



CARPO
Center for Applied Research
in Partnership with the Orient

Annual Report 2023

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1 Introduction

We are looking back at 2023 as a year in which our project work made significant advances – both in terms of substance but also in terms of relevance and policy impact. We will outline some examples of that throughout this review. But we would like to start by emphasizing how important it was that after roughly two years of severe travel restrictions because of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the very limited mobility it caused for the expert community we engage, 2023 clearly was the year for all these experts and great minds to reconvene. Our workshops and conferences went back to the much preferred in-person format, which allows for more in-depth and confidential exchanges throughout our various dialogue and research initiatives.

At the same time, however, the ‘era of video conferencing’ also had a positive and lasting impact on CARPO’s work. In 2020, we had launched the virtual *CARPO Research Forum* and have since continued to hold this online event annually. In 2023, we dedicated this meeting of international academics and think tankers to the topic of ‘Dialogue and Mediation in a Multipolar World’. Indeed, the deliberations about a changing global order had predated 2023. But it can be argued that the overall prominence of this theme reached a new peak in that year – particularly for the region we care so much about.

Regional Context in Flux

In fact, the year started with positive developments: Regional arch-rivals Saudi Arabia and Iran announced in March that they are embarking on a rapprochement process to restore diplomatic ties, which had been cut in early 2016. This led to widespread hope, particularly among states in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula, given that the rivalry between Riyadh and Tehran was often viewed as one of the key drivers of regional tensions.

Throughout the work in our various multi-lateral, bilateral and single-country initiatives, one had been able to sense in the previous one or two years the dynamics and trends heralding a shift towards a mindset promoting regional integration rather than division and zero-sum thinking. Regional stakeholders had expressed cautious hopes about steps towards more cohesion in the region. Themes such as ‘regional multilateralism’, ‘regional connectivity’, and ‘regional agency’ were gaining prominence, not just as a talking point but as a necessity for the region.

Since our foundation, we at CARPO have always argued that no matter how grim prospects for political dialogue between conflict parties may look, it is at all times worthwhile to convene experts from such contexts of conflict in

a confidential setting to allow for meaningful exchanges. These experts can then develop concrete action plans for cooperation, which can be tabled once the political climate allows. This way, one can ensure that paradigm shifts to the better on the political level can lead to sustainable new approaches with supportive measures and action on the technical and societal levels.

Our Project Work in a More Conducive Context

Aligned with this rationale, several of our projects have developed more ambitious and concrete proposals for leveraging the momentum toward regional dialogue and cooperation. In our *Iran-Saudi Dialogue Initiative*, we looked at prospects for economic integration and future trade relations between the two regional powerhouses. In our multi-track regional dialogue project *Tafahum wa Tabadul*, for which we work closely with the Gulf Research Center Foundation, we not only looked at regional affairs between all GCC members states, Yemen, Iraq and Iran on a political level, but also engaged an inter-disciplinary experts group to explore how future urban planning can be developed in line with ambitions at the climate-energy-health nexus. Unfortunately, the new regional detente between Saudi Arabia and Iran has yet to show a positive impact on the Yemeni context, where the economic warfare between the parties continues to negatively impact the lives of millions of Yemenis. In our *Rethinking Yemen's Economy* initiative, we held several meetings and workshops between our senior economic and development experts, the Development Champions, and other experts and stakeholders to discuss what measures in economic development and peacebuilding can contribute to alleviating the suffering of ordinary Yemenis and open up pathways for a brighter future.

We expanded the range of stakeholders involved in our work and were privileged to collaborate with several artists in the framework of our project on *Science Communication for Social Cohesion and Inclusion in Yemen*. Remarkable artwork on the topic of social cohesion was produced in this German-Yemeni exchange project in partnership with Sanaa University, which can be viewed on our [website](#). In 2025, we will showcase the art resulting out of the workshops from 2023 and 2024 in Germany, Yemen and Jordan.

In addition to these flagship projects, smaller endeavors like background studies, explorative dialogues and fact-finding missions were conducted in order to ensure that our project work remains at the pulse of regional developments.

A Very Rude Awakening for Our Region

While dynamics took a positive turn in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula, as one subregion of the Middle East, a new catastrophe began to unfold somewhere else in the region – namely, in the Levant. After the horrific attack on Israel by Hamas on the 7th of October, a devastating war broke out – one that very quickly expanded from Israel, Gaza and the West Bank into Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and the Red Sea region in the fall of 2023.

Not only have these horrific events accentuated fault-lines and cleavages in the region but they have also led to increased alienation and mutual grievances between regional stakeholders and their respective peers in Europe. Even within Europe, a highly polarized, emotionalized, and dichotomized discursive climate makes it very difficult to engage in meaningful dialogue on this conflict when aiming to address the various legitimate grievances that exist and how to best address them. This climate endangers social cohesion in a time when knowledge and sober minds are needed the most. The afore-mentioned sense of ‘regional agency’ in the Middle East has certainly been further energized by these events and has also exacerbated alienation with partners in Europe and/or the United States. Shifts and pivots are taking shape rapidly, and without continuous dialogue and exchange on equal footing, there is a danger of growing and enduring rifts.

Our Role During These Complex Times

Given the latest developments in our region, CARPO will continue conducting thorough background research, providing suitable settings for constructive and inclusive dialogue, and developing walkable pathways towards sustainable conflict-resolution and mitigation processes. Allowing for differing viewpoints to be heard and listened to is indispensable in order to be able to overcome the numerous grievances around us. More than ever, we value the partnership with the inspiring regional stakeholders of our network and will tirelessly explore new grounds for joint knowledge production and trust-building and open up spaces for deliberations to this end. Such deliberations must be inclusive. As we have highlighted in our Mission Statement, we follow the “principles of partnership, inclusivity and sustainability” in our work. This means engaging the region’s brilliant human resources as partners, bringing all relevant stakeholders on board, and allowing them to define the pace and depth of their joint endeavors. That is how cooperation can end up being sustainable.

In 2023, we worked along these lines in Abu Dhabi, Amman, Amsterdam, Baghdad, Bonn, Brussels, Doha, Dubai, Kuwait, Stockholm, Riyadh and Tehran. And we are eager to take these activities to many, many more places – hope for you to be able to join us.

See you there!

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 West Asia and North Africa (WANA).

Mission

CARPO is a Germany-based think tank with a focus on the WANA region that works at the nexus of research, consultancy and exchange. Our work is based on the principles of partnership, inclusivity and sustainability. We believe that a prosperous and peaceful future for the region can best be achieved by engaging the creative and resourceful potential of all relevant stakeholders. Therefore, CARPO opens enduring channels for trustful dialogue and interactive knowledge transfer.

Vision

Exploring and initiating sustainable and inclusive partnership with(in) the WANA region.

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 highly skilled researchers with specialized expertise in the WANA region. We have established strong connections with regional researchers and academic institutions, offering in-depth knowledge across a broad range of relevant fields. Through our active participation in international workshops and conferences, our researchers both contribute to and shape the global academic discourse in and on the region. We facilitate academic exchange and knowledge transfer between scholars in the WANA region and Europe by organizing conferences, workshops, and collaborative initiatives. In addition, CARPO supports joint publication efforts through dedicated working sessions, fostering cross-regional collaboration and advancing research on key topics.

- Consultancy

CARPO's consultancy services provide in-depth analysis and strategic guidance on social, economic, and political dynamics across the WANA region. With over a decade of institutional expertise and more than 20 years of experience among our team, we support policymakers, businesses, and organizations by delivering insights into current and emerging trends. Our services include continuous monitoring of developments in key countries such as those of the GCC states, Yemen, Iran and Iraq; analysis of geopolitical shifts and their impact on relevant markets; and expert-led briefings on topics from security to socio-economic transformations. CARPO also offers intercultural training and preparatory courses for clients with assignments abroad, using interactive briefings, written reports, and access to a vast network of regional experts to ensure thorough, tailored support.

- Exchange

CARPO believes that sustainable people-to-people relations are essential for strengthening ties within the WANA region as well as between the region and Europe. By creating platforms for meaningful exchanges, we open doors for political, intercultural, and inter-societal dialogue. Citizen-driven development – particularly in conflict-prone areas – can only be effectively supported by engaging communities and empowering them to shape the future of their countries. CARPO therefore designs exchange projects that connect influential actors, including policymakers, academics, intellectuals, artists, religious leaders, musicians, and activists, from diverse countries and regions. These initiatives aim to identify common grounds for cooperation and foster deeper understanding and collaboration.

Active CARPO Projects in 2023

Project	Project Period	Budget	Partner(s)	Funded by
<i>Impact of Oil Extraction Industries on Local Communities and Environment in Hadhramawt Governorate, Yemen*</i>	06/2022–05/2023	11,200 EUR	Medical Mercy Foundation (MMF); Ettifaq – for Environmental and Agricultural Consultancies	Robert-Bosch Foundation
<i>Rethinking Yemen's Economy</i>	06/2022–05/2025	2,344,613 EUR	DeepRoot Consulting; Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies	European Union / Foreign Ministry of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
<i>Overview of Saudi Arabia's potential to enhance its position as a key goods provider for the energy transition and the upcoming hydrogen economy</i>	01/2023–09/2023	47,000 EUR	–	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) / H2Diplo
<i>Support for the Reform Partnerships: Tunisia</i>	03/2023–06/2023	18,000 EUR	–	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)
<i>Science Communication for Social Cohesion and Inclusion in Yemen</i>	03/2023–12/2025	299,101.33 EUR	Gender-Development Research & Studies Center / Sana'a University	German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)
<i>Iran-Saudi Dialogue 2023–2024</i>	04/2023–10/2024	260,755.20 EUR	–	Federal Department of Foreign Affairs FDFA (Switzerland), Foreign Ministry of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
<i>Tafahum wa Tabadul – Enhancing Multi-Track Dialogue and Cooperation in West Asia and the Arab Peninsula</i>	06/2023–05/2024	428,652 EUR	Gulf Research Center Foundation	Federal Department of Foreign Affairs FDFA (Switzerland)
<i>Baghdad Dialogue*</i>	12/2023–02/2024	40,000 USD	Iraqi Institute for Dialogue	Iraqi Institute for Dialogue

* project lead not with CARPO

3 Projects

3.1 Impact of Oil Extraction Industries on Local Communities and Environment in Hadhramawt Governorate, Yemen

3.1.1 Summary

Over the past years, the oil extraction industry and climatic disasters have played an important role in environmental degradation and socio-political instability in Yemen. Against the backdrop of these problems, Ettifaq, MMF and CARPO explored the impact of oil extraction in the governorate of Hadhramawt. Livelihoods and the health of local communities were in focus as well as the ways environmental pressures exacerbate tensions and hinder coexistence. The overall goal of this project was to raise awareness about Yemen's environmental stress, the addressing of which constitutes a key prerequisite for sustainable peace in the country.

Project Duration

June 2022 – May 2023

Project Partners

- Medical Mercy Foundation (MMF) (lead partner)
- Ettifaq – for Environmental and Agricultural Consultancies

Project Donor

Robert Bosch Foundation, in partnership with Orient Matters and Arab Reform Initiative

3.1.2 Publication

Energy Injustice and Its Role for Environmental Peacebuilding

by Ahmad Al-Wadaey, Tobias Zumbrägel and Ali Alamudi

This Report discusses the crucial but understudied impact of oil extraction industries on local communities and the environment in Yemen's Hadhramawt governorate. By combining conceptual approaches of energy justice and the environmental peacebuilding literature, it provides a novel perspective on how environmental pollution via the oil industry in Yemen creates injustices and grievances and might hamper sustainable peace efforts. Using a mixed method approach of both quantitative and qualitative analyses, the empirical assessment in two districts of Hadhramawt governorate, Tarim and Sah,

confirms assumptions about widespread and severe oil pollution negatively impacting the local population. Based on a household survey and additional expert interviews, it further describes potential avenues for remediation that offer recommendations for concrete action on environmental peacebuilding strategies.

Available online in English and Arabic

3.2 Rethinking Yemen's Economy (RYE)

3.2.1 Summary

The *Rethinking Yemen's Economy* (RYE) initiative aims to contribute to and support the advancement towards inclusive and sustainable development and peace by seeking to achieve the following: 1) the enabled inclusive engagement of Yemenis in economic peacebuilding; and 2) an improved understanding of crucial policy areas related to economic peacebuilding and development in Yemen. RYE is implemented by DeepRoot Consulting, the Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies and CARPO. It is funded by the European Union and the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to Yemen. June 2022 saw the start of RYE's third project phase.

Project Duration

March 2017 – May 2025

Project Partners

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

Project Donors

- European Union
- Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to Yemen (until May 2023)

3.2.2 Events

Local Workshop on 'Climate Change and Agriculture. Impact of Flash Floods on Cereal Crops' (25–27 February 2023, Say'un, Hadhramawt/Yemen)

This workshop was attended by participants from seven different governorates of Yemen, including local NGO representatives (including women's organizations), farmers, the private sector, agricultural cooperatives, youth activists, civil defense, the Ministry of Agriculture and representatives of dam projects. The workshop centered on two interlinked topics: On day 1, participants discussed the impact of flash floods on cereal crops productivity and food security, focusing particularly on the agricultural production process of cereal crops, socio-economic impacts of flash floods, community disputes arising from flash floods and war-time realities. On day 2, participants focused on the topic of flood management, including prevention, mitigation and preparedness, response and recovery processes in place. The third day of the workshop was divided into two parts: In the morning, participants focused

on identifying practical and applicable solutions, including possible policy options in the short to medium term given the current political constraints and likelihood of a prolonged conflict and long-term policy recommendations. In the afternoon, a field trip was conducted upon the completion of the morning session. The participants and project team visited two farms in Tarim, where they became acquainted with corn cultivation methods and pivot irrigation systems. The participants met with the farm owners and the expert workshop participants from Hadhramawt explained the different irrigation systems used on these farms. The participants also got to physically see the impacts of flash floods on the farms. A policy brief based on the deliberations of this workshop was published in March 2024 and is accessible [here](#).

RYE/MEI Webinar Promoting RYE Policy Brief 25 (24 April 2023)

On 24 April 2023, RYE co-hosted a webinar with the Middle East Institute to launch RYE Policy Brief 25 on solar energy, targeting a US/foreign-based audience working on/interested in Yemen, renewable energy, climate adaptation, and access to energy in fragile and conflict-affected states. The objectives of the workshop were: to brief stakeholders on the main points and recommendations of the Policy Brief; to provide a validation of the paper's findings and recommendations; and to increase the awareness/position solar energy investments topics in the local and international agenda in Yemen. The webinar was attended by 20 participants, 25% of whom were women, and the participants were from US, UK, Yemen, Germany, Egypt, Singapore, India and the UAE. RYE co-implementing partner DeepRoot's speakers presented the findings from the policy paper and the practical recommendations to address the challenges to scaling-up investments in Yemen. Furthermore, an expert panel which included DeepRoot speakers and MEI's Climate Change experts discussed the paradigm shift needed to address the energy crisis in Yemen and boost economic activity in Yemen.

RYE Webinar for Donors etc. on Scaling up Solar Energy Investments in Yemen (09 May 2023)

This webinar was the second event implemented to promote the outcomes and recommendations of RYE Policy Brief 25. DeepRoot speakers presented the policy paper findings and engaged the Development Champions and private sector representatives in discussion with donors and implementing agencies on practical avenues for scaling-up solar energy investments in Yemen. The webinar was attended by 22 participants, 27% of whom were women. The participants were from USAID, IMF, UNDP, KfW, UN, WB, FCDO, a number of private sector companies and the Social Fund for Development.

Aden Workshop: Challenges to Scaling Up Solar Energy Investments in Yemen (28 May 2023)

This workshop, the third event to promote the outcomes of RYE Policy Brief 25, was co-implemented by RYE co-implementing partner DeepRoot with the Aden-based Ministry of Electricity. According to RYE consortium members' knowledge, this workshop was the first ever to have brought together government and private sector representatives involved with electricity generation and provision to discuss challenges and opportunities to PPPs in scaling up solar energy provision in Yemen. Next to DeepRoot representatives and DCF Secretary General Hatem Bamehriz, the workshop was attended by 29 participants from the government, the private sector, NGOs and energy experts; 14% of them were women and 7% were youth.

'Development Champions Forum IX' (24–26 May 2023, Amman/Jordan)

The Development Champions Forum (DCF) is at the heart of RYE, bringing together senior Yemeni experts on the economy and development to discuss crucial policy matters relevant to these fields in Yemen. The topics that were covered at the ninth DCF were:

- Addressing the Challenges of the Anti-Usury Law: On Day 1 of DCF IX, the Development Champions discussed the implications of the "anti-usury law" passed by the Sana'a-based House of Representatives that bans "usurious transactions," including interest-based transactions that take place in



Participants of the Development Champions Forum IX

Yemen's banking sector. The DCs explored challenges associated with the anti-usury law and potential adverse implications for the Yemen economy in general and the financial sector in particular. They discussed recommendations aimed at mitigating the negative effects of a shift to Islamic financing in Yemen. Relevant international development community stakeholders were invited to join the DCs physically and virtually on the same day for a briefing on the outcomes of the anti-usury law discussions. At this briefing, the Development Champions highlighted the potential economic and humanitarian consequences associated with the law and provided recommendations for the international community to help alleviate the situation.

- **Public Revenues:** On days 2 and 3, the Development Champions discussed the shortfall in public revenues faced by the internationally recognized government. The government has been experiencing critical fiscal budget deficits due to a drastic drop in customs and hydrocarbon export revenues, which represented its largest source of pre-conflict income. This situation became worse since Ansar Allah drone attacks on oil terminals in Shabwa and Hadhramawt governorates in October and November 2022 forced a complete halt in oil exports, further diminishing revenues for the cash-strapped government. Thus, the DCF explored the overall state of the government's public revenues and potential options for decreasing the fiscal deficit and improving revenue collection mechanisms, including tax collection. A virtual follow-up meeting took place on 31 May 2023 to brief the international community on the outcomes of the discussions. The Development Champions presented the key highlights of the discussions and potential recommendations to the international community.

RYE/Sanaa Center Co-Organized Session on Fisheries and Agriculture at the Yemen International Forum (15 June 2023, The Hague/Netherlands)

On 15 June 2023, the Rethinking Yemen's Economy initiative and the Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies co-organized a panel entitled "Revitalizing Strategic Economic Sectors" at the Yemen International Forum in The Hague. Three out of the four speakers on the panel were Development Champions and the panel discussion was moderated by CARPO's strategic partner in RYE, Dr. Marie-Christine Heinze. The session focused on agriculture and fisheries, two strategic economic sectors that constitute the main source of income for most Yemenis. These sectors suffer from weak infrastructure, security concerns, financing, climate change and environmental degradation. The speakers explored solutions and interventions required to revitalize them as a way of contributing to job creation and promoting economic recovery. They also discussed practical solutions, including facilitating export, access to loans,

machinery and technological solutions to enhance farming and fisheries, access to improved seeds, and ways to overcome barriers in the supply and value chains.

RYE Briefing for Representatives from Different EU Institutions Working on Yemen (20 June 2023, Brussels/Belgium)

For this briefing the RYE delegation, consisting of one representative of each member of the RYE consortium and three Development Champions, met with representatives DG INTPA and EEAS at the European Commission's Directorate-General for International Partnerships (DG INTPA). This event took stock of the most recent political developments regarding the conflict in Yemen with a particular view to economic aspects relevant to current and future negotiation processes. Furthermore, the briefing also explored some of the latest research outputs from RYE and discussed avenues of constructive international engagement with the country.

RYE Briefing on Yemen in Cooperation with Egmont Institute (20 June 2023, Brussels/Belgium)

In the afternoon of 20 June 2023, RYE partnered up with the Egmont Institute for a briefing for Brussels-based policy makers and researchers focusing on Yemen. The inputs at this meeting were structured as a panel discussion, with panel 1 focusing on current peace-making endeavors related to the Yemen conflict and exploring in detail some of the economic dimensions and challenges connected with these processes. Amongst others, the speakers focused on matters relating to public revenues, the banking sector and the payment of salaries. Panel 2 explored current efforts to support development in Yemen in the context of an increasing impact of climate change. Challenges and opportunities were discussed with a specific view to the impact of climate change on agricultural production as well as to the promotion of the renewable energies sector.

RYE Briefing on Yemen in Cooperation with B'huth – Dubai Public Policy Research Center (25 July 2023, Dubai/UAE)

On 25 July 2023, RYE together with B'huth, a Dubai-based research center, co-implemented a briefing session focusing on economic opportunities for Yemenis in a post-agreement phase. This briefing mission was led by DeepRoot Consulting and attended by three Development Champions. The DCs presented their views on current challenges that are impairing policy makers from taking a longer-term view and preparing for such a future. They warned that although Yemen has the right ingredients, i.e. human capital, geographical location, coastal line, to turn around and grow its economy, the current trajectory will lead to a definite economic collapse and further political turmoil in a

fragile context. They highlighted some of the relief programs they felt are key to salvage the situation and prevent an economic catastrophe. The discussion later progressed to identify some of the opportunities that could be capitalized by policy makers in Yemen and the region. With its long coastal line and access to both the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, Yemen can play a much larger role within the global new blue economy. Facilitating shipping and transportation, linking Eastern Asia with Africa and the rest of the world, attracting investment in fisheries, power generation and research were among the opportunities identified. The conversation continued with the Development Champions and the project team sharing some of the research insights on the potential for renewable energy in the country and on how investment can be unlocked in this sector.

'Development Champions Forum X' (2–4 December 2023, Cairo/Egypt)

The tenth Development Champions Forum took place in Cairo, Egypt, rather than – as usual – in Amman, Jordan, as the Jordanian authorities had stopped issuing visas to Yemenis beginning of October. Topics covered were:



Participants of the Development Champions Forum X

- The role of local authorities in development in Yemen: After a presentation on the challenges facing the empowerment of local authorities in development, two Development Champions (Eng. Badr Basalama (Hadhramawt) and Governor Nabil Shamsan (Ta'iz)) from governorates that have successfully led the way in local development briefed the Champions on their respective governorates' efforts, successes and challenges faced. The results of the discussions have been published in RYE Policy Brief 27: Empowering Local Authorities to Lead Economic Development in Yemen.

- The construction sector in Yemen: In these sessions of DCF X, three guest speakers from the Yemeni construction sector shared their experiences, successes and challenges faced. In two breakout groups focusing on a) financial challenges of the construction sector, and b) other needs of the sector, the Development Champions subsequently developed recommendations on how this important sector of the Yemeni economy can be better supported. The paper summarizing the results of these discussions will be published in February 2025.

3.2.3 Publications

All RYE publications are available in English and Arabic.

RYE Policy Brief 25: Scaling Up Solar Energy Investments in Yemen

by Akram M. Almohamadi and Rafat A. Al-Akhali

Poor electricity services remain a key barrier to sustainable economic development in Yemen, exacerbated by the ongoing conflict and related damages to the electricity sector's infrastructure. Given Yemen's high average hours of annual daily sunshine and a significant level of solar irradiation, solar energy is a viable and cost-effective alternative to the currently prevalent fossil fuel-based electricity supply. This brief provides an introduction to electricity provision in Yemen and explores the viability of specific solar energy applications for the country's fragile context. It further considers the feasibility of partnering with the private sector in the solar energy sector, and finally presents recommendations and practical steps to address challenges to scaling up investments in this sector in Yemen.

Available online

RYE Policy Brief 26: Challenges to Yemen's Public Revenues

by Ned Whalley and the Sana'a Center Economic Unit

Since April 2022, the war in Yemen has mutated from a high-casualty conflict to a protracted stalemate with relatively stable frontlines. The current phase has been marked by the expansion of economic warfare, with the Houthi authorities shutting down trade from internationally recognized government-controlled areas, stoking discontent as public utilities break down and the currency tumbles across the south. From 24 to 26 May 2023, the Development Champions Forum came together in Amman to discuss these challenges to Yemen's public revenues and potential avenues for relief of the government's current fiscal crisis. This RYE Policy Brief is based on these deliberations and brings forward relevant recommendations to improving and reviving certain revenue streams.

Available online

3.3 Overview of Saudi Arabia's Potential to Enhance its Position as a Key Goods Provider for the Energy Transition and the Upcoming Hydrogen Economy

3.3.1 Summary

This project aimed to provide background information and an analytical overview about Saudi Arabia's current key industries as well as products of relevance for its energy transition and its national hydrogen economy. In this context, the project team also explored what additional industrial sectors might be expanded or added to enhance the establishment of the energy transition's supply chains at a domestic level. By focusing on Saudi Arabia's current industrial production and its main industrial targets within the energy transition, the project shed light on the kingdom's untapped industrial potential within the energy transition's supply chains and future perspectives for hydrogen production.

This project was funded by the Hydrogen Diplomacy Office in Riyadh, established in 2022 by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) on behalf of the German Federal Foreign Office to foster dialogue on Saudi Arabia's future role in the global energy transition.

Project Duration

January 2023 – September 2023

Project Donor

Hydrogen Diplomacy Office, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)

3.4 Unterstützung der Reformpartnerschaften mit Tunesien [Support for Reform Partnerships with Tunisia]

3.4.1 Summary

This project involved internal studies to analyze key dynamics in Tunisia and the Maghreb region as part of GIZ's support for reform partnerships with Tunisia. It included a desk study examining the political and economic ties between Gulf countries and Tunisia to identify potential synergies and opportunities for donor coordination. Additionally, it featured a mapping of actors supporting Tunisian civil society to enhance donor coordination in response to the country's democratic progress and recent autocratic trends. The project also explored the Maghreb's connections with Sub-Saharan Africa and its engagement in the African Union, identifying synergies with Germany's Africa strategy. These findings provided a solid foundation for strategic decision-making and collaboration in the region.

Project Duration

March 2023 – June 2023

Project Donor

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)

3.5 Science Communication for Social Cohesion and Inclusion in Yemen

3.5.1 Summary

This project aims to develop innovative (knowledge) products addressing matters related to social cohesion and inclusion in Yemen by initiating networks and cooperation between higher education institutions and non-university partners, including German and Yemeni researchers and students, civil society stakeholders and artists in the fields of science communication, social cohesion and inclusion in Yemen. It is the fourth project in an ongoing cooperation between CARPO and research institutions in Yemen and is funded by the German Academic Exchange Service in the framework of its Ta'ziz Partnership funding line. It builds on the following previous projects: Enhancing Science Communication for Gender and Development (10/2022–12/2022), Teaching and Advising on Post-conflict Reconstruction (05/2019–12/2021, with the University of Bonn) and Peacebuilding and State Building in Yemen (03/2016–12/2018, with the University of Bonn).

Project Duration

March 2023 – December 2025

Project Partner

Gender Development Research & Studies Center (GDRSC), Sana'a University

Project Donor

German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)

3.5.2 Events

Assessment Workshop 'Science Communication for Social Cohesion in Yemen' (15–17 August 2023, Amman/Jordan)

This three-day workshop brought together German and Yemeni researchers, students, NGO representatives and artists to jointly assess and discuss challenges to and ways of artistically promoting social cohesion in Yemen. The concrete topics were selected by the participants based on their experience with and knowledge of the topic. Based on social and behavioral science methodologies, we jointly identified the challenges to and possible ways of promoting social cohesion in Yemen, bringing (emerging) academics, civil society representatives and artists into a dialogue. In the framework of three working groups, ideas for promoting social cohesion through artistic expression were

developed, which the participating artists then implemented upon their return to Yemen and before the second workshop.

Production Workshop ‘Science Communication for Social Cohesion in Yemen’ (29–30 November 2024, Amman/Jordan)

This two-day workshop brought together the same German and Yemeni researchers, students, NGO representatives and artists from the assessment workshop in August 2023 to discuss the products developed by the artists since the last workshop and to jointly develop brochures in English, German and Arabic explaining the analytical process that went into the production of the artistic work. Participants of the workshop also jointly identified avenues of publishing the results of this workshop through the development of a communication and promotion strategy, building on the respective networks of the workshop participants in Germany and Yemen.

3.5.3 Outputs

Revisioning Roads

by Sadiq al-Harasi

Since 2014/15, Yemen has lived through a devastating conflict that has had a profound impact on the society’s social fabric. The war has exacerbated existing divisions and created new ones, leading to a sense of isolation and fragmentation among Yemenis. In this context, the “Revisioning Roads” project seeks to explore the potential of roads as a medium of cohesion and coexistence.



Yemen’s roads have long been a vital part of the country’s infrastructure, connecting its diverse communities and facilitating trade and travel. These roads have enabled the movement of people, goods, and ideas, fostering a sense of shared identity across the country.

“Revisioning Roads” is an artistic photographic project that aims to reimagine roads as facilitators of cohesion and coexistence, highlighting their role as spaces of movement and shared experiences. The project aims to show that roads can be places of coexistence and understanding by portraying them as inclusive spaces for people from different regional,

cultural, and political backgrounds. This is achieved through photography and stitching/embroidery techniques, which symbolize cohesion. The roads in the project are free from any political, religious, or geographic considerations and are depicted as spaces for movement, mobility, and connectivity. The project's goal is to show that roads can be a force for good, bringing people together and fostering understanding and reconciliation. It aims to redefine the narrative of roads and movement as a physical action, focusing on the human connections and shared experiences that occur on our roads.

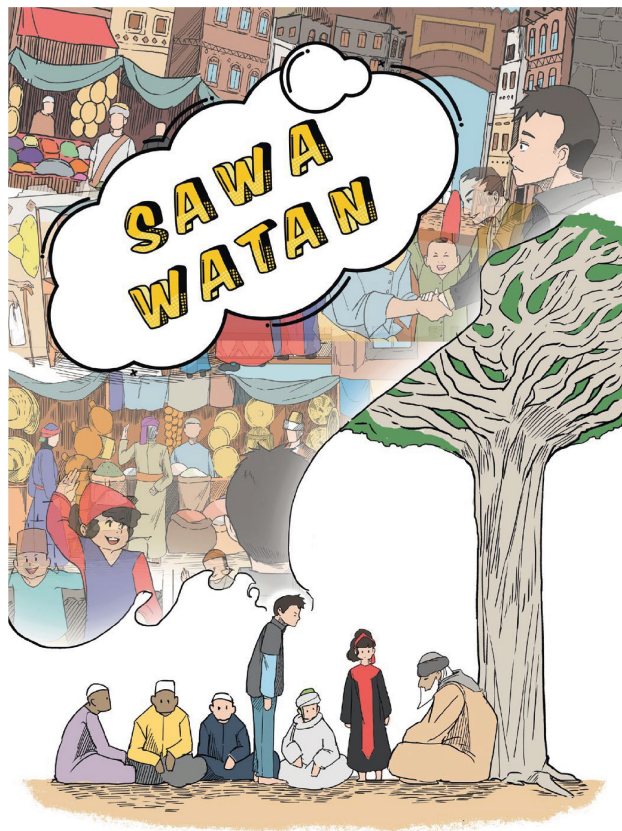
All pictures are available online.

Sawa Watan

by Rana Awadh

This comic is addressed to children between the ages of seven to twelve and features the story of the siblings Hannah and Yazan, who dream of a Yemen where all people live together peacefully and in respect of their differences. The comic is available in Arabic, English and German.

[Access the full comic here.](#)



3.6 Iran-Saudi Dialogue Initiative (ISDI)

3.6.1 Summary

In 2015, CARPO established this dialogue format to facilitate exchange and dialogue between former diplomats, policy and security analysts, and technical experts from Iran and Saudi Arabia. Since its onset, the Iran-Saudi Dialogue Initiative has included workshops and publications focusing on key issues relevant to the region.

A first project phase – funded by the German Ministry for Foreign Affairs through the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa) – ran from 2015 to 2018. During this period, numerous workshops on a wide range of topics were conducted, and their insights were shared in publicly available policy briefs. As of 2019, the initiative entered its second phase, jointly funded by the Foreign Ministries of Switzerland and the Netherlands. Until March 2023, the initiative was implemented in cooperation with the Stimson Center in Brussels (formerly the East West Institute).

Since April 2023, CARPO has taken sole responsibility for the initiative, continuing to bring together distinguished stakeholders from Tehran and Riyadh to exchange perspectives and assessments on issues of shared interest and concern in the Middle East, ranging from economic relations to environmental challenges, cultural relations to security affairs and beyond.

Project Duration

April 2015 – October 2024

Project Partner

Stimson Center Europe (until March 2023)

Project Donors

- Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), Switzerland
- Foreign Ministry of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

3.6.2 Events

'Prospects of Economic Integration between Iran and Saudi Arabia' (September 2023, Amsterdam/The Netherlands)

Saudi Arabia and Iran, two nations undergoing significant economic and social transformations, face unique challenges in fostering domestic stability and growth. Against the backdrop of the historic agreement to resume diplomatic ties in March 2023, CARPO hosted a workshop in September 2023 to

examine the obstacles and opportunities for bilateral and regional economic cooperation. The workshop brought together Iranian and Saudi experts to discuss avenues for collaboration while addressing critical challenges, such as regional security, international sanctions, and the absence of a robust bilateral framework to support investments.

3.7 Tafahum wa Tabadul – Enhancing Multi-Track Dialogue and Cooperation in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula

3.7.1 Summary

Since its launch in December 2021, this project has aimed to enhance understanding (*tafahum*) and foster cooperation (*tabadul*) among regional stakeholders in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula (WAAP), encompassing the GCC states, Iran, Iraq, and Yemen. Implemented in collaboration with the Gulf Research Center Foundation (GRCF), the project engages officials, academics, experts, and civil society actors to create a political environment more conducive to regional cooperation.

The project adopts a multi-track approach to address regional challenges and foster collaboration. At the political level (Track 1/1.5), it works with policy-makers to promote regional cooperation and develop a *tafahum* for peaceful coexistence. On the expert level (Track 2), the focus lies on examining the energy-climate-health nexus, a concept integrating economic sustainability, ecological resilience, and regional health. At the societal level (Track 3), the initiative enhances people-to-people mobility through academic and civic education exchanges. While each level operates independently, the project creates spaces for interaction to strengthen interconnectivity and address shared challenges comprehensively.

Initially funded by the German Federal Foreign Office (2018–2023), the project's current phase is supported by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, building on the outcomes of earlier Tafahum and Tafahum wa Tabadul initiatives. The funding transition occurred in May/June 2023, marking the start of a new chapter in advancing regional collaboration and understanding.

Project Duration

December 2021 – May 2024

Project Partner

Gulf Research Center Foundation

Project Donor

Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (since 2023); Federal Foreign Ministry of Germany (2018–2023)

3.7.2 Events

Societal Level Workshop: ‘Regional Networks for Women in Peace and Security Issues: Creating Spaces for Exchange within the West Asia and Arabian Peninsula (WAAP) Regional Setting’ (January 2023, Brussels/Belgium)

In early 2023, CARPO and GRCF co-hosted a workshop as part of the Tafahum wa Tabadul initiative, focusing on the opportunities and challenges in advancing the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda in the WAAP region. Participants explored recent progress, including initiatives like the UAE’s emphasis on WPS during its UN Security Council presidency, Kuwait’s Mudhawi’s List supporting women in elected office, and Saudi Arabia’s Qiyadyat platform promoting female leadership. Discussions also highlighted obstacles, such as limited participation of women in shaping and implementing policy, the concentration of initiatives within elite circles, and the dominance of government-led efforts over grassroots civil society actions. Participants of the workshop emphasized the importance of fostering regional interaction among women engaged in security debates and explored the potential for establishing a regional network modeled on Women in International Security (WIIS). Participants agreed that a structured approach to regional collaboration could significantly enhance women’s roles in addressing security challenges across the WAAP region.

Expert Level Workshop: ‘Regional Project Development within the Climate-Energy-Health-Nexus: Sustainability in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula (WAAP)’ (March 2023, Stockholm/Sweden)

The third expert-level (Track 2) workshop of the Tafahum wa Tabadul project took place in Sweden in March 2023. Co-organized by CARPO, GRCF, and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the event brought together an interdisciplinary group of researchers, entrepreneurs, consultants, environmental scientists, health professionals, a regional donor organization, and representatives from the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The thematic focus was on the climate-energy-health nexus and sustainability in the WAAP region.

Participants focused on conceptualizing a concrete regional project proposal within the climate-energy-health nexus. Discussions highlighted the need for enhanced environmental education, leveraging models like educational exchange programs and social media campaigns to raise awareness about air and water pollution. Representatives from the Islamic Development Bank (IsDB) provided valuable insights into funding mechanisms, emphasizing their GRIS approach (green, resilient, inclusive, sustainable) and the importance of aligning project proposals with regional priorities. Participants outlined a project aimed at fostering regional environmental education, involving



Participants of the Expert Level Workshop in March 2023, Stockholm

local universities, entrepreneurs, and the Tafahum wa Tabadul platform. The workshop underscored the opportunity for cooperation amidst regional de-escalation and growing interest in climate action, paving the way for further engagement with donors and stakeholders in the lead-up to COP28 in Dubai.

Political Level Workshop: ‘Tafahum wa Tabadul – High-Level Policy Dialogue’ (Spring 2023, Switzerland)

As part of its ongoing commitment to fostering regional cooperation, the Tafahum wa Tabadul project held another high-level meeting, bringing together officials from all key countries engaged in the initiative. This rare gathering provided a platform for open and constructive policy discussions on pressing regional challenges, underscoring the project’s unique ability to convene diverse stakeholders in dialogue. The meeting reinforced the importance of maintaining momentum in regional cooperation efforts, with participants expressing a shared interest in building sustainable mechanisms for dialogue. This gathering marked a significant step forward in creating pathways for collaboration and strengthening mutual trust among regional actors. The initiative continues to demonstrate its potential to contribute to long-term regional stability and integration.

Societal Level Workshop: ‘Enhancing People-to-People Relations through Initiatives on Media Literacy’ (May 2023, Doha/Qatar)

This workshop on the civil society level was held in May in Doha, in collaboration with the Ibn Khaldoun Center at Doha University. The workshop

built on the outcomes of a previous workshop held in Muscat, Oman, in fall 2022, focusing on translating discussions on “Media and Information Literacy” (MIL) into actionable ideas and exploring opportunities for regional capacity-building initiatives.

Participants from diverse fields, including journalism, media studies, and NGOs promoting media literacy emphasized the importance of strengthening MIL among both producers and consumers of media in the WAAP region. In today’s digital age, the ability to critically analyze, evaluate, and create media content is essential to navigating the challenges of misinformation and fake news. Discussions highlighted the role of MIL in fostering critical thinking, understanding biases in information sources, and combating harmful stereotypes. The workshop concluded with actionable proposals for promoting MIL and launching collaborative capacity-building initiatives tailored to the region’s unique media landscape.

Political Level Workshop: ‘Tafahum wa Tabadul – High-Level Policy Dialogue’ (Summer 2023, Switzerland)

In summer 2023, the Tafahum wa Tabadul project convened another workshop on the political level to further its efforts in promoting regional dialogue and cooperation among regional policymakers. Bringing together officials from all project countries, the workshop focused on evaluating the progress of the dialogue process in the region and identifying ways to foster confidence-building measures among regional actors. The discussions highlighted the importance of maintaining momentum in the dialogue process and developing mechanisms that can withstand and tackle political challenges. By focusing on confidence-building measures, participants reinforced their commitment to advancing regional stability and fostering constructive partnerships under the Tafahum wa Tabadul framework.

Participation in Key International Conferences

Engagement in international conferences is an integral part of this project and its outreach strategy, ensuring that project outcomes and networks are actively incorporated into global discussions. To this end, project staff participated in several such events throughout the year.

Bonn Climate Change Conference (SB58)

Participation in the Bonn Climate Change Conference (5–15 June 2023) allowed for strategic networking in a more focused setting with fewer regional attendees. This facilitated key contacts that were further developed during MENA Climate Week and COP28.

MENA Climate Week

Held in Riyadh (8–12 October 2023), the MENA Climate Week focused on region-specific climate solutions, particularly in “cities, urban and rural settlements, infrastructure, and transport.” Engagement with city networks such as LGMA and ICLEI highlighted the region’s low participation in these platforms, an issue integrated into future project workshops.

28th United Nations Climate Change Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC (COP28)

Participation in COP28 (30 November – 13 December 2023, Dubai) was instrumental in expanding networks and increasing project visibility. For the first time under the umbrella of Tafahum wa Tabaddul, we were able to use our observer status to nominate two experts from the region to participate in the UNFCCC negotiations and as key speakers. A project-led COP meeting fostered dialogue among experts and deepened understanding of COP28’s implications for the region. This participation significantly advanced the project’s objectives through trust-building and access to high-value networks.

3.7.3 Publications

The ‘Climate-Energy-Health Nexus’: An Entry-Point for Environmental Cooperation in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula

by Sina Winkel and Sebastian Sons

Based on insights obtained through the Tafahum wa Tabaddul project, the authors discuss how recent geopolitical dynamics in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula may pave the way towards cross-border environmental engagement on an inclusive political, academic, societal and entrepreneurial level. The ‘climate-energy-health nexus’ is introduced as a potential thematic entry-point for cooperation, as it addresses manifold shared interests and challenges in the region. Winkel and Sons warn, however, that challenges such as the lack of coordination, data gaps and political mistrust remain and will take time to overcome. In order to be able to do so, this Brief presents a number of recommendations to regional and international stakeholders.

Available online

3.8 Baghdad Dialogue – Exploring Regional Connectivity

3.8.1 Summary

In collaboration with Hewan Iraq – Iraqi Institute for Dialogue, CARPO initiated the implementation of the *Baghdad Dialogue: Exploring Regional Connectivity*. Scheduled to take place in February 2024 in Baghdad, this conference aimed to build on existing positive steps towards regional integration by fostering dialogue among technical experts, academics, think tankers, and civil society. By convening distinguished participants from West Asia, Central Asia, and Africa, the conference sought to breathe life into the regional integration process, complementing high-level political efforts with practical and actionable insights.

Project Duration

December 2023 – February 2024

Project Partner

Hewan Iraq – Iraqi Institute for Dialogue

4 Publications 2023

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.

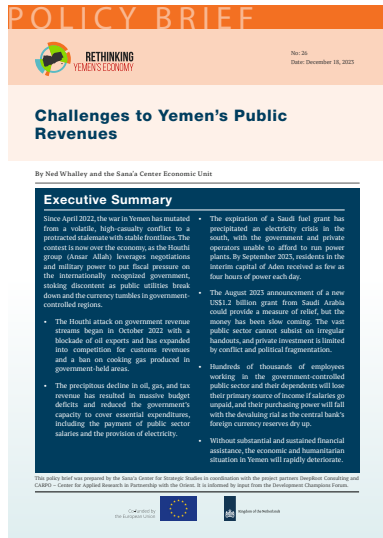
Other

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

CARPO Sustainability Series

In 2020, CARPO launched its Sustainability Series with CARPO Study 09: *The Looming Climate Peril. Sustainable Strategies and Environmental Activism in the Middle East and North Africa* by our researcher Tobias Zumbärgel. The CARPO Sustainability Series aims to contribute to the slowly growing but still quite marginal research on sustainability in the Middle East and North Africa. As this region's high vulnerability to the severe effects of climate change and global warming represents one of the greatest challenges of this century, it is imperative to tackle this field from a holistic perspective. Sustainability comprises aspects of social (e.g. justice, equality, participation, state-society relations), environmental (e.g. clean energy, pollution, waste, recycling, biodiversity) and economic sustainability (e.g. business engagement, training,

education, diversification). Cross-cutting issues are highly diverse and interconnect a vast array of disciplines such as anthropology, politics, economics, sociology, environmental studies or history. Accordingly, this series will publish analyses in the form of CARPO Briefs, Reports or Studies by academics and practitioners from various fields to provide multidisciplinary analysis on key themes of sustainability.



18.12.2023

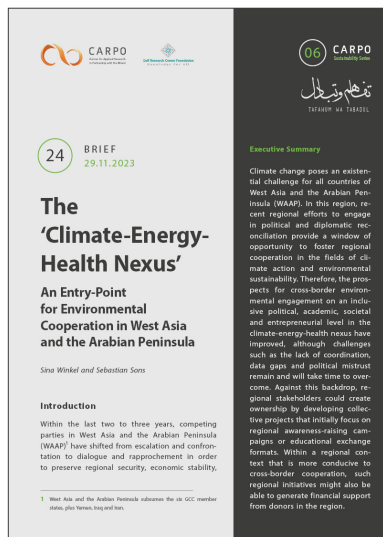
Challenges to Yemen's Public Revenues

by Ned Whalley and the Sana'a Center Economic Unit

Since April 2022, the war in Yemen has mutated from a high-casualty conflict to a protracted stalemate with relatively stable frontlines. The current phase has been marked by the expansion of economic warfare, with the Houthi authorities shutting down trade from internationally recognized government-controlled areas, stoking discontent as public utilities break

down and the currency tumbles across the south. From 24 to 26 May 2023, the Development Champions Forum came together in Amman to discuss these challenges to Yemen's public revenues and potential avenues for relief of the government's current fiscal crisis. This RYE Policy Brief is based on these deliberations and brings forward relevant recommendations to improving and reviving certain revenue streams.

Available online



29.11.2023

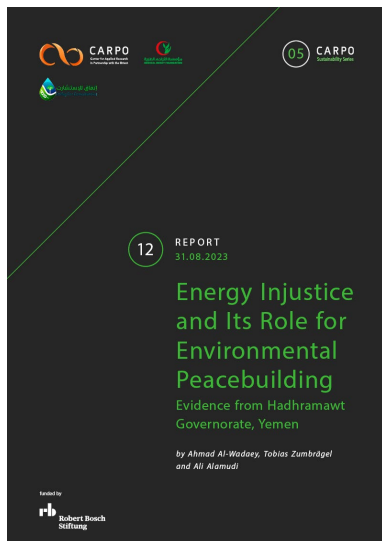
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Available online



31.08.2023

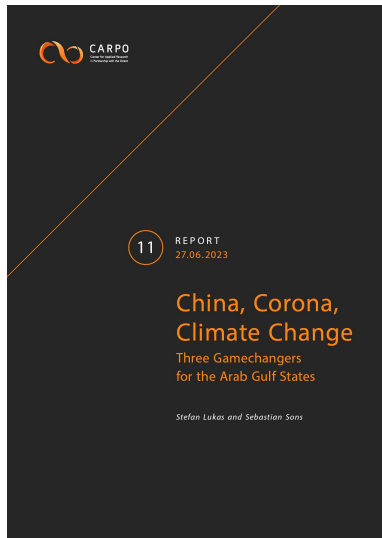
Energy Injustice and Its Role for Environmental Peacebuilding

by Ahmad Al-Wadaey, Tobias Zumbrägel und Ali Alamudi

This CARPO Report discusses the crucial but understudied impact of oil extraction industries on local communities and the environment in Yemen's Hadhramawt governorate. By combining conceptual approaches of energy justice and the environmental peacebuilding literature,

it provides a novel perspective on how environmental pollution via the oil industry in Yemen creates injustices and grievances and might hamper sustainable peace efforts. Using a mixed method approach of both quantitative and qualitative analyses, the empirical assessment in two districts of Hadhramawt governorate, Tarim and Sah, confirms assumptions about widespread and severe oil pollution negatively impacting the local population. Based on a household survey and additional expert interviews, it further describes potential avenues for remediation that offer recommendations for concrete action on environmental peacebuilding strategies.

Available online



27.06.2023

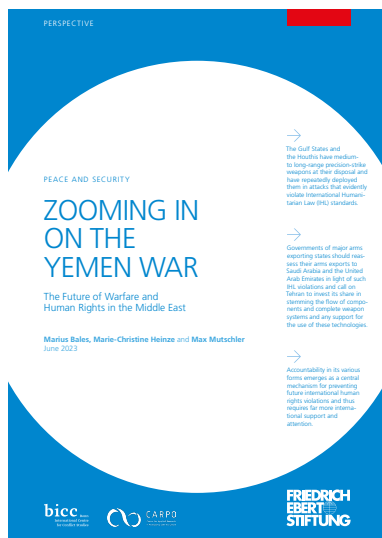
China, Corona, Climate Change. Three Gamechangers for the Arab Gulf States

by Stefan Lukas and Sebastian Sons

This CARPO Report analyzes how the Corona pandemic, China and climate change are acting as major gamechangers for the Arab Gulf States, reshuffling old geopolitical, economic and social structures. These new developments in the region also mean that European players will have to come up with new strategies if they

are not to lose more political relevance in the future. Hence, the authors not only describe the main trends, but also identify possible courses of action for European decision makers.

Available online



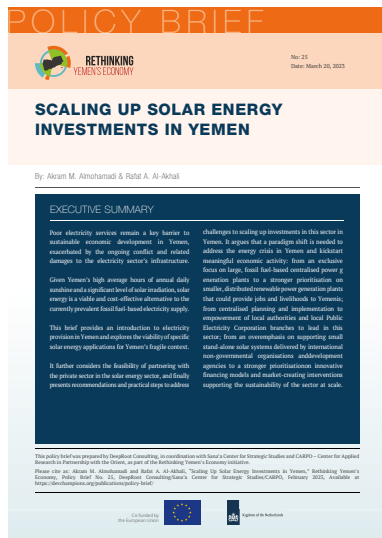
01.06.2023

Zooming in on the Yemen War. The Future of Warfare and Human Rights in the Middle East

by Marius Bales, Marie-Christine Heinze and Max Mutschler

Missiles, drones, precision-guided munition, and other military technologies that enable belligerents to attack their enemies from a distance are changing the concepts and practices of warfare. This can best be observed in the conflict-ridden region of the Middle East, particularly in the Yemen war, which has witnessed one of the most extensive use of missiles and other aerial weapons of any conflict in the 21st century. From 31 May to 1 June 2022, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies and CARPO convened a two-day workshop with international and regional experts in Berlin to discuss this changing nature of warfare in the region, the humanitarian consequences of the new remote warfare by Gulf States and non-state actors in the Yemeni context, as well as implications for arms control. This FES/BICC/CARPO-Perspective is a summary of the workshop discussions and offers policy recommendations for international actors.

Available online



20.04.2023

Scaling Up Solar Energy Investments in Yemen

by Akram M. Almohamadi and Rafat A. Al-Akhali

Poor electricity services remain a key barrier to sustainable economic development in Yemen, exacerbated by the ongoing conflict and related damages to the electricity sector's infrastructure. Given Yemen's high average hours of annual daily sunshine and a significant level of solar irradiation, solar energy is a viable and cost-effective alternative to the currently prevalent fossil fuel-based electricity supply. This Policy Brief provides an introduction to electricity provision in Yemen and explores the viability of specific solar energy applications for the country's fragile context. It further considers the feasibility of partnering with the private sector in the solar energy sector, and finally presents recommendations and practical steps to address challenges to scaling up investments in this sector in Yemen.

Available online

30.03.2023



Research Cooperation with the 'Global South' [in German]

by Sarah Wessel

This CARPO Report outlines the critical debate about the 'Global South', the effect of unequal distribution in the emergence, generation and acceptance of specific knowledge regimes as well as central challenges in cooperation with sometimes politically sensitive and crisis-ridden contexts. The concluding recommendations for research institutions, funding organizations and politics encourage a debate on how research cooperation can be structured globally on an equal footing if research and innovation are increasingly becoming fields of geopolitical contestations.

Available online

5 Events

CARPO Research Forum 2023: 'Dialogue and Mediation in a Multipolar World', (29 November 2023, virtual event)

Today's global affairs are becoming increasingly complex and overwhelming. The pace of tectonic geopolitical shifts, the intensity of continued unbearable conflicts, as well as the level of devastation through climate change are difficult to cope with and to sufficiently comprehend. While this global context is maximizing the need for patient and inclusive dialogue, time and space for such dialogue are becoming more and more limited. A new level of polarization is dominating the public discourse, leaving very little room for context, nuances and a multi-angle perspective on complex realities. Against this backdrop, the 4th CARPO Research Forum shed light on what kind of impact this trend has on dialogue initiatives as well as on mediation efforts. Is it, indeed, more challenging to conduct dialogue and mediation in a multipolar world? To address this question, the CRF 2023 featured a range of distinguished speakers, who are both scholars *and* practitioners of dialogue. With their help, we examined the merits and limits of dialogue, how dialogue initiatives can lead to actual mediation efforts, and how the need for neutrality and balance can be reconciled with moral convictions.

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