



**CARPO**

Center for Applied Research  
in Partnership with the Orient

# Annual Report 2018

Bonn, 31 December 2018

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# 1 Introduction

We look back at the year 2018 as yet another year during which we have been able to further consolidate our young organization. We have completed, continued and launched projects in line with the institutional *raison d'être* laid out in CARPO's vision and mission. It has been our pleasure to continue our work with partner organizations from Europe and the Middle East, and we are proud to have established new partnerships in the course of 2018. We have carried on setting up dialogue fora to convene interlocutors from Germany, Europe and the Middle East in order to generate knowledge transfer and exchange on topics and issues that are of immediate interest and concern on all sides. We have successfully managed to broaden our network among scholars, policymakers, entrepreneurs and civil society with all of whom we foster research, consultancy and exchange for the sake of better understanding of Middle Eastern developments and dynamics.

The region our work focusses on remains a hotspot for violent conflict, economic and environmental crises and demographic challenges. Increased uncertainty about the future role the United States is willing (or no longer willing) to play in the Middle East has raised the stakes for all regional actors. The role of other extra-regional powers, such as China, Russia and Europe, has as much been the subject of discussions among scholars and commentators, as has been the present and future roles of regional powers such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, the United Arab Emirates, and Turkey. CARPO has been active in trying to identify the most urgent themes of these regional developments and integrate them into our projects. At all times, it has been our goal to not only point at all the disheartening developments we observe, but to also discover promising and constructive trends championed by individuals as well as organizations and institutions in the region.

In our project "Rethinking Yemen's Economy", tangible ways forward for policy-making during the ongoing conflict as well as the post-conflict era of the country are outlined. Deliberations on (local) governance, corruption, employment opportunities, private sector potentials, and humanitarian aid resulted in pragmatic recommendations developed by Yemeni experts on development and the economy, quite a number of which have since been put into action. We are planning to take this important work forward in 2019 with our Yemeni partner organizations DeepRoot Consulting and the Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies.

We also continue to keep dialogue alive between Iranian and Saudi Arabian experts whom we convened two times in 2018; first, to present their respective visions for economic developments in the Middle East, and secondly, to discuss how knowledge about “the Other” is produced in the academic landscapes. With our partners at the EastWest Institute, we remain convinced that in times of steadily increasing tensions between the two countries maintaining these channels of dialogue is indispensable. While we implement these meetings in a confidential setting, publications on the key findings of the Iran-Saudi Dialogue are available on our website.

Furthermore, we are excited to have teamed up with the Gulf Research Center Foundation to implement a new project entitled “Tafahum – Security Roadmap for West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula”, which we have launched in September 2018. This initiative is designed as a 3-year project and we are very grateful for the German Federal Foreign Office to provide us with the funds to start this initiative. The project aims at generating an overall “understanding” (*tafahum*) among regional stakeholders on a joined process towards regional security in West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula. In the course of this project, workshops and other dialogue fora, resulting in publications, will pave the way to constructing ideational pillars for an overall agreement of how to define a regional security architecture.

In addition to the three projects above, we have been active in joint activities with a number of partners. We set up a workshop on “Transatlantic Dialogue on the Middle East” in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation at our CARPO headquarters in Bonn, convening think tankers from European capitals and Washington DC. In a joint endeavor with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Al Sharq Forum, we held two meetings in Bonn and Berlin discussing the “Triangular Interdependence” between Europe, Turkey and Iran, exploring areas of convergence and divergence in the interplay between these three actors. We also continued our cooperation with the University of Bonn and the University of Sanaa’s Gender-Development Research & Studies Center (GDRSC) in the framework of the project ‘Academic Approaches to Peacebuilding and State Building in Yemen’, funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), which has resulted in several publications. We also remain proud partners of the Yemen Polling Center (YPC).

In the course of implementing these projects, we have been able to secure the necessary resources to enlarge our office space in Bonn. Our founding member, friend and colleague Dr. Jasmin Khosravie has moved on, but we are proud to say that we have been able to expand our team with new researchers

and associate fellows. This helps us broaden and deepen our research network and widen our fields of activity and outreach into the region. We thus continue to establish CARPO as Germany's Middle East-focused think tank through regular publications and events.

With the Annual Report at hand, we would like to present you a detailed overview of our 2018 activities. You will be provided with information on who we are, what we want CARPO to be, and how we have set up our nascent organization.

We are grateful for your interest in us and our work and look forward to keeping in touch and further exploring avenues of cooperation and fruitful exchange.

## **The CARPO Executive Board**

Marie-Christine Heinze, President

Adnan Tabatabai, Chief Executive Officer

Jan Hanrath, Chief Executive Officer

## 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 including

- Country- and issue-specific as well as regional analyses and studies;
- Conceptualization, implementation and post-processing of public events, workshops and conferences;
- Risk assessments and market analyses;
- Individual briefings, trainings, context- and issue-specific policy advice; and
- Evaluations.

## 3 Projects

### 3.1 Rethinking Yemen's economy

#### 3.1.1 Summary

This two-year project, which started in March 2017, is an initiative to identify Yemen's economic, humanitarian, social and development priorities in light of the ongoing conflict in Yemen, and to prepare for the post-conflict recovery period. The project is implemented by CARPO, DeepRoot Consulting and the Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies (Sana'a Center). It is funded by the European Union and the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to Yemen.

The project aims to build consensus in crucial policy areas through engaging and promoting informed Yemeni voices in the public discourse. The aim is to ensure successful economic, humanitarian, social and development interventions in the conflict and post-conflict periods in Yemen, which will address the needs and rights of the Yemeni people and put the country on a path toward sustainable peace and development. There are three main objectives for the project:

- To empower Yemeni voices in contributing to the discourse on economic, humanitarian, social and development priorities in Yemen, re-engage Yemeni experts and build channels/platforms to counter the "brain drain" that the country is witnessing;
- To build consensus around key economic, humanitarian, social and development issues/priorities and approaches of addressing them; and
- To inform and positively influence local, regional and international development agendas in Yemen.

The project convenes a number of structured meetings for Yemeni development experts; develops a series of policy briefs and white papers on economic, humanitarian, social and development priorities; engages key stakeholders; reaches out to the Yemeni public in an effort to enhance representation and participation of all parts of society; and aims at positively influencing local, regional and international development agendas in Yemen.

*The project has four components:*

**Development Champions Forums:** A number of forums will convene senior Yemeni experts and professionals from both social and economic development fields with in-depth understanding and established experience. The Development Champions identify key issues for intervention and contribute to the research and analysis of the Research Hive. They are the driving force of this project.

**Research Hive:** A research hive of Yemeni researchers with experience in those issues identified by the Development Champions continuously conduct research on Yemen; identify best practices and lessons learned of various international experiences; and present empirical evidence on the specified issues. The researchers draft white papers on each of the key issues identified as well as provide regular situational analysis on the same issues through producing policy briefs.

**Public Outreach:** As part of the research process, and to ensure the inclusion of various stakeholders, consultation workshops with different local stakeholders including the private sector, youth and CSOs are implemented. Moreover, the project also engages the Yemeni public by ensuring effective media coverage and social media engagement throughout the different project phases.

**Regional and International Stakeholder Engagement:** The project reaches out to regional and international stakeholders currently engaged in Yemen in order to ensure that they are informed about the outcomes of this project – for the benefit of the people of Yemen and in the hope of more concerted efforts in this regard by the international community.

### ***Project Duration***

March 2017 – February 2019

### ***Project Partners***

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

## **3.1.2 Events**

### ***Development Champions Forum II (January 2018, Location: Amman)***

On 14–16 January 2018 the second Development Champions Forum (DCF) convened 23 Development Champions, bringing together local voices from the social, humanitarian, development and economic sectors.

During this forum, the Development Champions discussed the results of the initiative’s latest research on post-conflict reconstruction, private sector engagement and local governance. The Champions furthermore identified new topics for research and engaged in in-depth discussions on how to preserve the national currency and prevent the collapse of the banking sector, and how to improve the efficiency of the humanitarian response and reinforce the resilience of Yemeni society.



The DCF was followed by a joint meeting between the Development Champions and representatives of the international community on 17 January 2018. The Development Champions presented the outcomes of the DCF and discussed with the participants the role of the international community in supporting economic development in Yemen.

***Briefing Meeting on Yemen (June 2018, Location: London)***

The first of a series of semi-public and in-house briefings took place in London on 25 June 2018. After an in-house briefing at the Department for International Development (DFID) with representatives of ministries and other government agencies of the United Kingdom a semi-public round-table on “Yemen’s Way Forward: Rethinking Current Approaches” was conducted at and in cooperation with Chatham House. The event took stock of current approaches to resolve the conflict in Yemen and addressed its consequences, analysed the effectiveness of these approaches, and explored options for alternatives that could contribute to a more effective and comprehensive peace process. The event also presented some of the latest research outputs from the Rethinking Yemen’s Economy project.

***Development Champions Forum III (July 2018, Location: Amman)***

During the third Development Champions Forum, which took place from 14–16 July 2018 in Amman, the Development Champions delved into discussions on two key issues: job creation and government effectiveness. These discussions resulted in a new policy paper, Generating New Employment Opportunities in Yemen, which addressed job creation in Yemen and proposed strategies to combat the rising levels of unemployment and economic hardship. Following the forum, the Development Champions also issued a statement on the impact of escalating military operations on the humanitarian situation in Yemen, and specifically on Hudaydah governorate. The statement also raised concerns about the impact of the conflict on vital economic infrastructure.

Again, the DCF was followed by a joint meeting between the Development Champions and representatives of the international community. The purpose of this meeting was to give the international community the opportunity to discuss with the Champions their approaches, thinking and challenges when aiming to address the humanitarian, economic and development-related situation in Yemen, and to gather feedback on these matters from the Yemeni experts present. The meeting also offered an opportunity for the Development Champions to present any ideas they had about how to improve the situation on the ground in light of the latest developments. It was intended that this engagement and discussion will contribute to the efforts of the international actors and also allow for the establishment of relevant contacts with high-profile Yemeni experts for future knowledge exchange and cooperation.

***Briefing Meeting on Yemen (November 2018, Location: Brussels)***

Following a similar set-up like the previous briefing meeting in London a semi-public event on “Yemen’s Way Forward: Rethinking Current Approaches” was implemented in cooperation with the EastWest Institute in Brussels on 8 November 2018. In two panels on “The Political Process and Evolving Local Dynamics in Yemen” and “Implications of the Economics Fallout on the Peace Process” representatives of the project, including the Development Champion Jamila Rajaa, discussed the current situation in Yemen. On the following day two in-house briefings at the European External Action Service (EEAS) and the Council of the European Union informed about the status quo and the results of the project.

***Briefing Meeting on Yemen (November 2018, Location: Washington/New York)***

From 13–16 November 2018 a number of briefing meetings were held in Washington and New York, USA. They aimed at presenting the discussion outcomes and policy recommendations of the Development Champions to the policy analysts and development practitioners’ community in the United States. Furthermore they were intended to introduce the Rethinking Yemen’s Economy project and more importantly familiarize the decision makers in the US with the Development Champions to further establish the group as the body to turn to for development programming advice on Yemen. After a public event with and at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace meetings were held at the State Department, USAID, the World Bank and in context of the United Nations in New York.

***Development Champions Forum IV (December 2018, Location: Amman)***

The fourth Development Champions Forum was conducted on 8–10 December 2018 in Amman, Jordan, and coincided with the peace talks held in Sweden between the warring parties to the conflict in Yemen. The 23 Development Champions that took part discussed urgent economic measures that could be taken to build confidence, e.g. the payment of salaries to all public sector employees working in state administration units as well as the payment of state pensions. These discussions resulted in a letter to the participants of the Stockholm Peace Consultations on the payment of public sector salaries and pensions.

During the forum, the Development Champions also developed 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 were the outcomes of in-depth discussions and were 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 had achieved in the final quarter of 2018. As was the case in the previous meetings the DCF was followed by a joint meeting between the Development Champions and representatives of the international community on 11 December 2018 to present the latest outcomes of the initiative and to offer all participants the opportunity for exchange and establishing contacts.

### 3.1.3 Publications

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

#### ***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 02: "Restoring Central Bank Capacity and Stabilizing the Rial"***

This brief brings forward crucial recommendations to address Yemen's current challenges in the financial sector. These recommendations result from the second Development Champions Forum, which took place in Amman, Jordan, between 14–16 January 2018 as part of the "Rethinking Yemen's Economy" initiative. Here, among the urgent topics of discussion was the deterioration of the value of the Yemeni rial (YR), the magnifying impact this is having on the humanitarian crisis, and the need to re-empower the Central Bank of Yemen (CBY) as the steward of the rial and the economy in general. The recommendations collectively underline the need for the CBY to function in a more coherent, assertive manner – whereby its various branches operate as a united bank that is able to draft and implement economic and monetary policies for Yemen as a whole.

Online available

#### ***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 03: "International Organizations and the Yemeni Private Sector"*** ***by Ali Azaki***

This brief addresses the role of the Yemeni private sector in mitigating the humanitarian crisis in Yemen as well as its relationship to international humanitarian organizations. It finds that a large number of Yemeni business owners have been engaged in trying to alleviate the suffering of Yemenis out of their own volition, but also in service of and cooperation with international humanitarian agencies. Despite this successful cooperation relationship, this brief also finds that there remains significant room for improvement particularly what communication and coordination measures are concerned. To this end, it is recommended – amongst others – that international humanitarian actors form a joint coordination platform with the Yemeni private sector, local authorities and civil society.

Online available

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 04: "Increasing the Effectiveness of the Humanitarian Response in Yemen"***

This brief brings forward recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of the humanitarian response in Yemen. These recommendations result from the second Development Champions Forum, which took place in Amman, Jordan, between 14–16 January 2018 as part of the "Rethinking Yemen's Economy" initiative. Among the key topics of discussion among the Development Champions were the need for international humanitarian actors to increase their coordination with local authorities, civil society actors, and the Yemeni private sector; the importance of decentralizing the humanitarian response; and the importance of prioritizing assistance to the most vulnerable members of Yemeni society.

Online available

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 05: "An Institutional Framework for Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Yemen"***

***by Khaled Hamid***

This brief proposes an institutional structure for a future reconstruction process in Yemen: a permanent, independent, public reconstruction authority that empowers and coordinates the work of local reconstruction offices, established at the local level in areas affected by conflict or natural disasters. This proposal does not arise only from lessons learned from previous reconstruction efforts in Yemen, but also from the immediate need for such an institution to begin planning and implementing reconstruction work to the greatest extent possible.

Online available as [Policy Brief](#) and as a [more extensive White Paper](#)

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 06: "Challenges for Yemen's Local Governance Amid Conflict"***

***by Wadhah al-Awlaqi & Maged al-Madhaji; edited by: Anthony Biswell***

The brief deals with the role of local councils in Yemen and analyses their current situation. In the absence of central state authority and despite all the challenges they face, these councils remain important instruments for coordinating humanitarian relief efforts and local-level conflict mediation. Local councils are among the best-equipped and best-established institutions to support a shift away from the previous centralized model. Thus the brief concludes that it is imperative that local, regional and international actors seek not merely to keep local governance structures from collapse but to enhance the capacities of local councils in post-conflict scenarios.

Online available as [Policy Brief](#) and as a [more extensive White Paper](#)

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 07: "Private Sector Engagement in Post-Conflict Yemen"*** *by Amal Nasser; edited by Spencer Osberg*

This brief, which is based on a more extensive White Paper, assesses the factors weighing on private sector development in Yemen. It lays out the impacts of the 2011 uprising in Yemen, the ensuing political crisis and the current conflict on the economy and the private sector. Following this, recommendations are offered to both the Yemeni government and international stakeholders regarding steps that can be taken to revive and develop the private sector post conflict.

Online available as [Policy Brief](#) and as a [more extensive White Paper](#)

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 08: "Generating New Employment Opportunities in Yemen"***

This brief brings forward crucial recommendations to address Yemen's worsening economic and humanitarian crises. These recommendations result from the third Development Champions Forum, which took place in Amman, Jordan, between 14–16 July 2018 as part of the "Rethinking Yemen's Economy" initiative. Amongst others, the Development Champions recommend that policy makers seek to create jobs by investing in sectors that have historically been neglected in favor of oil and gas activities. This includes investing in agriculture, developing the fishing industry, expanding mining operations, and linking reconstruction efforts to the local construction sector. In the medium term, policy makers should look to new initiatives, such as constructing a free zone on the Yemen-Saudi border.

Online available

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 09: "Corruption in Yemen's War Economy"*** *The Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies*

This brief, which is based on a more extensive White Paper, assesses the multifaceted pervasiveness of corruption in Yemen. It is demonstrated, amongst others, that patronage networks are now emerging among previously marginal or unknown figures and that the financial involvement of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates has extended patronage across national borders. It is argued that any anti-corruption agenda must aim to understand the complex configuration of patronage networks in Yemen, to be introduced gradually, and to get the buy-in of as wide a group of Yemenis as possible.

## 3.2 Iranian-Saudi Dialogue

### 3.2.1 Summary

CARPO has established an Iran-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 and security experts from both countries. The participating groups from Iran and Saudi-Arabia are composed of senior academics, think-tank representatives, business executives, and policy practitioners. The issues discussed range from bilateral economic and cultural relations to issues of regional security and exchange of best practices in different policy areas.

The aim of the project is to develop a set of clear-cut policy recommendations that help Iran and Saudi Arabia, as well as the EU and its member states, cooperate to counteract negative trends in the region. It aims at identifying common economic, environmental and security issues on the domestic level that can better – and at times only – be solved through mutual understanding and cooperation. The project envisions that the dialogues will bring about a better understanding within the policy communities in both Saudi Arabia and Iran on 1) the grievances of the other, 2) mutual interests and benefits from an improved bilateral relationship, 3) ways to improve cooperation on vital economic and security matters affecting the entire region.

The initiative started in 2015 with a workshop on the root-causes of ISIS and on strategies to defeat and prevent the emergence of extremist organizations. It was continued with two workshops in 2016, one focusing on Iranian-Saudi Perspectives on the refugee crisis, the other dealing with challenges and opportunities a 'post-oil' era might bring for both countries. In two 2017 two workshops dealt with environmental issues in the Gulf region and with perceptions of "the Other" in the media of both countries. From the very beginning of this initiative, the increasing conflict and lack of trust between Iran and Saudi Arabia posed a challenge. Due to the intensified political tensions also in 2018, ensuring balanced participation from Saudi Arabia and Iran has continued to be difficult. Nonetheless, CARPO and EWI were able to ensure the participation of academics, experts, journalists, security analysts and former diplomats in the project activities. In addition, European experts on the region from renowned institutions joined the workshops, as has been the case in previous meetings.

#### *Project duration*

2015 – 2018

#### *Project partner*

EastWest Institute

### 3.2.2 Events

#### ***Workshop on Future Prospects of Economic Development in the Middle East (September 2018, Location: Brussels)***

On 5–6 September 2018 the workshop ‘Future Prospects of Economic Development in the Middle East – Viewpoints from Saudi Arabia, Iran and Europe’ was implemented in Brussels. This interactive dialogue brought together senior experts from the Middle East and Europe. The roundtable explored and discussed national, regional, and global economic trends with a focus on Saudi Arabia and Iran. Changing patterns of global energy markets force Saudi Arabia and Iran to reform their national economies. To deal with the challenges of globally sinking oil and gas demands, economic reforms and diversification are necessary. The aim of this workshop was to have a brainstorm on how, if possible, to decouple economic issues from the geopolitical ones, and for the participants to exchange views, ideas on how to foster economic cooperation in the long run, given the rapid changes in the region.

#### ***Workshop on Knowledge Dialogue and Knowledge Production in the Middle East (September 2018, Location: Bonn)***

The Middle East, and the Gulf region in particular, is a region marked by geo-strategic rivalries, ongoing military conflicts and mutual distrust. Perceptions and misperceptions are manifested in mutual negative images and stereotypes. Think tanks, universities and individual academics could play an important role in producing and providing knowledge and in creating a better understanding of the “other”. This increased mutual comprehension may contribute to conflict mitigation and resolution. Academic cooperation has the potential to become a bridge builder in divisive and conflictive contexts by decoupling scientific fields of common interest from political pressures. Case studies from the time of the Cold War, European countries and other contexts provide valuable, comparative insights for contemporary political rivalry in the Middle East.

On 24–25 September 2018 a workshop took up these issues and convened distinguished academics and experts from Europe, Saudi Arabia and Iran to engage in an in-depth, interactive discussion on research and educational systems as well as knowledge production about the “others”. In addition, it aimed to identify how academic exchange and scientific cooperation can contribute to mitigating conflict and opening up channels of mutual interaction. Thus it asked what role academia and scientists as individuals can play in improving relationships between rivalling countries in the long term.



### 3.2.3 Publications

***CARPO Brief 11: Knowledge in Dialogue – The Role of Academic Exchange in Mitigating Conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia* by Jan Hanrath**

The sixth meeting of CARPO and the EastWest Institute's 'Iran-Saudi Dialogue Initiative' dealt with knowledge production and knowledge dialogue in context of the highly conflictual relationship between Iran and Saudi Arabia and explored the potential of academic exchanges and scientific cooperation in defusing such tensions. The workshop brought together academics, representatives of think tanks and security analysts from Iran and Saudi Arabia as well as international experts. The participants discussed general conditions and approaches of academic dialogues, as well as concrete steps that can be envisioned even in times of heightened conflict. All participants agreed that an increase of knowledge on its own does not automatically lead to more understanding. Different forms of knowledge need to be understood and applied, and existing gaps between the various forms bridged. Only in doing so academic dialogue can live up to its potential as bridge-builder. CARPO Brief 11 takes up the discussions of the workshop and presents policy recommendations.

Online available

## 3.3 Tafahum

### 3.3.1 Summary

Tafahum has been launched in September 2018 in cooperation with the Gulf Research Center Foundation (GRCF) and is designed as a 3-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 "understanding" (or tafahum) 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.

In the course of this project, multiple workshops, dialogue for a, 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-2018 to elaborate on their countries' respective security priorities. Throughout 2019, five working groups will assemble experts from the GCC states, Iran, Iraq and Yemen. Regional experts from Europe will be added to the groups, which will be divided into 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 – October 2019 (First funding period)

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

Gulf Research Center Foundation

### **3.3.2 Events**

#### ***Conceptual framework workshop (December 2018, Location: Vienna)***

In December 2018, a conceptual framework workshop will be held in Vienna during which security experts from Saudi Arabia, Iran, Europe, the United States and Russia will come together to outline the security priorities of these key regional stakeholders, based on working papers each participant will provide. The main insights of this workshop will be summarized in a joint CARPO/ GRCF policy paper to be published in February 2019.

## **3.4 Academic Approaches to Peacebuilding and State Building in Yemen**

### **3.5.1 Summary**

The project “Academic Approaches to Peace-Building and State-Building in Yemen” is funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) in the framework of its Transformation Partnership. The partners in the project are the Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies at the University of Bonn and the Gender-Development Research & Studies Center at Sanaa University. CARPO is involved in the publication of papers resulting from this project.

#### ***Project Summary***

Against the backdrop of the ongoing war in Yemen, this project aims to contribute to peacebuilding and state building in the country. This objective is to

be achieved by strengthening ties between researchers, academic staff, students and – subordinately – to experts in the policy and development community in order to develop ideas and find new ways of academic support to respective endeavors. A particular focus will be placed on the promotion and support of young academics and women.

Regarding outputs, the project focuses on common workshops and conferences, an annual summer school, a project website and a series of policy papers.

### ***Project Objective***

This project's objective is to investigate and support peace-building and state-building initiatives in post-conflict Yemen from an academic perspective and thus a) to support and strengthen the work of practitioners and policy-makers in the country through the provision of expertise; and b) to build the respective expertise in Yemeni and German academia to support and critically accompany a). In the first year of this project, activities will focus on academic approaches to peace-building, while the focus of the second year will be on state-building, governance and particularly federalism should its introduction have been decided by then.

### ***Project partners***

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

### ***Project duration***

2016 – 2018

### ***Website***

<http://bonn-sanaa.de/>

## **3.4.2 Publications**

### ***CARPO Brief 09: Enhancing Women's Role in Water Management in Yemen by Bilkis Zabara***

This brief addresses the relationship between gender and natural resources in conflict-affected Yemen. It describes the impact of the war on women's access to water resources and sanitation facilities and analyzes the role of women in decision-making and water-distribution processes. It finds that the involvement of women at all levels of water management and governance is of utmost importance if the access to water as a basic human right is to be guaranteed and provides respective recommendations.

Online available in [English](#) and [Arabic](#)

***CARPO Brief 10: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder among Yemeni Children as a Consequence of the Ongoing War*** ***by Fawziah al-Ammar***

This brief summarizes initial findings of the author's research among displaced school children in Sana'a in spring 2016, based on the internationally recognized Child PTSD Symptoms Scale (CPSS). It finds that they have been experiencing severe symptoms of PTSD since the breakout of violent conflict and war and that the rates of PTSD experience are higher compared to results from similar studies in other countries going through conflict. It thus concludes that Yemeni school children are in dire need of help to overcome the difficulties they might face in the future and provides respective recommendations.

Online available in [English](#) and [Arabic](#)

***CARPO Study 04: Between a Rock and a Hard Place. Recognizing the Primacy of Politics in UN Peacebuilding*** ***by Andrea Warnecke***

This study scrutinizes the dichotomy between the political and non-political parts of the UN system and asks whether the UN system can conduct peacebuilding in contested intra-state settings irrespective of Security Council backing. It argues that the UN's perennial pre-occupation with improving peacebuilding coherence across its bodies is bound up with the attempt to project greater political leverage vis-à-vis host state governments. The quest for peacebuilding reform has recently come full circle by acknowledging the fundamental dilemma of conducting intra-state peacebuilding in 'non-cooperative' environments as a challenge to be addressed at the political level of inter-governmental cooperation rather than through the non-political parts of the UN.

Online available

***CARPO Study 06: Imagining an Alternative Homeland. Humanism in Contemporary Yemeni Novels*** ***by Abdulsalam al-Rubaidi***

This study presents insights into alternative values and visions offered to society by leading contemporary Yemeni novelists with the aim of laying the basis for a better future of their country. CARPO Associate Fellow Abdulsalam al-Rubaidi analyzes six contemporary Yemeni novels, each of which is built around widely debated issues in Yemen, revolving around three main categories: regionalism, religious affiliations, and race. The study identifies a multidimensional humanistic space as the ultimate goal of literary narration – a vision which is based on love, respect, recognition, rationality, openness, environmental awareness and orientation towards peace.

Online available in [English](#) and [Arabic](#)

## 4 Other Activities

### 4.1 Events

#### ***Triangular Interdependence – Relations between Europe, Iran and Turkey (February, June 2018, Locations: Bonn and Berlin)***

In a joint initiative with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the AlSharq Forum in Istanbul, two 1-day roundtables were held with renowned experts from Iran, Turkey and Europe in Bonn and Berlin to discuss areas of shared interest and concern between Europe, Iran and Turkey. While multiple conferences were dedicated to discussing bilateral relations between Iran and Europe, Europe and Turkey, and Turkey and Iran, the meetings in Bonn and Berlin deliberately focused on the nature of a triangular interdependence between these three actors, particularly in Middle Eastern affairs.

#### ***Transatlantic Dialogue on Developments the Middle East (May 2018, Location: Bonn)***

In early summer, CARPO and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation held a 2-day conference in Bonn to foster Transatlantic Dialogue on Developments in the Middle East. Experts from think tanks from different European capitals and Washington D.C. came together to exchange their viewpoints about current developments and future trends in contexts such as Saudi Arabia and the GCC states, Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Yemen. The aim was to identify points of divergence and convergence in views across the Atlantic on Middle Eastern conflicts.

#### ***Future Scenarios in the Middle East – Viewpoints from Tehran and Berlin (October 2018, Location: Berlin)***

In October 2018, CARPO set up a track 1.5 foresight workshop in Berlin with policymakers and analysts from Iran and Germany to exchange views and perspectives on future developments in the Middle East. Before looking at the contexts of Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and the GCC states, participants discussed perspectives from Berlin and Tehran on their respective roles in the Middle East.

## 5 Overview Publications 2018

In an effort 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 particular project activities or are stand-alone texts dealing with topics and fields CARPO is active in.

### ***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 an interested public. This series focuses on specific topics and offers profound 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***

Further CARPO publications beyond the categories Briefs, Reports and Studies, generally resulting from project cooperation.

19.12.2018

***CARPO Brief 11 : Knowledge in Dialogue – The Role of Academic Exchange in Mitigating Conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia***

*by Jan Hanrath*

The sixth meeting of CARPO and the EastWest Institute's 'Iran-Saudi Dialogue Initiative' dealt with knowledge production and knowledge dialogue in context of the highly conflictual relationship between Iran and Saudi Arabia and explored the potential of academic exchanges and scientific cooperation in defusing such tensions. The workshop brought together academics, representatives of think tanks and security analysts from Iran and Saudi Arabia as well as international experts. The participants discussed general conditions and approaches of academic dialogues, as well as concrete steps that can be envisioned even in times of heightened conflict. All participants agreed that an increase of knowledge on its own does not automatically lead to more understanding. Different forms of knowledge need to be understood and applied, and existing gaps between the various forms bridged. Only in doing so academic dialogue can live up to its potential as bridge-builder. CARPO Brief 11 takes up the discussions of the workshop and presents policy recommendations.

12.11.2018

***CARPO Study 06: "Imagining an Alternative Homeland. Humanism in Contemporary Yemeni Novels"***

*by Abdulsalam al-Rubaidi*

This study presents insights into alternative values and visions offered to society by leading contemporary Yemeni novelists with the aim of laying the basis for a better future of their country. CARPO Associate Fellow Abdulsalam al-Rubaidi analyzes six contemporary Yemeni novels, each of which is built around widely debated issues in Yemen, revolving around three main categories: regionalism, religious affiliations, and race. The study identifies a multidimensional humanistic space as the ultimate goal of literary narration – a vision which is based on love, respect, recognition, rationality, openness, environmental awareness and orientation towards peace.

05.11.2018

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 09: "Corruption in Yemen's War Economy"***

*The Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies*

This brief, which is based on a more extensive White Paper, assesses the multifaceted pervasiveness of corruption in Yemen. It is demonstrated, amongst others, that patronage networks are now emerging among previously marginal or unknown figures and that the financial involvement of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates has extended patronage across national borders. It is argued that any anti-corruption agenda must aim to understand the complex configuration of patronage networks in Yemen, to be introduced gradually, and to get the buy-in of as wide a group of Yemenis as possible.

16.10.2018

***CARPO Study 05: "Rivals or Partners? Interdependencies between the EU and China in the Middle East"***

*by Julia Gurol*

Geopolitical occurrences and the changing role of the United States in the Middle East have led to an increased interdependence between the EU and China in the Middle East, a region where the economic and security interests of each meet, compete and converge. While the main drivers of EU-China relations remain economic, the security dimension of their relationship is steadily increasing. It is therefore timely to undertake a preliminary mapping of EU-China security relations in the Middle East, in order to assess the potential drivers towards cooperation and explore possibilities to turn the greater interdependence into increased cooperation rather than expanding competition.

12.10.2018

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 08: "Generating New Employment Opportunities in Yemen"***

This brief brings forward crucial recommendations to address Yemen's worsening economic and humanitarian crises. These recommendations result from the third Development Champions Forum, which took place in Amman, Jordan, between 14–16 July 2018 as part of the "Rethinking Yemen's Economy" initiative. Amongst others, the Development Champions recommend that

policy makers seek to create jobs by investing in sectors that have historically been neglected in favor of oil and gas activities. This includes investing in agriculture, developing the fishing industry, expanding mining operations, and linking reconstruction efforts to the local construction sector. In the medium term, policy makers should look to new initiatives, such as constructing a free zone on the Yemen-Saudi border.

29.08.2018

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 07: "Private Sector Engagement in Post-Conflict Yemen"***

*by Amal Nasser; edited by Spencer Osberg*

This brief, which is based on a more extensive White Paper, assesses the factors weighing on private sector development in Yemen. It lays out the impacts of the 2011 uprising in Yemen, the ensuing political crisis and the current conflict on the economy and the private sector. Following this, recommendations are offered to both the Yemeni government and international stakeholders regarding steps that can be taken to revive and develop the private sector post conflict.

02.07.2018

***CARPO Study 04: "Between a Rock and a Hard Place. Recognizing the Primacy of Politics in UN Peacebuilding"***

*by Andrea Warnecke*

This study scrutinizes the dichotomy between the political and non-political parts of the UN system and asks whether the UN system can conduct peacebuilding in contested intra-state settings irrespective of Security Council backing. It argues that the UN's perennial pre-occupation with improving peacebuilding coherence across its bodies is bound up with the attempt to project greater political leverage vis-à-vis host state governments. The quest for peacebuilding reform has recently come full circle by acknowledging the fundamental dilemma of conducting intra-state peacebuilding in 'non-cooperative' environments as a challenge to be addressed at the political level of inter-governmental cooperation rather than through the non-political parts of the UN.



20.06.2018

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 06: "Challenges for Yemen's Local Governance Amid Conflict"***

*by Wadhah al-Awlaqi & Maged al-Madhaji; edited by: Anthony Biswell*

The brief deals with the role of local councils in Yemen and analyses their current situation. In the absence of central state authority and despite all the challenges they face, these councils remain important instruments for coordinating humanitarian relief efforts and local-level conflict mediation. Local councils are among the best-equipped and best-established institutions to support a shift away from the previous centralized model. Thus the brief concludes that it is imperative that local, regional and international actors seek not merely to keep local governance structures from collapse but to enhance the capacities of local councils in post-conflict scenarios.

29.05.2018

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 05: "An Institutional Framework for Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Yemen"***

*by Khaled Hamid*

This brief proposes an institutional structure for a future reconstruction process in Yemen: a permanent, independent, public reconstruction authority that empowers and coordinates the work of local reconstruction offices, established at the local level in areas affected by conflict or natural disasters. This proposal does not arise only from lessons learned from previous reconstruction efforts in Yemen, but also from the immediate need for such an institution to begin planning and implementing reconstruction work to the greatest extent possible.

10.04.2018

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 04: "Increasing the Effectiveness of the Humanitarian Response in Yemen"***

This brief brings forward recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of the humanitarian response in Yemen. These recommendations result from the second Development Champions Forum, which took place in Amman, Jordan, between 14–16 January 2018 as part of the "Rethinking Yemen's Economy"

initiative. Among the key topics of discussion among the Development Champions were the need for international humanitarian actors to increase their coordination with local authorities, civil society actors, and the Yemeni private sector; the importance of decentralizing the humanitarian response; and the importance of prioritizing assistance to the most vulnerable members of Yemeni society.

20.03.2018

***CARPO Brief 10: “Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder among Yemeni Children as a Consequence of the Ongoing War”***

*by Fawziah al-Ammar*

This brief summarizes initial findings of the author’s research among displaced school children in Sana’a in spring 2016, based on the internationally recognized Child PTSD Symptoms Scale (CPSS). It finds that they have been experiencing severe symptoms of PTSD since the breakout of violent conflict and war and that the rates of PTSD experience are higher compared to results from similar studies in other countries going through conflict. It thus concludes that Yemeni school children are in dire need of help to overcome the difficulties they might face in the future and provides respective recommendations.

20.03.2018

***CARPO Brief 09: “Enhancing Women’s Role in Water Management in Yemen”***

*by Bilkis Zabara*

This brief addresses the relationship between gender and natural resources in conflict-affected Yemen. It describes the impact of the war on women’s access to water resources and sanitation facilities and analyzes the role of women in decision-making and water-distribution processes. It finds that the involvement of women at all levels of water management and governance is of utmost importance if the access to water as a basic human right is to be guaranteed and provides respective recommendations.

16.03.2018

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 03: "International Organizations and the Yemeni Private Sector"***

*by Ali Azaki*

This brief addresses the role of the Yemeni private sector in mitigating the humanitarian crisis in Yemen as well as its relationship to international humanitarian organizations. It finds that a large number of Yemeni business owners have been engaged in trying to alleviate the suffering of Yemenis out of their own volition, but also in service of and cooperation with international humanitarian agencies. Despite this successful cooperation relationship, this brief also finds that there remains significant room for improvement particularly what communication and coordination measures are concerned. To this end, it is recommended – amongst others – that international humanitarian actors form a joint coordination platform with the Yemeni private sector, local authorities and civil society.

08.02.2018

***Rethinking Yemen's Economy Policy Brief 02: "Restoring Central Bank Capacity and Stabilizing the Rial"***

This brief brings forward crucial recommendations to address Yemen's current challenges in the financial sector. These recommendations result from the second Development Champions Forum, which took place in Amman, Jordan, between 14–16 January 2018 as part of the "Rethinking Yemen's Economy" initiative. Here, among the urgent topics of discussion was the deterioration of the value of the Yemeni rial (YR), the magnifying impact this is having on the humanitarian crisis, and the need to re-empower the Central Bank of Yemen (CBY) as the steward of the rial and the economy in general. The recommendations collectively underline the need for the CBY to function in a more coherent, assertive manner – whereby its various branches operate as a united bank that is able to draft and implement economic and monetary policies for Yemen as a whole.

## 6 CARPO in the Media

Throughout the year 2018 CARPO staff appeared on a variety of formats on radio, TV, print and online media. CARPO staff contributed by providing assessments and analyses in interviews or through commentaries and guest articles.

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

During 2018 Marie-Christine Heinze gave several interviews concerning the current crisis in Yemen and was quoted in national and international media with her scientific work. Marie-Christine Heinze appeared in *report München*, *CS Monitor*, *SWR2* and *Radio Bremen*.

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

Throughout 2018, Adnan Tabatabai appeared in German and international media with commentary and analysis on ongoing developments regarding Iran's domestic and external affairs. Tabatabai was featured on print, TV and radio outlets such as *BBC*, *CNN*, *France24*, *Phoenix TV*, *Die Zeit*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Der Spiegel*, *AlJazeera English*, *Deutsche Welle*, and *3Sat*.

### ***Sebastian Sons, Senior Researcher***

Sebastian Sons was quoted national and international during the year 2018 and was interviewed on TV and Radio analyzing current internal and external politics in Saudi Arabia. Among others he appeared in *Deutsche Welle*, *Tagesspiegel*, *Bayerischer Rundfunk*, *Welt*, *NTV*, *SRF* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

## 7 CARPO Presentations and Lectures

Throughout the year 2018 CARPO staff gave a number of public presentations and lectures. In addition to these public presentations and lectures, they actively participated in closed expert round-tables in Europe and beyond which were held under Chatham House rule.

### *Marie-Christine Heinze, President*

- Presentation “Keine Wahl zwischen Pest und Cholera? Der Jemen-Konflikt und seine Akteure”, Bayerisches Orientkolloquium, 11.01.2018, Erlangen, Germany.
- Presentation “Jemen. Der vergessene Krieg”, Lecture series ‘Welt der Konflikte’, University of Mainz, 31.01.2018, Mainz, Germany.
- Presentation “Die politischen Entwicklungen im Jemen seit 2011 und die aktuelle (humanitäre) Lage”, Lions Club Bonn, 01.02.2018, Rheinbach, Germany.
- Presentation “Thuwwam, ‘iswab and ‘dense daggers’. The enduring political potency of the janbiya”, Workshop on ‘Yemen’s Living Heritage: Tribes and Tribalism into the 21st Century’ at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, 14–15 February 2018, Vienna, Austria.
- Presentation “Jemen. Dimensionen von Krieg und Frieden”, CARPO-Workshop on ‘Zwischen Chaos und Stabilität. Krieg und Frieden im Mittleren Osten’ at the Federal Agency for Civic Education, 15.05.2018, Bonn, Germany.
- In addition to these public lectures, Marie-Christine Heinze actively participated in closed expert round-tables in Europe and beyond which were held under Chatham House rule.

### *Adnan Tabatabai, Chief Executive Officer*

- Lecture “JCPOA in danger? Europe stuck in tensions between Iran and the US”, Deutsch-Atlantische Gesellschaft, 13 March 2018, Kalkar, Germany.
- Lecture and panel discussion “Norouz Dialogue: Iran in transformation”, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 19 March 2018, Berlin, Germany.
- Lecture “Iran’s Regional and Security Policy”, Royal Higher Institute for Defence, 22 March 2018, Brussels, Belgium.
- Lecture and panel discussion “Iran’s Regional and Security Policy”, Deutscher Verband der Reservisten der Bundeswehr, 24 March 2018, Witten, Germany.
- Panel discussion “How can the JCPOA be saved?”, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 28 March 2018, Solna, Sweden.
- Panel discussion “The JCPOA after the US Withdrawal”, Center for European Policy Studies, 14 May 2018, Brussels, Belgium.
- Lecture “Iran – a regional power”, Caritas, 16 May 2018, Bonn, Germany.

- Lecture "Iran and Saudi Arabia – Rivals in the Middle East", 7 June 2018: University of Bamberg, Germany.
- "Iran and the nuclear deal after the US withdrawal", 12 June 2018, University of Göttingen, Germany.
- Lectures "Conflicts in the Middle East" & "Iran and Saudi Arabia – Rivals in the Middle East", 10 September 2018, Die Wolfsburg, Mülheim, Germany.
- Lecture "Governance in the Islamic Republic of Iran", 8 October 2018, Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin, Germany.
- Lecture "Why the JCPOA matters", EU-Iran Forum, 19 October 2018, Berlin, Germany.
- Lecture and panel discussion "Can the JCPOA Crisis turn into an Iran Crisis?", 9 November 2018, Evangelische Akademie Loccum.
- Lecture "The political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran", Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Mülheimer Nahostgespräche, 10 November 2018, Mülheim, Germany.

## 8 CARPO Team

### 8.1 Staff

#### Marie-Christine Heinze, President

Marie-Christine Heinze holds 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. Her PhD thesis on material culture and socio-political change in Yemen in the field of social anthropology at the University of Bielefeld was successfully completed in 2015. Amongst others, she is currently head of an academic exchange project with the University of Sanaa on peace-building and state-building 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 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.

#### Selected Publications

- (ed.) (2018): *Yemen and the Search for Stability. Power, Politics and Society After the Arab Spring*, I.B. Tauris: 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 Tabatabai attained his master's degree in Middle East Politics at the School of Oriental and African Studies / University of London. He holds an assigned lectureship at the Heinrich-Heine-University of Dusseldorf lecturing

approaches of social and political science to the Middle East. As an independent analyst on Iran affairs, Tabatabai is consulted by the German Federal Foreign Office, the German Bundestag and political foundations as well as by international journalists and authors. As a project manager for the Berlin based NGO Media in Cooperation and Transition (MiCT), Adnan Tabatabai conducts projects in the fields of media cooperation and political education to foster civil society dialogue in North Africa and West Asia.

*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***

- (12.12.2017): 'The Logic Behind Iran's Regional Posture', in *LobeLog*.
- (09.02.2017): 'Why Iran-US war of words won't turn physical', in *Al-Monitor*.
- Interview (11.01.2017): 'Will Rafsanjani's Death Shake Up Iran Politics?', in *Zenith*.
- (23.12.2016): '2017 Uncertainties Require a New Mideast Security Structure', in *LobeLog*.
- (21.11.2016): TV Interview on election of Donald Trump and the future of the Nuclear Deal, in *CNN International*.
- (2016): *Victimized by Geopolitics – Iranian and Saudi Perspectives on the Refugee Crisis*, CARPO Brief 05, [Online available](#).
- TV Debate (02.03.2016): 'Is a new political era beginning in Iran?', in *AlJazeera*.

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

Jan Hanrath, Dipl.-Soz.-Wiss., studied political science, European law and psychology (focus on intercultural communication) at the University Duisburg-Essen. Currently he 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. Prior to this he worked at NAVEND – Center for Kurdish Studies in Bonn. In the past years he has worked as a researcher and coordinator in projects on Islam and integration, migration and conflict, political transformation in the Middle East, and academic exchange.

*Focus & Topics:* German Middle East policies, public diplomacy, peace and conflict research, political transformation and mobilization, diaspora and diaspora politics, intercultural dynamics, migration and integration, civil society and societal politics.



### ***Selected Publications***

- (2012): *Transnationale Migrantengruppen und der Transport von Konflikten. Das Beispiel Türken und Kurden in Berlin*, INEF-Report 105, Institut für Entwicklung und Frieden (INEF), Duisburg. [Online available.](#)
- & Leggewie, Claus (2012): 'Revolution 2.0? The Role of Digital Media in Political Mobilisation and Protest', in: Debiel, Tobias / Hippler, Jochen / Roth, Michele / Ulbert, Cornelia (eds.): *Global Trends 2013. Peace – Development – Environment*, Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (SEF), Bonn, pp. 37–51. [Online available.](#)
- (2011): *Umbrüche im Nahen Osten – Hintergründe und Handlungsoptionen für westliche Politik und Zivilgesellschaft*, INEF Policy Brief 09, Institut für Entwicklung und Frieden (INEF), Duisburg. [Online available.](#)
- (2009): 'Sicherheitspolitik mit anderen Mitteln? Interkulturelle Dialoge im Dienste von Konfliktregulierung und Krisenprävention', in: Hippler, Jochen / Fröhlich, Christiane / Johannsen, Margret / Schoch, Bruno / Heinemann-Grüder, Andreas (eds.): *Friedensgutachten 2009*, LIT Verlag, Berlin, pp. 306–317.
- (2008): *Zivilgesellschaftsförderung der EU im Nahen Osten – Euro-Mediterrane Partnerschaft und Stärkung demokratischer Strukturen*, Tectum Verlag, Marburg.

### **Dr. Jasmin Khosravie, Head of Research and Programs (until September 2018)**

Jasmin Khosravie has been trained in Near and Middle Eastern Studies (including Arabic, Persian, Turkish) and Comparative Religion in Cologne and Bonn. She completed her dissertation on a prominent Iranian women's rights activist and journalist in 2010. Since then, Jasmin Khosravie works and teaches at Bonn University. Recently, she was the head of a research unit on Middle Eastern travelogues on Europe. Her research focuses on women's and gender issues in the Islamicate World, identity/alterity and cultural contact as well as on the modern history of Iran and Central Asia.

*Focus & Topics:* Gender, women's movements, identity/alterity, society and societal politics in Iran & Central Asia, Islamic mysticism, intercultural communication.

### ***Selected Publications***

- (2015): 'Die Freiheit der Person – Der Gender-Faktor', in: A. Dziri/M. Karimi (eds.): *Freiheit im Angesicht Gottes – Interdisziplinäre Positionen zum Freiheitsdiskurs in Religion und Gesellschaft*, Freiburg, pp. 43–56.

- (2013 ): 'Iranian women on the road – The case of Şadīqe Doulatābādī in Europe, 1923–27', in: C. Hillebrand/O. Akyildiz et al. (eds.): *Venturing beyond borders. Reflections on genre, function and boundaries in Middle Eastern travel writing*, Würzburg, pp. 131–156.

### Sebastian Sons, Senior Researcher

Sebastian Sons, M.A., 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 2009–2014 and as a project researcher at the Program Near East and North Africa at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) in Berlin. At the moment, he is Associate Fellow at the DGAP. He is currently finishing his Ph.D. thesis on "media discourses on labor migration from Pakistan to Saudi Arabia" at the Humboldt University Berlin for which he conducted field research in Pakistan from January until April 2016. As an analyst on Saudi Arabian affairs, he is consulted by German political institutions such as the German Bundestag and political foundations as well as by international journalists.

*Focus & Topics:* social developments in Saudi Arabia, domestic and foreign policy of Saudi Arabia, South Asian migration to the Gulf region, jihadist movements, security in the GCC countries.

### Selected Publications

- 'In dire need for a new social contract: Saudi Arabia's socioeconomic and political challenges in times of changing energy dynamics', in: Kirsten Westphal & David Jalilvand (eds.): *Changing Dynamics of Energy: Political and Economic Challenges for the MENA-Region*, London: Routledge (forthcoming).
- (2017): 'Eine deutsche Strategie gegenüber Saudi-Arabien: Regionale Stabilität und Terrorismusbekämpfung als Eckpfeiler', in: Christian Mölling & Daniela Schwarzer (eds.): *Außenpolitische Herausforderungen für die Nächste Bundesregierung: Stärken, Schwächen, Chancen und Risiken*, DGAPkompakt 6, Berlin, pp. 40–42.
- (2017): 'Hausarrest für Katar. Die Krise entpuppt sich als Kampf um die Vormacht in der Golf-Familie', in: *Internationale Politik* 4, Juli–August 2017, pp. 98–102.
- (November 2016): *Auf Sand gebaut. Saudi-Arabien – Ein Problematischer Verbündeter*, Berlin: Propyläen.

- (Dezember 2016): 'Oil as a Burden: Saudi Arabia's struggle for energy diversification', in: Institute for Advanced Sustainability Studies (ed.): *IASS Study on the G20's Potential for Advancing a Global Transition towards Sustainable Energy*, Berlin, pp. 83–89.

### **Julia Gurol, Researcher**

Julia Gurol 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 worked as project assistant at CARPO for the Iran-Saudi Track II Dialogue Format before 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 will take up a fellowship as guest researcher at Tongji University in Shanghai in early 2019. During her stay in China, she will also conduct expert interviews for her dissertation.

*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**

(2018): *Rivals or partners? Interdependencies between the EU and China in the Middle East*, CARPO Study 05. [Online available](#).

& Esther Meininghaus, Max M. Mutschler, Carina Schlüsing (July 2017): "The Risks of European Arms Exports", in: Braunsdorf, Felix (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 Pietzsch is an M.A. 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. Next to his studies, he works as project assistant for the DAAD-funded project on 'Academic Approaches to Peace-building and State-building in Yemen' at the IOA of which CARPO is also a partner. Previously, 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 Assistant***

Mirjam Schmidt studies Asian studies with a focus on religious studies at the University of Bonn after finishing 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 a student assistant at the International Office Department "European & International Networks" of the University of Bonn.

## **8.2 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" (Routledge 2014) and "Nahöstlicher Irrgarten: Analysen abseits des Mainstreams" (Kremayr & Scheriau 2014). She is member of the board of the Austrian Orient Society (ÖÖW) 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 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.

## 8.3 Associate Fellows

### Şafak Baş

Şafak Baş, M.A., 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 (2012–2013) and as a freelance journalist in Istanbul and Tehran (2013–2014). Currently, Şafak is a Ph.D. student at the Center for Middle Eastern and North African Politics at the Otto-Suhr Institute of Political Science at Free University Berlin.

In his dissertation project, which is funded by the Hanns Seidel Foundation, Şafak is working on the foreign policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Turkey in the Middle East. In addition to dissertation related topics of the foreign policies and geopolitics of Iran and Turkey, he is particularly interested in topics of the social sciences such as flight and migration. In this context, he visited the Turkish-Syrian border area between March and July 2015 and gathered numerous impressions and information on the situation of the Syrian refugees in Turkey in talks with politicians, helpers and refugees.

*Focus & Topics:* Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, foreign policy, and geopolitics, flight and migration research, ethnic and religious minorities in Iran & Turkey.

### *Selected Publications*

- (2013): 'Pragmatism and Rivalry. The Nature of Turkey-Iran Relations', in: *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 12/2 (Fall), pp. 113–124.
- (June 2015): 'Red Card for Tehran: How an ethnic self-consciousness took root among Iran's Azeris', in: *Diplomatic Observer*, pp. 18–21.
- (October 2015): *Turkey's Parliamentary Elections and the Quest for Stability*, CARPO Brief 02.

## **Lalla Amina Drhimeur**

Lalla Amina Drhimeur holds a master degree in International Relations and Diplomacy from Mohammed V University, Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Sciences, Rabat. After completing her first year master in Morocco, she finished her second year at Science Po Lyon focusing on Globalization and Governance. She defended her Master thesis on Turkey's ambition of becoming a regional power. Her thesis analyses Turkey's capacity of becoming a regional power as well as international and national limitations to this ambition.

After completing her M.A., 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.

In addition to her research in political Islam, she is furthermore interested in exploring democratization processes and power reconfigurations mainly in South America and North Africa.

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

### ***Selected Publications***

- (May 2018): *The Party of Justice and Development's Pragmatic Politics*, Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, Issue brief, Houston. [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. *Solidarische Vernetzung, gesellschaftlicher Fortschritt und die Rolle der Frau: Die Debatten und Ergebnisse des Kongresses der Orientalischen Frauen in Teheran 1932*. Berlin (2010).

## **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 M.A. 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 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 19th century.

In addition to her research in the fields of women's studies and travel writing in the Iranian and Arab world as well as mobility and pilgrimage in Islam, she is furthermore interested in Afghan and Pakistani contemporary historiography and identity politics.

*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: Conermann, S./ Agai, B. (ed.): *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 al-Rubaidi holds a master in Arabic Language and Literature from Sana'a University, Yemen. He is a lecturer at the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Faculty of Education at al-Baydha' University, Yemen. Currently, he is writing a doctoral thesis on 'Identity Constructions in Contemporary Yemeni Novels' at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany, in a project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.

Abdulsalam worked as a teacher of the humanities (religion, history and Arabic language) in a number of private schools and universities in Sana'a from 2005 to 2009. From 2012 to 2014, he was a researcher at the Yemen Polling Center (YPC) in Sana'a in the Volkswagen Foundation-funded project on 'Framing the Revolution in Yemen' with the University of Bonn. Since mid-2017, he has been working as editor of the Arabic section at al-Madaniya Magazine, a cultural electronic magazine run by YPC. 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***

- (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: Marie-Christine Heinze (ed.): *Yemen and the Search for Stability. Power, Politics and Society after the Arab Spring*, 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. 122–125.
- (2014): 'Sixtieth versus Seventieth Street. Practices and counter-practices during the Yemeni Spring 2011', in: *Jemen-Report* 45, pp. 27–31.

### **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/Main. Additionally, she completed training in classical singing at the conservatory of Frankfurt/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/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 a teacher for Arabic and as an independent corrector and lector.

*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*, Klaus-Schwarz-Verlag, Berlin.



- (2011): 'Ritual Performance, Cultural Policy, and the Construction of a 'National Heritage' in Yemen', in: Christiane Brosius & Karin Polit (eds.): *Ritual and Media*, Wiesbaden, pp. 397–416.
- (2009): 'Consumption in Yemen: Continuity and Change', in: Johanna Pink (Hg.): *Muslim Societies in the Age of Mass Consumption. Politics, Culture and Identity between the Local and the Global*, Cambridge, pp. 129–143.
- (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: Henn, Alexander & Klaus-Peter Köpping (eds.): *Rituals in an Unstable World. Contingency – Hybridity – Embodiment*, Frankfurt, New York, pp. 31–45.

### Dr. Andrea Warnecke

Dr Andrea Warnecke is an Associate Fellow of CARPO and a 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, peace making 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*, Consultancy report, German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Bonn.

- & Schmitz-Pranghe, C. (2011): 'Diasporaengagement für Entwicklung und Frieden. Handlungsspielräume und Kapazitäten der äthiopischen Diaspora in Deutschland', in: Tatjana Baraulina & Andrea Riester (ed.): *Potenziale afrikanischer Migration in Deutschland und den Herkunftsländern*, Eschborn, BAMF/GTZ, pp. 183–215.
- & Tänzler, D.; Vollmer, R. (2010): *Climate Change, Migration and Conflict. Receiving Communities under Pressure?*, Policy paper. Washington DC, German Marshall Fund of the United States.
- & Franke, V. C. (2009): 'Building Peace: An Inventory of UN Peace Missions since the End of the Cold War', in: *International Peacekeeping*, 16/3, pp. 407–436.

## Sarah Wessel

Sarah Wessel recently submitted her PhD thesis *The Making of Political Representation: Processes of Claim-Making and Receiving During the Egyptian Transformations (2011–2014)* at the University of Hamburg, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences. Her research explores the political and cultural transformations in the Arab region following the popular mass uprising in 2010/11 with a particular focus on Egypt. The study is an in-depth qualitative, empirical political ethnography with long-term encounters, spanning the duration of the manifold political events in Egypt prior to and after the January 25 Revolution until 2015. The work draws upon a comprehensive, empirical set of qualitative data, including interviews with diverse socioeconomic groups. The analysis provides an answer to the question how the massive uprisings demanding freedom and socio-political justice regressed into the reproduction of an authoritarian, repressive military regime just three years later. In theoretical terms, the study advances thinking regarding the complex political and societal mechanisms and dynamics that enable or undermine the emergence of stable representative political relations.

Sarah Wessel studied Economics at the University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt as well as Cultural Anthropology, Political Science and Arabic at the University of Münster. After completing her studies, she worked as a Project Manager of the funding program German-Arab Transformation Partnership at the German Academic Exchange Service in Cairo (2012–2013). From 2013 to 2015 she was a Research Fellow at the Orient Institute Beirut in Cairo. In addition, she worked as a trainer for scientific writing and research methods at the Cairo Academy of the DAAD (2013–15). Currently, she is working as an independent scientific consultant in Berlin and is planning a new research project on investigating contemporary economic practices in the Arab world.

*Focus & Topics:* Relations between Europe and the Arab region with particular focus on Germany and Egypt, political representation, dynamics of legitimization, political anthropology, economic anthropology, gender diversity, poverty.

### ***Selected Publications***

- (2016): *Grey-Scales. Negotiating the Civil State in Post-Revolutionary Egypt*, CARPO Study 03. [Online available](#).
- (2013): 'Wahl und Kampf in Ägypten', in: *zenith. Zeitschrift für den Orient*. [Online available](#).
- (2013): 'Political representation and legitimacy in Egypt. The making and the reception of claims during the parliamentary elections 2011', in: C. Steuer (eds.): *Les élections de la révolution (2011–2012)*, Cairo.



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