At the same time, however, initial analyses also underscore the conditional nature of this correlation: associations between service delivery and political trust depend on the local security context, providers of services (i.e. state or international actors) and local governance systems. Subsequent analysis, incorporating data from Peru, will aim at investigating these conditional effects.

Cooperation
- Collaborative Research Center 700, Governance In Areas of Limited Statehood, Free University of Berlin, Germany

Selected Publications
From Quietism to Politics: The Egyptian Salafist Movement from 1970 to 2012

- Research Questions
- Which developments have Egyptian Salafist groups and thought demonstrated over the period from 1970 to 2012?
- How has the political trend within the Salafist movement emerged and developed? How has it been articulated vis-à-vis the movement’s mainstream, apolitical trend?
- What impact have other Islamist (but non-Salafist) actors (e.g. the Muslim Brotherhood) had on the development of the Salafist movement in Egypt?
- What influence have transnational Salafist debates and thinkers had on the development of the Salafist movement in Egypt?
- In how far does the Egyptian Salafist movement influence debates and developments within transnational Salafism?

Contribution to International Research

Political Salafism is a relatively recent phenomenon. Starting in the 1980s, Bahrain and Kuwait were the first countries to witness the entrance of Salafists into parliament. It was only after the fall of Mubarak in 2011 and the formation and electoral success of Salafist parties in Egypt however, that political Salafism has entered into the limelight. Scholarship on this phenomenon – though growing since 2011 – remains scarce, especially compared to more widely studied groups as the Muslim Brotherhood. This project, thus, aims to shed light on the political strand within Egypt and to trace its historical roots beginning in the 1970s. It further seeks to trace the mutual influences, interactions, and transformations of national and transnational manifestations of Salafism, so as to contribute to the study of Salafism as a transnational phenomenon.

Research Design and Methods

The project will use summarising qualitative content analysis as its primary research method. It will analyse the most important programmatic writings, sermons, and fatawa of Salafist leaders from 1970 to 2012 in order to discern the different ideational trends, their development and their articulation in relation to each other. In order to analyse these developments, the project will utilise social movement theory approaches that integrate process tracing.

Preliminary Results

Most Egyptian Salafist parties have – like the MB – adopted some democratic elements, such as the rotation of power through regular elections or separation of powers. However, especially al-Nur and al-Rayah have aspired to set their political visions apart from that of the MB and to ground these visions within Salafist legal-theological concepts and discourses. The most striking marker of their political thought is the linking of citizenship to a Muslim’s quality or quantity of creed, and the theching of an eschatological function to the envisioned state. But as the Salafist spectrum diversifies, some Salafist parties not only choose their points of reference from within Salafist circles but also use arguments that emulate MB discourse. These ideological moves of certain segments of the Salafist movement towards the MB are matched by a “Salafisation” of parts of the MB

Selected Publications

- Ranko, Annette, Najwa Sabra (2015), Ssis Ägypten – Verwandlungen der Revolution oder zurück auf Null? (Siss’s Egypt – Completion of the Revolution or back to Zero?), GIGA Focus Nahost, 01/2015.
- Ranko, Annette, Najwa Sabra (2015), Ssis Ägypten – Verwandlungen der Revolution oder zurück auf Null? (Siss’s Egypt – Completion of the Revolution or back to Zero?), GIGA Focus Nahost, 01/2015.
Gouverning People’s Safety in Areas of Extremely Limited Statehood: South Sudan and the Central African Republic

Research Questions
The project investigates the effectiveness (differentiated in output, outcome and impact) of security provision in areas of limited statehood. It asks the following questions:
- What are the success factors of effective security provision on the local level (in situations of extreme state weakness)?
- What is the role of specific context conditions like ethnic homogeneity (resulting in social capital), spatial distance to the country’s capital and presence/absence of external actors (particularly peacekeepers)?
- What kind of policy-implications can be drawn from strong local variance in countries invariably characterised as extremely weak?

Contribution to International Research
This project aims to close relevant research gaps. Empirically, there are immense gaps with regard to effectiveness of local security production (only scattered results by a few researchers, including the project leader), and, conceptually, there is no appropriate differentiation of the container term hybrid/ hybrid peace orders (MacGinty 2010, Boege 2009 etc.). The discipline of political science only now begins to focus on local arenas, arguably a decisive aspect when it comes to post-conflict peace. Existing case studies fail to link up and produce some level of generalisation. This project aims to contribute in closing those gaps while also trying to combine the strengths of anthropology and political science. Furthermore, there is only limited empirical insight on the two focus countries, with South Sudan as the most recent independent state worldwide only beginning to be explored by social scientists and CAR one of the most “under-researched” countries on earth.

Research Design and Methods
This project combines a case study approach with subnational comparative analysis. Research is based on qualitative methods of empirical enquiry, including techniques used by political anthropologists and political scientists. Six local arenas of (effective and ineffective) security production in two countries (CAR, South Sudan) were selected in order to test our hypotheses pertaining to institutionalised actor constellations, absence/presence of international actors, social capital/ethnic homogeneity, socio-spatial distance to capital and national policies. After desk studies (focusing on the last item) intense fieldwork has started in all six arenas, where focus group discussions and non-participatory observation will be conducted by the research team; potentially a reduction to four sites will be administered. Research assistants maintain ‘event logs’ on security relevant events and developments over the entire project duration, expert interviews will be conducted in the two capitals.

Preliminary Results
Findings from a first series of fieldwork suggest that the production of political order at the periphery of large and “fragile” states differs strongly in terms of actors involved, the role of the state in producing (in)security, and the economic stakes and resources that characterize the periphery. As a result, great variation in the production of order/disorder can be observed not only between states but also within one country. These findings underline doubts on the usefulness to rely on rankings based on additive compilation of indicators such as the Fragile States Index to group countries. For both CAR and South Sudan pastoralist groups and their relationship to state and other authorities play a crucial role for the relative order/disorder in the periphery and need better scrutiny. We also found that while local order follows from local collaboration between state and non-state actors alike (e.g. the churches), the overall history of a nation-state with its respective impetus of controlling territory, resources or people also plays an important role. Despite their Chapter VII mandate, the two UN Missions deployed in the two countries operate quite differently. Peacekeepers have not the same role and preponderance (where they are deployed) in both countries: in CAR they tend to dominate the local security arena, in South Sudan they are hesitant to get involved in the power-struggle and therefore remain at the margins of security production.

Cooperation Partners
- Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institute, Freiburg, Germany

Selected Events
- “Contrasting the View from Above with a Bottom-up Perspective on Somalia, South Sudan and the Central African Republic”, presentation at the Collaborative Research Center 700, Berlin, 13.11.2015 (T. Glawion).
Ineffective Sanctions? External Sanctions and the Persistence of Autocratic Regimes

**Research Questions**
- Which factors account for the long-term stability of authoritarian regimes in the face of international sanctions and specifically those which aim at democratisation?
- Which structural power resources (e.g. repression, claims to legitimacy) do regimes fall back on, and how do they use them in reaction to external pressure in its various forms?
- Which counter-strategies do targeted regimes pursue?

**Contribution to International Research**
Researchers have provided largely contradictory evidence concerning the effects of international sanctions on the persistence of authoritarian regimes. In response, building on insights from research on authoritarianism, sanctions and transitions, the project identifies the specific features of those regimes that have remained stable or unstable in the face of such external pressure. Of particular interest are authoritarian regimes’ international relations, as well as their characteristics, strategies and actions.

**Research Design and Methods**
The project combines several research methods. Qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) served to establish the characteristics of persistent authoritarian regimes under sanction pressure and to select country case studies for further in-depth analysis. These case studies – Belarus, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Colombia, Syria, North Korea, Iran, and Burundi – are analysed comparatively. In addition, two data sets were created. One provides information on the different sanctions implemented by the UN, the US and the EU, and the other focuses on the legitimation strategies of non-democratic regimes. The data sets allowed for further quantitative-statistical analyses of the implementation and effects of sanctions.

**Preliminary Results**
The results of the fsQCA study attest (1) the importance of legitimation strategies employed by almost all targeted regimes to withstand external pressure; (2) the relevance of the interplay between regime characteristics, sanctions and further international factors; and (3) the different causal pathways leading to regime persistence in the face of international sanctions, which were used to select the case studies Belarus, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Colombia, Syria, North Korea, Iran, and Burundi. In contrast to much existing research, the statistical analyses established the slightly positive effects of democratic sanctions on the level of democracy in targeted regimes. The assessment also showed that three factors mainly drive US and EU policy makers’ decisions to impose democratic sanctions: the strength of trigger events indicating infringements of democratic and human rights, particularly coups d’état, the vulnerability of the target and sanctions’ costs for their sender.

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**Cooperation**
- Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, University of Hamburg (IFSH), Germany
- Dr. Michael Wahman, University of Missouri, USA
- Prof. T. Giffin Morgan, Rice University, Houston, Texas, USA
- Assistant Prof. Clara Portela, Singapore Management University, Singapore
- Assistant Prof. Claudia Portela, Singapore Management University, Singapore

**Selected Events**
- Wodrig, Stefanie, Julia Grauvogel (forthc.), Talking Past Each Other: Regional and Domestic Resistance in the Burundian Intervention Scene, in: Cooperation and Conflict.
Institutions for Sustainable Peace – Comparing Institutional Options for Divided Societies and Post-Conflict Countries

- How can institutional engineering be effective and successful in post-conflict and, in particular, divided societies?
- Which institutions and which combination of institutions reduce the potential for violent conflicts and other types of violence?
- How do specific factors such as the character of divisions or the traumatic experience of violence impact the prospects for successful institutional engineering?

The project connects to the debates on institutional engineering (e.g. Lijphart, Horowitz, Reynolds) and systematically analyses the effects and success of different institutional designs. Research on institutional conditions for and determinants of peace is often geographically and – due to a focus on the field of post-conflict studies – thematically fragmented. The present project aims to overcome this fragmentation by initiating cooperation between several research institutions, with GIGA as the main partner. The project studies the success of particular institutional designs (decentralization or federal systems, particular election systems, regulation of party systems, power-sharing) and undertakes integrative analyses of interactions among the entire set of institutions that influence the potential for violence.

The project furthermore identifies how societal divisions and/or post-conflict situations affect the prospects of particular institutional options: specific economic, cultural, political, and historical contexts are included in the analysis of institutions. Non-institutional factors such as ethnicity, religion or resources are also considered.

Using a comparative area studies approach, the project carries out a comparative investigation of those societies that display a specific risk of conflict escalation, such as post-conflict societies and “divided societies” (societies divided along ethnic, religious or other social lines). The project brings international experts from this field of research together in one collaborative project. Individual findings are exchanged in order to systematically correlate them within a new research approach. Research agendas are discussed and developed at conferences and workshops, then carried out in concrete research and publication projects. The networking process is institutionalised by an academic exchange programme and a substantive “research unit” at the GIGA. A further element of the project is the “Institutions for Sustainable Peace” database, which systematically links different findings from within the field and fills research gaps by including the complex set of institutional choices available as well as the exact character of divisions and conflict risks.

The network held four conferences: “Institutions for Sustainable Peace: From Research Gaps to New Frontiers” (Berlin, 7 – 8 September 2012), “Harmony orcacophony? The ‘Concert of Institutions’ in Divided Societies” (Oslo, 13 – 14 June 2013), “Institutional Reforms in Post-war and Divided Societies” (Geneva, 27 – 28 May 2014), and “Why Institutions Matter: Linking Research and Practice on Institutions for Sustainable Peace” (Hamburg, 8 – 10 April 2015). GIGA staff published an annotated bibliography of datasets in the study of institutions and conflict in divided societies which is available at the GIGA website. Also the codebook for classifying the datasets is available at the GIGA website. GIGA staff included in the annotated bibliography and the datasets themselves are made available, following the principle of Open Access.

Cooperation: - Prof. Dr. Matthias Bogaards, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany
- Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, University of Hamburg (IFSH), Germany
- Prof. Dr. Susanne Buck ley-Zistel, Universität Marburg, Germany
- Prof. Dr. Phil Clark, School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS), London, UK
- Dr. Hanne Fjelde, Uppsala University (Department of Peace and Conflict Research), Sweden
- Prof. Dr. Christof Hartmann, Universität Duisburg-Essen, Germany
- Prof. Dr. Caroline Hartzell, Gettysburg College, USA
- Prof. Dr. Håv ard Hegre, University of Oslo/Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Norway
- Prof. Dr. Donald Horowitz, Duke University, USA
- Prof. Dr. Martin Jepperson, University of Rochester, USA
- Prof. Dr. Julia Strasheim, University of Oslo, Norway
- Prof. Dr. Stefan Wolff, University of Birmingham, UK

Selected Publications: - Ansorg, Nadine, Sabine Kurtenbach (eds.) (forthc.), Institutional Reforms and Peacebuilding.
Inter-Elite Trust and the Fragility of Transitions: A Comparison between the Party Elites of Tunisia and Egypt

Research Questions
How has inter-elite trust between Islamist and secular party elites shaped the diverging transition paths in Egypt and Tunisia since 2011?

Contribution to International Research
Trust is one of the central concepts in social sciences and recently also political science. It has been used to explain numerous dependent variables of social, economic, and political nature. This project uses this concept to explain why transitions have taken different forms in the two Arab Spring countries: Egypt and Tunisia. While studies of the transitions literature have taken such an approach especially with regards to Latin American cases, it was never given parallel attention regarding Arab Spring countries.

Research Design and Methods
For the project semi-structured interviews with Tunisian and Egyptian party elites are conducted. Party leaders’ discourses in the press are analysed, and process-tracing is conducted.

Preliminary Results
Both the discourse analysis as well as the interviews have shown that inter-elite trust has been comparatively lower in Egypt than in Tunisia. Several structural-institutional factors have led to these diverging levels of trust that have affected the different transition paths of both countries.

Selected Events
- "What about the Islamists? Assessing the Consequences of Political Exclusion after the Arab Spring", GIGA Talk, Berlin, 08.10.2015 (A. Ranko).
- "Inter-elite Trust and Fragility of Transitions: A Comparison between the Party Elites of Egypt and Tunisia, presentation at Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA)”, Washington DC, 24.12.2014 and at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), Washington DC, 30.08.2014

Selected Publications
- Iskander, Elizabeth, Annette Ranko (2013), The Fall of the Muslim Brotherhood: Implications for Egypt, in: Middle East Policy, XX, 4, 111 – 123.
The research project stems from the observation that some of the “Arab Spring” uprisings, namely, those in Bahrain and Syria, slipped into bloody crackdowns and/or civil wars. In other countries, such as Lebanon and Iraq, there were hardly any protests. In all four countries we find multiple ethnic-sectarian divisions within society. Yet, whereas Lebanon and Iraq have implied power-sharing arrangements, the other two (Bahrain and Syria) are mainly mono-ethnic autocracies. The research questions are as follows:

- What impact do ethnic cleavages have on social, political and economic relations in the divided societies of the East Arab countries? How do the four countries under investigation differ in how they deal with this fragmentation, and how do they influence each other?
- Are there any options and chances for power-sharing agreements that take the ethnic divide into consideration and at the same time help the fragmented communities to bridge the gaps between them?
- How can EU stakeholders support such processes as external mediators and supporters of institution building?

While quite a lot of research has been carried out on the two existing power-sharing arrangements in Lebanon and Iraq, the ongoing debates on their reform or even their abolishment in these two countries as well as the possibility of transferring such power-sharing arrangements to Syria and Bahrain have not yet been investigated. The current project is innovative in this respect.

Further innovative elements include the project’s comparative design and its aim of investigating future options for such reforms and arrangements for all four countries. The aim is to broaden the understanding of “security” towards a comprehensive approach that incorporates “mutual security”, instruments of conflict moderation and conflict prevention.

In several steps, the project investigates the history and current situation of these divided societies, as well as their political structures. It also analyses the existing constitutions and laws, as well as the reforms and alternatives under debate, primarily in comparison to the consociationalist (Lijphart, Lehmbruch) and the centripetalist approach (Horowitz).

**Preliminary Results**

In a series of workshops, participants identified several similar or comparable experiences between the cases under investigation. They also focused on the dynamics between the four countries and how the positive and negative experiences of each country influence the power-sharing debate in the sub-region. Deeper research has been done in the conflict structure and the sectarian framing of the four societies. Special emphasis has been put on ongoing debates among oppositional groups and the official regime discourse about a reform of existing and the introduction of new power-sharing arrangements.

**Cooperation Partners**

- Common Space Initiative (CSI), Beirut, Lebanon

**Selected Events**


**Selected Publications**

- Rosiny, Stephan (2012), Konflikt und Machtteilung in fragmentierten Gesellschaften: Syrien, Bahrain, Libanon und Iran im Vergleich (Conflict and power sharing in fragmented societies; Syria, Bahrain, Lebanon and Iran in comparison), in: Schoch, Hauswedell, Kursawe, Johannsen (eds.), Friedensgutachten 2012, Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2012, 249 – 262.
Prior Consultation and Conflict Transformation in Resource Governance: Bolivia and Peru

- What characteristics have consultation procedures, and their outcomes, in the Bolivian and Peruvian hydrocarbon sectors demonstrated since 2007?
- Which conflict constellations and dynamics can be observed within these procedures?
- Which factors enable or limit the implementation of comprehensive consultations, the guaranteeing of the human rights of those involved, and the just balancing of the interests at stake?
- How have prior consultations contributed to conflict escalation or transformation?

Despite their great practical relevance, prior consultations remain under-researched. The research project aims to address the following research gaps:
- A lack of systematic and comparative studies on consultation cases that are based on detailed knowledge of each case
- A lack of in-depth ethnographic case studies that explore formal and informal local processes as well as the perceptions, interests and strategies of the heterogeneous actors involved
- A lack of investigation into the connections between consultation practices and socio-environmental conflicts
- A lack of research that focuses on the substantial dimension of prior consultations/FPIC, i.e. their outputs and outcomes

The project brings together diverse theoretical strands (e.g. theories on participatory development, contentious politics, legal pluralism, neo-extractivism). The dialogue between these theories and empirical data will contribute to the development of a middle-range theory on prior consultations/FPIC in extractive industries.

In this project we collected primary resources (ministry reports, acts, state-community agreements, reports from indigenous communities, letters, Environmental Impact Assessments) about 30 prior consultation cases and their results in Bolivia’s hydrocarbon sector and about 178 informative events (2007–2012) and eight prior consultation procedures and their results about planned hydrocarbon activities in Peru’s Amazon. These data were complemented with over 200 semi-structured interviews with representatives from the state, extraction companies, indigenous organisations and NGOs and with field notes from the participatory observation in at least one complete consultation process in each country as well as in many diverse meetings and assemblies from indigenous communities and organisations. We also carried out participatory conflict analysis, and used methods from cognitive anthropology (free-lists, pile-sorts) to deepen our knowledge about conflict dynamics and related ideologies and strategies from diverse groups of actors. The data were analysed with the support of the software ANTHROPAC, ATLAS.ti, Excel, QCA and QGIS for systematically and comparatively analysing our data and for answering our main research questions. This proceeding allowed us to get in-depth knowledge about specific cases in concrete local contexts, but also to generate new insights based on intra-country and cross-country comparisons of participation processes, their results and respective conflict dynamics.

In Bolivia’s hydrocarbon sector the consultation processes and their outcomes have varied greatly depending on the negotiating capacity of the indigenous organisations involved and their relationship with the Bolivian government. The consultations with indigenous lowland minorities were more conflictive and resulted in more comprehensive and specific final consultation agreements. In general, however, these processes tended to be reduced to a bargaining tool for achieving a share of the pie from extraction revenues rather than for securing the rights and the livelihood of local populations.

In Peru, the analysis of participation processes revealed that the conflict degree and the underlying motives from local populations varied according to each region. For example, the processes in the Northern Amazon were especially conflictive due to serious environmental damages from previous oil extraction and in Puno because of the perception of threat for existing economic alternatives. The recently concluded prior consultation processes are likely to remain ineffective due to vague final agreements and a lack of follow-up mechanisms. The comparison of the cases from both countries reveals that power asymmetries, a lack of intercultural understanding, biased pre-extraction information, weak follow-up mechanisms and the resistance of both states to establish binding compromises with local populations have limited the effectiveness of indigenous participation. It also helps explain why the total rejection of new projects has been much more common in Peru than in Bolivia; being the main reasons more severe environmental contamination, the historical neglect of Amazonian communities by the state and the greater opposition by regional and local governments to extraction in Peru.

Selected Publications
- Schilling-Vacaflor, Almut, Ricarda Flemmer (2015), Rohstoffabbaubrief in Lateinamerika: Fehlende Bürgerbeteiligung schuf Konflikte (Resource extraction in Latin America: lacking participation fuels conflict), GIGA Focus Latinamerika, 05/2015
Religion and Conflict: On the Ambivalence of Religious Factors in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East

Research Questions
- Ambivalence: Under what conditions do religious factors lead to violence or peace?
- Multidimensionality of religion: What particular religious factors (group identities, religious ideas, religious organisations) lead to violence or peace?
- Non-religious context: What non-religious factors impact violence and peace independently from or in conjunction with religion?

Contribution to International Research
The project on religion and conflict seeks to fill a gap in peace and conflict studies. While many theoretical arguments can be made regarding the link between religion and conflict or peace (e.g. Appleby, Toft), comprehensive empirical studies are scarce and quantitative analyses are generally based on demographic data. Many case studies exist, but these are hardly comparable given the different research questions and theoretical and methodological approaches. Among the few comprehensive studies to date is a research project on religion and conflict in Africa which was conducted at GIGA (and funded by the German Foundation of Peace Research) and upon which this project can build.

Research Design and Methods
The project uses a variety of methodologies and thus entails a pronounced multi-method approach:
- A qualitative small-N comparison of several country cases in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America (Algeria, Niger, Nigeria, South Sudan, El Salvador, Philippines, Indonesia)
- Local studies of so-called “hot spots” within the country cases, that are designed to shed light on the micro-level
- A large-N comparison of almost all countries in the four regions that builds on a comprehensive database of 130 developing countries (an extension of an Africa database).
- A large-N comparison of almost all religious groups in the four regions that feeds into a database on religious minorities and conflict, which will be jointly compiled with an Israeli partner.

The project has already yielded many results, which can be summarised as follows: Preliminary analysis of the database on developing countries confirms the assumption that religious factors beyond religious demographics impact the risk of armed conflict. These factors include the overlap of religious with ethnic and regional identities as well as horizontal economic inequalities between religious groups. Discourse also plays a role as, for instance, incitement to violence and grievances over perceived discrimination increase the conflict risk in some circumstances. Another important finding is that results differ according to the type of conflict and the role of religion therein. If warring factions have different religious affiliations, the aforementioned overlaps become more important. When an incompatibility over religious ideas is part of the conflict, discourse becomes more important. Interestingly, the research has found little evidence of a proactive impact of religious factors on peace. While the database (as well as the preliminary findings from the country case studies) reveals many instances of peace activism and interreligious dialogue on the part of religious actors, regression results do not indicate that these efforts have substantially reduced conflict risk. Apparently, other forms of religious institutionalisation count.

Cooperation Partners
- Prof. Dr. Jonathan Fox, Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan, Israel

Selected Events

Selected Publications
Secondary Theatres of War: The Syrian War in Jordan

The Syrian war has not only brought about massive humanitarian suffering in the country itself, with more than 200,000 deaths and up to a dozen million refugees and internally displaced people. Like other mass-scale civil wars, the Syrian war has also diffused beyond its borders, particularly transforming the regions in the immediate neighbourhood. Focusing on Jordan, the research project investigates these local transformations in the neighbourhood of wars, the so-called “Neben-Kriegsschauplätze.” It asks, first, which political, social and economic dynamics do currently affect the local orders in neighbourhood of the Syrian war? Second, how do central status groups from within these local orders themselves view the transformation of the respective local order since the beginning of the Syrian war in 2011? The project thus aims at investigating both the status quo of local orders in Northern Jordan circa five years after the beginning of the war as well as the historical trajectory of these transformations.

The research project is located in the field of peace and conflict studies. It combines insights from studies on the transnational diffusion (Buhaug/Gleditsch 2008; Checkel 2013), on cross-border networks of conflicts (Pugh et al. 2004; Leenders 2007) as well as on local orders within wars (Arjona 2015; Staniland 2012; Wood 2008) to develop a conceptual framework for the study of local orders in the neighbourhood of wars. The three analytical dimensions “violent control & regulation,” “identity & mobilisation,” and “material reproduction” are broad enough to incorporate the most crucial political, social and economic processes affecting the “secondary theaters of war.” This conceptual framework will guide the detailed empirical case studies in Northern Jordanian cities. Against this background, the end results of the project will hopefully not only speak to students of the Syrian war and local politics in the Middle East, but will also be of interest to the wider peace and conflict studies community.

The project will undertake substantial qualitative research in the three Northern Jordanian cities of Irbid, Mafraq and Ramtha which have all been strongly affected by the Syrian war. It is inspired by the recent “local turn” in peace and conflict studies (MacGinty/Richmond 2013) and will employ ethnographic methods in two separate field research stays (Schatz 2009; Schlichte 2013). The first field research aims at “mapping” the respective local orders along the three analytical dimensions; this will be done by interviewing representatives of local status groups, i.e. government/city administration, opposition activists, social elites, traders as well as incoming Syrians. The second field research will build on these insights and hold focus group discussions with selected “members” of different status group in order to be able to understand the (potentially competing) narratives and ways of making sense of the local transformations. Together, this thick qualitative research design should allow to both see general, over-arching patterns of local transformation as well as specificities of the individual cases.

Selected Events
- "How the Syrian War is Changing the World", GIGA-NDR cooperation series "Grenzgänger“ (Crossing Borders), Hamburg, 09.05.2016 (A. Bank).
- "Brandherd Nahost – Wie der Syrien-Krieg die Welt verändert" (How the Syrian War is Changing the World), GIGA Focus Nahost, 03/2016.
- Bank, André (2014), Jordaniens Innenpolitik im Schatten des Islamischen Staates (Jordan’s Domestic Politics under the Shadow of the Islamic State), GIGA Focus Nahost, 09/2014
Security Sector Reform and the Stability of Post-War Peace

Security Sector Reform (SSR) is commonly defined as changes in the structure and conduct of those state institutions responsible for the prosecution and punishment of non-legal manifestations of violence: the military, police, and judiciary. Scholars and practitioners alike thereby see the process of SSR as one of the most vital elements for creating a stable post-war peace. The empirical record shows that SSR has been more successful in some cases than in others in contributing to post-war peace, understood here as the absence of collective, political violence. While SSR stands as a substantial contribution to peace after civil war in Liberia (Aboagye and Rupiya, 2005) or Nicaragua (Kurtenbach, 2010), violence persisted in other cases where SSR was part of the peacebuilding effort, such as in the DRC. Against this background, the goal of the project is to identify why SSR leads to post-war peace in some cases but not in others. Thus, the research question guiding this project is: Under what conditions does SSR increase the stability of post-war peace?

The project will contribute to past research in three ways. (1) Theoretically, we construct an argument on the impact of post-war SSR on peace that links closely to the debate of post-war institutional reform, a link that has been inadequately established by past research. In this argument, we particularly attend to the question of who controls a post-war SSR process. (2) Methodologically, we add to past research by testing our assumptions using a mixed-method research design that combines inductive case studies for theory-building with statistical analysis for theory-testing. This strategy allows us to formulate generalizable findings on the effects of SSR on peace as well as studying tangible steps of causal mechanisms. (3) Empirically, we advance past research by selecting cases from distinct world regions (El Salvador, the DRC, and Nepal), while previous studies often compare SSR intra-regionally (e.g. Heiduk, 2014; Slaby, 2003).

Studying cases from different regions allows us to discover mechanisms of SSR that work across cultural contexts. We also study early and more recent cases of SSR for theory-testing. This strategy allows us not only to refine our theory and develop hypotheses out of our assumptions, but also to identify more refined variables for which we can then explore more generalizable relationships. Thus, in a second step, we test the proposed relationships in a statistical survival analysis that allows us to formulate generalizable observations on the impact of SSR on the stability of post-war peace. We test our hypotheses on all post-war peace periods (1990–2013).

Cooperation
- Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, University of Hamburg (IFSH), Germany
- Prof. Dr. Keith Krause, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Centre on Conflict, Development & Peacebuilding (CCDP), Geneva, Switzerland

Selected Publications
- Ansorg, Nadine (2013), Kriege ohne Grenzen, Ursachen regionaler Konflikt-Systeme in Sub-Sahara Afrika (Wars without Borders. Sources of Regional Konflikt-Systemen in Sub-Sahara Afrika), Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
The Influence of Religion on Sustainable Development

Religion plays an important role in the process of social and economic development. In most societies, especially in developing countries, religious beliefs strongly shape the political and economic institutions, and hence either hamper or spur overall development. However, despite its potentially important role for prosperity, religion has been a neglected area in development policy and development cooperation. This project thus seeks to investigate empirically what conditions of religion stimulate or retard sustainable development. Given the relevance for development, it also seeks to provide policy recommendation for development policy and development co-operation.

Contribution to International Research

The project contributes to the international research on religion by delivering an up-to-date literature review, by compiling and analysing a comprehensive database on religion and sustainable development, and by analysing the data from the qualitative case studies, the elite surveys, one representative survey, and behavioural experiments.

Research Design and Methods

These research questions will be addressed in three modules. In module 1, the project team will thoroughly review the literature and identify pertinent research gaps. In module 2, as the core part of the project, the team will conduct a number of empirical investigations, for which a mixed research design will be employed, containing three major elements. First, the project will compile a comprehensive data set on 125 developing countries (1990-2014). Second, the team will conduct three qualitative case studies, including field work in three to four mostly African countries. The third element is the use of quantitative methodologies in the country cases, which will complement the qualitative component, namely three elite surveys, one representative survey on the whole population, as well as behavioural experiments. On the basis of the empirical findings from module 2, the team will develop in module 3 a number of conceptual propositions for development policy in general as well as for practical development co-operation.

Selected Publications

The Local Arena of Power Sharing: Patterns of Adaptation or Continued Disorder

The overarching question behind our research from the beginning has been whether power-sharing agreements and other related forms of post-conflict reforms have an effect on levels of peace (order) in former hotspots of violent conflict. These former hotspots, or "local arenas" have been the primary unit of analysis throughout our research, though the focus has shifted. In the first phase we considered the effects of national elite pacts on local peace/order and in the second phase we were looking at the effects of institutional reform on local peace/order. In the last phase we have shifted the focus onto agency namely local power-brokers. We ask what effects specific agency has on peace as an ordering practice. This comes from the finding of the first two phases that agency remains a key element of the adaptation processes we observed and analysed. In addition, by moving from an event (Phase 1) to an institution (Phase 2) to actor behaviour (Phase 3) we can comprehensively map the consolidation of peace in local arenas in post-conflict settings from a variety of angles.

Throughout the three project phases we have considered the following questions:

- What variants of power-sharing are adequately adapted to national and local circumstances to enhance order (peace)?
- How does the local adaptation of national peace agreement provisions affect local peace?
- What are the determinants of elite strategies straddling between the local and the national sphere? What determines the room for manoeuvre of such actors?
- To what extent do actors reshape spaces and reconfigure ordering practices informally – compared to effects of formal institutional reforms? Do their actions contribute to the reproduction of or rather curtail local agency?

The project closes several literature gaps and seeks to further consolidate this in the third and final phase. In the first phase, the gap between the theory of power-sharing and its concrete effects on sustainable peace especially on the local level was addressed. Research on the effects of power-sharing agreements at the local level and the repercussions for the national level is lacking (for a notable exception see Heitz 2009). This is despite the understanding that conflict is often rooted in local dynamics and that the latter are important to national dynamics, and thus play a key role in peace processes.

In the second phase, the project builds on the growing body of literature on peace "engineering", local ownership and "hybrid" peace by closing an important gap in this literature, which has often linked the disappointing results of peace-building to a lack of "capacity" or "local ownership". The latter are technocratic notions that tend to depoliticise the interests of those involved in reordering war-torn societies. In the third phase, the specific role of agency in peacebuilding at the local level will be further analysed. We are interested on the impact of these actors on the (creative and adaptive) reconfiguration of space in post-war contexts, and in turn, the impact of post-war re-territorialisation on power relations.

Contribution to International Research

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Research Questions

- To what extent do actors reshape spaces and reconfigure ordering practices informally – compared to effects of formal institutional reforms? Do their actions contribute to the reproduction of or rather curtail local agency?
- What are the determinants of elite strategies straddling between the local and the national sphere? What determines the room for manoeuvre of such actors?
- What variants of power-sharing are adequately adapted to national and local circumstances to enhance order (peace)?

Results

Findings from the project indicate that the production of political order and the reordered of socio-political relations in war-torn countries by means of power-sharing has been fairly successful when measured against the very modest concept of "negative peace". The implementation of power-sharing however has proven to have somewhat complex consequences, including in relation to understandings of spatiality and territoriality. In terms of peacebuilding processes more generally, we have found that it is not the outcome of reform implementation that produces hybridity (i.e. an "adapted" outcome), rather there is an implementation process that consists of multiple hybridisation processes. These processes are at times multidirectional and cyclical. Secondly, a multitude of actors are involved, which are themselves internally not homogenous and pursue varying strategies in shifting alliances.

Cooperation Partners
- Dr. Denis Tull, Claudia Simons, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin, Germany
- Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institute, Freiburg, Germany
- "The Legitimisation of Peace Negotiations", presentation at the International Conference on Mediation, Pretoria, 03.06.2015 (F. Zanker).
The Territorial Dynamics of Colonial State-Building

Research Questions
- What factors influence the spatio-temporal patterns of colonial state-building?
- How do geo-strategic considerations, the potential for resource extraction and instances of violent opposition influence colonial state-building?

Contribution to International Research
Penetrating territory, establishing presence and imposing order is part and parcel of state building. The less states are able to reach throughout their territory, the less will they be able to defend their monopoly over the legitimate use of force, to extract resources from the population or establish state-society relations. The state’s ability to penetrate society and implement its decisions across its territory is an essential dimension of the “power of the state”. However, in many cases states do not effectively project their authority across all areas within their national borders. We are interested in the determinants of sub-national spatial variations in state penetration: why is the state able or willing to penetrate some sub-national regions, while others defy state presence?

The project performs statistical geo-spatial analyses of historical state-building processes to advance current debates on state-building in the context of violent conflict and low economic development. It focuses on connections between the spatial unevenness of the state and the temporal patterns of its extension. The project develops and analyses original hypotheses focusing on the dynamics of three main explanatory variables: accessibility, extraction and acceptance. Cooperation of the project with development agencies ensures knowledge transfer into practical debates on state-building in fragile and conflict-affected states.

Research Design and Methods
The former colonies of German East and Southwest Africa serve as empirical cases. The wealth of statistical data on various dimensions of state presence and socio-economic characteristics of both colonies represent a unique opportunity for an unparalleled spatio-temporal analysis of state-building. The empirical part of the project will primarily be based on sub-national statistical/geo-spatial analyses. They will be performed in two former German colonies separately. No direct cross-country comparisons will be made due to country-specific data-sources and operationalisation of variables. However, findings from within-country analyses will be compared across countries.

Data analysis relies on standard multivariate regression models, as well as non-parametric matching approaches. In each type of analysis it is essential to take into account problems of spatio-temporal dependence to model the diffusion of state-building within each colony. To further strengthen causal inferences made from the observational data, we plan to use natural experiments that exploit exogenous variation in core independent variables. For example, we will leverage information from surveying reports, ranging from initial exploration trips prior to colonisation, to later commercial prospecting ventures, to identify specific events of valuable resource discovery. This allows us to compare strategies of state-building before and after news of successful prospecting has reached the colonial administration.

Preliminary Results
Investigations into interactions between colonial authority and the local population have been at the centre of the first project phase. In our preliminary analysis, we have found consistent empirical evidence that, while static structural factors highlighted in much of the previous literature on territorial patterns of state-building did indeed play a role in German East Africa, reactions to violent opposition – as well as the strategic objective of maximizing coverage of the territory – were substantially more influential in shaping the spatio-temporal patterns of state expansion. Opportunities for extraction, prior political centralization of ethnic groups, population density, or the local disease environment may also have factored into state penetration, albeit to a much lesser degree than is often emphasized in more economic explanations of state-building processes. The ongoing second project phase will be used to further scrutinize these findings in the context of former German-Southwest Africa.

Cooperation Partners
- Assistant Prof. Dr. Erik Wibbels, Duke University, USA
- Assistant Prof. Dr. Jacob Shapiro, Princeton University, USA
- Prof. Dr. Mansoob Murshed, Erasmus University of Rotterdam, Netherlands
- Prof. Dr. Nicholas van de Walle, Cornell University, USA
- Dr. Philip Keefer, Development Research Group of the World Bank, USA
- Dr. Stefan Lindemann, KfW Development Bank, Germany

Selected Events

Selected Publications
Research Questions
- If and where specific resources have been linked to conflict onset and transformation, in what way do they continue to feed violence and crime after armed conflicts have ended?
- Are there substantial and qualitative differences between war economies in terms of their linkages to armed conflict and/or to post-war violence?
- To what extent have efforts to promote resource governance and curb war economies in war-torn societies been aimed at preventing or stemming violence and crime associated with resource extraction? What lessons can be drawn from our cases for policymakers and scholars?

Contribution to International Research
The research project contributes to two strands of research:
- post-war violence, peace-building and the role of war economies;
- role of resources for armed conflict and post-war crime

Research Design and Methods
Comparative design analysing select cases in Latin America, Africa, and Asia (to be defined) based on our main criterion, which is whether they have experienced armed conflict in the past twenty years. We intend to focus on the micro-level in addition to the national level, in order to better understand the specific mechanisms of their respective war economies and their relationship to conflict-related and post-war crime.

War Economies and Postwar Crime

Team: Dr. Sabine Kurtenbach, Christoph Heuser, Dr. Annegret Mühler, Prof. Dr. Angelika Rettberg

Duration: 2015–2016

Funding: Alexander von Humboldt Foundation

Cooperation Partners
- Enryn Noze, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia
- Dr. Judith Vorrath, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin, Germany
- Dr. Enzo Nussio, Uppsala University, Sweden

Selected Events
- "Economías de guerra y criminalidad posconflicto", Conference at the Universidad de Los Andes, Bogotá, 22.10.2015.
- "War Economies and PostWar Crime", authors workshop at the Universidad de Los Andes, Bogotá, 21.10.2015.

Selected Publications
- Kurtenbach, Sabine, Philipp Lutscher (2015), Kolumbien – den Frieden gewinnen (Colombia – winning Peace), GIGA Focus Lateinamerika, 06/2015.
- Kurtenbach, Sabine, Christoph Heuser (2013), Kriminalität und Gewalt untergraben Lateinamerikas Demokratien (Crime and Violence Undermine Latin America’s Democracies), GIGA Focus Lateinamerika, 06/2013.
War that Produces Peace? Military Victory and Sustainable Peacebuilding

The central research question is: “What distinctive impact, with respect to negotiated settlements, does military victory have on the reconstruction and peacebuilding process in post-conflict countries?”

The project aims at contributing to the opening of a new field of inquiry within the literature on post-conflict peacebuilding, which has up to now concentrated overwhelmingly on post-settlement peace. In addition, a deep discussion of the vision, motives, strategy of national elites of post-conflict countries and their role in “autonomous recovery” has been lacking until recently, with the exception of a few recent works. The present research project draws inspiration from this seminal literature and from the growing interest in “liberal peacebuilding”. It also tries to reconnect the debate on local elite-driven peacebuilding with the one on the relationship between civil war outcomes and peace sustainability.

The research addresses four cases of wars which ended in military victories: three cases examined through desk research (Rwanda, Sri Lanka and Angola) and a fourth in-depth case involving extensive fieldwork (Cote d’Ivoire). The case studies have been chosen among post-Cold War conflicts and a balance has been struck in order to have two cases of incumbent victory and two cases of opposition forces’ victory. The aim of the desk review part of the research is to look at common patterns and specificities of post-victory reconstruction. Field research will help shedding light on casual mechanisms and will allow for a more nuanced appraisal of the consequences of post-victory choices on peacebuilding.

Preliminary Results

Although the literature on conflict termination assumes that the achievement of peace after victory is a simple and quasi-automatic process with respect to the problem of negotiating a settlement, in reality post-victory countries experience distinctive peacebuilding challenges. Victors have to maintain cohesion among the winning coalition; they have to find a strategy to deal with the vanquished constituencies, which might not recognize their legitimacy. In the case of insurgent victory, developing the capacity to rule a country is also a major issue.

Selected Events

- “Autonomous and Iliberal Peacebuilding in Comparative Perspective”, panel at the meeting of the Comparative Political Science Section of the German Association of Political Science (DVPW), Hamburg, 25.–27.02.2015 (G. Piccolino).

Selected Publications

Research Programme 3: Growth and Development

Research Projects

- Analysis of China’s Science and Technology Programmes and Strategies (Dr. Yun Schüler-Zhou, Dr. Margot Schüller)
- Climate Change Mitigation and Poverty Reduction (CIMIP) – Trade-Offs or Win-Win-Situations? (Apl.Prof. Dr. Jann Lay, Dr. Miriam Prys, Sebastian Remmer)
- Evaluating Education Policies (Dr. Miquel Pellicer)
- Evaluating Development Interventions for Peace (Dr. Alexander de Juan, Dr. Miquel Pellicer, Dr. Eva Wegner)
- Gender Norms, Labour Supply and Poverty Reduction in Comparative Context: Evidence from Rural India and Bangladesh (Dr. Daniel Neff)
- Landscape-level Assessment of Ecological and Socioeconomic Functions of Rainforest Transformation Systems in Sumatra (Indonesia) (Apl.Prof. Dr. Jann Lay)
- Large-Scale Land Acquisitions: Data, Patterns, Impacts, and Policies (Christof Althoff, Apl.Prof. Dr. Jann Lay, Dr. Kerstin Nolte, Martin Ostermeier)
- Mitigating Trade-offs between Economic and Ecological Functions and Services through Certification (Apl.Prof. Dr. Jann Lay)
- Risk, Investment and Poverty: Dynamics of Micro and Small Firms in Developing Countries (Dr. Lena Gesbert, Tabrea Lakemann, Apl.Prof. Dr. Jann Lay, Dr. Sebastian Prediger)
- The Productivity Effects of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) of North-South and South-South Firms: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa (Dr. Birte Pfeiffer)
- The Rise of Middle Classes in Emerging and Developing Countries: Patterns, Causes, and Consequences (Dr. Lena Gesbert, Apl.Prof. Dr. Jann Lay, Simone Schotte)
- West African Traders as Translators between Chinese and African Urban Modernities (Dr. Karsten Giese, Dr. Laurence Marfaing, Alena Thiel, Jessica Wilczak)

Dissertations by Fellows of the GIGA Doctoral Programmes

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### Dissertations by Associates of the GIGA Doctoral Programme

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<td>Project: The Land Matrix</td>
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Analysis of China’s Science and Technology Programmes and Strategies

Our research is embedded in the overall framework of the national innovation system (NIS) approach, which focuses on institutions that foster innovation. Based on this approach, our main research questions are as follows: First, we analyse the interplay of actors (such as companies, research institutions, intermediaries and the state) and the design of policies supporting science and technology (S&T) development. For late comer countries such as China the adoption of internationally well established policies and practices represents a challenge due to divergent non-formal institutions (i.e. norms, values, routines) compared to Western countries.

In the analysis of China’s new S&T policies, we focus on the incentives offered to government officials, scientists and companies to improve their performance. In this context, we also look at new funding programmes and institutions as well as at interfaces with industrial policy strategies. Second, we study the design and implementation of S&T policies on the local (provincial) government level and how the central government’s new policy approach influences local governments’ policy making. Regional peculiarities and the research and development (R&D) cooperation with foreign companies/research entities are assumed to have an important impact on the local S&T strategies and development.

The analysis of China’s S&T policy has become a popular research topic since multinational organisations such as the OECD and the UNESCO began to conduct statistical surveys with the aim to compare innovation performance across countries in the 1980s. These studies focus on S&T funding instruments, the research landscape of countries and statistical indicators to measure innovation performance. With the economic rise of China and the country’s emphasis on a more innovation-driven development path the number of studies on the design and implementation of the ambitious S&T policy agenda has increased. However, recent developments in this field have not been analysed.

Our contribution to international research will be twofold: First, by focusing our analysis on S&T policy documents published in 2015 (not translated into foreign languages) we will be able to offer up-to-date information and policy assessment. Second, based on interviews conducted with Chinese stakeholders (government agencies, scientists and intermediaries) and German experts, our research will supply relevant evidence on how China’s NIS is changing and what potential for cooperation exists.

In order to answer the above mentioned research questions our research design includes two main areas: 1. The analysis of newly published S&T policy documents will demonstrate the scope and depth of policy changes that the Chinese government wants to bring about. By looking especially at those policies and instruments that offer new individual incentives we can demonstrate whether they have the potential to improve innovation performance or not. 2. The degree to which new policies will effectively be implemented in China depends on how they match with existing formal and informal institutions.

The analysis of China’s previous S&T development strategies and performance on the one hand and the assessment of the new policies by Chinese and German experts on the other hand, will enable us to give empirical evidence on the viability of China’s S&T policy and resulting prospect for closer bilateral cooperation between China and Germany. Our research methods include secondary data analysis using newly published S&T policy documents and primary data collection through structured in-depth-interviews conducted with Chinese and German experts.

Research Questions

Contribution to International Research

Research Design and Methods

In China’s transition to an innovation-driven growth model S&T development plays a key role. This is reflected in both the ambitious reform programme of November 2013 as well as in the upcoming 13th Five-Year-Plan (2016-20). In addition, the government has issued various policies related to the development of specific industries and technologies (“Internet Plus”, “Made in China 2025”). In order to enhance innovation, the S&T funding system is undergoing profound changes as well. Instead of having about 40 funding agencies, government authorised but independent project management agencies will be introduced. Following this top level design, national key R&D programmes will be consolidated into five funding areas. The overall aim of these policies is to position China as a global leader, not a follower, in global innovation.

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Climate Change Mitigation and Poverty Reduction (CilMIP) – Trade-Offs or Win-Win Situations?

Research Questions

Does the implementation of climate change mitigation policies in developing countries always involve a trade-off between economic development, poverty reduction, and climate protection, or is there space for “win-win policies”? This question is relevant for today’s fast-growing middle-income economies, which are already or will soon become very significant contributors to global warming.

The project will analyse these economies from three different angles: a comparative politics perspective on domestic climate governance and mitigation policy options, an economics perspective on the poverty and distributional impact of mitigation policies, and an international relations perspective on the global discourse surrounding mitigation and economic development. The project staff will cooperate closely with domestic partner institutions in South Africa, Mexico, Thailand and Indonesia, the four case study countries.

Contribution to International Research

Despite the increasing role of today’s developing world in GHG emissions, “climate and development” research to date has largely focused on developing countries’ vulnerability and adaptation to climate change, and on climate-related transfers in these countries, such as those of the Joint Implementation and the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM).

Meanwhile, the critical issue of mitigation in developing countries becomes a hotly debated issue in climate negotiations. This focus on mitigation requires a shift in the analytical perspective. While the technological and natural science perspectives that tend to dominate the climate change discourse (with a focus on adaptation) are clearly important, a social science perspective is warranted as well. This is particularly true because of the latter’s usefulness in analysing the possible trade-offs between mitigation and socio-economic development.

Project Design and Methods

The project adopts a multidisciplinary social science approach with a comparative and global perspective. While they will remain firmly theoretically and methodologically grounded in their respective disciplines, the three study areas – (1) domestic climate governance, (2) poverty and distributional impacts of mitigation policies, (3) global perspective and the mitigation-development discourse – will interact continuously.

The investigation of domestic climate governance will rely mainly on qualitative methods. These will include interviews with policy-makers, experts and practitioners to investigate their motivations and the driving and constraining forces behind their actions in climate change mitigation policy processes. We then plan to assess the poverty and distributional impacts of mitigation policies (possibly including most NAMAs) in the three case study countries using incidence-focused general equilibrium models, simulation models based on micro-data, and a combination of these two modelling approaches. As mitigation policies in the case study countries are rare and recent, the limited availability of data means that the analyses will typically be ex-ante modelling exercises. In a final step, shaped by the lens of international relations, a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis will allow us to identify the “Frames” or “templates” according to which the problem of developing country mitigation and related themes are presented. This analysis will also demonstrate what types of solutions different actors or actor groups offer for these issues.

Preliminary Results

Simulating the welfare effects of fossil energy subsidy reform in Indonesia makes clear that the distributional impact depends on the subsidised energy carrier and the corresponding price schedule. Although all households suffer negative welfare effects in all policy scenarios without compensation schemes, the effects are progressive in the case of gasoline and electricity when keeping the current block-tariff schedules in place. The latter means, that the current cross-subsidisation with high demand users paying higher prices could be kept in place, combined with a general price increase this would lead to a slightly progressive distributional effect. However, this exclusive view on income issues neglects the problem of energy poverty. With rising prices, in particular low income households might switch to less modern energy sources and face transport problems through non-existing or poorly working public transport. Also, the average effects mask heterogeneous impacts even within income groups with a minority but still considerable population size in the low income groups facing similar welfare losses as richer households.

Therefore, the preliminary conclusion of the micro studies is that energy price increases could potentially create win-win situations for mitigation efforts and poverty reduction in the case of properly designed compensation schemes, redistributing from the rich to the poor, and in particular addressing energy poverty.

These microeconomic analyses are quite important on their own, as they are able to describe heterogeneous household behaviour in considerable detail. However, they miss out on important indirect effects induced by policy reforms such as price effects in production, the labour market and international trade. To reflect these effects, we use Input-Output (IO) and Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) models. Simulating a carbon tax for Thailand with an IO model, we find substantial indirect price effects resulting in a regressive scenario with significant impacts on poor households. We find similar results for Mexico with an IO model and for South Africa using a CGE model.

Cooperation Partners

• Energy Research Centre, University of Cape Town, South Africa
• National Institute of Development Administration, Thailand
• Public Policy Studies Institute, Chiang Mai University, Thailand
• Monterey Institute of Technology and Higher Education, Mexico
• Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, Italy

Selected Events

• "How to Shape Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Economies in the Developing World – Global, Regional, and Local Solutions", presentation at the PEGNet Conference, Copenhagen, 17.–18.10.2013 (J. Lay)

Selected Publications

Preliminary results point at relatively limited labor market effects of the large education expansions in Tunisia, at least for men. While obtaining more education is associated with better labor market prospects, such as a higher likelihood of becoming a manager, we show that this is driven mostly by the public sector. It appears that the private sector values relatively little the skills obtained in formal education in Tunisia, while the public sector values mainly credentials. Preliminary evidence from the effect of financial resources on education outcomes in South Africa also points at limited effect of these resources. We find that such resources appear not to affect results from standardized test taken at the end of secondary school. If at all, these resources appear to increase throughput during the last years of secondary school. We conjecture this could be because funding is provided per pupil, so that higher resources give incentives to keep relatively weak students.

Cooperation
Partners
- Dr. Tuomas Pekkarinen, VATT Institute for Economic Research, Finland
- Dr. Ragui Assaad, University of Minnesota, USA
- Dr. Caroline Krafft, St. Catherine University, USA
- Dr. Patrizio Piraino, University of Cape Town, South Africa

Selected Publications

Research Questions
What are the socioeconomic consequences of large educational expansions? Which policies can help improving education quality? What are the effects of providing different types of resources to schools?

While the literatures on the determinants of education quality and on returns to education are enormous, most of the evidence comes from high income countries. However, this work is unlikely to be of much guidance when considering the effect of education policies in middle and low income settings. In particular, little is known on determinants of education quality in Southern Africa, and very little high quality evidence exists on returns to education in some regions, such as the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Evaluating the returns to education or the effect of different policies on education quality is challenging in such settings, given the general lack of data availability. The challenge is even bigger when attempting to obtain causal effects of such policies, as there are likely to be confounding factors that obscure the most direct and straightforward analyses. This project seeks to address these issues by processing, merging and homogenising a variety of country-specific data sets and by applying quasi-experimental approaches to estimate the effect of education policies on schooling and socioeconomic outcomes.

The project uses quasi-experimental approaches such as regression discontinuity designs and instrumental variables to answer specific evaluation questions. For instance, we evaluate the effect of the large educational expansions in the MENA on labour market outcomes and political attitudes exploiting several specific education policy changes in Tunisia that affected some cohorts but not others. This allows us to address hypotheses regarding the role of education for grievances and political attitudes in the run-up to the Arab Uprisings. Another example of analysis in this project concerns the effect of providing financial resources to schools in South Africa. In South Africa, these resources are allocated on the basis of school poverty score quintiles. This peculiar allocation rule can then be used to estimate the effect of these resources quasi-experimentally using a regression discontinuity design.
Evaluating Development Interventions for Peace

**Research Questions**
Do development aid interventions increase the opportunity cost of conflict? Can rapid, visible, and labor intensive interventions in conflict zones affect socioeconomic prospects and aspirations, and thereby attitudes towards the state and towards conflict?

**Contribution to International Research**
A considerable amount of research studies the impact of development interventions on beneficiaries’ socioeconomic outcomes. However, much less is known about the effect of these interventions on beneficiaries’ perceptions, aspirations, and attitudes towards others. Yet, there is increasing recognition that such aspirations and attitudes can have dramatic consequences for a variety of outcomes, from individual well being, to individual economic outcomes, to conflict and cooperation with others. This project evaluates a Peace Fund established by the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and the KfW development bank in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The fund was established with the aim of contributing to peace and stability in DRC’s worst afflicted conflict zones, and included interventions such as building and improving schools, markets, and other types of infrastructure. This project evaluates the socioeconomic and attitudinal impact of this fund. Importantly, it considers the effects of such intervention on a variety of outcomes such as perceptions of individual socioeconomic prospects and aspirations, as well as perceptions of the state and conflict.

**Research Design and Methods**
This project employs primarily quantitative methods. We conduct individual and village elite surveys in 120 villages, with a total of around 1500 respondents. These surveys collect information on a variety of socioeconomic and attitudinal outcomes relevant for evaluating the impact of the Peace Fund. The evaluation follows a quasi-experimental approach that exploits the specific ways in which specific interventions within the fund were selected. In particular, we use as control group a set of villages that would have been targeted by interventions that were narrowly turned down.
Gender Norms, Labour Supply and Poverty Reduction in Comparative Context: Evidence from Rural India and Bangladesh

- What has caused many women to apparently withdraw their labour from the labour market during the boom years of 2000 to 2007?
- What has happened during the later years up to 2013?
- What attitudes differentiate women (and men) in ways relevant to labour supply, causing some households to avoid offering paid wage labour of women to the market, while gaining their availability for other forms of unpaid, informal and domestic work?

To fill a gap in the knowledge about variations in the gender impact (and its mediation through social and micronorms) of poverty alleviation interventions in rural India and Bangladesh. We particularly want to focus on social differentiation (in rural areas with many poor people) in attitudes about women’s work, and its effect on women’s work.

The project focuses on women’s well-being as related to their attitudes and their work. It has two branches and involves research in two geographic areas, rural Bangladesh and rural low-income parts of India. The first branch is to use secondary data to look at changing attitudes and women’s labour-force involvement over two decades. For the second branch we collect primary survey data at household, personal and village level and at two points in time within one year, to allow for male-female wage differentials to be examined over a small seasonal panel. We can create models of the supply of labour from these data. The results will be better than standard results. The second branch involves mixed methods analysis of attitudes about gender and work. Here, the research also moves on to examine the sources of change and resistance to change in women’s labour and women’s roles, based upon the attitudinal data and semi-structured interviews (80 per country, carried out as follow ups to the survey for selected individual cases, 60 men and 20 women in India and the same in Bangladesh). We examine attitudes about women’s work and their informal/formal labour supply in each area. Some attitudes about domestic roles to limit the willingness of some women to labour outside their home, and offer resistance to the general trend toward more egalitarian attitudes during the potentially modernising influence of economic growth. We will report on the actual diversity of these attitudes in the states of Jharkand, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (India) and two rural areas of Bangladesh. The qualitative research offsets a tradition in economics of focusing purely on narrowly defined paid labour, and using individualistic approaches, when studying labour-supply of women. We avoid individualism and yet we combined quantitative and qualitative data. This research integrates demography with sociology and economics. We have a new modelling method that looks at the husband-wife pair. Another strong advantage is our use of multilevel models and our ability to control for change over time in the panel of survey data (for two seasons).

Preliminary Results
Looking at thirty years of comparable NSS data from 1983 to 2011 of rural women’s participation in the labour force in India we find that the sharp drop in female labour force participation (FLP) in 2004-2011 occurs in both narrow and wide definitions of FLP. We observe that the largest drop occurs in literate unmarried women in labourer households. We do not find any geographic concentration of the decline in FLP. We also observe that in some categories of economically active women, the decline in FLP had started much earlier, in the 1980s, suggesting that for these women, secular factors of FLP were at work. We do not find any evidence of a substitution of non-market work for market work. Our analysis highlights the somewhat contradictory behaviour of RLFPF across different definitions and time periods, and across different correlates of female labour force participation, and suggests that more complex factors are at work than has usually been discussed in the literature.

Selected Publications
Landscape-level Assessment of Ecological and Socioeconomic Functions of Rainforest Transformation Systems in Sumatra (Indonesia)

In Sumatra, Indonesia, previous lowland rainforest landscapes have been transformed into a heterogeneous mosaic landscape with patches of, for instance, rainforest and rubber and palm-oil plantation. The relationships between the spatial configuration of the landscape and different aspects of biodiversity, ecosystem functioning, and economic benefit are expected to be interdependent and often non-linear. Our project aims to understand and possibly find ways how to maintain biodiversity and ecosystem functioning while serving human needs. Our guiding question is what kind of landscape mosaic optimizes the ensemble of biodiversity, ecosystem functioning, and economic benefit. The project plays a central role in integrating the research outcomes of the CRC.

The relationships between the spatial configuration of the landscape and different aspects of biodiversity, ecosystem functioning, and economic benefit are expected to be interdependent and often non-linear and therefore little understood. Our project aims to understand and possibly find ways how to maintain biodiversity and ecosystem functioning while serving human needs.

In Phase 1 of the CRC 990, we successfully developed a first version of a MAS/LUCC model (multi-agent system model of land-use and land-cover change) focusing on smallholder land-use decisions. We propose to further develop this integrated model by adding further components of ecological diversity, ecological functions, and socioeconomic functions. We will introduce environmental and socioeconomic heterogeneity. Model development and analysis will be in collaboration with numerous projects within the CRC. The model will be used to 1) search for efficient combinations of ecological and economic functions in face of trade-offs and synergies, and 2) scale up from local to landscape and broader scales.
Large-Scale Land Acquisitions: Data, Patterns, Impacts, and Policies

The project aims at better understanding the extent, the patterns, causes and consequences of large-scale land-based investments. This means in particular that context factors that determine the effects on rural livelihoods are clearly identified and transmission channels, specifically the lack of linkages between large-scale farming operations and smallholders, empirically assessed.

One main aim of this project is to maintain and improve the Land Matrix Global Observatory, a global open database on large-scale land acquisitions. As part of the Land Matrix Initiative (LMI), we provide basic analyses of the Land Matrix Global Observatory’s data.

The Land Matrix database is a constantly updated data set that includes deals made for agricultural production (for food or agrofuel production), timber extraction, carbon-trading, mining extraction, conservation and tourism. Deals included in the database must meet the following criteria:

- They entail a transfer of rights to use, control or own land through sale, lease or concession.
- They were signed sometime since 2000, when the annualised value of the FAO real food price index was at its lowest level.
- They cover an area of 200 hectares or more.
- They entail the conversion of land from local community use or from important ecosystem-service provision to commercial production.

The Land Matrix Initiative is presently involved in a process of decentralisation and expansion of its network. As a result, regional focal points support the LMI on regional level data collection, research advocacy and networking and communication. Records are derived from a variety of sources: media reports; reports by international and local organisations, NGOs, and field-based research projects; company websites; and government records. Moreover, the "crowdsourcing" function plays an increasingly important role.

The project also intends to zoom into specific countries and investment cases. At the country-level, we aim to assess socio-economic impacts of large-scale land acquisitions by linking data from the Land Matrix to national household surveys (or similar micro data, for example on the farm-level). This approach will not only allow to relate the presence of large-scale investments to welfare outcomes of nearby households, but also to shed light on the transmission channels through which these investments may (or may not) affect rural livelihoods, in general, and smallholders, specifically. Methodologically, we will rely on standard impact evaluation techniques, in particular differences-in-differences estimates at a small geographical scale.

Finally, the project complements the quantitative assessments by qualitative case studies of individual investment cases. Specifically, we intend to identify and document best-practice examples and/or cases that are exemplary in other respects.
Mitigating Trade-offs between Economic and Ecological Functions and Services through Certification

The key aim of the project is to evaluate the possible contribution of palm oil certification to mitigating the trade-offs between production and income, on the one hand, and ecological functions, on the other. We plan to focus on a certification scheme that is currently implemented by the Indonesian government, the so-called ISPO (Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil) certification standard. This standard has become mandatory for plantations as of 2014 and will also be mandatory for smallholders by 2020.

One important way to influence smallholders’ and other agents’ production decisions, especially their management practices, to achieve win-win situations is through certification initiatives. Such initiatives set standards of land use, production processes, and input use that limit damage to ecosystem function and services. In return, certification can provide an income premium for farmers, typically through a price premium.

The impact evaluation will start with a qualitative assessment on the precise modalities of the scheme both de jure and in terms of the de facto implementation in Jambi. This will also include a comparison with other standards, in particular those of the RSPO (Roundtable for Sustainable Palm Oil), an international and more ambitious (and more costly) certification scheme that is also being implemented by some producers in Jambi. Based on the first assessment of the ISPO and RSPO modalities, we will again combine household survey data and ecological information to compare socio-economic and ecological outcomes under different regimes (certified under ISPO (RSPO), non-certified). To minimize bias in the impact estimation due to unobservable characteristics, we propose a pipeline and matched double-difference approach with binary and continuous treatment. We intend to include a randomized phase-in by villages or groups of farmers subject to practical feasibility.

Cooperation
- Prof. Stephan Klasen, University of Göttingen, Germany

Partners
- "Certification of Agricultural Products as a Key Driver of Sector Transformation", workshop in cooperation with FONAP and PEGNet, Hamburg, 12.05.2016.

Selected Publications
Risk, Investment and Poverty: Dynamics of Micro and Small Firms in Developing Countries

The project empirically analyses the dynamics of urban micro and small enterprises (MSEs) and studies specific risks and constraints that these enterprises face. It will take a vulnerability perspective on firm performance and focus on the lack of productivity improvements and innovation in MSEs. The risk associated to innovation is likely to be a major constraint that prevents MSEs from growing and improving productivity, thereby potentially causing income poverty traps for individuals, groups, and, eventually, entire economies. In many developing countries, MSEs are the main source of employment, but are typically not able to provide productive employment and a decent livelihood. Against this background the project investigates the following questions: 1) How dynamic are MSEs over time, and which firm and owner characteristics determine firm dynamics? 2) What is the role of behavioural factors, specifically risk aversion, time preferences, and overconfidence in determining MSE growth? 3) How do MSEs innovate and adopt technologies and which are the implications for total factor productivity and investment decisions? 4) What role does savings devices play in mitigating the effects of impatience and self-control problems?

Recent empirical work on MSEs has shown that marginal returns to capital stocks in MSEs can be very high initially; yet, they also tend to decline rapidly with higher capital stocks. On the one hand, this might indicate capital scarcity driving high marginal returns initially. On the other, the stagnation of many MSEs may be caused by low productivity and the lack of innovation. There is, however, hardly an empirical literature that examines innovation and technology adoption in urban MSEs in low-income countries and the proposed project intends to fill this gap. One of the main reasons for the lack of innovation and, indeed, any major capital investment may be the risk associated with doing so. Risky endeavours like innovation or investment activities are likely to be influenced by behavioural determinants. Such determinants, for example risk preferences, have received quite some attention in the context of savings, but not much in the literature on innovation in MSEs.

Furthermore, very little work has examined another possibly important behavioural determinant of investment and innovation decisions. A well-calibrated, accurate self-assessment of one’s own ability and knowledge may be required to take sound economic decisions, in general, and entrepreneurial decisions, in particular. However, evidence from psychology and economics indicates that individuals tend to hold overly optimistic views about their abilities, both in absolute and relative terms. In previous work done in Uganda, we find that about two-thirds of all MSE owners overestimate their own skills and abilities. Although the role of innovation (typically subsumed under R&D activities of firms in industrial countries) and behavioural traits such as overconfidence are well acknowledged, their relationship with business performance has rarely been investigated, particularly in a developing country context. We aim to close these gaps based on own data from MSEs in Uganda.
The Rise of Middle Classes in Emerging and Developing Countries: Patterns, Causes, and Consequences

Research Questions
The middle class has gained increasing popularity in explaining heterogeneous paths of development in the context of today’s low- and middle-income countries. This project aims to critically reflect on the relevance and instrumental importance of the middle class in the fields of development economics and politics. It focuses on the potential role played by the middle class as a development actor. In particular, the project investigates a) the political thinking and engagement of the middle class and its role for democracy, and b) implications of middle class formation for the labor market and the business environment.

Contribution to International Research
Modernization theorists and analysts of political transition have linked poverty reduction and the emergence of a larger, wealthier and more homogeneous middle class to political change and democratization, as well as the adaption of progressive political and market-friendly value systems. These theoretical propositions on the essential role played by the middle class as the backbone of both democracy and long-term economic growth implicitly assume some middle class particularism in values, preferences and behavior. However, empirical evidence on which to substantiate these ideas in the context of emerging and developing countries remains scarce. This project will add to a better understanding of what exactly constitutes middle class status and how these middle classes will behave and act in the socio-economic as well as the political discourse and practice. In line with more critical recent studies on middle class formation in emerging and developing regions, we expect that the characteristics, behavioral patterns and attitudes of this class are more complex and exhibit heterogeneity not only between countries and regions, but also between layers within this group of respective populations.

Research Design and Methods
The project includes both empirical investigations of the research questions set out above as well as collaborative networking activities among international researchers and practitioners working on related topics. The empirical investigations will be based on quantitative empirical household and opinion survey data. In a first step, a comparative framework will be applied to study the characteristics and roles of new middle classes using South Africa, India and Brazil as case studies. In a second step, we will take a closer look into these (or potentially other) case studies and analyse labor market and firm-level dynamics as determinants of middle class growth using matched employer-employee data (as available for example in the Brazilian case). Finally, we investigate the political economy of Africa’s emerging middle class, for instance by using data from the Afrobarometer to investigate the political attitudes of upwardly mobile lower middle-income groups and more affluent middle classes. The collaborative work of the project will include an international workshop on inequality and middle class development in Africa to be held in Cape Town with our South African cooperation partners. The project further intends to collect necessary (panel) data in a joint effort with the cooperation partners.

Cooperation Partners
- Prof. Murray Leibbrandt, Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU), University of Cape Town, South Africa
- Prof. Stephan Klasen, University of Göttingen, Germany

Selected Events
- “Inequality and Middle Class Development in Africa”, workshop at the GIGA Research Platform, Cape Town, 04.– 06.05.2016.

Selected Publications
The Productivity Effects of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) of North–South and South–South Firms: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa

Research Questions
Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflows to Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) are on the rise and are becoming more widespread in the manufacturing sector. At the same time, there is an increasing importance of investors from developing countries. Moreover, domestic firms within SSA are increasingly integrated in regional and international markets across the world. The project considers these trends from different perspectives by investigating the following research questions:
- To what extent do domestic firms and foreign firms from different home countries operating in SSA differ in terms of productivity? Do foreign firms induce positive spill-over effects on domestic firms? And if so, do these effects differ across different origins of foreign investors? To what extent does domestic firm capability drive spill-over effects of FDI?
- Are domestic firms that trade more productive compared to non-traders? Does the distribution of imports across origin countries matter for domestic firms’ productivity? What drives the decision of domestic firms to trade (with particular countries)?
- Is there a geographic concentration of knowledge-intensive business services (KIBS) in SSA? Generally, it is argued that KIBS locate in spatial proximity to foreign investors, but how is it in SSA? Do KIBS and multinational firms cluster? Does clustering increase the probability of integration into regional and global value chains?

Contribution to International Research
The project aims to provide new insights into the importance and the productivity effects of foreign investors from different home countries in SSA as well as relevance and the effects of the increasing integration of domestic firms from this region into regional and global markets.

Research Design and Methods
Depending on the research question, we use firm-level cross-sectional and panel data from 10 SSA countries from the World Bank Enterprise Surveys (WBES) or cross-sectional firm-level data from 19 SSA countries from UNIDO’s Africa Investor Survey (AIS). A key issue in using both data sets is to identify the country of origin of each firm. We apply both cross-sectional as well as more advanced panel data techniques to analyse the above outlined research questions.

Preliminary Results
We find strong evidence of productivity spill-overs to domestic firms derived from foreign-firm presence in 10 SSA countries using the WBES. The largest productivity effects seem to emanate from investors that originate from other countries of SSA.

Cooperation Partners
- Prof. Dr. Holger Görg, Kiel Institute for the World Economy, Germany

Selected Publications

Team: Dr. Birte Pfeiffer
Duration: 2012–2016
Funding: German Research Foundation (DFG)
West African Traders as Translators
Between Chinese and African Urban Modernities

The project investigates, with the case studies of Senegalese and Ghanaian transnational entrepreneurs in China, the kind of transnational practices that shape the encounters with and the experiences of urban Chinese modernity for various groups of West African traders. It addresses the marks of the personal experience of China left on African traders through their economic sojourns to the Chinese supply centres of global capitalism (material objects and/or abstract concepts alike) and analyses the ways in which the African traders’ experiences and interpretations of China are formed by various social actors and influenced by social formations (networks) and belief systems (religion) relevant to them. The project seeks to understand how the traders individually select, interpret, translate, and redefine “things Chinese” (ranging from material objects to abstract concepts, lifestyles, ideologies) within the context of their home societies by enacting their social capital as members of a virtual community and in what way the discursive processes of translation and creative appropriation might impact negotiating social change and re-ordering (institutions, practices, social formations, policies) in urban West Africa in an era of accelerated and increasingly accessible economic globalisation.

In order to study the socio-economic practices of the West African transnational traders with regard to their specific experiences of urban Chinese modernity and to reconstruct the original Chinese significations of the translation products within the framework of multiple modernities that can be identified in Ghana and Senegal, intensive fieldwork is conducted in Guangzhou and Yiwu as the most important destination cities for West African traders. Our multi-sited ethnography can be identified in Ghana and Senegal, intensive fieldwork is conducted in Guangzhou and Yiwu as the most important destination cities for West African traders. Our multi-sited ethnography allows us to address this multidimensional research problem with the adequate regional and multi-disciplinary competences and research strategies. In the field we closely cooperate with a number of partner institutions from academic institutions in China, Ghana, Senegal, and Europe who have been engaged in research closely related to our proposed study.

The combination of the different regional research capacities at the GIGA within one research team allows us to address this multidimensional research problem with the adequate regional and multi-disciplinary competences and research strategies. The project investigates, with the case studies of Senegalese and Ghanaian transnational entrepreneurs in China, the kind of transnational practices that shape the encounters with and the experiences of urban Chinese modernity for various groups of West African traders. It addresses the marks of the personal experience of China left on African traders through their economic sojourns to the Chinese supply centres of global capitalism (material objects and/or abstract concepts alike) and analyses the ways in which the African traders’ experiences and interpretations of China are formed by various social actors and influenced by social formations (networks) and belief systems (religion) relevant to them. The project seeks to understand how the traders individually select, interpret, translate, and redefine “things Chinese” (ranging from material objects to abstract concepts, lifestyles, ideologies) within the context of their home societies by enacting their social capital as members of a virtual community and in what way the discursive processes of translation and creative appropriation might impact negotiating social change and re-ordering (institutions, practices, social formations, policies) in urban West Africa in an era of accelerated and increasingly accessible economic globalisation.

Our results show that African entrepreneurs in China see China as a model regarding their entrepreneurial strategies. Especially long-term African entrepreneurs in China have a self-understanding as translators of China. However, this translation potential faces a number of obstacles as transnational African traders’ various predispositions impact their readiness to perceive, accept, and understand Chinese translation objects and recipients in the traders’ home society potentially contest integration of the traveling concept into the community.

Our results show that African entrepreneurs in China see China as a model regarding their entrepreneurial strategies. Especially long-term African entrepreneurs in China have a self-understanding as translators of China. However, this translation potential faces a number of obstacles as transnational African traders’ various predispositions impact their readiness to perceive, accept, and understand Chinese translation objects and recipients in the traders’ home society potentially contest integration of the traveling concept into the community.

- "Entrepreneurs Sénégalais en Chine. Médiateurs de la Modernité Dakaroise au Quotidien", presentation at the Conference "Innovation, Transformation and Sustainable Futures in Africa", Dakar, 01.06.2016 (L. Marfaing).
- "Impacts on the Local Other – China-Africa Traders and their Contribution to Local Development(s) in Host Societies", presentation at the African-Asian Encounters (II), Cape Town, 26.07.2015 (K. Giese, L. Marfaing).

Selected Publications

Research Programme 4: Power and Ideas

Research Projects

- Colombia in the Face of Brazilian Power Projection (Dr. Daniel Flemes et al.)
- Contested Leadership in International Relations: Power Politics in South America, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (Hannes Ebert, Dr. Daniel Flemes)
- Contested World Orders (Hannes Ebert, Prof. Dr. Detlef Nolte, Dr. Miriam Prys-Hansen)
- Control of Infections: Perception of Risks and Political Agenda for Providing a Public Good (Dr. Julian Eckl, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Hein, Anne Paschke)
- Diffusing the EU Model? The European Union’s Influence on Global Regionalism (Jun-Prof. Dr. Tobias Leriz)
- Leaders or “Guides” of Public Opinion? The Media Role of Chinese Foreign Policy Experts (Dr. Pascal Abb)
- Legitimate Multipolarity? (Prof. Dr. Amrita Narlikar, Dr. Johannes Plagemann, Prof. Dr. Peter Niesen)
- Regional Powers Network (Dr. Miriam Prys-Hansen et al.)
- Responsibility for the Region: Power Transfer and Role Attribution to Regional Powers (Dr. Miriam Prys-Hansen, Dr. Leslie Wehner)

Dissertations by Fellows of the GIGA Doctoral Programme

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<td>The Maritime Strategy of Regional Powers: China, India, Iran, and Brazil from 2001 to 2015</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska / Prof. Dr. Henner Fürlig</td>
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<td>Prof. Dr. Anja Jetschke / Prof. Dr. Hans Geißmann</td>
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### Dissertations by Associates of the GIGA Doctoral Programme

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<td>Ebert, Hannes</td>
<td>Contested Leadership in South Asia: Resistance to India’s Economic and Political Rise</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska / Prof. Dr. Sumit Ganguly</td>
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<td>Gephart, Malte</td>
<td>Tensions Between the International and Transnational Anti-corruption Discourse and Narratives of Corruption in Paraguay and Chile</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Cord Jakobeit</td>
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<td>Strautmann, Michael</td>
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<td>Prof. Dr. Cord Jakobeit</td>
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<td>Carpes, Mariana</td>
<td>From Breadcrumbs to Threads of Wool: Building a Neoclassical Realist Model for the Study of Regional Powers’ Nuclear Choices</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Detlef Noelle / Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska</td>
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<td>Nyman, Nicola</td>
<td>Debates on Economic Policies towards Japan (1965-1995) and China (1995-2008) in the United States</td>
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<td>Wagner, Maren</td>
<td>Emergence, Complexity, Discourse</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Cord Jakobeit</td>
<td>Stiftung der Deutschen Wirtschaft</td>
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Colombia in the Face of Brazilian Power Projection

The project aims at analysing the ways in which Brazil’s power projection within the region has affected the construction of Brazil and Colombia bilateral relations from the 1990s onwards. Based on a pluralistic theoretical framework – from the perspectives of neoclassical realism, constructivism, and liberal institutionalism –, we strive for the fulfilment of the following specific objectives:

- To analyse the development of Colombian-Brazilian relations in border security and the fight against transnational crime, as well as in their armament and defence policies.
- To identify convergences and divergences in the economic policies within multilateral organisations, as well as in their bilateral trade and investment relations.
- To identify the impact of Colombia’s internal conflict on bilateral relations with Brazil, as well as the role that Brazil could play as a potential mediator in the search for a politically-negotiated solution.
- To establish the influence that the geopolitical aspects of both countries have in the development of interconnected infrastructural projects, such as roads and energy, as well as the influence that geo-economic and energetic factors have in the structuring of their bilateral relations.
- To determine the impact that external powers such as China and the U.S. have (and have had) on the development of relations between Brazil and Colombia.

The scrutiny of emerging regional powers – and the reactions of secondary powers to the challenges of this phenomenon – can be best approached through a joint theoretical focus within International Relations (in other words, realism, institutionalism, and constructivism), in which area studies would need to play an important role. As a result, theoretical plurality as an interpretive framework necessarily implies the use of a pluralistic methodology.

The first step for all of the envisaged studies will be the analysis of the existing literature. As a second step, semi-structured expert interviews will be conducted. Relevant interviewees will include government officials, experts on foreign policy, and officials from Brazilian companies that operate in Colombia. The main advantage of the semi-structured interview method is its flexibility, as it allows for new questions to be brought up during the interview as a result of the interviewee’s answers. The semi-structured interview is the most adequate tool for capturing a person’s thoughts on a particular subject matter. Data gained in this way will be evaluated using the methods of qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2008).

The close collaboration envisaged between the allied Colombian and German researchers will be further realised through two workshops in Columbia; these are essential means by which to guarantee the quality of every individual study. The workshops will not only provide the opportunity to discuss theoretical approaches and empirical findings, but they will also allow all of the involved participants to benefit from the broad range of methodological expertise that we will have assembled for this project. Our broad methodological approach bears resemblance to strategies of interpreting quantitative and qualitative data that are usually subsumed under the heading of “process tracing.” Process tracing is comparable to the assembling of a puzzle without knowing whether one possesses all the necessary pieces of the puzzle, or indeed whether all of the available pieces are actually a part of the puzzle (George/McKeown 1985:36).

Funding: German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD / PROCOL Programme)

Team: Dr. Daniel Flemes, Prof. Dr. Klaus Bodemer, Mariana Carpes, Jorge Garzón, Prof. Dr. Detlef Noite, Dr. Michael Radseck, Eduardo Velosa

Duration: 2015 – 2016

Cooperation Partners
- Pontifica Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, Colombia
- Universidad Santiago de Cali, Cali, Colombia
- Brazilian Embassy in Bogotá, Colombia

Selected Events
- “Colombia and Brazil: An Ambivalent Relationship”, ProCol Conference, Cali, 03.11.2015.
- “Contestacion Institucional: Colombia y la Alianza del Pacifico, presentation at the LASA Annual Conference, San Juan, 29.05.2015 (D. Flemes).
- “Drivers of Strategic Contestation in South America”, presentation at the LASA Annual Conference, Washington DC, 30.06.2013 (D. Flemes).

Selected Publications
- Flemes, Daniel, Eduardo Pastrana, Stefan Jost (eds.)2012, Colombia y Brasil ¿socios estratégicos en la construcción de Suramérica?, Bogotá: Editorial PUC.
Contested Leadership in International Relations – Power Politics in South America, Eastern Europe, Asia and sub-Saharan Africa

Research Questions
- Does regional acceptance or contestation influence regional powers’ chances of success in global affairs? In short, does regional support matter?
- How do regional orders shape the global strategies of regional powers?
- How do the relations between regional and external players (the US, China, Russia, the EU and Germany) impact regional power distribution?
- Which factors motivate secondary powers to accept or contest regional powers’ leadership claims? In short, why do followers (not) follow?

First, the interregional comparison of the relations between regional and secondary powers shall explain why potential followers tend to contest regional leadership. The proposed study will focus on both the leaders and the followers (or contesters of leadership) and will contribute to the theoretical IR debate on the sources of leadership.

Second, the research project will add to the existing knowledge on the nexus of regional and global theoretical IR debate on the sources of leadership. It will analyse the global impact of secondary powers’ regional strategies (acceptance or contestation) using a comparative perspective. A direct or indirect impact of secondary powers’ foreign policies at the global-system level would support the thesis of a multiregional world order. This view would be compatible with predictions of a systemic transformation into a “non-polar world” (Haass 2008) or a system of “multi-multipolarity” (Friedberg 1994).

Third, the interregional comparison will disclose if and how different regional environments shape regional powers’ global strategies. In addition to cultural and historical factors, economic interconnectedness and regional security settings will be the focus of the analysis.

We compare dyads in regional relations: For instance, India vs. Pakistan, China vs. Japan, Brazil vs. Colombia; Russia vs. Poland and South Africa vs. Nigeria. Additionally, we will analyse the bilateral relations of each of the regional and secondary powers with extra-regional powers – namely, the US, China, Russia, the EU and Germany – in order to capture the external influences on the regional relationship patterns. Conversely, we will explore the impact of bilateral relationships with external powers and regional patterns (cooperation, competition, conflict) on the global order. Those factors assumed to be determinants of the actors’ foreign policies and, hence, of the relationships between regional and secondary powers – which are marked by different types of “contested leadership” – will be the focus of the comparison: resources, interests, strategies and perceptions of foreign policy.

The preliminary results identify the following drivers as the decisive variables in the development of secondary powers’ foreign policy strategies:
- A secondary power’s choice of regional strategy is primarily dependent on structural drivers such as its relative position in the regional hierarchy. Direct, usually military contestation strategies correlate with a relatively symmetric distribution of power and resources between primary and secondary power. In contrast, indirect forms of contestation/opposition are predominantly observed in regions marked by high polarity in terms of political and economic resources.
- In relatively peaceful regional orders (e.g. security communities), domestic actors exert more influence on the regional strategy of a secondary power than in regions characterised by violent conflicts.
- The central explanatory factors for secondary powers’ contestation strategies in the realm of foreign policy are as follows: (a) diverging interests between the primary and secondary powers at the regional and bilateral level, (b) the regional power’s unwillingness to provide public goods, and (c) the regional power’s non-transparent defence and arms policies.

Cooperation
- Brazil: BRICS Policy Center, Rio de Janeiro; Fundacao Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro; Pontifícia Universidade Católica, Rio de Janeiro, Universidade de Brasília, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro
- China: China Foreign Affairs University, Beijing; Tongji University, Shanghai
- Europe: Leiden University; Institute of Political Science; University of Oxford
- India: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi; Jawaharlal Nehru University – School of International Studies, New Delhi; Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi
- Pakistan: Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad; Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad
- South Africa: South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg; University of Johannesburg
- USA: Canada: Georgetown University – Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Washington; Indiana University – Department of Political Science, Bloomington; University of Utah, Salt Lake City; University of Waterloo, Canada
- Venezuela, Colombia: Pontifica Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá; Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas

Selected Events
- “Brasil-Colombia: ¿de vecinachitos a paraceños estratéicos?”, Lecture at the Fundacao Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro, 16.11.2015 (D. Flemes)
- “Contestacion Institucional: Colombia y la Alianza del Pacifico, presentation at the LASA Annual Conference”, San Juan, 29.05.2015 (D. Flemes)
- “Narratives on Rivalry Termination in South Asia”, presentation at the conference “Narratives on National Security”, Islamabad, 25.11.2014 (H. Ebert)

Selected Publications
Contested World Orders

Research Questions
- What are the implications of the increasing influence of “rising powers” and transnational non-governmental organisations and their contestation of international institutions for a “new world order”?
- How do “rising powers” and transnational non-governmental organisations contest international institutions?
- What differences and similarities do these contestations demonstrate, particularly with regard to underlying norms and concepts of legitimacy?
- What are the repercussions of these contestations for the authority of international institutions?

Contribution to International Research
While the increasing influence of transnational non-governmental organisations and the new “rising powers” has been the subject of academic research, there are very few systematic analyses which take both phenomena into account and study their interrelation. Those studies which focus on the role of states in international politics neglect the importance of non-governmental actors. On the other hand, studies on transnational non-governmental organisations do not pay attention to the new “rising powers”.

The project aims to unite these two separate discourses and to study the interactions between the two different sets of actors. In particular, the project focuses on the demands and criticism that the “rising powers” and the non-governmental organisations address at international institutions, examining their commonalities and differences. The project thus aims to systematically assess the forms of contestation addressed at international institutions, as well as their implications for these institutions’ authority and legitimacy.

Research Design and Methods
The project will unite the expertise of the three Leibniz institutes involved, drawing upon their previous work on the authority of international organisations (WZB), the legitimacy claims of NGOs (HSFK), and the “rising powers” (GIGA). As a first step, the project will develop its basic concepts for a joint publication on the “multiple sites of resistance” against international institutions. In addition to the topic of resistance, the publication will also investigate the authority and legitimacy of these institutions. As a second step, the researchers will create a database that systematically assesses forms of authority and corresponding contestations and legitimacy claims over time and in different fields.

Preliminary Results
In the framework of the project a high-ranking edited volume will be published, under the guidance of the cooperation partners from the WZB. The contributions to that volume will focus on the preferences and strategies of NGOs and BRICS states in eight different policy fields ranging from security to issues related to welfare. In their theoretical framework paper to the volume the authors from the WZB highlight three research questions: a) the extent of support or opposition of NGOs and BRICS for the aggregation of political authority by international institutions, b) their support or opposition to the institutionalisation of liberal policies and principles, and d) the distance of the actors’ preferences from the institutional status quo.

Based on a (quantitative or qualitative) statement analysis, the case studies will reveal similarities and differences among and within the two sets of actors under scrutiny. The GIGA contributes three case studies in the policy fields of climate finance, health governance and the UN security council as well as an additional case study on regional governance. The GIGA researchers have developed the empirical datasets for these contributions. Preliminary results indicate that in the climate case, rising countries act defensively and often avoid further commitments, while in security they act offensively and claim more authority. In addition, in some policy fields Southern NGOs’ viewpoints may come closer to their government’s positions than to those of their Northern NGO allies.

Cooperation Partners
- Prof. Dr. Michael Züm, Dr. Martin Binder, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB), Germany
- Prof. Dr. Harald Müller, Prof. Dr. Klaus-Dieter Wolf, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK), Germany
- Prof. Dr. Liesbeth Hooghe, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands
- Prof. Dr. Gary Marke, University of North Carolina at Chapel HI, USA
- Prof. Dr. Jonas Tallberg, University of Stockholm, Sweden


Selected Events
Control of Infections: Perception of Risks and Political Agenda for Providing a Public Good

Research Questions

The control of infectious diseases constitutes a public good (non-excludable/non-rivalrous); as such, its provision depends upon non-profit seeking, mostly public investments, and thus upon political decisions. We expect that effective policies of infectious disease control depend (a) on the level of attention by the public and by policy makers to the threat of infectious diseases and (b) on the availability of cost-effective means to provide protection against these diseases.

The project team plans to test the assumption that political commitment and innovative efforts (such as monitoring of international mobility; identification of pathogens and of transmission paths; the development of vaccines and antimicrobial medicines) in this field respond to cycles of public attention related to the outbreak and assumed risk of epidemics. Research will be primarily based on German policies of infectious disease control with a strong focus of their embeddedness in global developments. Being part of the multidisciplinary Leibniz Research Alliance (LRA) the project will closely cooperate with biomedical research institutes as well as a number of other disciplines within the research groups. These research groups are organised according to different ways of transmission (man-to-man; air; water; vectors) to which also policies of disease control are linked (e.g.: man-to-man transmission and international mobility).

As part of the LRA, the research project will be linked to various activities of international cooperation (among others with two colleagues from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine) and will introduce a perspective of policy field analysis in international discourses so far dominated by biomedical and public health discourses. The approach will link-up with a growing volume of research on global public goods for health (see: work by Richard D. Smith and Ilona Kickbusch) applying the concept to the field of infection control.

Based on expert interviews and desk research; in cooperation with other researchers of the LRA: semi-structured interviews with asylum-seekers (infected with Tuberculosis), “citizen science” to detect the appearance of new insect species as vectors transmitting infectious diseases.

Contribution to International Research

Research Design and Methods

Cooperation Partners

- Members of the Leibniz Research Alliance “Infections 21” (led by Research Center Borstel)

Selected Events


Selected Publications

Diffusing the EU Model? The European Union’s Influence on Global Regionalism

How and under what conditions does the institutional model of the European Union (EU) influence the design of other regional organisations?

The first theoretical contribution is to the debate on the impact of EU foreign policy and the EU’s wider influence in world politics. With the exception of a few single or comparative case studies, there has been little systematic analysis of the influence of the EU on the emergence and evolution of regional organisations, especially outside the enlargement context and its direct neighbourhood. This research project generates new data – both large-N and small-N – with which to evaluate the influence of the EU institutional model on regional institutional design elsewhere. It thereby seeks to advance our understanding of the ways in which and the conditions under which the EU affects the design of other regional organisations.

The second theoretical contribution is to the debate in Comparative Regionalism and International Relations on the drivers of regional integration. While existing theories of regionalism primarily locate them inside the respective regions, this project focuses on one specific external driver, i.e. influence emanating from the EU. It thereby promises to enhance our understanding of the ways in which and the conditions under which such external drivers are likely to matter, and how they interact with internal conditions.

The project also has major policy relevance. Promoting regional integration is one of the EU’s main foreign policy objectives, to which substantial resources have been dedicated over the past decades. Yet we know little as to whether this objective has been achieved, and which of the EU’s policy instruments has been most relevant in this respect. The project also seeks to generate policy-relevant insights into the conditions under which different EU strategies are more or less likely to succeed.

Finally, it promises insights into whether the EU’s attractiveness as a model has undergone change over time, with repercussions for predictions on whether the current Euro-crisis affects the EU’s wider attractiveness in the world.

The main objective of the research project is to assess the EU’s influence on regional institutional design empirically based on a mixed methods design. It combines a large-N quantitative analysis of the conditions under which EU isomorphic diffusion matters cross-sectionally and over time with in-depth case studies on the causal pathways by which it affects the design of selected regional institutions.

For the quantitative analysis, the project draws on existing data on regional institutional design that the author was involved in collecting as part of his post-doc (see CV for details). Marks et al. (forthcoming) develops an index of supranationalism that captures variation in the institutional design of 35 regional organisations, including all major regional organisations in existence today; between 1950 and 2010. The delegation element of this index can be used, with minor modifications, as the dependent variable of the research project. Marks et al. (forthcoming) also provide data on many of the relevant control variables that can be used. New data collection, therefore, is largely confined to the independent variables posited by the four hypotheses. The salience of EU discourse can be estimated by drawing on the Google Ngram – a tool that is increasingly being used to measure change in global discourses (Michel et al. 2011). The collection of data on trade and investment interdependence, budget data and EU contributions as well as EU contacts with other regional organisations has been successfully piloted for three organisations during my PhD work based mainly on existing datasets and publicly available documentation. Completing the dataset for the full 35 organisations thus appears to be feasible within the time frame of this project. The resulting dataset will be analysed using a variety of cross sectional pooled time series statistical techniques.

The case studies seek to detail the variety of causal pathways by which the EU institutional model affects the design process in other regional organisations. The main aim of the qualitative analysis is two-fold: first, to demonstrate how these pathways operate in regard to different regional institutions and second, to show how the diffusion of the EU institutional model is dependent on facilitating organisational characteristics in some pathways, i.e. to illustrate the ‘insides’ of the statistical interaction terms. The analysis will focus on three regional institutions that serve different purposes: the creation and empowerment of a regional parliament to secure organizational legitimacy, the creation of a supranational court to secure compliance with commitments, and the creation of a commission with an exclusive right to agenda-setting in order to protect the collective interest against capture by individual member states. For each of these three institutions, I plan to conduct a paired comparison that focuses respectively on a pathway whose influence is unmediated and one whose influence depends on facilitating conditions. Organisational pairs are primarily chosen on the basis of their representativeness in the larger sample – they ought to constitute typical cases. Methodologically, this analysis is based on process tracing, relying mainly on interviews with policy-makers and other relevant actors as well as on relevant primary documents.

Cooperation

- Prof. Dr. Michael Zürn, Dr. Martin Binder, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (MfZB), Germany
- Prof. Dr. Harald Müller, Prof. Dr. Klaus-Dieter Wolf, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK), Germany
- Prof. Dr. Liesbeth Hooghe, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands
- Prof. Dr. Gary Marks, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA
- Prof. Dr. Jonas Tallberg, University of Stockholm, Sweden

The resulting dataset will be analysed using a variety of cross sectional pooled time series statistical techniques.

Selected Publications

Leaders or “Guides” of Public Opinion? The Media Role of Chinese Foreign Policy Experts

This project explores the growing role of think tank experts in Chinese media coverage on international issues, and determines the degree to which voices in this community diverge from each other as well as the “official line” espoused by China’s central media organs. It investigates the sentiment with which major international actors are described, and how this differs between sources. Finally, it also aims to identify general patterns, such as authorship and distribution among media outlets.

Past research on Chinese think tanks has mostly focused on the sector’s general development and attempts to trace policy influence. Media activity is a relatively new field that has seen the greatest increase in activity over the past decade, but has so far received very little systematic attention in English-language publications. Additionally, this project also examines how Chinese experts strive to build a consensus around the leadership’s foreign policy choices and defend it against grassroots pressure, connecting it to the literature on domestic policymaking in China.

The project combines quantitative and qualitative approaches, utilizing a large-n sentiment analysis of over 2,400 recent media commentaries and an in-depth discussion of selected pieces covering high-profile issues.

Although the Chinese government aims to employ experts as guides of public opinion, there is considerable variety in how different institutes and their staff cover international issues, and expert coverage is also systematically more even-handed than the “official line” when it comes to sensitive issues like China-Japanese relations. However, there are also enduring concerns, such as a near-total absence of critical assessments of China’s own foreign policy, an overhang of hardline and nationalist views, and an overrepresentation of authors who perform pundit roles without having in-depth expertise on the wide range of issues they’re commenting on.

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Contribution to International Research

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The project combines quantitative and qualitative approaches, utilizing a large-n sentiment analysis of over 2,400 recent media commentaries and an in-depth discussion of selected pieces covering high-profile issues.
Legitimate Multipolarity?

The project aims to investigate three major research questions:

(i) What are the precise challenges to and opportunities for greater political legitimacy posed by today’s multipolar constellation?

(ii) In how far does the history of political thought from India reflect upon these challenges, and indicate conceptual resources for their resolution?

(iii) In how far is it possible to integrate insights from Comparative Political Theory (CPT) into a normative theory of multipolarity?

The project Legitimate Multipolarity combines International Political Theory’s (IPT) interest in the theorisation of political legitimacy for a multipolar world with Comparative Political Theory’s focus on political thinking outside the Western world. The project pursues three principal objectives, each relating to a gap in the respective literature, which together contribute to a truly global dialogue on political legitimacy under non-ideal circumstances.

(i) Legitimate Multipolarity provides the first systematic identification of the particular challenges and benefits today’s multipolarity entails from the perspective of political legitimacy. The project thereby contributes to developing criteria for increasing the legitimacy of our multipolar world beyond actor-centred approaches from International Ethics.

(ii) Legitimate Multipolarity adopts a CPT approach by systematically analysing influential portions of the history of political thought from India regarding the politico-institutional requirements for a legitimate multipolar world. The project asks if and how the histories of political thought in one of the most prominent rising powers conceptualises political orders characterised by an asymmetric distribution of power between larger and smaller states or civilisations as legitimate.

(iii) Based on (i) and (ii) Legitimate Multipolarity debates and develops morally appealing concepts of politico-institutional legitimacy compatible with both globalisation’s increasing interconnectedness and the enduring fact of multipolarity in global affairs. Herein, Legitimate Multipolarity puts particular emphasis on the role of the rising power (India) with regard to the respective stances toward such problems (ii). Insights from CPT are then taken as a source for original theory development, including the politico-institutional requirements for legitimate multipolarity (iii).

The project Legitimate Multipolarity contributes to policy advice via GIGA’s links with the Federal Foreign Office (especially Referat “Weltordnungsfragen”). Public events at GIGA and Hamburg University as well as publications of selected findings in the GIGA Focus Global series will disseminate research result to the wider public.

The project consists of three work packages, each of which answers one of the research questions (i)-(iii). Legitimate Multipolarity identifies the distinctive opportunities and problems multipolarity entails through case studies (i). The input and output dimensions of legitimacy under the condition of multipolarity is assessed in three different arenas of global governance, which together characterise today’s complex multipolarity: (a) global public good provision via WTO negotiations, (b) club good provision via rising powers’ prioritisation of their respective neighbourhoods (India’s “Act East Policy”) and regional integration initiatives, and (c) the provision of alternative orders via minilateral alliances and new institutions. Besides the inherent value of such an enquiry, the function of the first work package is the formulation of a set of questions for the following CPT approach.

Two key questions (subsumed under RQ1 above) link work package (i) and (ii). First, what are the precise challenges to greater legitimacy arising from the condition of multipolarity in the three case studies (e.g. deadlocks in multilateral negotiations)? Second, what are the opportunities for or contributions to greater legitimacy arising from the condition of multipolarity in the three case studies (e.g. rising powers’ defence of developing countries interests in WTO negotiations)? In the second work package the project systematically analyses the history of political thought within one rising power (India) with regard to the respective stances toward such problems (ii). Insights from CPT are then taken as a source for original theory development, including the politico-institutional requirements for legitimate multipolarity (iii).

Funding: German Research Foundation (DFG), under review

Team: Prof. Dr. Amrita Narlikar, Prof. Dr. Peter Niessen
Duration: 2016–2018

Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), India

Regional Powers Network

Research Questions
The Regional Powers Network is guided by one overarching research question: How is the rise of actors such as Brazil, China, India or South Africa influencing regional and global power shifts? In its ongoing research, the RPN network is seeking to focus its research agenda. Questions regarding the “differentiation of power”, from an actor-centred as well as from a structural perspective, will now come to the fore. To date, the RPN’s research has been oriented towards states. The effects of globalisation and crises, however, require the analysis of new or strengthened actor constellations at the national, international as well as transnational levels.

Contribution to International Research
The project has successfully established a network of leading European and extra-European research institutions, all of which demonstrate a specific competence in the fields of international relations and area studies with regard to non-European regions (Africa, Asia, Latin America, Middle East). Furthermore, the project is contributing to the development and empirical application of theories in the field of international relations, from the viewpoint of comparative area studies, through numerous publications and conference papers.

Research Design and Methods
The topic “regional powers” can only be meaningfully analysed using divergent explanatory approaches within international relations. The RPN research network is defined by the research topic, a shared research question, and its linkages to specific research traditions (international relations, area studies), but not by a joint theoretical approach to international relations. We assume that within such a large research network, a pluralism of theory and methodology offers the best possibilities for generating knowledge.

Preliminary Results
The RPN organisers held six international RPN conferences between 2008 and 2013. As a result of these conferences, the network members’ awareness of demographic, economic, and political shifts in influence between established and emergent powers has increased significantly. The participating researchers have analysed emergent regional powers across policy fields and regions – particularly in Asia, but also in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. This interaction and collaboration shall continue through further conferences and joint projects.

Selected Events

Selected Publications

Team: Dr. Miriam Prys-Hansen, Dr. Pascal Abb, Prof. Dr. Joachim Betz, Alexandru Burilov, Hannes Ebert, Dr. Daniel Flemes, Prof. Dr. Henner Fürtig, Torsten Geise, Prof. Dr. Robert Kappel, Dr. Hartmut Mayer, Prof. Dr. Dellef Nolte, Dr. Johannes Plagemann, Maren Wagner

Duration: 2008 – 2016
Funding: Leibniz Competition, Fritz Thyssen Foundation, GIGA
Responsibility for the Region: Power Transfer and Role Attribution to Regional Powers

How the regional and global layers of world politics hang together is one of the central questions of IR research today. World politics plays out in various arenas, the local, national, regional and global; to study how structures, actors and processes interact is a central challenge, yet vitally important for understanding and improving global policy-making. This project attempts to look at cross-level interactions between actors at the global level and actors at the regional through the lens of role theory. The central question that will be answered in a first phase of the project are: “How do global players define regional powers?” and “What characteristics and attributes are assigned to regional powers?”. What drives the analysis is that role “definition” is a social process, in which both self-conceptions (ego), and the expectations by “alter” play an important part. The search for an identity can only occur in interaction with other actors. What makes this project particularly innovative is that we, in the second phase, trace the micro-mechanisms of these role definitions and attributions cross levels as well as how actors use this processes to reiterate or redefine their own position in the international system. Theoretically, we contribute to the development of role theory as very little systematic attention has been paid to processes such as “role altercasting” or “role socialisation”. We assume that the expectations cast upon regional powers can indeed impact upon their self-conception and regional role performances in a significant way, but not necessarily to the benefit of regional powers, as “global” or “Western” support for a more active regional power role might cause suspicion and resistance among the so-called secondary powers of those emerging regions.

The project links with research conducted within the Regional Powers Network and links into the global debate on decentering IR. Furthermore, it connects to a growing body of research on identity and roles; subjects that have maintained a continuous presence in both International Relations research and Foreign Policy Analysis.

As a first step, a theoretical argument will be made about roles as elements and outcomes of social processes that cannot be only located within one actor but that arise from interaction and encounters between Self and Other. In other words, what it means to act as a regional power or to take on the role of a regional power can only be assessed when studying the discourses and forms of interaction between significant actors. While self-conceptions of regional powers have been analyzed elsewhere, the nexus between global actors, above all the United States, and the global and regional audiences is the centre of this project. An important part will be to lay out a theoretical argument about processes such as “role altercasting” which is defined by a processes in which states or other actors, by choosing specific roles for themselves, impose roles on others. In the empirical part of the project, statements, a diverse set of foreign policy statements, as well as government and expert interviews will be analysed in terms of the meaning they assign to the concept of regional powers and what it means for them to “act as” a regional power. Specific note will be taken with regard to the “responsibility” of regional powers to take care of their neighbour. To find out whether a discursive pattern with regard to a broader set of regional powers arises or whether different potential regional powers are assigned with different characteristics, “tasks”, and expectations will be one of the main tasks.

- Wehner, Leslie and Thies, Cameron (2014): Role Theory, Narratives, and Interpretation: The Domestic Contestation of Roles, in: International Studies Review, 16(39);
- Wehner, Leslie and Thies, Cameron (2014): Role Expectations as Foreign Policy: South American Secondary Powers’ Expectations of Brazil as a Regional Power, in: Foreign Policy Analysis, online first;
Althoff, Christof
Bank, André, Dr.
Basedau, Matthias, Prof. Dr.
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Bunselmeyer, Elisabeth
Darwich, May
De Juan, Alexander, Dr.
De Vries, Lotje
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Röseler, Milan
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Schüller, Margot, Dr.
Schütte-Zhou, Yun
Soest, Christian von, Dr.
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Strüver, Georg
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Thormann, Vita
Uffen, Andreas, Dr.
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Warkotsch, Jana, Dr.
Wegner, Eva, Dr.
Wiczenek, Iris, Dr.
Wilczak, Jessica Maureen
Zanker, Franziska, Dr.

(as of 31 December 2015)
## Members of the Academic Advisory Board

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Berlin Social Science Center (WZB), Germany</td>
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<td>Copenhagen Business School, Department for Management, Politics and Philosophy, Denmark</td>
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<td>Prof. Ummu Salma Bava, PhD</td>
<td>Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India</td>
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<td>Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS), Berlin, Germany, and University of Trier, Political Science Department, Germany</td>
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<td>University of Nairobi, Kenya</td>
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<td>University of Toronto, Canada</td>
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<td>Prof. Antje Wiener, PhD</td>
<td>University of Hamburg, Institute for Political Science, Centre for Globalisation and Governance (CGG), Germany</td>
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(as of 31 December 2015)
**Engagement in Professional Associations**

### Area-specific Associations:

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<tr>
<th>Association</th>
<th>Membership Type</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa–Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies (AEGIS)</td>
<td>Institutional membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Studies Association in Germany (Vereinigung für Afrikawissenschaften in Deutschland, VAD)</td>
<td>Hosting of secretariat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CrossArea. Association for Transregional Studies, Comparative Area Studies, and Global Studies (Verband für Transregionale Studien, Vergleichende Area Studies und Global Studies)</td>
<td>Institutional membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Alliance for Asian Studies (Asia Alliance)</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Patrick Kölner: board member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Association for Middle Eastern Studies (EURAMES)</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Henner Fürtig: council member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euro–Latin American Network of Governability for Development (Red Euro–Latinoamericana de Gobernabilidad para el Desarrollo, RedGob)</td>
<td>Institutional membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Council for Social Research on Latin America (Consejo Europeo de Investigaciones Sociales de América Latina, CEISAL)</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Detlef Nolte: vice president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Association for Asian Studies (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Asienkunde, DGA)</td>
<td>Hosting of secretariat; Dr. Karsten Giese: executive board member; Dr. Margot Schüller: deputy chair person; Dr. Günter Schucher, editor of DGA journal ASIEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Association of Latin American Studies (Arbeitgemeinschaft Deutsche Lateinamerika-Forschung, ADLAF)</td>
<td>Hosting of secretariat; Prof. Dr. Detlef Nolte: president</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Thematic and Disciplinary Associations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Association</th>
<th>Membership Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German Middle East Studies Association for Contemporary Research and Documentation (Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft Vorderer Orient, DAVO)</td>
<td>Institutional membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin American Political Science Association (Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política, ALACIP)</td>
<td>Dr. Mariana Llanos: secretary general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Congress of Middle East Studies (WOCMES)</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Henner Fürtig: advisory board member</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other associations such as**

- International Studies Association (ISA), American Political Science Association (APSA), International Political Science Association (IPSA), Verein für Socialpolitik, American Economic Association (AEA), Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), European Union Studies Association (EUSA), European International Studies Association (EISA)

**Individual memberships of GIGA researchers**

(as of 31 December 2015)
>> GIGA Organisational Chart

Board of Trustees
- Academic Advisory Board
- Council for Financial Affairs
- Equal Opportunity Commissioner

Executive Board
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- Directors of the Regional Institutes, Head of Finances and Administration

Central Staff
- Research Council
  - President, Directors, Heads of Research Programmes, Research Management, Academic Director of Doctoral Programme
- Berlin Office

Institute of African Affairs (IAA)
- Research Programme 1: Accountability and Participation

Institute of Asian Studies (IAS)
- Research Programme 2: Peace and Security

Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS)
- Research Programme 3: Growth and Development

Institute of Middle East Studies (MES)
- Research Programme 4: Power and Ideas

Service Departments
- Information Centre: Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Middle East libraries
- Administration
- Publications
- Communications

GIGA Annex 2016
The GIGA is one of the leading European research institutes for area studies and comparative area studies. It is a publicly funded institute and a foundation under the civil law of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. As a member of the Leibniz Association, the GIGA is committed to academic excellence and research-based knowledge transfer.

The GIGA stands for:

- Excellent research on political, economic and social developments in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, combined with
- Innovative comparative approaches along cross-cutting themes
- Active knowledge transfer to decision-makers in the political, economic and societal spheres and to the general public
- Extensive provision of information through the GIGA information centre, the largest non-university information centre for area studies and comparative area studies in Germany

The GIGA is a member of the

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