



**CARPO**

Center for Applied Research  
in Partnership with the Orient

# Annual Report 2019

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# 1 Introduction

Beginning of December 2019, CARPO celebrated its fifth anniversary. So in addition to a look back at our activities of the past year, we will also reflect on five years of CARPO's existence. And we do look back in pride on our evolution since we first set out! When we, the members of CARPO's Executive Board, decided to establish Germany's first Middle East-focused think tank, the type of projects we had in mind then are exactly what we are implementing today: result-oriented contributions to debates on the Middle East in Europe and beyond. From the onset, we have dedicated our work to enhancing dialogue and knowledge transfer between stakeholders in Europe and the Orient at the nexus of research, consultancy and exchange.

Our professional journey has been immensely enriched by broadening and deepening our partnerships and collaborations – be it with renowned institutions or individual scholars within our field, in Europe and the Middle East. This partnership aspect of our work is of great importance to us, as is manifested in the 'P' in CARPO. The challenges in the region we look at are too large, the complexities too deep, and the dimensions to explore too intertwined to address via insular work. In each of all our major projects, we are privileged to have joined forces with fantastic organizations. Among them are the EastWest Institute, the Sana'a Center for Security Studies, DeepRoot Consulting, the Gulf Research Center, and the Gender Development Research and Studies Center at Sanaa University. Furthermore, we had the honor of holding workshops in Europe in cooperation with co-hosts such as the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), the Institute for Global Studies (IGS), the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), Chatham House, the Royal United Security Institute (RUSI), as well as with the Royal Institutes in Clingendael in The Hague and Egmont in Brussels.

Personal encounters between experts and researchers from different backgrounds – including political adversaries – have become an essential element in all our projects. The joint production of knowledge, a collective effort to conceptualize and operationalize the manifold issues at hand is as important to us as the deep dive into subjects through research. We do not bring stakeholders from different contexts together to meet just for the sake of meeting. Rather, we aim to gather the *right people* in the *right setting* to ask and discuss the *right questions*. We are pleased that this has been our consistent approach in all our ongoing projects.

Our project **Rethinking Yemen's Economy** (RYE) continues to combine deliberations on very local matters with issues of national and international relevance. The forums in which the Yemeni 'Development Champions' are brought together have become an institution in itself, both for the community of external experts looking at Yemen as well as in the Yemeni policy community. It has been important to us and our partners at the Sana'a Center for Security Studies and DeepRoot Consulting that regular publications are produced in order to make key findings and recommendations of our workshops and research available to the public. We also make our most essential findings and recommendations available to the wider Yemeni public by producing short videos and motion graphics and sharing them on our website as well as through social media. There is no doubt in the Yemeni policy community that RYE has been essential in pushing the level of knowledge and exchange on all matters related to the economy and development in Yemen, and we are grateful to our donors at the European Union and the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for their continued support.

We are happy to be able to contribute to breaking the academic isolation of Yemeni researchers during these terrible times for the country, not only through RYE, but also in the framework of two further projects. In the framework of **Research Cooperation on Peacebuilding in Yemen**, which CARPO is implementing on behalf of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and by commission of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), we encourage Yemeni-international research cooperation on peace requirements in Yemen by taking a closer look at the contributions of five different actor groups relevant to peacebuilding in Yemen: civil society, the media, the private sector, women and youth. These past weeks and months have seen the publication of the results of this collaboration between five Yemeni NGOs and research institutions, as well as their international partners.

Moreover, we are happy to be partnering with the Institution of Oriental and Asian Studies at the University of Bonn and the Gender Development Research & Studies Center (GDRSC) at the University of Sana'a in the implementation of the project **Teaching and Advising on Post-Conflict Reconstruction**. This project, which is funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), seeks to develop a syllabus on post-conflict reconstruction that is to be taught at GDRSC in the framework of its master course 'International Development and Gender'. The academic exchange necessary to achieve this objective takes place in the framework of workshops, a winter and a spring school with German and Yemeni master students, as well as a conference at

the end of 2020. We also deeply appreciate the important contribution this project has been able to make to the library of our Yemeni project partner, having turned it into the best-stocked library on peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction in Yemen and beyond.

After its launch in September 2018, our **Tafahum** project in partnership with the Gulf Research Foundation, which is generously funded through the German Foreign Ministry, has brought together nearly a hundred stakeholders from West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula (WAAP) – a region that encapsulates the GCC states, plus Iraq, Iran and Yemen. In the course of eight workshops and one annual conference, experts from this highly contested region have met in five working groups dealing with trade and economic cooperation, environmental issues, security sector reform and counter-terrorism, media and public discourse, and reconstruction efforts in Syria, Yemen and Iraq. In each working group, the first year of meetings was dedicated to identifying issues that require a regional approach to be resolved. The second year of the project will now look at how these issues and themes can be operationalized in order to define concrete avenues for regional cooperation in all five fields in the project's third year. By summer 2021, this will culminate in the *Tafahum Roadmap for Regional Cooperation in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula*, a report with clear pathways for a process towards regional security and integration.

In summer 2019, we launched **Iraq and its Neighbors**, a new EU-funded project in cooperation with our partners in the EastWest Institute. This 18-month initiative envisions Iraq to emerge as the center for regional dialogue by pursuing a multiplicity of bilateral dialogue meetings that ultimately generate a multilateral track of communication among neighboring states. The launch event of this project took place at the Casa Árabe in Córdoba and was attended by then Iraqi Deputy Foreign Minister, HE Nazar Khairallah, and Secretary General of the European External Action Service, HE Helga Schmid. After its multilateral kick-off with stakeholders from Iraq, Europe and Iraq's neighboring countries, bilateral dialogue meetings were held in Baghdad, Amman and Kuwait in 2019. Ankara, Riyadh and Tehran will follow in 2020. Multilateral follow-up workshops tackling cross-border themes will be set up, with all results presented at a concluding conference in Brussels in fall 2020.

Speaking of CARPO's and the EastWest Institute's partnership: We are all delighted to have secured funding to continue our **Iran-Saudi Dialogue Initiative**. Thanks to the generous support of the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we were able to kick off the new phase of this dialogue initiative in November 2019. Given the current state of affairs between Tehran and Riyadh, things could not be any more complex.

And yet, it is exactly during such times when it is essential to maintain open channels between well-informed experts from both sides. This second phase of the Iran-Saudi Dialogue Initiative will continue until spring 2021.

In addition to the projects briefly presented above, we have been active in smaller research projects and dialogue initiatives, all of which have been in line with our mission to “open enduring channels for interactive knowledge transfer between academics, citizens, entrepreneurs, and policy-makers”. Throughout 2019 we had the honor of setting up the CARPO roll-up during our workshops and meetings held in Addis Ababa, Amman, Baghdad, Berlin, Brussels, Córdoba, Kuwait, London, Rome, Tbilisi and The Hague. We cannot wait to broaden the circle.

Thanks to the trust and support of our donors, and the opportunity they have given us to work on all these projects, we have been in the wonderful position to enlarge our team in Bonn and widen the number of our Associate Fellows. We are deeply aware that growth comes with increased responsibility. In 2019, we set a high bar for ourselves and for the future of CARPO; and we intend to consolidate and build on our successes slowly and professionally. This increased sense of responsibility has also led to the development of our CARPO Environmental Policy, which aims to ensure that all of our activities are as climate friendly as possible. We view this task as an ongoing process of constant revision and improvement.

In order to learn more about all of the above, you are invited to browse through our Annual Report 2019. We are very grateful for your interest in our work.

Sincerely,

The CARPO Executive Board

## 2 About CARPO

CARPO was founded in 2014 by Germany-based academics trained in the fields of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, Political Science and Social Anthropology. Our work is situated at the nexus of research, consultancy and exchange with a focus on implementing projects in close cooperation and partnership with stakeholders in the Orient.

### Mission

Our mission is to conduct independent research and analysis in partnership with experts from the Orient. We believe that a prosperous and peaceful future for the region can best be achieved through inclusive policy-making and economic investment that engages the creative and resourceful potential of all relevant actors. Therefore, CARPO opens enduring channels for interactive knowledge transfer between academics, citizens, civil society, entrepreneurs, and policy-makers. Our network of researchers and experts establishes a functional interface between state, economy, and society to generate both context-specific and globally relevant knowledge.

### Vision

Exploring and initiating sustainable cooperation and partnership with(in) the Orient.

### Services

In order to reach our goals and to strengthen cooperation with our partners, CARPO offers a broad range of services:

- Research

CARPO brings together a network of researchers with distinguished expertise on countries of the Orient. We are well connected with researchers and research institutions in the region and familiar with pertinent fields of study. Through continuous presence in international workshops and conferences, our researchers follow and shape the global academic discourse on the region in various disciplines. CARPO offers to establish channels for academic exchange and knowledge transfer between researchers from the region and Europe by organizing conferences and workshops as well as initiatives and working sessions for joint publications.

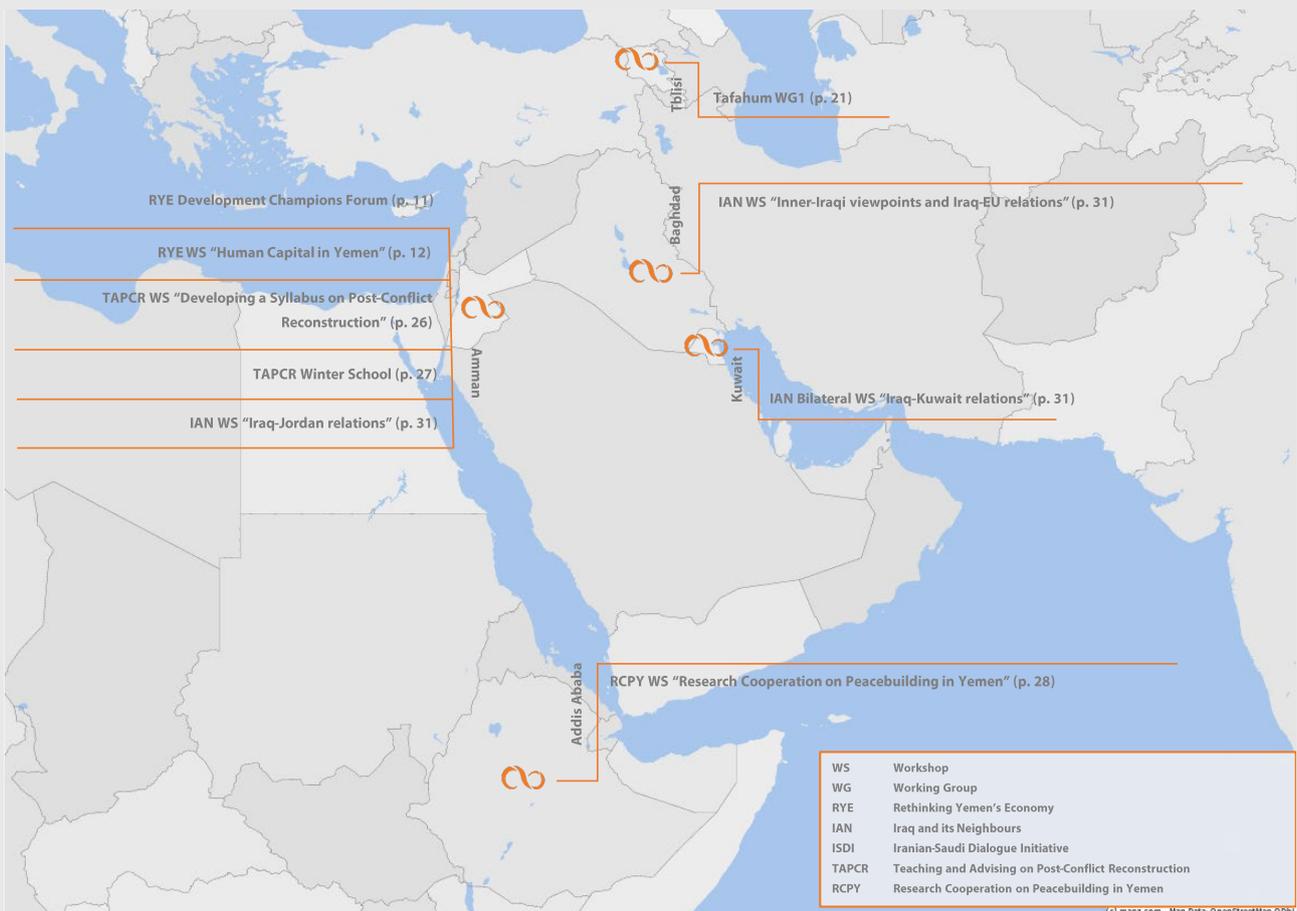
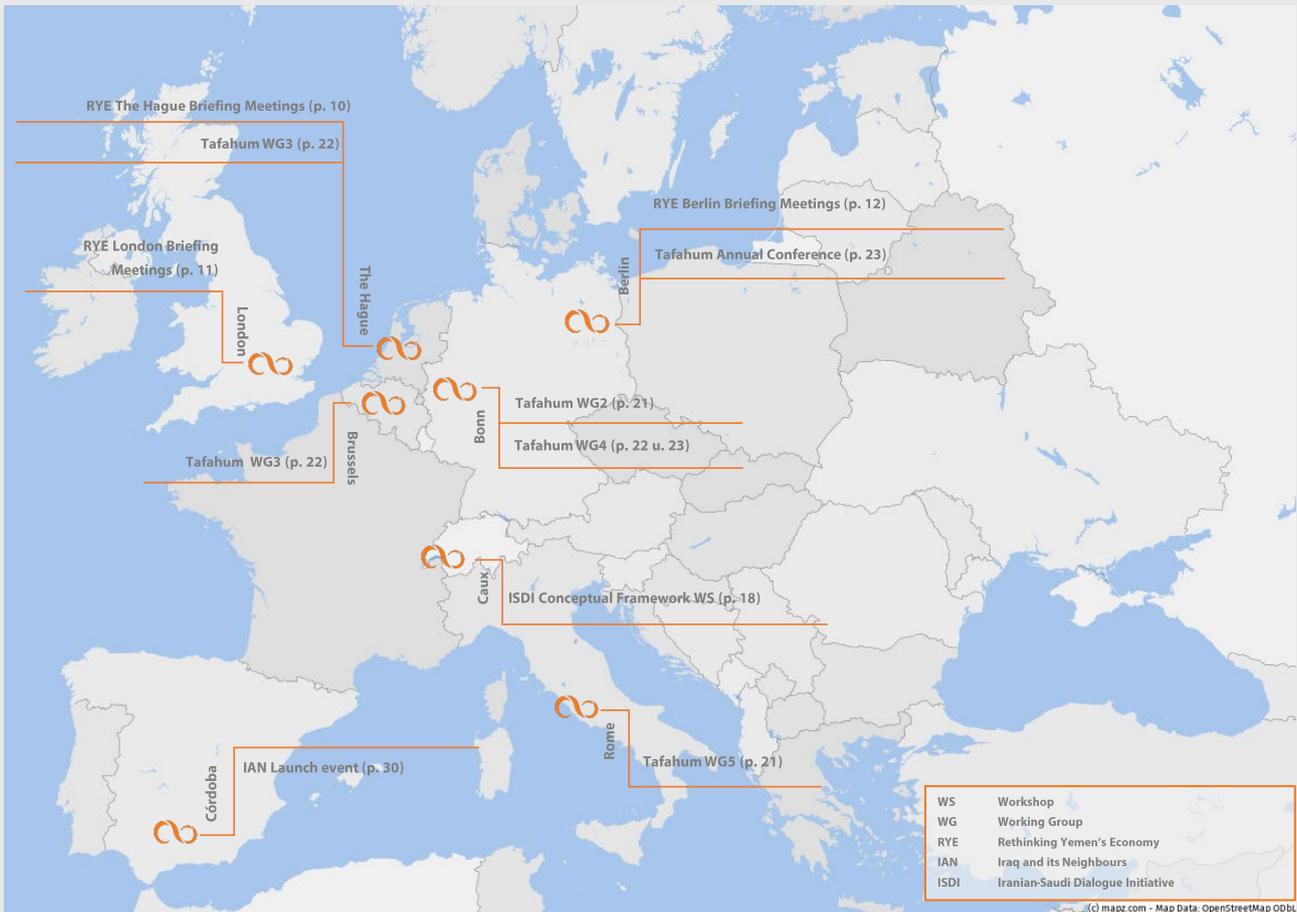
- Consultancy

CARPO's country experts are specialized on policy-relevant dimensions of social, economic and political dynamics in specific country contexts. Thanks to their expertise and because of their access to influential social and political actors, our experts are able to work with and consult policy-makers working in and on the region. CARPO offers in-depth analyses of significant developments that help assessing current and future dynamics of respective country contexts. Based on these assessments, realistic future scenarios are produced and tangible policy recommendations formulated. CARPO also offers to explore prospects and potentials for entrepreneurial activities in the Orient. Our experts provide risk analyses, concepts for fact-finding missions and need assessments and, thereby, connect national and international entrepreneurs.

- Exchange

We are convinced that sustainable people-to-people relations are key to improving relations between Europe and the Orient. By generating exchange platforms for stakeholders to interact, gates for political, intercultural and inter-societal dialogue are opened. Citizen-oriented development – particularly in conflict-prone contexts – can only be fostered effectively by engaging societies and by enabling their participation in shaping the future of their countries. CARPO offers to design exchange projects that connect influential actors such as policy-makers, academics and intellectuals, artists, religious figures, musicians or activists from different countries and regions in order to explore potential grounds for cooperation.

## Where We Met in 2019



## 3 Projects

### 3.1 Rethinking Yemen's Economy (RYE)

#### 3.1.1 Summary

The Rethinking Yemen's Economy initiative aims to contribute to peacebuilding and conflict prevention, (economic) stabilization and sustainable development in Yemen by building consensus in crucial policy areas through engaging and promoting informed Yemeni voices (the 'Development Champions') from all backgrounds in the public discourse on development, economy and post-conflict reconstruction in Yemen and by positively influencing local, regional and international development agendas. The project is implemented by CARPO, DeepRoot Consulting and the Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies. It is funded by the European Union and the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to Yemen. It includes the following components:

1. **Development Champions forums:** Several forums convene senior Yemeni experts and professionals from various backgrounds and with established expertise in development and economy. At these forums, the Development Champions discuss priorities for intervention and issue respective recommendations.
2. **Thematic workshops:** These workshops bring together selected Development Champions (experts on the issue at hand) with other experts and Yemeni policy-makers to discuss urgent issues identified by the Champions and develop respective recommendations.
3. **Local engagement workshops:** These workshops bring together local actors and authorities (at governorate level) with local practitioners and experts, and connect them with the Development Champions. The workshop participants discuss national issues and how to apply to them a local lens and/or thematic issues relevant to the local level.
4. **Regional and international stakeholder engagement:** The project reaches out to regional and international stakeholders currently engaged in Yemen in order to ensure that all stakeholders are informed about the outcomes of the RYE initiative, in the hope for more concerted efforts by the international community.
5. **Policy briefs:** The results of the first three components are published in the form of policy briefs or white papers, bolstered by research and analysis of Yemeni researchers with experience in these issues. The research

and policy team liaises closely with the Development Champions to ensure their expertise is included.

6. **Public outreach:** The research and recommendations are made accessible to the public through social media (Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/DevChampionsYE/>; Twitter: @DevChampionsYe) and the project website ([devchampions.org](http://devchampions.org)). Also, short movies and infographics on the policy recommendations and research results published within this project are produced.

### ***Project Duration***

March 2017 – August 2020

### ***Project Partners***

- DeepRoot Consulting
- Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies (Sana'a Center)

## **3.1.2 Events**

### ***The Hague Briefing Meetings (February 2019, The Hague)***

On 19 February 2019, the Rethinking Yemen's Economy initiative co-hosted a semi-public panel discussion with the Foreign Ministry of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in The Hague. The first panel addressed emerging local realities and the degree to which they are reflected in UN-led negotiations. It also took stock of the lessons learned from Yemen's failed transitional period (2011–2014) and shed light on practical measures to address the tensions between the central government and local authorities. The second panel presented the economic challenges facing Yemen and the current efforts of the government and the regional and international community to address them. The Development Champions discussed the challenges surrounding social protection, job creation and the impact of the war on women in the workforce. The event was attended by diplomats, researchers, media, and representatives of think tanks and international organizations. Following the public event, the Development Champions met with policy-makers to discuss ways to support the peace process and to share insights on multiple issues, including: the Stockholm Agreement; how to empower local governance structures; proposals for the international community to facilitate the economic file; and opportunities for job creation.

### ***'Development Champions Forum V' (April 2019, Amman)***

On 27–29 April 2019, the fifth 'Development Champions Forum' convened in Amman in order to discuss critical economic issues in Yemen, focusing on the situation of the private sector, removing obstacles to the return of Yemeni

capital post-conflict, and priorities to restructure state finances. During the forum, the participants produced a set of recommendations for local and regional players, as well as international donors, on economic priorities during and after the war. They also discussed the vision and mission of the forum for the upcoming period and met with representatives of diplomatic missions, UN agencies and international organizations working in Yemen, in addition to representatives of the Office of the UN Envoy to Yemen.

### ***London Briefing Meetings (June 2019, London)***

On 26 June 2019, the Rethinking Yemen's Economy initiative co-hosted a semi-public panel discussion together with the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) in London. The first panel featured discussions on the evolving local dynamics in Yemen, the current state of the UN-led peace process and developments on the ground. Discussions on the second panel centered on the need for the international community to shift focus from humanitarian efforts to sustainable development, including support to the economy. The Development Champions discussed the challenges surrounding letters of credit for essential food imports and other topics, including social protection, job creation and the impact of the war on the women in the workforce. They also highlighted the impact of Saudi labor reforms on expat Yemeni workers and remittances to Yemen. The event was attended by diplomats, researchers and representatives of the UK parliament, think tanks and international organizations. Following the public event, the Development Champions met with policy-makers to discuss ways to empower local governance structures; proposals to ease challenges in obtaining letters of credit; options to enable the Yemeni government to pay civil servant salaries; and the need to revise prohibitions on importing in a way that provides adequate assurances without crippling economic activity.

### ***Berlin Briefing Meetings (August 2019, Berlin)***

On 6 August 2019, the Rethinking Yemen's Economy initiative co-hosted a semi-public panel discussion together with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in Berlin. At this event, the first panel addressed the tense relationship between the central government and local authorities, as well as the issue of revenue collection on the local level. The second panel provided an overview of the economic situation before and during the conflict, focusing on the challenges facing food imports. It also presented the impact of the conflict on the Yemeni economy in general, and the efforts to address the identified challenges by the government and the regional and international community respectively. The Development Champions discussed the difficulties surrounding job creation and emphasized the necessity of shifting from a humanitarian approach to aid towards a development-centered approach. The event was attended by

diplomats, researchers, media and representatives of think tanks and international organizations. Following the public event, the Development Champions met with policymakers to discuss ways to support economic growth and the peace process; to share insights on developments in southern Yemen; ways to empower local governance structures; and proposals to address the tensions between the central government and local authorities.

#### ***Workshop on Human Capital in Yemen (August 2019, Amman)***

On 24–25 August 2019, the Rethinking Yemen’s Economy initiative convened a thematic workshop in Amman on the topic of human capital in Yemen. Representatives from the Development Champions and public and private sector experts in education, health, social and economic development, as well as the oil sector discussed challenges, opportunities and the need to invest in Yemen’s human capital, and then developed recommendations for stakeholders and policymakers.

#### ***Brussels Briefing Meetings (November 2019, Brussels)***

On 25–26 November 2019, the Rethinking Yemen’s Economy initiative implemented several briefing meetings in Brussels, Belgium. On 25 November, the RYE consortium co-hosted a semi-public panel discussion together with the EastWest Institute. At this event, the following topics were covered: previous, ongoing and future challenges to governance in Yemen (including combating corruption and options for post-conflict governance); humanitarian and economic perspectives on development; Yemen’s human capital. This panel discussion was attended by diplomats, researchers and representatives of think tanks and international organizations. Following this public event, the Development Champions met with staff of the European External Action Service working on Yemen in the afternoon of 25 November as well as with representatives of the Member States in the morning of 26 November and briefed them on the situation in Yemen. At the EEAS, the following topics were covered: ways to support local governance and ensure accountability and integrity; humanitarian-development nexus; the fragmentation of the Central Bank; how the EU can contribute to stabilization; Yemen after the Riyadh agreement; Saudi-Houthi talks and their economic dimensions. At the meeting with the Member States, the Development Champions addressed the following issues: integrity systems for governance at the local level; fragmentation of the Central Bank and problems with the payment of salaries; possible support to the private sector; human capital development; Yemen after the Riyadh Agreement; humanitarian access; the role of the EU in economic stabilization; etc.

### ***Workshop on Developing the Fishing Industry in Yemen (November 2019, al-Mukalla)***

On 26–28 November 2019, the Rethinking Yemen’s Economy initiative conducted a local engagement workshop in al-Mukalla, Yemen. The workshop aimed to address issues encountered by the fisheries sector in Yemen and to contribute to increasing productivity, job creation and value chain enhancement within the fishing industry in Yemen, and to address exportation problems. The workshop was attended by 23 participants from the governorates of Hadramawt, al-Mahra, Shabwa, al-Hudayda and Aden, including 6 women. The participants came from various backgrounds: fisheries unions, fisheries associations, civil society organizations working on fishery-related programs, the private sector, and academics, among others. Over three days, they identified challenges facing the fisheries industry in Yemen, solutions to address these challenges and mechanisms to implement these solutions.

### **3.1.3 Publications**

All publications presented below are also available in Arabic on our [project page](#).

#### ***RYE Policy Brief 10: Priorities for Government Policy in Yemen***

This Policy Brief outlines recommendations for the immediate priorities of the government of Yemen, both to achieve quick wins and to prepare the ground for medium and long-term success. These recommendations are the outcomes of in-depth discussions held during the fourth Development Champions Forum convened on 8–11 December 2018 in Amman, Jordan. They are designed to offer Prime Minister Maeen Abdulmalik Saeed and his cabinet a set of practical measures to help the government build on the momentum and increased visibility it achieved in the final quarter of 2018.

Online available

#### ***RYE Policy Brief 11: Economic Confidence-Building Measures – Civil Servant Salaries***

*by Mansour Ali Al Bashiri*

This Policy Brief brings forward crucial recommendations resulting from the fourth Development Champions Forum in Amman, held in December 2018. The Development Champions recommend that the Yemeni government resume salary payments to all civil servants across Yemen working in the administrative apparatus of the state, registered in the Ministry of Civil Service database of 2014, prioritizing payments to education and health workers. Meanwhile, Ansar Allah should allow all state revenues in areas under their control to be deposited into the accounts specified by the Central Bank of Yemen temporarily headquartered in Aden, and all parties should work toward the restoration

of the Central Bank as a national institution that serves all of Yemen. The Development Champions call on regional and international donors to cover any funding gap to support the payment of salaries and pensions.

Online available

### ***RYE Policy Brief 12: Reconstruction and Recovery in Yemen***

This Policy Brief brings forward the results of in-depth discussions held by the Development Champions with the aim of developing recommendations and guidelines to ensure the reconstruction and recovery of Yemen is a comprehensive, effective process that has a long-term positive impact. The Champions' recommendations include measures to link immediate humanitarian interventions to Yemen's long-term economic recovery; mechanisms to address fiscal challenges and enhance social protection; guidelines to create new jobs, rebuild infrastructure and strengthen the rule of law; and strategies to enhance local governance and local inclusion in the reconstruction process.

Online Available

### ***RYE White Paper 05: The Essential Role of Remittances in Mitigating Economic Collapse***

This White Paper addresses the impact of Saudi Arabia's increasingly restrictive handling of its expatriate workforce on the economy in Yemen. The Kingdom's policies, which have forced tens of thousands of Yemenis to return home, have resulted in a dramatic loss of income from remittances for their families in Yemen at a time when the country is already going through a catastrophic humanitarian situation. The authors argue that it is incumbent upon GCC states, and Saudi Arabia in particular, to allow Yemeni expat workers an exemption from the current labor nationalization campaigns – at least until a post-conflict Yemen has attained acceptable economic growth and the issue of the repatriation of Yemeni workers can be revisited responsibly.

Online available

### ***RYE Policy Brief 13: The Repercussions of War on Women in the Yemeni Workforce***

This Policy Brief sheds light on the impact of the ongoing conflict in Yemen on women's participation in the workforce. It finds that the protracted conflict has, on the one hand, pushed more women into the workforce and new labor markets, in some cases into professions previously dominated by men. On the other hand, the war has imposed new constraints on an already low women's participation rate. The Policy Brief recommends, amongst others, that micro-economic initiatives to bring women into the workforce must be

accompanied by long-term efforts to address socio-economic structures that have historically constrained women's access to the workforce.

Online available

#### ***RYE Policy Brief 14: Transitional Government in Post-Conflict Yemen***

This Policy Brief offers recommendations to maximize the effectiveness of governance in post-conflict Yemen – regardless of the composition or structure of the government. It presents three case studies on government models previously introduced in Yemen, Tunisia and Lebanon after periods of instability. These case studies offer useful lessons on the challenges, risks and opportunities of forming transitional governments in post-conflict contexts.

Online available

#### ***RYE Policy Brief 15: Priorities for Private Sector Recovery in Yemen***

This Policy Brief addresses the need for private sector recovery in Yemen and gives recommendations for the improvement of the overall business and investment climate. While the private sector has shown a far greater degree of resilience than the public sector, and in many cases has stepped in to replace government services, its situation – and that of its work force – remains challenging. The surest means of laying the foundations for private sector recovery in Yemen, and indeed recovery for the country overall, is to end the ongoing conflict and reunify public institutions and governance mechanisms. While the conflict is ongoing, however, there are still practical, realistic steps national and international stakeholders can take to support the Yemeni private sector.

Online available

#### ***RYE Policy Brief 16: The Need to Reform the Public Sector Wage Bill***

This Policy Brief addresses the issue of Yemen's bloated public sector. Amid consistently large budget deficits, the inflated public sector wage bill is fiscally unsustainable and threatens to undermine economic recovery and future stability in Yemen. Recognizing the multiple challenges of reforming the public sector, even in a stable country, the recommendations brought forward in this Brief are addressed to the post-conflict government: conduct an assessment to evaluate the conflict-driven growth of the public sector payroll; reduce administrative corruption through the biometric registration of all public sector workers; and develop a strategy to demobilize and reintegrate fighters into society without absorbing them into the public sector.

Online available

### ***RYE Policy Brief 17: Restructuring Public Finances in Yemen***

This Policy Brief addresses the issue of public finances in Yemen, which have long suffered from an overdependence on energy exports, one of the lowest tax collection rates in the world, and chronic budget and balance of payments deficits. With the intensification of the conflict in 2015, energy exports and foreign grants were frozen, while general economic and state collapse saw a precipitous decline in tax revenues. Public debt has thus risen, while the fracturing of state institutions across frontlines has hobbled public revenue collection, as well as fiscal and monetary policy. On 27–29 April 2019, the Development Champions convened in Amman, Jordan, and brought forward recommendations for the internationally recognized government of Yemen on necessary steps to restructure public finances. These are laid out in the full text.

[Online available](#)

### **3.1.4 Videos and Animations**

#### Videos

#### ***The Road to Reconstruction (18.01.2019)***

The ongoing conflict in Yemen has imposed grievous costs on Yemenis, damaging lives, property, and infrastructure, and collapsing the country's already fragile economy. And yet the conflict will eventually subside. Previous reconstruction efforts in Yemen following conflict or natural disaster have suffered from lack of coordination with and unrealistic expectations from international donors, as well as the Yemeni government's limited capacity for aid absorption and project implementation; as a result, there was little tangible long-term impact. Post-conflict reconstruction following this war must therefore address the basic needs and rights of the Yemeni population and put the country on a well-prepared path toward sustainable peace and development.

[View video](#)

#### ***Local Governance in Yemen (22.08.2019)***

Local councils are among Yemen's most important state institutions. Responsible for providing basic public services to millions of Yemenis, local councils represent official governance and the Yemeni state for vast swathes of the population. The intensification of the conflict since March 2015, however, has undermined the councils' ability to operate effectively in most areas of the country. Given the central role that local councils previously played in providing public services to their communities, their currently reduced capacity is

cause for much concern as the conflict rages on and Yemen's economic and humanitarian crises deepen. Although most local councils in Yemen are not fully functional, local councils remain important instruments for the communities they represent.

[View video](#)

### ***Private Sector in Yemen (28.08.2019)***

The impact of the conflict on Yemen's economy and private sector have been calamitous, and, as a result, the economic output has dropped precipitously since its onset. The increased costs for businesses have been spurred by a lack of security and a scarcity of business inputs, while a loss of customer base and demand as well as general purchasing power decline have driven a loss in revenue. Physical damage to public and private infrastructure has also severely affected the ability of businesses to operate. And yet many businesses continue to be functional; indeed, the private sector's resilience is a major reason that the country's humanitarian crisis – the largest in the world – is not a lot worse than it would have been in the absence of the vital role that the private sector continues to play despite all challenges.

[View video](#)

## Animations

### ***Civil Servant Salaries (24.09.2019)***

The rising wage bill for the public sector is a timebomb that threatens future economic stability in Yemen. The public sector is one of the main employers in Yemen and accounted for 32% of total government spending on average during the period from 2001 to 2014. This very heavy burden on public expenditure calls for long-overdue structural reforms in Yemen's public administration and state budget, including the removal of double-dippers and ghost workers from the payroll. This video presents the key outcomes of the Development Champions' discussions on this matter.

[View animation](#)

### ***Generating New Employment Opportunities I: Yemeni Labor Market (24.09.2019)***

Decades of political instability and cyclical armed conflict have curtailed Yemen's economic growth, job creation and labor productivity. Before the current conflict, much of the country's working population was engaged in unskilled labor, working in rural agriculture or informally employed in small

businesses. Sharing a collective sense of urgency to address Yemen's worsening economic and humanitarian crises, 22 of Yemen's leading socioeconomic experts convened as part of the Rethinking Yemen's Economy initiative to discuss job creation in Yemen and develop potential strategies to combat increasing levels of unemployment and economic hardship. This video is the first of two parts. It provides a brief overview of Yemen's labor force, labor market, and expatriate workforce.

[View animation](#)

### ***Transitional Government in Post-Conflict Yemen (30.10.2019)***

To maximize the effectiveness of governance in post-conflict Yemen, two options stand out for the composition of an immediate post-conflict government to lead a transitional period in the country. First, a consensus government with cabinet seats divided among the key Yemeni political factions. Second, a technocratic caretaker government appointed by a consensus prime minister. In both cases, there are several recommendations to help the government during this period play the critical role of stabilizing the country and delivering peace dividends to Yemenis.

[View animation](#)

### ***Generating New Employment Opportunities II: Labor Force, Labor Market and Expatriates (05.11.2019)***

Decades of political instability and cyclical armed conflict have curtailed Yemen's economic growth, job creation and labor productivity. Sharing a collective sense of urgency to address Yemen's worsening economic and humanitarian crises, 22 of Yemen's leading socioeconomic experts convened as part of the Rethinking Yemen's Economy initiative to discuss job creation in Yemen and develop potential strategies to combat increasing levels of unemployment and economic hardship. This video is the second of two parts. It provides an overview of the impact of the current conflict on the job market and livelihoods and recommends means for generating new employment opportunities in Yemen.

[View animation](#)

### ***The Essential Role of Remittances in Mitigating Economic Collapse (25.11.2019)***

Scarce opportunities to earn a viable livelihood in Yemen continue to drive hundreds of thousands of Yemenis abroad in search of work, especially to neighboring countries. Over time, remittances from Yemeni expatriates have become one of the most important sources of foreign currency inflows into Yemen and have played an essential role in mitigating economic collapse during the ongoing war. Since approximately 90% of total remittances come

from neighboring countries, the forcible deportation of Yemeni workers en masse; labor market nationalization campaigns that impose greater restrictions on the number of job categories open to expatriate workers; and very high fees to live and work for legally documented workers and their families have resulted in a decline of these remittances on which millions of Yemenis depend and therefore in huge losses to the country's economy due.

[View animation](#)

## 3.2 Iranian-Saudi Dialogue Initiative (ISDI)

### 3.2.1 Summary

Since 2015, CARPO has implemented an Iranian-Saudi dialogue format in cooperation with the EastWest Institute in Brussels. This initiative entails workshops and publications focusing on the exchange of perspectives on relevant issues between diplomats, policy analysts, security experts, academics and civil society actors from both countries.

A first project phase – funded by the German Ministry for Foreign Affairs through the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa) – ran from 2015 to 2018. Throughout this period, numerous workshops on a broad variety of topics were implemented and their insights published through publicly available policy briefs. As of 2019, the initiative has entered its second phase and is jointly funded by the Foreign Ministries of Switzerland and the Netherlands. This new phase is currently designed as an 18-month project.

In 2020 and 2021, this initiative will continue to bring together distinguished stakeholders from Tehran and Riyadh to exchange viewpoints and assessments on issues of shared interest and concern in the Middle East.

#### *Project duration*

2019–2021

#### *Project partner*

EastWest Institute

### 3.2.2 Events

#### *‘Conceptual Framework Workshop’ (December 2019, Caux, Switzerland)*

The project’s second phase started with a ‘Conceptual Framework Workshop’ that aimed to take stock of the previous activities and lay the ground for the future. Building on the experience and insights of the past dialogue meetings, the workshop explored new approaches to foster dialogue and exchange between participants from Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Saudi, Iranian and international experts worked on developing a conceptual framework for a goal-oriented, constructive and sustainable dialogue initiative between interlocutors from both countries. CARPO and EWI presented the design and methodology of this initiative to the participants of the workshop and collected their suggestions and recommendations in order to further optimize the project design and to link the initiative to similar ongoing initiatives. The participants agreed on next steps, as well as topics for the upcoming project activities that will take place throughout 2020 and early 2021.

## 3.3 Tafahum

### 3.3.1 Summary

Tafahum was launched in September 2018 in cooperation with the Gulf Research Center Foundation (GRCF) and is designed as a three-year project. It pursues the overall objective of developing a roadmap for regional security in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula – a region that includes the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Iran, Iraq and Yemen. The project aims at generating an overall *tafahum*, or understanding, among regional stakeholders on a joined process towards regional security in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula. This project is funded by the German Federal Foreign Office.

During this project, multiple workshops, dialogue forums, an annual conference and publications will pave the way to constructing ideational pillars for an overall agreement of how to define a regional security architecture. As an initial step, security experts from the main regional and extra-regional stakeholders were convened in Vienna end of 2018 to elaborate on their countries' respective security priorities. Throughout 2019, five working groups assembled experts from the GCC states, Iran, Iraq and Yemen, along with regional experts from Europe. Groups and discussions were assigned per the following themes:

1. Trade and Energy
2. Environmental Issues and Climate Change
3. Security Sector Reform and Counter Terrorism
4. Media Narratives and Discursive Integration
5. Reconstruction Efforts in Yemen, Iraq and Syria.

All results produced in the working groups will lay, over a three-year period, the basis for the articulation of a roadmap to regional security in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula.

#### ***Project Duration***

September 2018 – August 2021

#### ***Project Partner***

Gulf Research Center Foundation

### 3.3.2 Events

#### ***Tafahum Working Group 2: 'Environmental Issues and Climate Change in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula' (March 2019, Bonn)***

We started our 2019 activities of the Tafahum project with a workshop with Working Group 2, which has a focus on environmental issues and climate change. CARPO and our partners at GRCF brought together experts from all countries of the region at hand to obtain a comprehensive picture of the situation, by making use of various perspectives and experiences and identifying best practices and successful approaches. Local and regional expertise was complemented by the involvement of international experts in the field. Various sessions highlighted country-specific contexts and took stock of the most pressing issues in the different countries. Furthermore, broader discussions focused on the economic and security implications of environmental challenges and climate change and assessed the potential for cross-border cooperation.

#### ***Tafahum Working Group 1: 'Trade and Energy Cooperation' (March 2019, Tbilisi)***

The second workshop in the framework of the Tafahum project brought together a regional group of young start-up entrepreneurs in Working Group 1. The Impact Hub in Tbilisi was chosen as the venue to host this workshop, as it is a well-known hub for start-up entrepreneurs and investors from West and Central Asia, as well as from Europe. Young entrepreneurship is developing very rapidly, and with a promising trajectory, in all countries of the region the Tafahum project covers. Dedicating the Working Group 1, with its focus on trade, to the theme of young entrepreneurship pursued the goal of exploring avenues of regional cooperation and inter-linkages between national start-up ecosystems. The participants explored this idea, presented its limits and pitfalls, and identified fields in which increased connectivity between the regional entrepreneurship could exert synergetic effects.

#### ***Tafahum Working Group 5: 'Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Yemen, Iraq and Syria' (April 2019, Rome)***

The activities of the Tafahum project continued with the first workshop of Working Group 5, which focuses on the themes of reconstruction and reconciliation in Yemen, Iraq and Syria. In Rome, CARPO and GRCF had the pleasure of cooperating with the Istituto Affari Internazionali and the Institute for Global Studies as our local partners. We gathered experts from the policy scene of the Tafahum region for this initial workshop of the working group to take stock of the relevant facets of sustainable reconstruction and reconciliation efforts, and to outline areas in which regional cooperation is necessary in order to enhance prospects for enduring peace in the contexts of Iraq, Syria and Yemen. In addition to the question of local versus national endeavors,

participants highlighted the need to clarify the conceptual framework behind efforts of reconstruction and reconciliation. Furthermore, the necessity of capacity building measures in various sectors and the role of education were emphasized numerous times.

***Tafahum Working Group 4: 'Media Narratives and Discursive Integration' (June 2019, Bonn)***

The fourth workshop of the Tafahum project was held in Bonn. In addition to journalists, media producers and public figures of the Tafahum region, selected journalists and media experts from Germany were invited as participants. The goal of this workshop was to exchange views on the media systems, public discourse and working environment of journalists across the Tafahum region in order to get an overall understanding of the media landscape in the region. Participants discussed the role of media in conflict-driven contexts and explored how media in the region can help to enhance integration and regional cooperation through a more conflict-sensitive discourse.

***Tafahum Working Group 3: 'Security Sector Reform and Counter-Terrorism' (July 2019, Brussels)***

Completing the first round of workshops, the Tafahum Working Group 3 gathered for its kick-off workshop in Brussels. We had the honor of being hosted by the EGMONT – Royal Institute for International Relations as a local partner. Renowned experts on security from the Tafahum region as well as from Europe joined for discussions on how national efforts to promote security sector reform relate to regional endeavors. A particular focus on the role of women in these programs was discussed. Participants pointed out that much more attention must be paid to the different areas in which women should be involved in security-related processes and counter-terrorism measures. The need for a regional 'security paradigm' was emphasized, and further defined as a joint task of this group to work on in consecutive workshops. It was further established that all levels of security (e.g. state security, national security, human security, food security, data security, etc.) need to be addressed in specific and practical ways when developing concepts of security sector reform.

***1st Tafahum Annual Conference (September 2019, Berlin)***

After the first round of workshops involving all working groups, the core teams of the working groups were brought together for the first Tafahum Annual Conference, which was held in Berlin. This conference was meant to connect 40 participants of the five working groups with each other, exchange reports on the temporary findings in each field, and to explore at this early stage where synergetic effects and thematic interfaces between the working groups can be established. CARPO and GRCF were honored to have

Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi, member of The Elders, as the Guest of Honor at the one and a half-day conference. It was during those very days of the Annual Conference that we in CARPO and GRCF proudly announced that the Tafahum project will continue for two more years, until September 2021. This news also meant that follow-up activities needed to begin shortly after the conclusion of the Annual Conference.

***Tafahum Working Group 4: ‘Media Narratives and Discursive Integration’, 2nd Workshop (October 2019, Bonn)***

The second round of Tafahum workshops kicked off with Working Group 4 on “Media Narratives and Discursive Integration”, which was held at the CARPO premises in Bonn. Four new experts complemented the core of the participants from the group’s first round. In this round, discussions on the media’s role to foster conflict-sensitive media discourse went into more detail, with initial suggestions generated on how to develop media content in order to achieve that goal. Additionally, specific ideas were presented on how regional media outlets can work together, and whether a joint media platform could be used collectively.

***Tafahum Working Group 3: “Security Sector Reform and Counter-Terrorism”, 2nd Workshop (December 2019, The Hague)***

For the second workshop of Working Group 3, we at CARPO and GRCF teamed up with Clingendael – the Netherlands Institute of International Relations, which hosted us at its premises in The Hague. With a slightly new composition of participants, the aim of the second workshop was to conceptualize in more specific terms how to define a regional ‘security paradigm’, what it entails and how to derive a regional code of conduct on internal and regional security processes. Additionally, the linkage between the role of women in security sector reform processes and the concept of ‘human security’ in UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was emphasized as a tangible point of departure for initiatives fostering the goals of enduring peace and development. Cross-cutting themes of Working Groups 2 and 5 were brought to the fore which are to be followed-up in consecutive workshops.

### **3.3.3 Publications**

***CARPO/GRCF Brief 13: Tafahum – An Ideational Fundament for West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula*** by Christian Koch and Adnan Tabatabai

This Brief discusses the need to construct ideational pillars for a *tafahum*, or common understanding, of how to define a process towards regional integration and a shared security architecture for West Asia and the Arabian

Peninsula (WAAP). This is an evolutionary process, which begins with the essential building blocks of overcoming the existing lack of trust and addressing not only the current political and ideological conflicts defining the region from different angles, but also the conceptual frameworks behind them. The Tafahum project provides such building blocks, including the pursuit of issue-oriented cooperation between regional actors on a variety of subjects, promoted through the support of external parties.

Online available

## 3.4 Teaching and Advising on Post-Conflict Reconstruction

### 3.4.1 Summary

CARPO is a partner in this project, which is implemented by the Institute for Oriental and Asian Studies at the University of Bonn together with the Gender-Development Research & Studies Center (GDRSC) at the University of Sana'a. The project is funded by the German Academic Exchange Service in the framework of its Transformation Partnership funding line. The project's objective is to contribute to post-conflict reconstruction in Yemen, amongst others by developing, publishing and teaching a syllabus on post-conflict reconstruction for the master course on gender and development taught at GDRSC. Additionally, German and Yemeni students and researchers will come together at a winter and a spring school in Amman (where they will meet with policy-makers working on Yemen), two workshops and a conference.

#### *Project duration*

2019–2020

#### *Project partners*

- Institute for Oriental and Asian Studies at the University of Bonn
- Gender-Development Research & Studies Center at the University of Sana'a

### 3.4.2 Events

#### *Workshop: 'Developing a Syllabus on Post-Conflict Reconstruction' (August 2019, Amman)*

From 27–28 August 2019, the researchers involved in this project came together for a joint workshop in Amman. This two-day workshop served two purposes: First, to discuss the syllabus on post-conflict reconstruction to be taught at Sana'a University, as well as the various topics to be addressed in the framework of this course. Second, to prepare the upcoming Winter School 'One-Size-Fits-All vs. Tailor-Made Solutions Academic Approaches to Post-Conflict Reconstruction', which is planned for the second half of December 2019.

#### *Winter School: 'One-Size-Fits-All vs. Tailor-Made Solutions Academic Approaches to Post-Conflict Reconstruction' (December 2019, Amman)*

From 11–15 December 2019, our Winter School on 'Academic Approaches to Post-Conflict Reconstruction' took place in Amman. Yemeni and German graduate students and researchers came together to discuss various matters relevant to post-conflict reconstruction. Sessions included an introduction to theoretical approaches to post-conflict reconstruction, focusing on terminology,

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context and governance as well as sessions addressing the gender, development, economic, security, and transitional justice and reconciliation dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction respectively. We also heard presentations from several Yemeni and international policy-makers working on Yemen based in Amman on their perspectives on post-conflict reconstruction in Yemen, linking our theoretical discussions of the subject to the case of Yemen. The program was complemented by discussions on positionality, group work focusing on the case of Somalia and theatrical enactments of experiences with conflict resolution and reconciliation.

## 3.5 Research Cooperation on Peacebuilding in Yemen

### 3.5.1 Summary

This project seeks to develop the capacities of Yemeni and international researchers and organizations in researching and advising on peacebuilding in Yemen. In its framework, an introductory paper on peace requirements in Yemen as well as five policy briefs, each resulting from a Yemeni-international research partnership, on the role of the following actors in peacebuilding in Yemen are developed and published: civil society, women, youth, media and the private sector. This project is implemented on behalf of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH and by commission of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

#### *Project duration*

February 2019 – February 2020

#### *Project partners*

- Amran University
- Gender-Development Research & Studies Center (GDRSC), Sana'a University
- Itar for Social Development
- Yemen Polling Center (YPC)
- Youth Without Borders Organization for Development (YWBOD)

### 3.5.2 Events

#### *Workshop: 'Research Cooperation on Peacebuilding in Yemen' (July 2019, Addis Ababa)*

From 6–7 July 2019, the Yemeni-international research teams selected to produce the five short studies on peacebuilding in Yemen came together for a joint workshop in Addis Ababa. This two-day workshop served two purposes: First, to allow the research teams to get to know each other, build trust and learn to understand their respective approaches to the topic at hand. Second, to allow the research teams to prepare for the research phase for their respective topic, which was to be implemented following the workshop.

### 3.5.3 Publications

#### ***CARPO Report 06: Understanding Peace Requirements in Yemen. Needs and Roles for Civil Society, Women, Youth, the Media and the Private Sector***

*by Mareike Transfeld & Marie-Christine Heinze*

This CARPO Report serves as a background paper to five short studies Yemeni-international researcher tandems will develop in the course of 2019. It places a particular focus on 'peace requirements', a term that seeks to draw attention to the manifold challenges to establishing stability and building peace in Yemen and the resulting efforts which will be required. In laying out these peace requirements, the Report focuses on the following relevant sectors: economy, politics, culture and society, security and justice, education, and environment. In a last step, it looks at the challenges to and capacities of five different actor groups in Yemen to address these needs: civil society, women, youth, the media and the private sector.

Online available

## 3.6 Iraq and its Neighbors (IAN)

### 3.6.1 Summary

In June 2019, CARPO and the EastWest Institute (EWI) started their new EU-funded project 'Iraq and its Neighbours – Enhancing Dialogue and Regional Integration in West Asia'. The project envisions Iraq as the center-point for regional dialogue and cooperation, rather than as a theater of regional proxy wars and conflict. It envisages a series of bilateral and multilateral workshops to facilitate dialogue between civil society advisors from Iraq and its immediate neighbours Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Kuwait, with the aim of identifying and operationalizing tangible avenues for cooperation and coordination on issues of shared interest and concern. They will also discuss the current and future role of the European Union, both in Iraq and the region as a whole.

#### *Project duration*

June 2019 – November 2020

#### *Project partner*

EastWest Institute

### 3.6.2 Events

#### *Launch Event (July 2019, Córdoba)*

On 3 July 2019, CARPO and EWI officially launched the initiative 'Iraq and its Neighbours – Enhancing Dialogue and Regional Integration in West Asia' funded by the European Union (EU). The launch event was hosted by Casa Árabe in Córdoba, Spain, and attended among others by then Deputy Foreign Minister of Iraq H.E. Nazar Khairallah and Secretary General of the European External Action Service H.E. Helga Schmid. "The European Union strongly supports Iraq's policy of balanced outreach to all its neighbours", said Secretary General Helga Schmid at the opening panel of the launch event. "Given the current tensions in the region, providing avenues for dialogue and regional cooperation is more important than ever." Deputy Foreign Minister Khairallah underlined the importance of trade relations for regional integration: "The best ways to counter distrust in the region is to foster economic cooperation and to build prosperity through healthy competition." A group of policy experts from Iraq and its neighboring countries continued with a closed one-day seminar, laying out the relevant bilateral themes between Iraq and its respective neighbors that need to be the subject of thorough deliberations in the consecutive bilateral dialogue meetings.

***Workshop on Inner-Iraqi Viewpoints and Iraq-EU Relations (September 2019, Baghdad)***

The first dialogue workshop of this project was held in Iraq's capital Baghdad as a two-day event. The first day focused on inner-Iraqi discussions on how the country views its neighbors. A diverse group of Iraqi interlocutors presented a wide range of perspectives on what Iraq expects from its neighbors, and how to enhance its own position as a center for regional dialogue rather than a playground for proxy conflict. On the second day, European policy experts joined the Iraqi experts for an exchange on how Iraqis view the role of the European Union (EU) in their country, and which role Europeans themselves ascribe to the EU in the present and future of Iraq.

***Workshop Iraq-Jordan (October 2019, Amman)***

The first bilateral workshop between Iraqi stakeholders and a group of experts from a neighboring country was held in Amman on Iraqi-Jordanian relations. The participants from both countries highlighted that over the past years, official agreements between Baghdad and Amman have been agreed upon, but that implementation of many remain insufficient and dysfunctional. It was discussed throughout the two-day workshop that topics ranging from border security to trade, energy relations and cultural ties need more consistent approaches that include all layers of state bureaucracies and civil society organizations.

***Bilateral Workshop Iraq-Kuwait (December 2019, Kuwait)***

The second bilateral workshop took us to Kuwait for an exchange on Iraqi-Kuwaiti relations. As was the case in Amman, the list of participants was composed of former state officials, academics and policy advisors. All participants expressed satisfaction that, despite the Kuwait invasion by Iraq of three decades ago, relations have since remained calm and stable. There was also agreement on the need to develop mechanisms to deepen ties – particularly on energy-related affairs. Ideas for initiatives along these lines were explored and the impact of regional developments on such initiatives considered. Unlike Jordan, Kuwait is impacted by dynamics in the Persian Gulf; for example, maritime security has always been an important aspect of Iraqi-Kuwaiti relations. There was agreement that continuous dialogue on such will remain essential.

## 4 Overview Publications 2019

To make our work available to a broader public, contribute to academic discussions, engage in public debates and influence policy-making processes, CARPO offers a range of publication formats. These publications may result from ongoing projects, summarize project activities or are stand-alone texts dealing with topics and fields in which CARPO is active.

### *CARPO Briefs*

CARPO Briefs offer concise and target group-oriented analyses with clear-cut policy advice. They address decision-makers in politics, economics, and society as well as the interested public. This series focuses on specific topics and offers extensive background and action-oriented knowledge.

### *CARPO Reports*

CARPO Reports comprise policy-oriented studies. They offer in-depth analyses of specific topics, provide crucial background knowledge and end with policy recommendations for pertinent stakeholders.

### *CARPO Studies*

CARPO Studies offer a forum for thorough historical and contextual knowledge on the modern Orient. As an interdisciplinary and innovative series, CARPO Studies sets new impulses and opens up new perspectives for an audience interested in the region.

### *Other*

This includes further CARPO publications beyond the categories of Briefs, Reports and Studies, generally resulting from project cooperation.

02.10.2019

***RYE Policy Brief 17: Restructuring Public Finances in Yemen***

This Policy Brief addresses the issue of public finances in Yemen, which have long suffered from an overdependence on energy exports, one of the lowest tax collection rates in the world, and chronic budget and balance of payments deficits. With the intensification of the conflict in 2015, energy exports and foreign grants were frozen, while general economic and state collapse saw a precipitous decline in tax revenues. Public debt has thus risen, while the fracturing of state institutions across frontlines has hobbled public revenue collection, as well as fiscal and monetary policy. On 27–29 April 2019, the Development Champions convened in Amman, Jordan, and brought forward recommendations for the internationally recognized government of Yemen on necessary steps to restructure public finances. These steps are laid out in the full text.

Online available

23.09.2019

***RYE Policy Brief 16: The Need to Reform the Public Sector Wage Bill***

This Policy Brief addresses the issue of Yemen's bloated public sector. Amid consistently large budget deficits, the inflated public sector wage bill is fiscally unsustainable and threatens to undermine economic recovery and future stability in Yemen. Recognizing the multiple challenges of reforming the public sector, even in a stable country, the recommendations brought forward in this Brief are addressed to the post-conflict government: conduct an assessment to evaluate the conflict-driven growth of the public sector payroll; reduce administrative corruption through the biometric registration of all public sector workers; and develop a strategy to demobilize and reintegrate fighters into society without absorbing them into the public sector. Further recommendations can be found in the full text.

Online available

09.09.2019

***RYE Policy Brief 15: Priorities for Private Sector Recovery in Yemen***

This Policy Brief addresses the need for private sector recovery in Yemen and gives recommendations for the improvement of the overall business and investment climate. While the private sector has shown a far greater degree of resilience than the public sector, and in many cases stepped in to replace

government services, its situation – and that of its work force – remains challenging. The surest means of laying the foundations for private sector recovery in Yemen, and indeed recovery for the country overall, is to end the ongoing conflict and reunify public institutions and governance mechanisms. Even as the conflict is ongoing, however, there are still practical, realistic steps that national and international stakeholders can take to support the Yemeni private sector.

Online available

05.08.2019

***RYE Policy Brief 14: Transitional Government in Post-Conflict Yemen***

*by Rafat Al-Akhali, Osamah Al-Rawhani, Anthony Biswell*

This Policy Brief offers recommendations to maximize the effectiveness of governance in post-conflict Yemen – regardless of the future composition or structure of the government. It presents three case studies on government models previously introduced in Yemen, Tunisia and Lebanon after periods of instability. These case studies offer useful lessons on the challenges, risks and opportunities of forming transitional governments in post-conflict contexts.

Online available

23.07.2019

***RYE Policy Brief 13: The Repercussions of War on Women in the Yemeni Workforce***

*by Fawziah Al-Ammar and Hannah Patchett*

This Policy Brief sheds light on the impact of the ongoing conflict in Yemen on women's participation in the workforce. It finds that the protracted conflict has pushed more women into the workforce and new labor markets, in some cases into professions previously dominated by men. On the other hand, the war has imposed new constraints on an already low rate of women's participation. The Policy Brief recommends, amongst others, that micro-economic initiatives to bring women into the workforce must be accompanied by long-term efforts to address socio-economic structures that have historically constrained women's access to the workforce.

Online available

17.07.2019

***CARPO Brief 13: Tafahum – An Ideational Fundament for West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula***

*by Christian Koch and Adnan Tabatabai*

This CARPO Brief discusses the need to construct ideational pillars for a *tafa-hum*, or understanding, of how to define a process towards regional integration and a shared security architecture for West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula (WAAP). This is an evolutionary process, which begins with the essential building blocks of overcoming the existing lack of trust and addressing not only the current political and ideological conflicts defining the region from different angles, but also the conceptual frameworks behind them. The Tafahum project provides such building blocks, including the pursuit of issue-oriented cooperation between regional actors on a variety of subjects, promoted through the support of external parties.

Online available

May 2019

***RYE White Paper 05: The Essential Role of Remittances in Mitigating Economic Collapse***

*by Wadhah Al-Awlaqi, Saleh Al-Hada, Yousef al-Shawthabi*

This White Paper addresses the impact of Saudi Arabia’s increasingly restrictive handling of its expatriate workforce on the economy in Yemen. The Kingdom’s policies, which have forced tens of thousands of Yemenis to return home, have resulted in a dramatic loss of income from remittances for their families in Yemen at a time when the country is already going through a catastrophic humanitarian situation. The authors thus argue that it is incumbent upon GCC states, and Saudi Arabia in particular, to allow Yemeni expat workers an exemption from the current labor nationalization campaigns – at least until a post-conflict Yemen has attained acceptable economic growth and the issue of the repatriation of Yemeni workers can be revisited responsibly.

Online available

15.05.2019

***CARPO Report 07: Turning Interdependence into Complementary Action***

*by Julia Gurol & Parisa Shahmohammadi*

This CARPO Report lays out what the role of China could be in the quest to safeguard the JCPOA. It outlines the viewpoints of Brussels and Beijing, and sketches converging and diverging interests and their influence on respective policy choices. It assesses two scenarios for the future of the JCPOA and puts forward the argument that despite deepening political constraints (e.g. normative differences, systemic challenges and increasing mistrust), there is a need for complementary action between the E3 countries and China with regard to the JCPOA.

Online available

08.04.2019

***RYE Policy Brief 12: Reconstruction and Recovery in Yemen***

This Policy Brief brings forward the results of in-depth discussions held by the Development Champions with the aim of developing recommendations and guidelines to ensure the reconstruction and recovery of Yemen is a comprehensive, effective process that has a long-term positive impact. The Champions' recommendations include measures to link immediate humanitarian interventions to Yemen's long-term economic recovery; mechanisms to address fiscal challenges and enhance social protection; guidelines to create new jobs, rebuild infrastructure and strengthen the rule of law; and strategies to enhance local governance and local inclusion in the reconstruction process.

Online available

18.03.2019

***RYE Policy Brief 11: Economic Confidence-Building Measures – Civil Servant Salaries***

*by Mansour Ali Al Bashiri*

This Policy Brief brings forward crucial recommendations resulting out of the fourth Development Champions Forum in Amman, held in December 2018. The Development Champions recommend that the Yemeni government resume salary payments to all civil servants working in the administrative apparatus of the state registered in the Ministry of Civil Service database of 2014 across Yemen, prioritizing payments to education and health workers. Meanwhile,

Ansar Allah should allow all state revenues in areas under their control to be deposited into the accounts specified by the Central Bank of Yemen temporarily headquartered in Aden, and all parties should work toward the restoration of the Central Bank as a national institution that serves all of Yemen. The Development Champions call on regional and international donors to cover any funding gap to support the payment of salaries and pensions.

Online available

05.03.2019

### ***CARPO Report 06: Understanding Peace Requirements in Yemen***

*by Mareike Transfeld & Marie-Christine Heinze*

This CARPO Report serves as a background paper to five short studies Yemeni-international researcher tandems will develop in the course of 2019. It places a particular focus on 'peace requirements', a term that seeks to draw attention to the manifold challenges to establishing stability and building peace in Yemen and the resulting efforts which will be required. In laying out these peace requirements, the Report focuses on the following relevant sectors: economy, politics, culture and society, security and justice, education, and environment. In a last step, it looks at the challenges to and capacities of five different actor groups in Yemen to address these needs: civil society, women, youth, the media and the private sector.

Online available

12.02.2019

### ***CARPO Brief 12: A Strained Alliance***

*by Adnan Tabatabai*

This CARPO Brief provides the reader with a reflection of the discussions held during a workshop organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) and CARPO, which brought together policy experts from the think tank communities of Europe and the United States. The focus of the discussions was on specific country contexts (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia), but also considered transnational areas of shared concern, such as the rise of non-state actors, violent extremism and state failure. Distinct points of convergence and divergence in transatlantic views on the Middle East are highlighted and summarized.

Online available

06.02.2019

***CARPO Report 05: Iran: Back to Crisis Mode***

*by Adnan Tabatabai*

This Report is dedicated to an analytical discussion about how the ongoing crisis surrounding the nuclear agreement between the E3/EU+3 and Iran is affecting the foreign policy conduct of the Islamic Republic, its internal power balance, as well as the future of state-society relations in Iran. This is the German translation of the original version, which was published by the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) in cooperation with the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS).

Online available

05.02.2019

***RYE Policy Brief 10: Priorities for Government Policy in Yemen***

This Policy Brief outlines recommendations for the immediate priorities of the government of Yemen, both to achieve quick wins and to prepare the ground for medium and long-term success. These recommendations are the outcomes of in-depth discussions held during the fourth Development Champions Forum convened on 8–11 December 2018 in Amman, Jordan. They are designed to offer Prime Minister Maeen Abdulmalik Saeed and his cabinet a set of practical measures to help the government build on the momentum and increased visibility it achieved in the final quarter of 2018.

Online available

## 5 CARPO Team

### 5.1 Staff

#### **Dr. Marie-Christine Heinze, President**

Marie is President and co-founder of CARPO. She holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Bielefeld; a Master in Near and Middle Eastern Studies, Political Science, and International and European Law from the University of Bonn, and a Master in Peace and Security Studies from the University of Hamburg. Next to the Yemen-related projects at CARPO, she currently heads an academic exchange project with the University of Sana'a on post-conflict reconstruction in Yemen at the University of Bonn, funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Since 2008, she has also regularly worked as a consultant on development, peacebuilding and political change in Yemen.

*Focus & Topics:* Yemen; political transformation; civil-military relations and security studies; historical background and collective memory; identifications and mobilization: religion, ethnicity, and gender; civil society and societal politics; conflict prevention, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction.

#### ***Selected Publications***

- & Mareike Transfeld (March 2019): *Understanding Peace Requirements in Yemen. Needs and Roles for Civil Society, Women, Youth, the Media and the Private Sector*, CARPO Report 06. [Online available.](#)
- (ed.) (2018): *Yemen and the Search for Stability. Power, Politics and Society After the Arab Spring*, London. [Further information.](#)
- & Sophie Stevens (July 2018): *Women as Peacebuilders in Yemen*, SDD/YPC. [Online available.](#)
- (May 2018): *Criminal Histories, Arrest and Prison Experiences of Women and Girls in Yemen*, YPC Policy Report 05. [Online available.](#)
- (ed.) (2017): *Addressing Security Sector Reform in Yemen. Challenges and Opportunities for Intervention During and Post-Conflict*, CARPO Report 04. [Online available.](#)
- & Marwa Baabbad (June 2017): *'Women Nowadays Do Anything'. Women's Role in Peace, Conflict and Security in Yemen*, CARPO/Saferworld/YPC. [Online available.](#)

### **Adnan Tabatabai, Chief Executive Officer**

Adnan is CEO and co-founder of CARPO. He obtained his MSc in Middle East Politics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. As an Iran analyst, he is consulted by European policymakers and businesses on Iran-related affairs. Through his work at CARPO, Adnan has designed and facilitated track II and civil-society dialogue formats between Iran and Saudi Arabia since 2015. He is furthermore involved in a variety of projects at CARPO on regional security in the Persian Gulf region. Tabatabai is author of the book *Morgen in Iran* (Oct. 2016, Edition Körber-Stiftung). He is regularly featured in international media with commentary and analysis on developments in Iran and the Middle East.

*Focus & Topics:* Iran, state-society relations, political transformation, power dynamics, civil society and societal politics, civil-military relations and security studies, intercultural dialogue, track II diplomacy.

#### ***Selected Publications***

- (November 2019): 'European-Iranian interaction in the quest to save the nuclear agreement', in: *One Year after the Re-Imposition of Sanctions, Peace and Security*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. [Online available](#).
- & Christian Koch (July 2019): *Tafahum – An Ideational Fundament on which to Build a Security Roadmap for West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula*, CARPO Brief 13. [Online available](#).
- (June 2019) 'Warum Trumps Iran-Politik scheitern wird', in *SPIEGEL+*. [Online available](#) (in German only).
- (February 2019): *A Strained Alliance – Transatlantic Views on the Middle East*, CARPO Brief 12. [Online available](#).
- (January 2019) *Iran: Back to Crisis Mode*, IAI. [Online available](#).

### **Jan Hanrath, Chief Executive Officer**

Jan is CEO and co-founder of CARPO. He studied political science, European law and psychology (focus on intercultural communication) at the University Duisburg-Essen and currently writes his PhD thesis on German public diplomacy in the Middle East. From 2008 to 2014 he was researcher at the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University Duisburg-Essen and served as an Associate Fellow at the INEF. In the past, he has worked as a researcher and coordinator in projects on Iran-Saudi dialogue, economic development in Yemen, migration and conflict, political transformation in the Middle East, and academic exchange. He has published inter alia on intercultural dialogues, Middle Eastern politics, new social media and political mobilization, and migration and conflict.

*Focus & Topics:* German Middle Eastern policies, public diplomacy, peace and conflict research, diaspora and diaspora politics, civil society and societal politics, environmental diplomacy in the Middle East.

### **Selected Publications**

- (December 2018): *Knowledge in Dialogue – The Role of Academic Exchange in Mitigating Conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia*, CARPO Brief 11. Online available.
- & Wael Abdul-Shafi (September 2017): *Environmental Challenges in a Conflictive Environment – Iranian and Saudi Perspectives on the Risks of Climate Change and Ecological Deterioration*, CARPO Brief 08. Online available.
- (2012): *Transnationale Migrantengruppen und der Transport von Konflikten. Das Beispiel Türken und Kurden in Berlin*, INEF-Report 105. Online available.
- & Claus Leggewie (2012): 'Revolution 2.0? The role of digital media in political mobilisation and protest', in: T. Debiel, J. Hippler, M. Roth, and C. Ulbert, (eds.): *Global Trends 2013. Peace – Development – Environment*, Bonn, pp. 37–51. Online available.

### **Tobias Zumbrägel, Researcher**

Tobias is a PhD candidate at the Chair of Middle East Politics and Society at the Friedrich-Alexander-University of Erlangen-Nuernberg (FAU). Previously, he studied history, political science and Middle East studies in Cologne and Tuebingen, Germany and Cairo, Egypt. In 2015 he received a Bucerius Pre-Doctoral Grant by the ZEIT Foundation, and between 2015 and 2018 he was a research associate in the project 'Authoritarian Gravity Centers', funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). During this time he conducted extensive field research in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait. He also teaches at the Interdisciplinary Centre of Digital Humanities and Social Science (IZ Digital) at the FAU.

*Focus & Topics:* Climate policy in the Arab world, digitalization and social change, authoritarian durability and persistence, international relations and security studies in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula (WAAP), political legitimation and legitimacy in non-democratic regimes.

### **Selected Publications**

- (forthcoming) 'Kingdom of gravity: Autocratic promotion and diffusion in Saudi Arabia', in: M. Kneuer and T. Demmelhuber (eds.): *Authoritarian Gravity Centres: A Cross-Regional Study of Authoritarian Promotion and Diffusion*, London.

- (2019) 'Being green or being seen green? Strategies of eco regime resilience in Qatar?', in: H. Pouran and H. Hakimian (eds.): *Environmental Challenges in the MENA Region The Long Road from Conflict to Cooperation*, Chicago, pp. 49–71.
- & M. Kneuer, T. Demmelhuber and R. Peresson (2019): 'Playing the regional card: Why and how authoritarian gravity centres exploit regional organizations', in: *Third World Quarterly* 40/3, pp. 451–70.

### **Julia Pickhardt, Project Manager/Researcher** (starting 01/2020)

Julia joined CARPO in January 2020 and works on the Iran-Saudi Dialogue Initiative. Before joining CARPO, Julia worked in the mediation program of swisspeace and supported different mediation initiatives in the context of Syria. She also interned with different organisations such as Geneva Call, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), and the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF). Julia holds a Master of Conflict and Development Studies from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies Geneva as well as a Bachelor of Arabic/Islamic Sciences and Politics from the Martin-Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.

*Focus & Topics:* Peace mediation, multitrack approaches to peace processes, Syria, civil society actors in peace processes, international relations in the Middle East.

### **Selected Publications**

- & J. Palmiano Federer, P. Lustenberger, C. Altpeter, K. Abatis (December 2019): *Beyond the Tracks? Reflections on Multitrack Approaches to Peace Processes*. Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, the Center for Security Studies ETH Zurich, Folke Bernadotte Academy and swisspeace. Available online.

### **Julia Gurol, Researcher**

Julia is a research associate and lecturer at the University of Freiburg. Her research focuses on EU-China relations, Chinese foreign and security policy, relations between Europe and the Middle East, as well as on social movements and political transformation. In her PhD thesis she explores EU-China security relations in the Middle East. In 2017, she graduated from the University of Bonn with a thesis on irregular armed actors and conditions of militia-to-party transformation. Julia has previously worked as project assistant at CARPO for the Iran-Saudi Track II Dialogue Format, and at the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) in a project on arms export control. She has conducted field research in Colombia, Palestine and Lebanon and was guest researcher at Tongji University in Shanghai in early 2019.

*Focus & Topics:* EU-China relations, Chinese foreign and security policy, European Middle East policy, China's role in the Middle East, global power shifts, transformation of irregular armed actors, social movements.

### **Selected Publications**

- & Parisa Shahmohammadi (2019): *Projecting Power Westwards. China's Maritime Strategy in the Arabian Sea and its Potential Ramifications for the Region*, CARPO Study 07. [Online available.](#)
- & Parisa Shahmohammadi (2019): *Turning Interdependence into Complementary Action: EU-China Relations and the Quest to Save the Nuclear Agreement*, CARPO Report 07. [Online available.](#)
- (2018): *Rivals or partners? Interdependencies between the EU and China in the Middle East*, CARPO Study 05. [Online available.](#)
- & E. Meininghaus, M. Mutschler, C. Schlüsing (July 2017): 'The Risks of European Arms Exports', in: F. Braunsdorf (ed.): *Causes of Flight 'Made in Europe' – On European Policy and Its Relationship with Migration and Flight*, FES. [Online available.](#)

### **Thomas Pietzsch, Executive Assistant**

Thomas is an MA student at the Department of Islamic Studies and Near East Languages at the Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies (IOA) at the University in Bonn. Previously, and next to his studies, he worked as project assistant for the DAAD-funded project on 'Academic Approaches to Peacebuilding and State Building in Yemen' at the IOA, in which CARPO was also a project partner. Before that he worked as a student assistant for a project on Middle Eastern travelogues to Europe and as a teacher of German language for refugee children.

### **Mirjam Schmidt, Project Officer**

Mirjam studies Asian studies with a focus on religious studies at the University of Bonn, having finished her Bachelor in International Relations at the Rhein Waal University of Applied Science. Earlier she worked as a student assistant at the Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung) and is currently also a student assistant at the International Office Department of European & International Networks of the University of Bonn.

**Mateus Beckert, Project Assistant**

Mateus currently studies in a dual-subject bachelor program at the University of Bonn. His study program focuses on Islamic studies and Middle Eastern languages and, secondly, political and social science. Alongside his studies, he works at the Dean's Office of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Bonn as a student assistant.

**Franziska Frosch, Project Assistant**

Franziska is an MA student of modern languages and cultures of the Middle East at the Oriental Institute of University Cologne. She holds a Bachelor in Asian Studies with a focus on Middle Eastern Studies and Arabic from Vienna and Bonn University. After further Arabic studies at the Saifi Institute in Beirut, she gained experience in a full-time internship at Center for International Security Studies (CISG). Franziska is a member of the Kölner Forum für Internationale Beziehungen und Sicherheitspolitik.

**Sina Winkel, Project Assistant**

Sina is in her MSc studies of geography in development & globalization with a focus in medical geography at the University of Bonn. During her bachelor's degree, she dedicated her research to mental health issues in relation to environmental changes and humanitarian aid. In 2019 she completed a full-time internship within the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ) in Kyrgyzstan.

## 5.2 Advisory Board

### **Prof. Dr. Stephan Conermann**

Prof. Dr. Stephan Conermann is Director of the Department of Near Eastern History and Languages at the University of Bonn, where he has been Professor of Islamic Studies since 2003. He is also Vice President for International Affairs at the University of Bonn and founding member of the Center for Religion and Society at the university. With research interests in the fields of transformation processes in Muslim societies in the era of European colonialism and imperialism, Muslim historiography and identification processes and Islam in Germany – amongst others – he has published extensively on the history of the modern ‘Orient’ as well as on resulting European – Middle East relations today. He is also series editor of *Bonner Islamstudien* (BIS), *Bonner Asienstudien* (BAS), *Bonner islamwissenschaftliche Hefte* (BiH), *Narratologia Aliena* und *Mamluk Studies*.

### **Dr. Gudrun Harrer**

Dr. Gudrun Harrer is Senior Editor of Austria’s national daily newspaper *Der Standard*, where she previously served as the foreign editor. She holds an MA in Islamic and Arabic Studies and a PhD in International Relation Studies, with a doctoral thesis on the Iraqi nuclear program. She is a lecturer on modern history and politics of the Middle East at the University of Vienna, and at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. In 2006, she was Special Envoy of the Austrian EU Presidency to Iraq and Chargé d’Affaires of the Austrian Embassy in Baghdad. Gudrun Harrer was awarded the prestigious Bruno Kreisky Award for the Political Book for her publications on the Middle East: among others, for *Dismantling the Nuclear Programme: The Inspections of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Iraq 1991–1998* (2014); and *Nahöstlicher Irrgarten: Analysen abseits des Mainstreams* (2014). She is member of the board of the Austrian Orient Society (ÖOW) and of the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (OIIP).

## **Ambassador Marc Otte**

Ambassador Marc Otte is a Belgian diplomat. He has served in Washington DC and Kinshasa, RDC and was Consul General in Los Angeles as well as Ambassador to Israel. He was also Director for Strategic Affairs and Disarmament and Director for Policy Planning at the Belgian MFA. From 1999 to 2003, he was an advisor for security and defense policy to the High Representative for EU Foreign and Security Policy and from 2003 to 2011, EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process. From 2013–2017, he was Director General of the Royal Institute for International Relations/Egmont. He is currently Belgian Special Envoy for Syria and Vice President of the European Institute for Peace (EIP). He has written numerous articles and contributed to books on European defense and security policy, as well as on the Middle East.

## 5.3 Associate Fellows

### Lalla Amina Drhimeur

Lalla Amina Drhimeur holds a Master in International Relations and Diplomacy from Mohammed V University, Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Sciences, Rabat. After completing her MA, she has been teaching international relations and Euro-Mediterranean relations at the International University of Casablanca. She is currently doing her PhD on the evolution of political Islam. Her research focuses on the ideological evolution of both the Justice and Development Party (PJD) in Morocco and the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey as incumbent political parties and their commitment to the democratization process.

*Focus & Topics:* Morocco, Turkey, Tunisia, political Islam, party politics, gender, democracy.

### *Selected Publications*

- (May 2018): *The Party of Justice and Development's Pragmatic Politics*, Baker Institute for Public Policy, Brief. [Online available](#).
- & Esen Kirdiş (2016): 'The rise of populism? Comparing incumbent pro-Islamic parties in Turkey and Morocco', in: *Turkish Studies*, 17,4, pp. 599–617.

### Sarah Dusend

Sarah Dusend holds a Master in Near and Middle Eastern Studies, Political Science and French Language and Literature from the University of Bonn. She studied Arabic and Persian at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales in Paris, as well as Arabic in Damascus. After completing her MA, she was the coordinator of the Bonn Center for Asian Studies (2009–2013) as well as the Bonn Graduate School for Oriental and Asian Studies (2013–2015). Currently, she is Head of Research and Study at the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies at the University of Bonn. She is also a research fellow at the Department of Islamic Studies and Near East Languages at the Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies (IOA) at the University in Bonn, working on her PhD project, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Her thesis deals with three pilgrimage reports by Qajar women at the end of the nineteenth century.

*Focus & Topics:* Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, gender, travel writing, mobility, historiography, identity politics.

### **Selected Publications**

- (2013): 'Pilgern nach Mekka – zur Reisewirklichkeit einer qajarischen Prinzessin und den Funktionen ihres Pilgerberichtes Rūznāme-ye safar-e 'atabāt va-Mekkeh.' in: S. Conermann and B. Agai (eds.): *Wenn einer eine Reise tut, hat er was zu erzählen“ Präfiguration – Konfiguration – Refiguration in muslimischen Reiseberichten vom Ende des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, pp. 75–118.
- (2010): *'Solidarische Vernetzung, gesellschaftlicher Fortschritt und die Rolle der Frau: Die Debatten und Ergebnisse des Kongresses der Orientalischen Frauen in Teheran 1932'*, Berlin.

### **Abdulsalam al-Rubaidi**

Abdulsalam holds a PhD in Near and Middle Eastern Studies from the University of Bonn, Germany, and a Master in Arabic Language and Literature from Sana'a University, Yemen. Currently, Abdulsalam is a lecturer at the Gender Development Research and Studies Center (GDRSC) at Sana'a University. Previously, he had worked as a teacher of the humanities (religion, history and Arabic language) in a number of governmental and private schools and universities in Sana'a. Since 2006, Abdulsalam has also been a lecturer at the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Faculty of Education at al-Baydha' University, Yemen. He is also editor of the Arabic section at al-Madaniya Magazine, a cultural electronic magazine run by Yemen Polling Center. Abdulsalam has published extensively on cultural and social issues in Yemen in both Arabic and English language.

*Focus & Topics:* Arabic linguistics and literature, Sufism, political and religious discourses in Yemen, identification processes and social change in Yemen.

### **Selected Publications**

- (2020): *Identity Constructions in Contemporary Yemeni Novels*, Berlin. [More information](#).
- (November 2018): *Imagining an Alternative Homeland. Humanism in Contemporary Yemeni Novels*, CARPO Study 06. [Online available](#).
- (2018): 'Skepticism among emerging public intellectuals in post-revolution Yemen', in: M. Heinze (ed.): *Yemen and the Search for Stability. Power, Politics and Society after the Arab Spring*, London, pp. 27–46. [Further information](#).
- & Laurent Bonnefoy (2017): 'The reconfiguration of identities in the context of the current war in Yemen: The contemporary Sunni Islamist field', in: *Majallat Idhafat* 38/39, pp. 50–67.
- (2016): 'The concept of *shabāb* in Yemen. Some remarks', in: *Jemen-Report* 47, pp. 122–25.

## Dr. Ulrike Stohrer

Ulrike Stohrer, social anthropologist, studied social anthropology, history, theatre-, film- and media sciences, musicology, and Modern Standard Arabic at the University of Frankfurt am Main. Additionally, she completed training in classical singing at the conservatory of Frankfurt am Main. Her dissertation *Bar'a. Rituelle Performance, Identität und Kulturpolitik im Jemen* deals with a cultural practice in Yemen and its relevance for tribal, regional, and national identities. Ulrike also does research on material culture, traditional architecture, clothing and consumption.

From 2007 to 2009, she implemented a pilot project at the Institute for Near Eastern Archeology at the University of Frankfurt am Main in the field of applied anthropology on intercultural communication and local identities at an archeological site in Tell Chuera, Syria. Since 2004, she regularly lectures at the universities of Frankfurt, Heidelberg, and Marburg. She also works as an Arabic teacher and as an independent editor.

*Focus & Topics:* Yemen, Syria, music, dance, performance, theatre, intangible cultural heritage, cultural policy, material culture, consumption, intercultural communication, nomadism.

### Selected Publications

- (2009): *Bar'a. Rituelle Performance, Identität und Kulturpolitik im Jemen*, Berlin.
- (2011): 'Ritual performance, cultural policy, and the construction of a "national heritage" in Yemen', in: C. Brosius and K. Polit (eds.): *Ritual and Media*, Wiesbaden, pp. 397–416.
- (2009): 'Consumption in Yemen: Continuity and Change', in: J. Pink (ed.): *Muslim Societies in the Age of Mass Consumption. Politics, Culture and Identity between the Local and the Global*, Cambridge, pp. 129–43.
- (2009): 'Das immaterielle Kulturerbe als Selbstorientalisierung: Der Bar'a in der jemenitischen Kulturpolitik', in: *Jemen-Report 2*, pp. 74–79.
- (2008): 'Keeping stability in an unstable world. Ritual, performance and identity in Yemen', in: A. Henn and K.P. Köpping (eds.): *Rituals in an Unstable World. Contingency – Hybridity – Embodiment*, Frankfurt, New York, pp. 31–45.

## Mareike Transfeld

Mareike Transfeld holds a Master in Political Science, Islamic Studies and Modern History with a specialization on the Middle East from the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. She is currently a PhD student at the Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies. Previously, she was a research fellow at the German Institute for Security and Foreign Affairs in Berlin.

In her PhD thesis, Mareike explores the boundaries of the Yemeni state as experienced by Yemeni youth through a digital anthropology of a community on Facebook. This topic ties together her interests in state-society relations, youth activism and digital media. Previously, she conducted research on opposition parties and elite change. As head of research at the Yemen Polling Center, Mareike has designed numerous projects on the livelihoods of Yemeni youth and the political and economic conditions for youth activism. She has conducted field research in Yemen, Malaysia, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon.

*Focus & Topics:* Yemen, political transformation, authoritarianism, opposition parties and civil society, state-society relations, youth, media, digital media.

### **Selected Publications**

- & Marie-Christine Heinze (March 2019): *Understanding Peace Requirements in Yemen. Needs and Roles for Civil Society, Women, Youth, the Media and the Private Sector*, CARPO Report 06. [Online available](#).
- (2018): 'A youth non-movement in Sana'a: Changing normative geographies through fashion, art and music', in: M. Heinze (ed.): *Yemen and the Search for Stability. Power, Politics and Society after the Arab Spring*, London, pp. 231–57. [Further information](#).
- (2018) 'Yemen: Conflict escalation despite UN-mediated power sharing', in: M. Asseburg, W. Lacher and M. Transfeld (eds.): *Mission Impossible? UN Mediation in Libya, Syria and Yemen*, SWP Study, pp. 44–57. [Online available](#)
- & Jens Heibach (2017): 'Opposition dynamism under authoritarianism: The case of Yemen, 1994–2011', in: *Democratization* 25/4, pp. 597–613. [Further information](#).
- (2017): 'Political bargaining and violent conflict: Shifting elite alliances as the decisive factor in Yemen's transformation', in: *Mediterranean Politics* 21/1, pp. 150–169. [Online available](#).
- & Isabelle Werenfels (2016): *#HashtagSolidarities: Twitter Debates and Networks in the MENA Region*, SWP Study. [Online available](#).

### **Dr. Andrea Warnecke**

Dr. Andrea Warnecke is Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the Department of International Politics at Aberystwyth University, UK. She obtained her PhD in Political and Social Sciences from the European University Institute (EUI), Florence. Her new project 'POLINGO' analyses informal interfaces between non-state and state-based forms of power and their implications for legitimacy claims in global governance.

Andrea has held positions as a senior researcher at Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), at the Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR), and at the Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies (IOA) at Bonn University. In 2014, she was a visiting researcher at the Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, University of Queensland. Her research focuses on the practices and politics of governmental and non-governmental international organisations in crises areas and global governance.

*Focus & Topics:* Post-war peacebuilding, peacemaking and mediation, international organisations, crises governance, critical security studies, peacekeeping, sociology of violence, conflict and migration, diaspora politics.

### **Selected Publications**

- (July 2018): *Between a Rock and a Hard Place. Recognizing the Primacy of Politics in UN Peacebuilding*, CARPO Study 04. [Online available](#).
- (2015): *Ethiopian Diasporas in Germany. Commitment to Social and Economic Development in Ethiopia*, BMZ consultancy report, Bonn.
- & C. Schmitz-Pranghe (2011): 'Diasporaengagement für Entwicklung und Frieden. Handlungsspielräume und Kapazitäten der äthiopischen Diaspora in Deutschland', in: T. Baraulina and A. Riester (eds.): *Potenziale afrikanischer Migration in Deutschland und den Herkunftsländern*, Eschborn, pp. 183–215.
- & D. Tänzler, R. Vollmer (2010): *Climate Change, Migration and Conflict. Receiving Communities under Pressure?*, German Marshall Fund of the United States Policy paper, Washington DC.
- & V.C. Franke (2009): 'Building peace: An inventory of UN peace missions since the end of the Cold War', in: *International Peacekeeping*, 16/3, pp. 407–36.

### **Sarah Wessel**

Sarah Wessel studied cultural anthropology, political science and Arabic at the University of Münster and Cairo and economics at the University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. In her dissertation *The Making of Political Representation: Processes of Claim-Making and Receiving During the Egyptian Transformations* (2011–2014) at the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences of the University of Hamburg, she focused on the political and cultural transformation processes in Egypt after the uprisings in the years 2010/2011. The work was awarded the Dissertation Prize of the German Middle East Studies Association for Contemporary Research and Documentation (DAVO) in 2019.

She is currently research associate and curator of the Egyptian Museum's 'Arab and German Tales: Transcending Cultures' research project and papyrus collection of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin and the Arab German Young Academy (AGYA). As part of this, she curated the special exhibition 'Cinderella, Sindbad

& Sinuhe: Arabic-German Storytelling Traditions' in the Neue Museum Berlin (2019) and co-edited the academic accompanying publication.

*Focus & Topics:* Relations between Europe and the Arab region focusing on Germany and Egypt, transformation, political representation, politics of remembrance, legitimation practices, political anthropology, economic anthropology, narrative traditions and reception history.

### ***Selected Publications***

- & Verena Lepper (2019): *Cinderella, Sindbad & Sinuhe: Arab-German Storytelling Traditions*, Berlin.
- (2018): 'The "third hand" in Egypt. Legitimation and the international dimension in political transformations', in: *Middle East Law and Governance* 10, Leiden, pp. 341–374.
- (2016): Grey-Scales. *Negotiating the Civil State in Post-Revolutionary Egypt*, CARPO Study 03. [Online available](#).
- (2013): 'Political representation and legitimacy in Egypt. The making and the reception of claims during the parliamentary elections 2011', in: C. Steuer (ed.): *Les élections de la révolution (2011-12)*. Cairo. [Online available](#).

## 5.4 Alumni

### **Dr. Jasmin Khosravie, Head of Research and Programs**

(until September 2018)

Dr. Jasmin Khosravie is a co-founder of CARPO and was a board member from 2014 until 2018. During this time, she was CARPO's Head of Programs & Research and supported CARPO's conceptual and strategic development. While holding her position at CARPO, Jasmin was also a post-doc fellow and lecturer in Near and Middle Eastern Studies at University of Bonn. In October 2018, she joined the Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb).

### **Sebastian Sons, Senior Researcher** (until October 2019)

Sebastian Sons, MA, studied Islamic studies, history and political sciences in Berlin and Damascus. Prior to that, he trained as journalist in print, TV and radio media at the Berlin School for Journalists (Berliner Journalisten-Schule). After finishing his studies, he worked as head of research and editor-in-chief of the academic magazine *Orient* at the German Orient-Institute from 2009–14 and as a project researcher at the Near East and North Africa Program at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) in Berlin. Currently, he is an associate fellow at the DGAP and is finishing his PhD thesis on labor migration from Pakistan to Saudi Arabia. His book *Built on Sand. Saudi Arabia – A Problematic Ally* (in German) was published in November 2016.

### **Şafak Baş, Associate Fellow** (until 2019)

Şafak Baş, MA, studied political science and Near and Middle Eastern studies at the Ruprecht-Karls University in Heidelberg as well as Persian at the Dekhoda Lexicon Institute in Tehran. After completing his studies, he worked as a policy analyst at the European Stability Initiative in Berlin and Istanbul (2012–13) and as a freelance journalist in Istanbul and Tehran (2013–14). Currently, Şafak is a PhD student at the Center for Middle Eastern and North African Politics at the Otto-Suhr Institute of Political Science at Free University Berlin.

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