

RATION

PRIF 2022 REVIEW



Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
Leibniz-Institut für
Friedens- und Konfliktforschung

PRIIF 2022 REVIEW



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Friedens- und Konfliktforschung



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Creating Order in the Chaos of a Civil War

In her dissertation, Regine Schwab investigated how various rebel groups cooperated in the Syrian civil war and received the Christiane Rajewsky Prize for her thesis.



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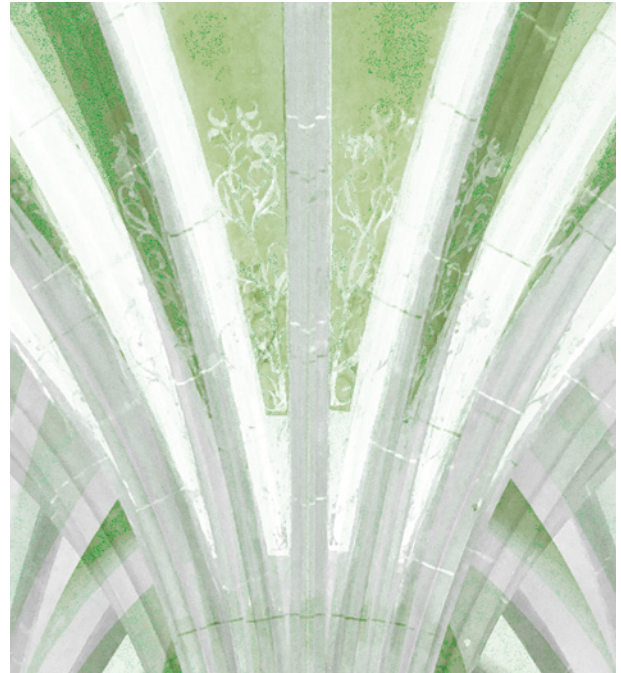
Transformations of Political Violence

The TraCe research center investigates whether and how forms of political violence change – for example, in the war between Russia and Ukraine.

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Profile: Irene Weipert-Fenner researches reform conflicts in Egypt and Tunisia. In an interview, she talks about ideas of justice, power struggles and differences between regime types.

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What happens when states leave international institutions? Does cooperation fail forever? The research project *Drifting Apart* has analyzed five such dissociation processes.

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How Do Sanctions Take Effect?

The Peace Report 2022 examines the consequences of the Russia-Ukraine war and discusses measures to end the war – including the extensive sanctions against Russia.

EDITORIAL

Yes, you noticed correctly, we have a new logo. Actually, this was already planned for our 50th anniversary two years ago, but the pandemic and its consequences got in the way.

Now, however, the time has come: Going forward, we will be researching the causes of global crises and conflicts primarily under our English name, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt. We have not given up a German name, but we have simplified it. We now operate as PRIF – *Leibniz-Institut für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung* in German-language contexts. PRIF Review 2022 is the first publication in which we appear with the new logo. We have taken the opportunity to redesign our annual review as well. This is the first-ever English-language issue of PRIF Review. It offers even more diverse insights into research and transfer and, more than before, it satisfies not only analog but also digital reading needs.

The Russian attack on Ukraine was the defining topic of our work last year. More than ever before, our analyses and assessments were in public demand. In a large number of media reports, analyses and events, we followed the various phases of the first year of the war. Based on our research, we were able to provide impulses for the debates on sanctions, arms deliveries, risks of escalation and the obstacles to negotiated solutions. Together with colleagues from other peace research insti-

tutes, we made clear in our Peace Report 2022 how difficult the path to peace would be – and still is – and at the same time how important it is to prepare for peace already in times of war.

PRIF benefits from the diversity of inter- and transdisciplinary perspectives at the institute and from the willingness of colleagues to contribute their knowledge and energy to policy and societal advice on this war. We would like to take this opportunity to thank all of them for their outstanding commitment in the past year, which went far beyond what could be expected. For the messages that derive from our analyses are sometimes complicated and difficult, and more than usual we have also received very critical feedback.

In the wake of the Russian war of aggression in Ukraine, important foreign and security policy projects were advanced or continued under new premises. Since 2022, for example, a national security strategy has been created for the first time, in the development of which we have been intensively involved as experts. The same applies to the guidelines for a feminist foreign policy, which were adopted at the beginning of 2023. For years now, we have been emphasizing from our work the great importance of gender-specific perspectives in foreign and security policy, and we will continue to treat this topic as a focal point. Finally, we also

engaged in consultations and discussions on the planned Arms Export Control Act.

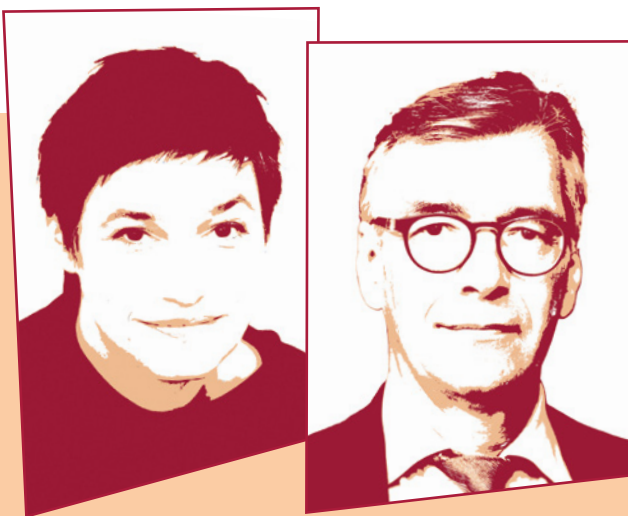
Although at first glance 2022 was primarily characterized by the communication of knowledge, important basic research projects were launched. The research center “Transformations of Political Violence,” funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and coordinated by PRIF, began its work and proved to be an important framework for reflection, including on the challenges posed by the Russian war of aggression in Ukraine. The same applies to the research alliance “CBWNet”, which was also launched this year and deals with strengthening norms against chemical and biological weapons.

Of course, we have not lost sight of the conflicts beyond the Russia-Ukraine war and have repeatedly pointed out that these must not be forgotten or neglected. With the competence network “African Non-military Conflict Intervention Practices” we now have a network for joint research with partners in Africa, through which we can better

understand in particular the role of regional organizations in state and intra-state conflicts. Both the escalating civil war in the Tigray region and the unstable situation in West African states illustrate how timely and relevant this research is.

Despite the state of the world, 2022 also held a number of welcome news and successes. Harald Müller, who led and shaped the institute for many years, received the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. Jonas Wolff accepted a professorship in political science at Goethe University and will hopefully remain with PRIF for a long time. Simone Wisotzki successfully completed her habilitation procedure. Regine Schwab was awarded the Christiane Rajewsky Prize for her dissertation. Finally, PRIF itself awarded a prize for students from Hesse for the first time, which will be offered every two years from now on.

We are pleased to provide you with the opportunity to delve further into these and other topics in our annual review, and wish you an enjoyable reading experience.



Prof. Dr Nicole Deitelhoff,
Executive Director,
and Prof. Dr Christopher Daase,
Deputy Director

THIS WAS 2022

PRIF IN THE MEDIA

330 

interviews, op-eds and articles
by and with PRIF researchers

44 

different researchers were
represented in the media

142 

different media outlets and
channels, 100 of them in Ger-
many and 42 internationally

PUBLICATIONS



PRIF Blogs
85



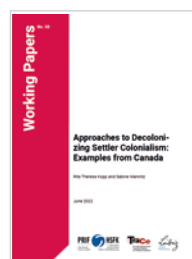
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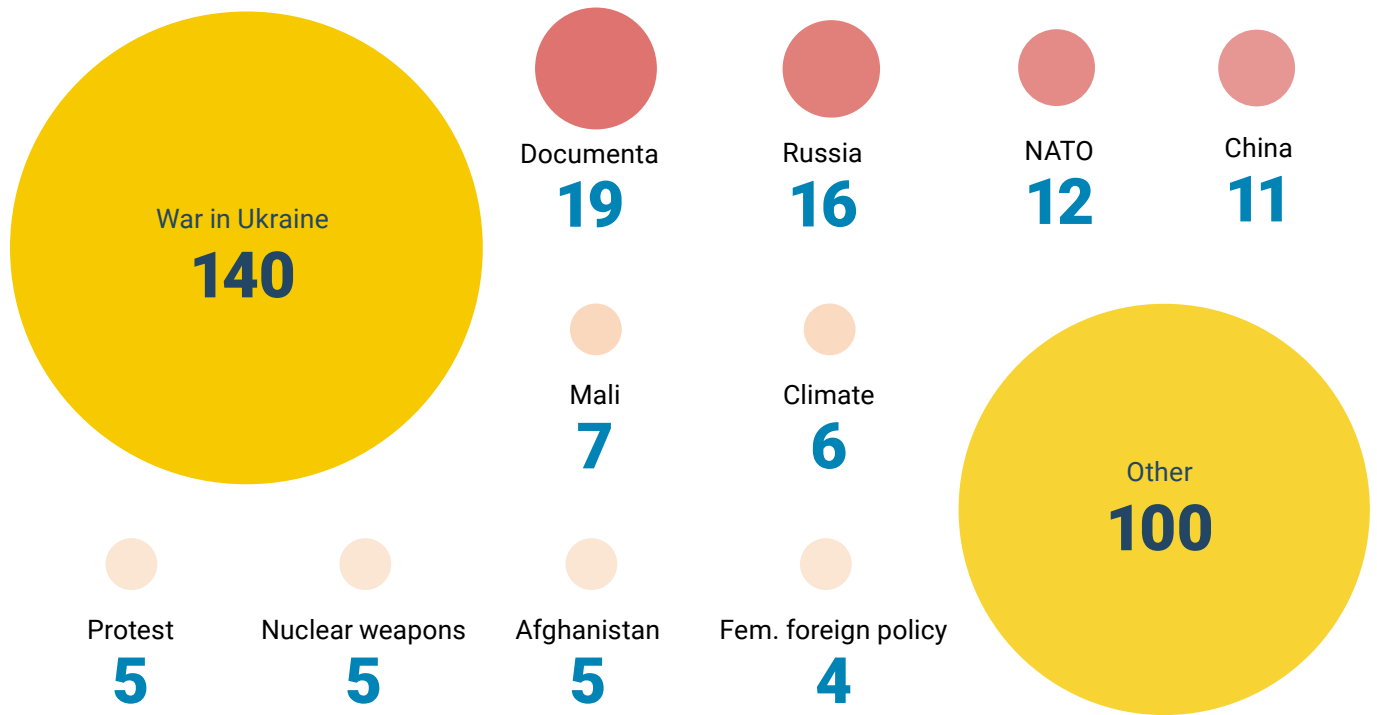


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Papers
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Journal articles
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TOP ISSUES IN THE MEDIA



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ANNUAL CONFERENCE

[ConTrust: Peace Politics and Trust in Conflict](#)

May 23, 2022, Frankfurt/Main

Trust is a central and yet often underestimated resource in international relations. The ConTrust project, a joint research initiative between PRIF and Goethe University Frankfurt, investigates the conditions under which trust can be built, especially in conflicts.

The PRIF Annual Conference 2022 on May 23 focused on the topic of trust and discussed its relationship to peace policy from a variety of perspectives.

AWARD-WINNING DISSERTATION

CREATING ORDER **in the Chaos** OF A CIVIL WAR

“Let’s fight each other another day.” How armed opposition groups managed challenges to cooperation and postponed conflict in Syria’s multiparty civil war (2012-2019) – Regine Schwab received the Christiane Rajewsky Award for her dissertation in 2022.

More than 1,000 different rebel groups fought against the government and often against each other in the Syrian civil war. A chaotic and highly violent situation that is hard to penetrate at first glance. Seven years of war and violence: an anarchic struggle of all against all?

This is how civil war literature described multi-actor civil wars like the one in Syria just a few years ago. Mostly, the violence and the struggle for resources among the rebel groups against each other were overemphasized, and they were denied any ideological purpose.



It was assumed that the more groups involved, the more violent a conflict would become. Another branch of the literature identified rudimentary forms of cooperation between individual groups, but only military and short-term. This scenario of violent chaos was carried by academia and adopted by the media.

DEVELOPING ANALYTIC TOOLS

To Regine Schwab, this picture seemed too simplistic. Was it not more likely that the rebel groups established at least rudiments of structure and order in the areas they occupied, that there was cooperation and relations between neighboring rebel groups, albeit perhaps

in a very loose form? In trade, jurisprudence, health care, or wherever? And didn't it have to be possible to discern patterns here and establish categorizations that could be applied to civil wars in other countries? If this conjecture were true, then it should be possible to develop tools that could be used to analyze what the nature of the relationships are. In this way, it would be possible to find out how these relationships develop, when they are stable, and when they fail. Regine Schwab had found her research topic for the next few years. She first focused on the civil war in Syria, learned Arabic. She analyzed hundreds of secondary and primary documents, traveled to the border region between Syria and Turkey for her field research, and conducted countless interviews with members and leaders of influential rebel groups, civil activists, members of local opposition administrations, humanitarian aid workers, judicial personnel, and Sunni clerics in Turkey and Syria.

ORGANIZATION OF DAILY LIFE

For her empirical comparative-analytical study, she focused on the Syrian civil war, but also looked at other conflicts and cooperation between armed groups from other parts of the world. She quickly came across not only long-term mili-





Daily life in chaos: A man buys eggs before breaking his fast during the month of Ramadan at the Karaj Al-Hajez crossing, a passageway between the rebel-controlled neighborhood of Bustan al-Qasr and the regime-controlled neighborhood of Al-Masharqa in Aleppo, July 18, 2013. © picture alliance / REUTERS | MUZAFFAR SALMAN.

tary cooperation, such as joint command centers, but also further cooperation in governance. Conquered territories had to be administered and governed, courts were established together with civilian actors, and local administrative structures were created. Even in northwestern Syria, where the former al-Qaeda offshoot Jabhat al-Nusra (Hayat Tahrir al-Sham) had become increasingly dominant over the years, cooperation with other groups took place and the common goal of fighting the government was pursued. Of course, there were always violent confrontations over control and power. However, these were usually quickly settled through local and religious mediation practices.

An important initial finding of her research project, which has since (re)arrived in the literature, showed that these groups do have ideological goals that determine and guide their actions. In order to deal with and understand a conflict, these goals should definitely be taken seriously, even if they may seem pretextual or even absurd “from the outside”.

DIVERSE RELATIONSHIPS

A next question that is highly relevant for international peace efforts, but also for the local population, was the question of how the respective rebel groups assessed and evaluated their relations to each

other. For a first categorization, Regine Schwab identified three types of cooperation, which can also be applied to other conflicts and can still be supplemented: The spatial dimension of cooperation, i.e., is it limited to one location or to several; second, the content of cooperation, i.e., military or administrative, judicial or executive, or economic; and third, diplomatic cooperation. This third form did not play a major role in Syria, but it certainly did in other conflicts. For example, in the earlier conflict in Ethiopia, different groups supported each other abroad and campaigned for each other, or in Myanmar, different groups joined forces to negotiate with the government.

Based on this classification, Regine Schwab next developed a typology to identify different types of relationships in a multi-actor conflict: 1. *Alignment* as very limited cooperation in time, content and location, 2. *Alliance* as military cooperation that is not limited locally and 3. *Partnership* as the closest form of relationship that takes place in different places in different areas.

The *alignment* type is the most widespread, as this form of relationship is the most low-threshold, and therefore even occurs among hostile groups or among groups fighting for very different goals. For example, the Kurds, who were primarily concerned with autonomy for their territory, certainly entered into short-term cooperation with groups that wanted to overthrow the government.

HELPFUL TYPOLOGY

This typology helps to understand patterns of interaction in

armed conflicts and is also of interest to international peace efforts. Particularly in conflicts with militant Islamist groups, such as in Mali, Afghanistan, Libya, and Yemen, there is often an understandable desire to support moderate groups in the hope that they will take the fight to militant groups and prevail in the long run. However, these moderate groups are cooperating with the radical groups in some areas. And this is where the degree of relationship may be critical. How closely intertwined are the groups? If they are *partnerships*, they can sometimes hardly be clearly separated, and attempts to support moderate groups and build them up as partners are doomed to failure, even if their ideological goals clearly diverge. In that case, separation is hardly possible. Or is it “only” an *alignment* or a short-term, perhaps military alliance that will not last long? Then support and cooperation may be useful.



THE AWARD

The Christiane Rajewsky Award is awarded annually by the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung e.V.* (AFK) for an outstanding contribution to peace and conflict research. One master’s thesis and one dissertation are awarded.



Dr Regine Schwab currently works as a researcher in the research group “Terrorism” and in the research department “Transnational Politics”.

Her updated dissertation is under review by a respected U.S. university publisher.

PUBLICATIONS

Highlights 2022

THEORIEN OF PEACE AND WAR



The second volume of the annotated bibliography on the history of theory by the former director of the Institute's library has been published by Nomos-Verlag.

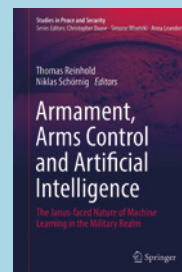
Nitz, Stephan: Theorien des Friedens und des Krieges, Bd. II:

1830-1890, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2022.

RADICALIZATION THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA

The volume, edited by Julian Junk and others, examines the presentation and mobilization of right-wing and Islamist actors, with contributions by Hande Abay Gaspar, Julian Junk, and Manjana Sold, among others.

Birsl, Ursula/Junk, Julian/Kahl, Martin/Pelzer, Robert (eds.): Inszenieren und Mobilisieren: Rechte und islamistische Akteure digital und analog, Opladen, Berlin, Toronto: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2022.



AI AND ARMS CONTROL

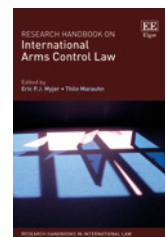
The volume brings together contributions on the influence of artificial intelligence on military developments and arms control, including contributions by Niklas Schörnig and Jana Baldus.

Reinhold, Thomas/Schörnig, Niklas (eds.): Armament, Arms Control and Artificial Intelligence. The Janus-faced Nature of Machine Learning in the Military Realm, Cham: Springer, 2022.

RESEARCH HANDBOOK ON ARMS CONTROL

The anthology, edited by Eric Myjer and Thilo Marauhn, compiles current perspectives on international arms control agreements, including contributions by Una Jakob and Barry de Vries.

Myjer, Eric/Marauhn, Thilo (eds.): Research Handbook on International Arms Control Law, Cheltenham, Northampton, Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022.



ANTHOLOGY ON RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

The volume, edited by Daniel Mullis and Judith Miggelbrink, looks at right-wing extremism beyond urban-rural and East-West polarizations, with contributions by Daniel Mullis and Paul Zschocke, among others.

Mullis, Daniel/Miggelbrink, Judith (eds.): Lokal extrem Rechts. Analysen alltäglicher Vergesellschaftungen, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2022.



Lentzos, Filippa/Jakob, Una: Chemical, Biological and Health Security Risks, in: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) (ed.): SIPRI Yearbook 2022, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022, 473-512.

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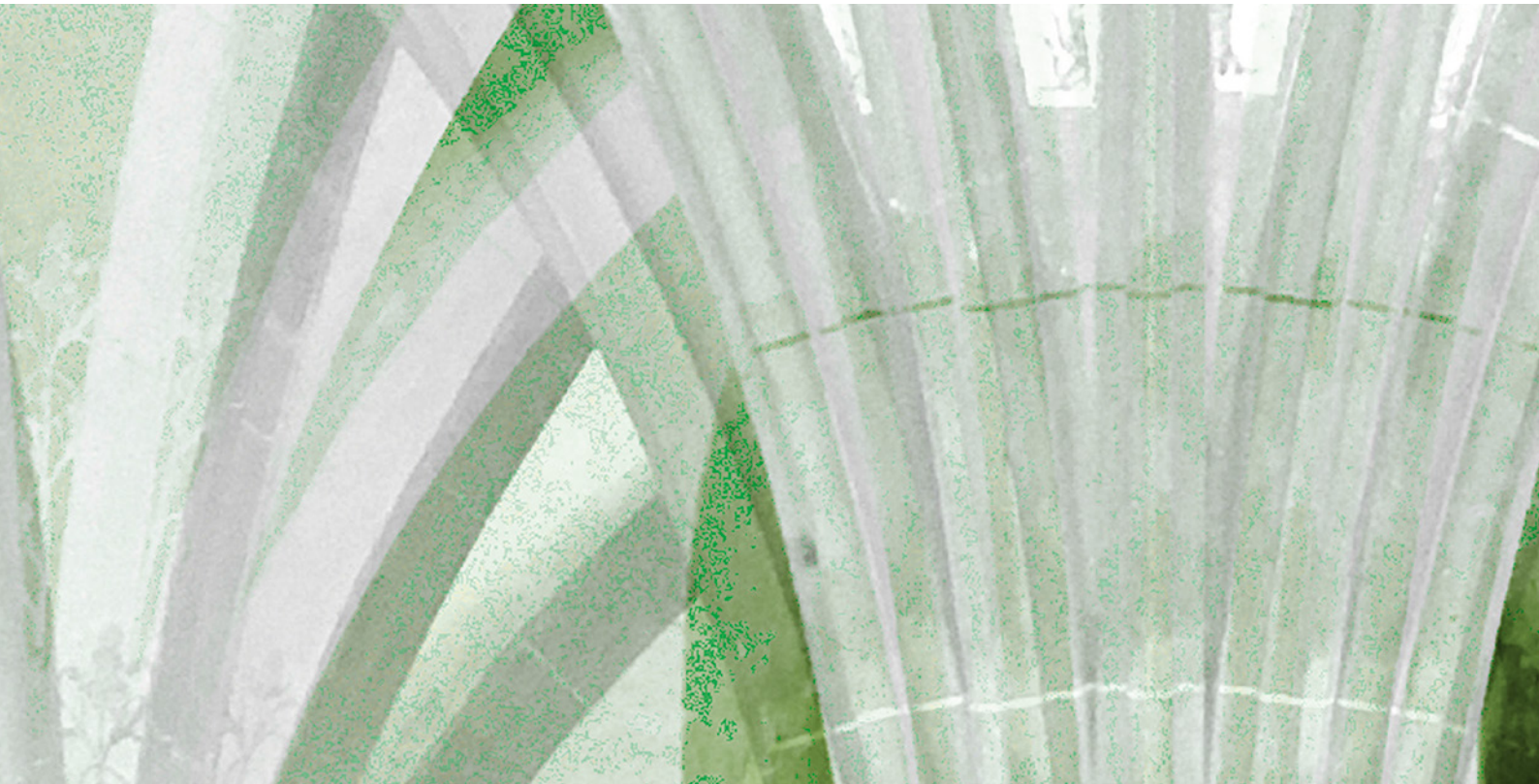
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LESSONS FROM THE PREVAL PROJECT

Research and Practice IN DIALOG



Democracy and social cohesion are challenged by polarization tendencies, new protest dynamics and extremist groups. The attacks in Hanau and Halle have heightened awareness of the violent potential of right-wing extremism. The rise of the *Querdenken* and the *Reichsbürger* movements in Germany have put radical ideologies in the social spotlight. Against this background, the prevention of extremism, political education and the promotion of democracy have increased in importance. The PrEval network deals with evaluation and quality assurance in these areas. The first project “PrEval – Evaluation Designs for Prevention Measures” was completed in 2022.

Against the backdrop of strengthening radical ideologies, trust in state institutions and democratic decision-making processes must be fought for anew every day. The diversity of approaches, actors and projects in extremism prevention, political education and democracy promotion must be strengthened. Evaluation, quality assurance and the organization of knowledge play a crucial role here, given that more and more initiatives are being funded through numerous federal, state and

digital space. The diversity of the many different projects and organizations is both an indispensable strength and a challenge when it comes to understanding the effectiveness of the projects and creating needs-based structures for exchange and learning.

The collaborative project PrEval has been tackling these challenges since 2020. There were two ideas behind the first project, "PrEval – Evaluation Designs for Prevention Measures," which was completed in 2022: First, discussions about evaluation and quality assurance should no longer be abstract, but based on concrete evaluation methods. Second, the needs of professional practitioners and international debates were systematically surveyed across numerous disciplinary boundaries. Through extensive mapping and analyses of actors already conducting evaluations in the fields of prevention and civic education, foundations were laid for further work and exchange. The results of the first project were presented in various publication formats (six PRIF Spotlights, 10 PRIF Reports, a GPPI-Study and an anthology).

The research and transfer project brings together a large number of different actors from research and professional practice. PrEval is a dialogical research project in which researchers and practitioners work together to identify needs and develop and test designs. A total of five collaborative partners, two cooperation partners, and five network partners were involved from 2020 to 2022.

Following the completion of the first project, the follow-up project started in October 2022. At the heart of the project are four ongoing workshop initiatives, the so-called Zukunftswerkstätten, in which previously identified points are taken up and explored in greater depth. Workshops, focus groups and surveys will bring together conflicting positions and needs and develop new proposals for strengthening extremism prevention, democracy promotion and political education in Germany. The network grew to 15 partners at the start of the project and is designed to involve many other

local programs and that there is an increasingly broad, diverse and professionalized civil society in Germany.

The spectrum ranges from work in schools, such as project work or training of teachers, to dealing with potential threats, distancing work in the penal system, and political education in the



interested parties in the project work as part of the workshop initiatives. The breadth of the network makes it possible to introduce the results and findings into the daily work of professional practitioners and to strengthen it with the help of specialist conferences, dialog formats and open access publications, even outside the network.

The PrEval project is funded by the German Federal Ministry of the Interior. PRIF coordinates the network.

Interview with **JULIAN JUNK**

Prof. Dr Julian Junk heads the research group “Radicalization” and the PrEval project together with Dr Hande Abay Gaspar. Since 2023, he has held the research professorship “Extremism and Extremism Resilience” at the Hessian University of Applied Sciences for Public Management and Security (HöMS).



Can the success of prevention be measured?

This is a controversial issue among experts. After all, we are following a counterfactual logic here. We have to measure a non-event, i.e. determine that a certain undesired outcome did not occur in the ideal case. However, evaluation is always a very presuppositional process that follows many possible epistemological interests and guiding questions. These range from questions about the effectiveness of partial aspects of an initiative to the monitoring of organizational development processes. If questions of prevention pose certain challenges, areas of political education pose others. And in both cases, we are often dealing with long time horizons and sensitive data.

How do research and transfer intertwine in the PrEval project?

We have conducted a number of pilot studies in which certain evaluation designs were tried out for the first time. We talk about co-design processes here. We don't understand transfer as a one-way street, so that research delivers results that then only have to be implemented in practice. Rather, it is a dialogical process. We take the expertise and experience of professional practitioners seriously and recognize that each side has different strengths and that we in research do not know everything either. And in general, the dichotomy between research and practice is actually outdated, especially in the thematic fields: Many actors from so-called practice come from research or the

other way around. For years, many projects and initiatives have been geared toward close cooperation between science and practice. When we deal with evaluation and quality assurance, we must also take this into account. Good evaluation stands and falls in close cooperation with those who commission evaluations, those who are the subject of an evaluation, and those who conduct evaluations. And a good evaluation also considers the transfer: An evaluation should not end with a dry 200-page report, but should develop concrete recommendations for action, discuss interim results in the course of the evaluation process, and plan for time, funding, and the will to implement the recommendations in a verifiable manner after the evaluation.

What characterizes the way of working in the PrEval network?

The network is very large and diverse. It could also have been divided into individual projects, but by bringing them together, synergies are created. For example, if a partner conducts a survey in one area, we can use it in other areas as well. But that also makes it very complex. The network has a special

way of working that requires a lot of effort. There is a transparent platform for everyone who wants to actively participate and read along. This enables the interlinking of research, practice and politics. It is a very communicative space. And this dialog also opens up new perspectives.

What are these new perspectives?

Just one example from secondary and tertiary prevention: We change our perspective when we look at clients rather than individual projects. Of course, we can look at individual projects. But if we look at a particular client, for example, someone who has just been released from prison and now needs to re-enter society, then he or she will receive many different types of support: from a distancing project to political education programs to programs offered by employment agencies and other authorities, which are sometimes perceived as constraints, sometimes as help, to community work, families and circles of friends – the list could go on and on. What constellation makes sense? And do we measure it correctly? These are questions that we can only really get to grips with through this seemingly simple change of perspective.

READ MORE

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WE ARE PRIF

NEW
EMPLOYEES

18

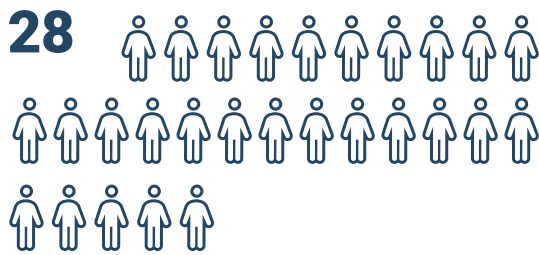
STAFF IN
2022

91



COMPOSITION BY STATUS GROUPS/DEPARTMENTS

Department heads, project managers, postdocs



Scholarship holders



Visiting researchers



Doctoral students



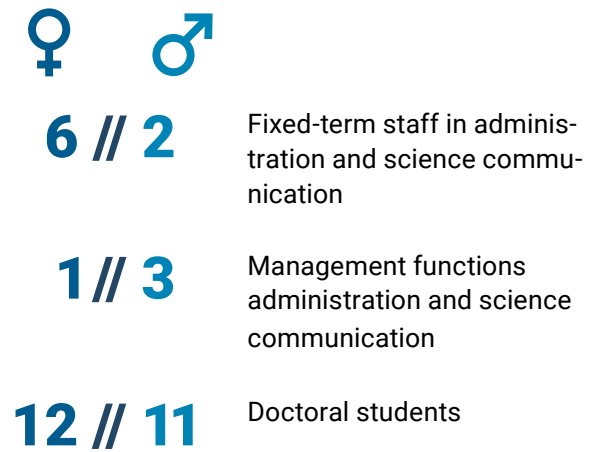
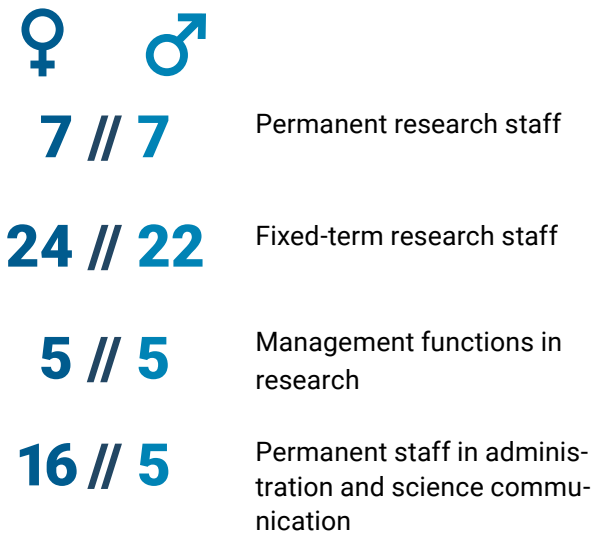
Associate fellows



Non-doctoral researchers



EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES AT PRIF



Research assistants



Student assistants



Administration and reception



Secretaries and advisors to Exec. Director



IT



Science communication



RESEARCH CENTER TRACE STARTS

Transformations of POLITICAL Violence



The history of modern societies and international relations is usually told as a gradual renunciation of violence. However, there can be no question of an end to political violence. On the contrary, current trends point in the opposite direction: worldwide conflict has increased in intensity again; globalization and technological change make new forms of warlike and terrorist violence possible. These developments point to transformations that challenge existing norms and practices for containing political violence. The research center “Transformations of Political Violence” (TraCe) examines these developments with the aim of identifying the consequences for intra-societal and international peace and developing strategies to contain political violence under changing conditions.

INFOBOX

WHO IS TRACE?

The research center "Transformations of Political Violence" is an interdisciplinary research alliance of five Hessian research institutions: In addition to PRIF, Goethe University Frankfurt, Justus Liebig University Giessen, Philipps University Marburg and Technical University Darmstadt are involved. Funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), more than thirty scientists will conduct multi-perspective research on transformations of political violence from 2022 to 2026. Coordination and science communication are located at PRIF.



Interdisciplinarity in action

In order to understand, explain and critically question the transformations of political violence, TraCe integrates different disciplinary perspectives, levels of analysis and methods and takes a look at different forms of violence.

” To be irritated by other disciplines is tremendously important to see new developments. | Christopher Daase, PRIF TALK, 23.03.2023

The Center brings together perspectives from political science, sociology, history, law, social anthropology, social psychology, cultural studies, linguistics, and computer science.

” With the second, third, fourth, fifth eye, you simply see more, and that is our goal. | Astrid Erll, PRIF TALK, 23.03.2023

Astrid Erll and Christopher Daase, TraCe speakers in the first year of the project, discussed why it is important and exciting to explore transformations of political violence across disciplines with Tina Cramer in the PRIF Talk podcast (in German).

LISTEN



Which aspects of political violence are being studied?

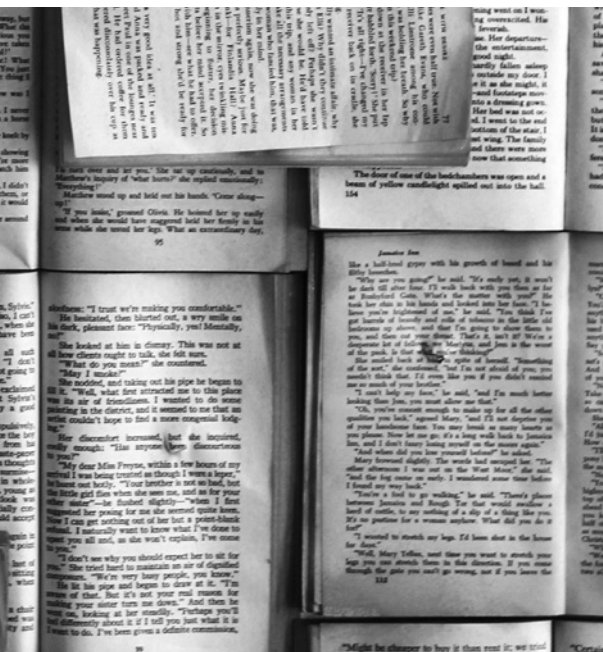
TraCe is divided into three thematic research areas and a synergy work area:

- 1 | Forms: Change and continuity of political violence
- 2 | Institutions: Prevention and legitimation of political violence
- 3 | Interpretations of political violence
- 4 | Synergies



How can we study political violence?

Political violence occurs in many forms – from femicides to insurgent protests to wars between states – and has immense moral and political implications. However, the question of the overall evolution of political violence remains controversial. In the first TraCe Working Paper, the authors summarize existing debates and identify three general positions in the research field: political violence has either decreased, escalated, or taken other forms. They provide a framework to distinguish existing approaches, classify available findings, and stimulate further research.



READ MORE

Daase, Christopher/Driedger, Jonas/Mannitz, Sabine/Kroll, Stefan/Simon, Hendrik/Wolff, Jonas: Transformations of Political Violence? A Research Program, Frankfurt/Main, TraCe Working Paper No. 1., 2022. DOI: 10.48809/PRIFTraCeWP2201.





The Russian invasion of Ukraine and the transformations of political violence

In 2022, the Russian invasion of Ukraine not only dominated media coverage, but also led researchers to rethink fundamental assumptions: how do we need to think about political violence in light of this interstate war that has implications for the entire global order? The TraCe Research Center placed the Russia-Ukraine war at the center of its kick-off event in Berlin. Similarly, the TraCe lecture series in Marburg also dealt with the effects of war on violence research in its first event.

The end of the Cold War ushered in a period of hope in the late 1990s: Perhaps the end of the “old” major interstate conflicts had now come. Although conflicts, including warlike ones, continued to exist, researchers noted a trend toward “smaller” conflicts within states or along ethnic lines. Political scientists such as Mary Kaldor and Herfried Münkler introduced the term “new wars” into the discussion. The “old” interstate war was considered to be obsolete.

But with the Russian invasion of Ukraine, this assumption seems fundamentally challenged. It seems reasonable to assume that the pattern of “old” interstate wars is not a thing of the past after all. At the same time, fundamental changes in the nature of warfare can be observed, for example in the use of civilian infrastructure or nuclear weapons. Are we now in a new era of violent conflict? These questions were the focus of the kick-off event “A New Old War? The Russian invasion of Ukraine and the transformation of

WATCH MORE

TraCe Lecture Series “Perspectives on Violence in the 21st Century” on Youtube



WHAT ROLE DOES LANGUAGE PLAY?



“The language issue in Ukraine has been politicized in election campaigns since the breakup of the Soviet Union. Russia’s propaganda abuses this politicization to construct a Ukrainian-Russian language conflict in Ukraine as a justification for war. Research on Eastern Europe must work even more intensively on concepts for knowledge transfer to the public, and politicians must listen to research on Eastern Europe more than they have in the past,” says TraCe researcher Monika Wingender of Justus Liebig University in Giessen.

political violence”. Representatives of politics, science and civil society met on December 13, 2022 in the Hessian State Representation in Berlin.

Berlin-based political scientist Herfried Münkler was also a guest and emphasized in his statement that one or two wars do not falsify trends “that are based on a much larger number of wars within society. But it is true that Russia’s war of aggression against Ukraine is currently drawing our attention and forcing significant political reorientations.”

In the discussion, Jonas J. Driedger referred to the Russian regime’s increasing willingness to take risks: shortly after the start of the invasion of Ukraine in early 2022, it became clear that the Putin regime would not achieve its goals and would pay an enormous price for the war. He ruled out miscalculation. Rather, he argued that the regime was willing to consciously take the risks of the invasion.

With this event, TraCe introduced itself in political Berlin as a new player in peace research and brought science and politics into conversation.

” Such an interdisciplinary research alliance is a strong flagship for conflict research in Hesse. | Angela Dorn, Hessian Minister of State for Science and the Arts, at the kick-off event



READ MORE

Driedger, Jonas J.: Risk acceptance and offensive war: The case of Russia under the Putin regime, in: Contemporary Security Policy, 44(2), 2023, 199-225.

REFORM CONFLICTS IN EGYPT AND TUNISIA

Justice, POWER, PROTEST



Socioeconomic protests were among the central drivers of the “Arab Spring” protests and revolutions. But even after various dictators were toppled, the situation did not improve for most people. Reforms tackled by the new governments often met with fierce opposition. Irene Weipert-Fenner conducted research on this issue in the project “Struggles over Socio-economic Reforms,” which was completed in 2022. This marked the conclusion of eight years of cooperation between North Africa and Latin America experts from Egypt, Germany and Tunisia.

In conversation with

IRENE WEIPERT-FENNER

Dr Irene Weipert-Fenner researches protest and social movements, authoritarian regimes, democratization and political transformation. Her regional focus is North Africa. The project “Struggles over socio-economic reforms: Political Conflict and Social Contention in Egypt and Tunisia post 2011 in Interregional Comparison” was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation for four years.



The research project, which was completed in 2022, analyzed conflicts over socioeconomic reforms that have been fought out in Egypt and Tunisia in recent years, sometimes with fierce confrontations. What were the disputes about?

The conflicts we studied revolved, for example, around taxes, subsidies or labor law. It was important for us to look at conflicts that were really about something, about money and power. To whom is something given, from whom is something taken away? We were able to observe how different actors try to position themselves and secure or defend their share.

Tunisia was still relatively democratic and free during the period under study, and public protests played a greater role there. The case studies on Egypt rather show conflicts taking place behind the scenes.

Which actors were central in both countries and what influence were they able to exert on the respective political order?

In both Tunisia, which was democratic at the time, and in autocratic Egypt, the ruling elite is only one actor among many. In both countries, economic elites are heavily involved, but so are trade unions. In Tunisia, unions play a central role, and the union confederation has real veto power. This was demonstrated in 2019 when it managed to

push through an increase in public sector salaries with a general strike. In doing so, it had not only won within the Tunisian arena, but also prevailed against the IMF, which at the time had put the government under intense pressure with demands for cuts in the public sector. In contrast, protests in 2018, which were not backed by a strong actor, failed to prevent the increase in value-added tax. Interestingly, however, trade unions also play a role in Egypt. This was shown by our case study on the discussion of a new labor law. Independent trade unions have been politically marginalized in Egypt since the revolution. Nevertheless, an umbrella organization had managed to be present in the process. Of course, this is not so easy to evaluate: Was it really about making better decisions together, or perhaps just about immobilizing labor, further dividing the labor movement – or did the Sisi regime want a counterweight to the influential economic elites? In the end, the new law did not come about; the interests of the economic elites prevailed – and, interestingly, not those of the Sisi regime.

You have already talked about the different types of regimes. What influence does the type of regime have on the prospects of protest movements? And can socioeconomic reforms be implemented more efficiently in autocracies?

We have found that regime type alone is not sufficient to explain whether reforms are implemented or not. Who is part of the conversation and has a say in decision-making, or even veto power, goes back primarily to the political-economic power relations that have evolved over decades. In general, one can see that political-economic structures can be well explained by the incorporation of certain groups and the exclusion of broad sections of society; Steffen Hertog speaks here of insiders and outsiders. Certain groups, be they businesses or labor groups, have good connections to the regime and are on the “inside.” Others are excluded. They simply have less leverage to fight back. If the burden of reform is not so great that it exceeds a certain threshold, then the costs are borne – both in democracies and autocracies. However, it is of course the case that an autocratic regime can act with greater severity against outsiders. In Egypt, we observed extremely high levels of repression during the period under study. In both types of regimes, the insiders manage to assert their interests in the conflict, while the outsiders have little chance, even if the possibilities are even smaller in autocracies.

You collaborated with a team of researchers from different countries. How can we picture this cooperation?

I think cooperation with local colleagues is central. The problematic structure in knowledge production still dominates, that the comparative perspective mostly comes from Europe or the USA and the experts from different countries write solely about their countries. The interesting thing about our project is that we were involved with three countries, complemented by the perspective of interregional comparison with Latin America, brought in by my colleague Jonas Wolff. By making comparisons together as a team, we were able to broaden our perspective. Another important aspect of the cooperation was the promotion of young scientists. We had a doctoral student at each of the partner institutions, were able to facilitate guest stays here, and promote training and networking in the region and to Europe. This was also a great learning process for us here. For example, we discussed methods of field research, generally brought perspectives from the global South here, and promoted the internationalization of the institute.

READ MORE

Pfeifer, Hanna/Weipert-Fenner, Irene: Time and the Growth of Trust under Conditions of Extreme Uncertainty. Illustrations from Peace and Conflict Studies, ConTrust Working Paper, No. 3, Frankfurt/M: ConTrust – Trust in Conflict, 2023.

Weipert-Fenner, Irene: Mobilization in Tunisia Post 2011: From Political Protests to National Campaign Movements, in: Zayani, Mohamed (eds.): A Fledgling Democracy. Tunisia in the Aftermath of the Arab Spring, London: Hurst, 2022, 127-150.

Weipert-Fenner, Irene/Wolff, Jonas (eds.): Socioeconomic Protests in MENA and Latin America. Egypt and Tunisia in Interregional Comparison, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.



You are also working on protest movements as part of the ConTrust research initiative. There, together with researchers from PRIF and Goethe University Frankfurt, you are investigating how trust can arise in conflicts. Now, one would probably think that protests are more an expression of a lack of trust. Is that wrong?

It is undisputed that trust is a central element of living together. But people often think that trust is there when there is no conflict, and vice versa. From my research in terms of social movements and protest, that seems to me to be insufficiently complex. The movements that made up the so-called “Arab Spring,” but also the second wave of Arab uprisings that took place in Iraq, Lebanon, Sudan, Algeria in 2019, these are longer processes in which different social movements interact. There are issues of coalition and network building at play, different relationships with social actors, a

lot of distrust of political parties – and yet we have mobilization. To protest in authoritarian regimes, trust in other protesters is particularly important, especially the longer one protests, because one becomes more and more visible and thus could be exposed to more and more repression.

The second wave of Arab uprisings, however, was characterized by protests not only across social lines of conflict, but explicitly against them. There were demands, especially in Lebanon and Iraq, to abolish political systems based on a distribution of power along ethno-religious identities. To demand that when you yourself are dependent on these networks, first of all, is very powerful, especially when societies are deeply divided and have a history of violent conflict. Where do these demands come from and when do they actually appear in mass movements? In Iraq and Lebanon, for example, right at the beginning of the protest



Themed Section with articles from the project

The results of the project were summarized in a Themed Section in the journal Mediterranean Politics in 2023, which appeared online first. Introduction:

Weipert-Fenner, Irene: Socioeconomic reforms in times of political transformation: Conflicts over the political economy in Egypt and Tunisia post-2011, in: Mediterranean Politics, 2023. DOI: 10.1080/13629395.2023.2207428.



movement. This cannot always be explained rationally; emotions always play a major role in revolutions. What is interesting here is what happens in this extraordinary moment and whether extraordinary trust is perpetuated in the revolutionary movement. And what happens to it when revolutions are considered to have failed?

One last question: What will you be dealing with in your next research projects?

With regard to protest movements, it is important not only to look at the revolutionary episode, but to zoom out in time. The lines of conflict that are at stake usually have a long history. In 2019, for example, we saw protest actors themselves explicitly drawing on protest history by saying, “We used to be divided along an ethnic conflict line, we don’t do that anymore. We’ve learned from that.” And even if protest movements fail directly, for example, because they do not succeed in overthrowing a particular regime, they still set transformation processes in motion. To gain insight into these aspects, we need to embed the protests in their longer history. In addition, I will continue to research conflicts over social justice in the future. As a result of Corona, but also the Russia-Ukraine war, the economic situation in many countries has deteriorated dramatically. At the same time, we have also seen dictatorships in North Africa and West Asia rehabilitated because of the need for new energy suppliers. In addition, there are efforts to get green hydrogen from these countries as well, because of climate change. What effects does this have, or what development potentials would there perhaps also be? How would German and European politics have to act in order not simply to build up new extractivist structures, but to promote an actual transformation of political-economic conditions? I am working on this together with colleagues from the Arab-German Young Academy.



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FEMINIST PEACE RESEARCH

GENDER, **Diversity,** CONFLICT



Gender, diversity and conflict is a comparatively recent cross-cutting area in PRIF's research. In 2022, a lot has happened in this regard: A series on PRIF Blog has been gathering diverse feminist perspectives since 2022. A new project explores how to deal with backsliding in the realization of gender-sensitive human rights in peacebuilding. Last but not least, feminist peace research was also a topic in the Peace Report and other activities in the fields of policy advice and transfer.

The impact of war and conflict can vary greatly for people depending on their gender identity and sexual orientation. After the Russian attack on Ukraine, for example, gender roles in war were widely discussed. For instance, it is predominantly women, often with children or elderly relatives, who are fleeing, while men are not allowed to leave the country. These different dynamics can only be seen with a gendered focus. At the same time, feminist research serves to break down often unchallenged stereotypes. The example of Ukraine also shows that women in war are not only victims. On the one hand, they take on caregiving tasks and are particularly vulnerable when rape is used as a weapon of war. On the other hand, they also fill a variety of other roles, such as combatants, activists, and negotiators.

Wars often have a particularly harsh impact on individuals from the LGBTIQ* community. Individuals who are discriminated against along other dimensions, such as race or disability, are also particularly vulnerable. Therefore, looking at gender alone is not enough. An intersectional feminist analysis, i.e. an analysis that takes into account different forms of discrimination and multiple discrimination, opens up a variety of new perspectives on the issues in peace and conflict studies.

Feminist Peace Research: Series on PRIF Blog

Since May 2022, the series “Feminist Peace Research” on PRIF Blog has gathered feminist perspectives on a variety of topics. The series is edited by Simone Wisotzki and Victoria Scheyer in collaboration with PRIF’s Department of Science Communication. Analyses on the blog cover areas such as foreign and security policy, human rights, flight and migration, as well as socio-political issues and social justice.

The “Women, Peace, Security” agenda (UN Resolution 1325) calls on UN member states to provide special protection for women and girls in war zones and to strengthen women’s political participation in peace negotiations, conflict mediation and reconstruction. To implement this, each country establishes its own National Action Plan. But what does it mean to adapt the National Action Plan to the needs of a population at war? PRIF researcher Hanna Manoilenko’s article highlights how this task is being addressed in Ukraine during the Russian war of aggression and formulates recommendations for the international community.

BLOG SERIES

Visiting researcher Xie Peixuan's contribution also focuses on the "Women, Peace, Security" agenda. The coup in Myanmar in 2021 caused forms of gender-based violence. In her article, Xie Peixuan traces the feminist resistance movements against these forms of violence and argues that UN Resolution 1325 is insufficient to effectively support the struggle.

PRIF associate fellow Farnaz Dezfouli-Asl takes a look at the protests in Iran in her article. The struggle for women's rights, she argues, unites very different groups and social classes and serves as a starting point for a much broader movement demanding democracy and the rule of law.

In 2022, the first eight articles were published, and the series is continued in 2023.

Peace Report 2022: How can feminist foreign policy succeed?

Under the title "Gender, Diversity and Violence," the second chapter of the Peace Report 2022 also addresses feminist perspectives on conflict and peacebuilding. The authors, including PRIF researchers Simone Wisotzki, Victoria Scheyer and Clara Perras, point to the role of gender-based violence at all levels, ranging from domestic violence to interstate conflicts. They also formulate conditions for success for a feminist foreign policy.

For feminist foreign policy to succeed, the authors state in the Peace Report, it must avoid reproducing gender stereotypes and racism. This includes not only traditional gender roles, such as the characterization of women as "victims" with no agency of their own. A paternalistic view of development cooperation that divides the world into "donors" and "recipients" must also be avoided.

Patriarchal structures and military rationales are closely linked. Therefore, the broad social acceptance of such normative notions of gender roles can serve to legitimize an imperial claim to leadership, as can be seen in the example of Russian politics. But the authors point out that there are deficits in NATO countries as well. Finally, feminist domestic policy is also needed in return.



Without feminist domestic policy, social peace is at risk and feminist foreign policy is not credible. | *Peace Report 2022, p. 85 (translated from German).*

Interview with **SIMONE WISOTZKI**

Dr habil. Simone Wisotzki is a Senior Researcher at PRIF's research department "International Security". She conducts research on humanitarian arms control, arms exports and gender perspectives in peace and conflict research.



Since March 2022, you have been working on the project "Dealing with contestations and backlashes of gender equality in peacebuilding," which is funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF). What is it about?

We asked various actors to what extent they experience resistance and setbacks in their daily project work when it comes to implementing gender-sensitive human rights in peacebuilding. We were astonished and appalled by the extent of this resistance and the fact that activists often experience violence and even death threats. Gender-sensitive peace work is experiencing considerable backsliding, and that worldwide!

The term feminist foreign policy has gained significant prominence in recent years. Do you see any progress here?

It is good that feminist foreign policy is raising public awareness of the problems of gender hierarchies and inequalities. But feminist foreign policy is only as good as its concrete implementation. Germany needs to do much more in this area. It also lacks a feminist domestic policy. This includes a migration policy that takes into account gender-specific causes of flight. In Afghanistan in particular, women and girls are discriminated against on the basis of their gender, excluded from public life and threatened with death if they resist. But LGBTIQ* are also at risk worldwide and decide to flee because of this gender-specific vulnerability.

GLOBAL Network




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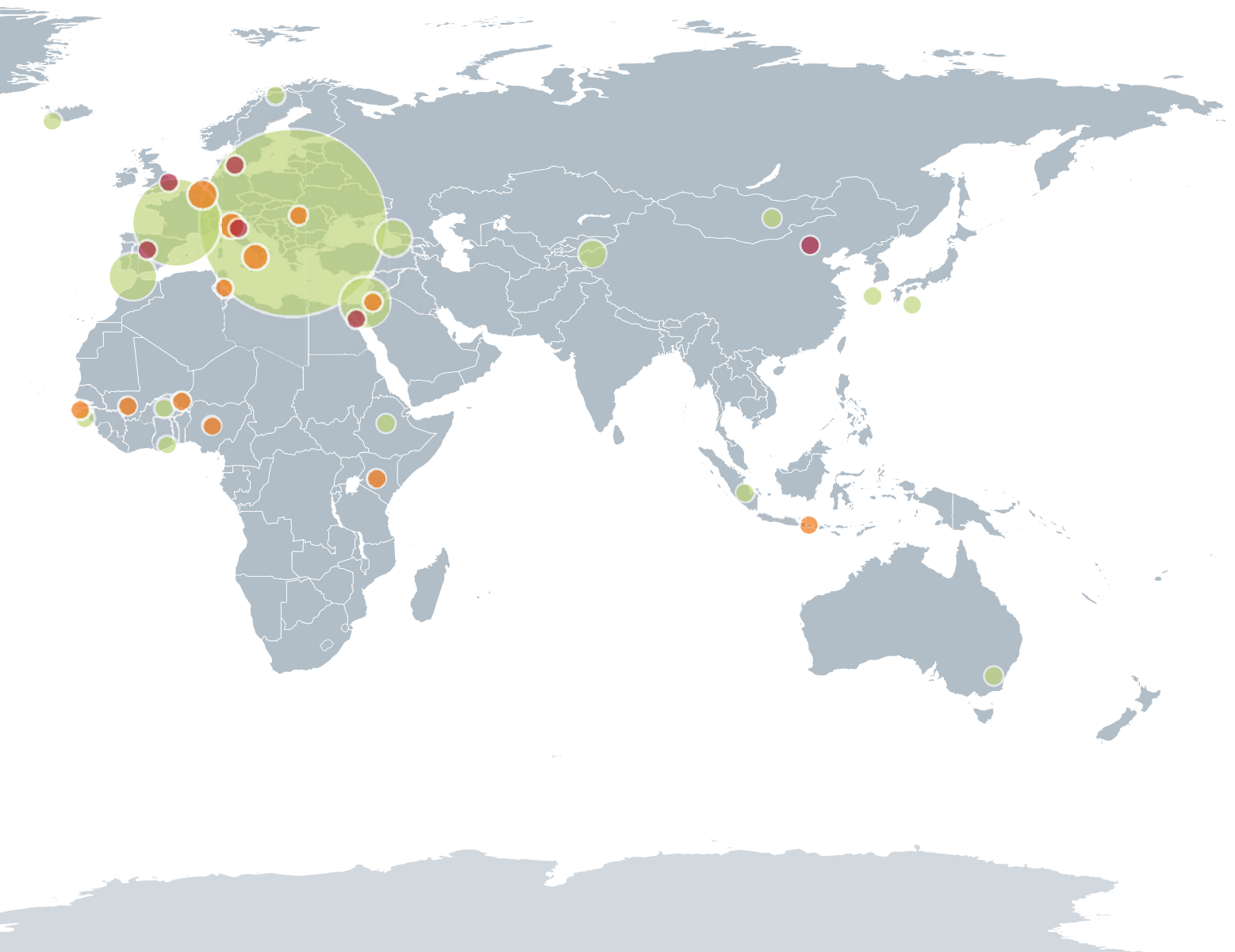
Nadine Sika American University in Cairo, Egypt



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STUDY ON MALI AND NIGER

A MISSION for Peace?



What lessons can we learn from Germany's engagement in Mali and Niger? This is the question addressed in the study "Policy coherence for peace in German government action: Lessons from Mali and Niger," which was written by Antonia Witt and Simone Schnabel in collaboration with Baba Dakono and Abdoul Karim Saidou. The study was commissioned by the Advisory Board to the Federal Government for Civilian Crisis Prevention and Peacebuilding (see info box). In more than 100 guided interviews, the researchers spoke with representatives of government departments, implementing organizations and civil society actors in Germany, Mali and Niger.

The failure of the mission in Afghanistan reignited the debate about Bundeswehr missions abroad. What should be the short- and long-term goals of Germany's civilian and military engagement in conflict regions? Can these be achieved at all? And what lessons should be learned from the failure in Afghanistan? Against this backdrop, Germany's engagement in the Sahel was also a topic of discussion.

The Sahel is one of the world's hot spots of violence. Various Islamist groups are active there, exploiting the absence of state structures, especially in the peripheral border regions, and fueling local conflict dynamics. Large parts of Mali are considered the epicenter of violence in the Sahel, in addition to an ongoing political crisis since 2012 that has further deepened mistrust of the state and elites in the south of the country. Although Niger was long considered an anchor of stability in the region, violence has also increased there, particularly in border regions.

At the time of the study, Germany is involved in peace policy in both countries in a variety of ways. In addition to the participation of the Bundeswehr in the UN stabilization mission MINUSMA, which expires at the end of 2023, and in the EU training mission EUTM Mali until 2022, it is also involved,

for example, in humanitarian aid, development cooperation and conflict prevention measures. In addition to the so-called "core departments", the Federal Foreign Office (AA), the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) as well as the Federal Ministry of Defense (BMVg), the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI) also has staff in both countries. Four other ministries are investing in various projects there.

The German government's guidelines "Preventing Crises, Resolving Conflicts, Building Peace" adopted in 2017 (see info box) are intended to serve as a strategic compass for Germany's engagement in conflict regions such as the Sahel. But to what extent is German government action in Mali and Niger actually guided by these principles? Do all the different measures succeed in promoting sustainable peace?

The authors conclude that the German government's peace policy model is only inadequately implemented. A central point is the cooperation between different ministries: A broad range of instruments is used for coordination, e.g. bodies such as the Sahel Task Force at the German Foreign Office (AA) and the "Nordrunde" in Mali. However, these formats reach only part of the total of eight ministries active in the two countries.

INFOBOX

ADVISORY BOARD FOR CIVILIAN CRISIS PREVENTION AND PEACEBUILDING

The Advisory Board brings together civil society and academic expertise on crisis prevention and peacebuilding and advises the work of the German government. The Advisory Board's twenty members come from the fields of international cooperation, academia, foundations and nongovernmental organizations and are appointed for four years. The Advisory Board accompanies the implementation of the guidelines "Preventing Crises, Resolving Conflicts, Building Peace" adopted by the German government in 2017.

The guidelines are intended to serve as a strategic compass for Germany's engagement in crisis and conflict contexts. On the one hand, they define structures and processes for joint interdepartmental action by the German government. On the other hand, they lay down substantive principles for action, such as the protection of human rights, a long-term orientation and the priority of prevention.



About the authors

Dr Antonia Witt is a Senior Researcher at the research department “Glocal Junctions” and head of the research group “African Intervention Politics”.



Simone Schnabel is a Doctoral Researcher in the research group “African Intervention Politics” and at the research department “Glocal Junctions”.

In particular, there is a lack of an overall political strategy for both countries that operationalizes the substantive goals prescribed in the guidelines for the specific context. This void creates strategic dependencies on other actors, such as France, which pursue their own interests, especially in the context of multilateral engagement, as in the UN and EU missions. The objectives and impact logics of multilateral and bilateral projects often contradict each other – an incoherence that is also perceived by civil society actors on the ground.

The study identifies a number of factors that are conducive or obstructive to the goal of promoting sustainable peace. On this basis, the authors make very specific recommendations for action to the German government: In addi-

tion to joint interministerial country strategies, these include increasing the number of staff and strengthening the strategic integration of embassies. For Mali, they recommend that German engagement focus on strengthening national and local structures for conflict resolution. This includes, in particular, promoting the rule of law and combating impunity. For Niger, the authors recommend a stronger exchange with local civil society.

Current developments in the Sahel have shown that in the future it will be all the more important to learn lessons from the experiences in Mali and Niger and to gear future engagement more strategically to how and with whom the greatest possible benefit can be achieved in promoting sustainable peace in the region.

READ MORE



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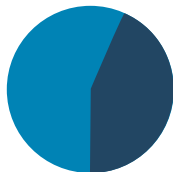
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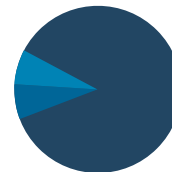


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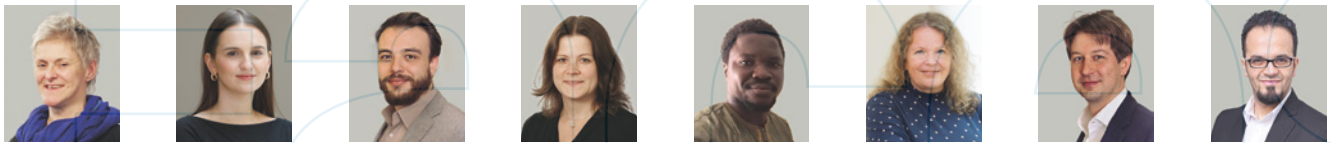
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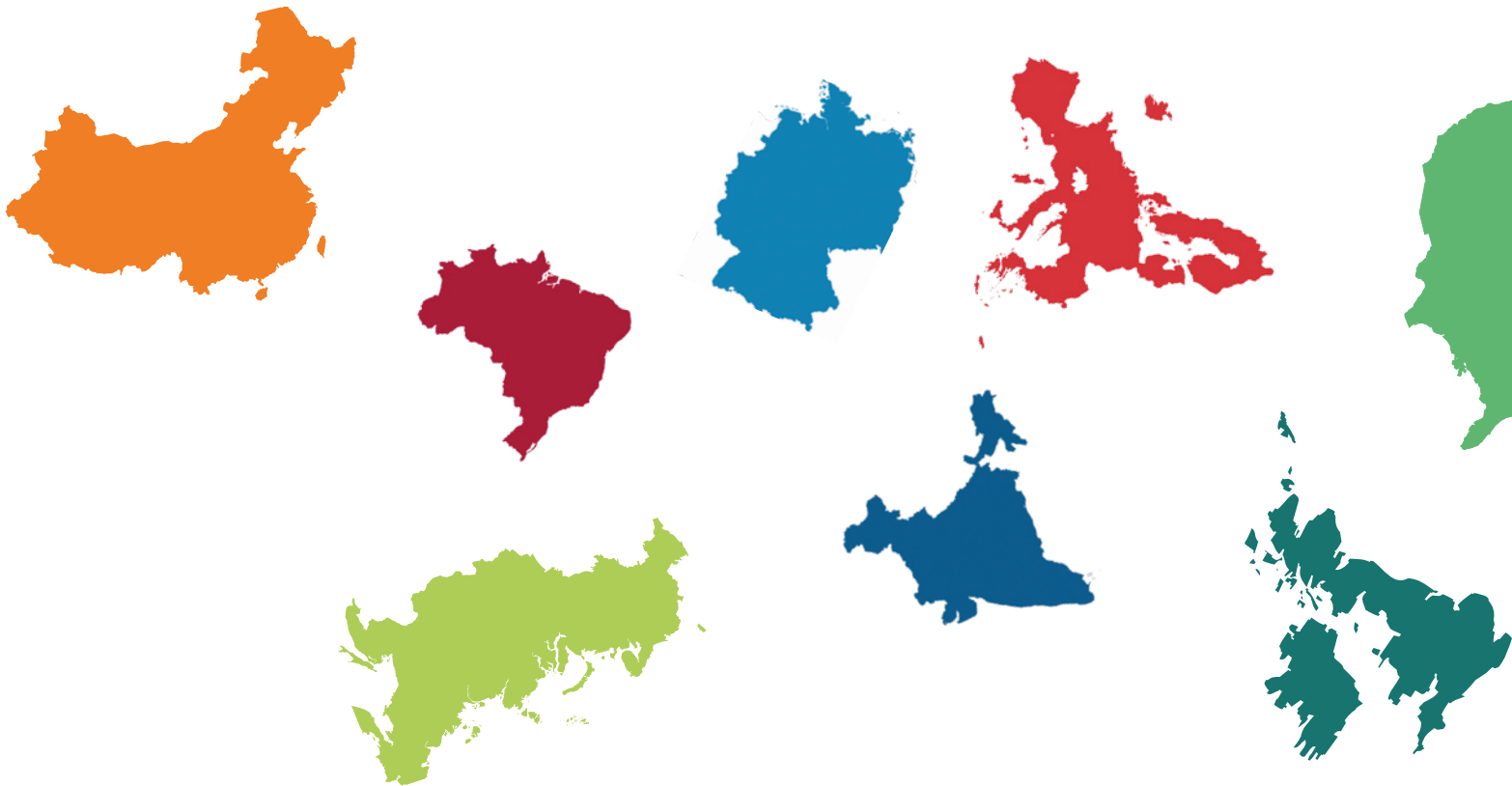
Team





INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN CRISIS

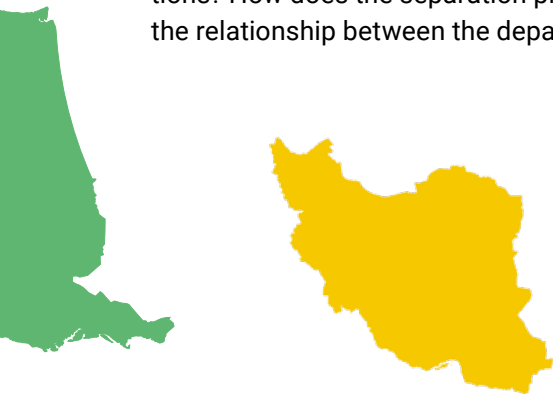
SEEKING **Islands of** COOPERATION



What factors determine whether the departure of a state from an institution further escalates a conflict or not? This was the focus of the interdisciplinary research project “Drifting Apart: International Institutions in Crisis and the Management of Dissociation Processes,” which was successfully concluded with a Special Issue in 2022.

International institutions are in crisis. Time and again, individual states distance themselves from common rules and values and withdraw from a common institution. These “dissociation processes” take various forms, be it that a state withdraws from an institution or is excluded (as in the case of Brexit or Trump’s withdrawal from the international climate protection agreement), be it that a state formally remains in the institution but de facto no longer adheres to its norms and rules (as in the case of Russia’s distancing from the European security architecture as of 2007 at the latest), or be it that a state establishes alternative institutions, as in the case of China and its new trade agreements with the BRICS states.

But what are the consequences of such separations? How does the separation process affect the relationship between the departing states and



those remaining in the institution? As in a divorce process, such separations can lead to an intensification of conflicts and differences. Questions about who is to blame for the separation and the costs it has caused, a fundamental questioning of the institution, grievances and differences from the past can lead to escalation. On the other hand, a relaxation would also be conceivable. One goes separate ways, arranges still existing obligations and provides for balance. For example, when a state leaves an international organization, one could agree on compensation payments to cush-

ion the loss of its contributions. Finally, compensation and indemnification could be used to draw a line under the matter and to establish a more relaxed relationship with each other.

Depending on how states manage these separation processes, the course is set for future relations and security architecture.

The interdisciplinary research project “Drifting Apart: International Institutions in Crisis and the Management of Dissociation Processes” focuses on the how of dissociation processes. The focus is not on the why of the crisis of international institutions, but on the questions: What factors determine whether tensions and alienations escalate between remaining and exiting states? How do separation processes affect the relationship between states?

Within the framework of the Leibniz Research Network “Crises of a Globalized World”, a PRIF research team together with colleagues from three other research institutes pursued these questions in a comparative explorative study. The team worked on five dissociation processes, some historical and some current:

- the decline of security cooperation between Russia and the West since 2000,
- the departure of the United Kingdom from the EU,
- the establishment of alternative institutions by the BRICS countries in international financial cooperation,
- the collapse of the Warsaw Pact,
- the withdrawal of Iran from cooperation with the West since the late 1970s.

Their research began with the hypothesis that there are two types of conflicts in dissociation processes, ideational and distributional conflicts, and that ideational conflicts in particular carry a high risk of escalation. The researchers were

” In order to prevent an ideologization of conflicts, it is important not to insist only on the enforcement of one’s own values, as problematic as this may sometimes be, especially for the West. | *Dirk Peters*

able to confirm this assumption, but they also succeeded in identifying other mechanisms that lead to an aggravation of tensions between states through dissociation processes and thus make their management more difficult. After three years of project work, they presented their initial findings in a special issue.

These offer little reason for optimism. In most cases, disengagement processes lead to an intensification of the conflict. The disengagement is often embedded in a relationship that has always been in tension; the exit from cooperation is just

another contribution to that conflict. And there is almost always a tendency to turn the conflict into a fundamental dispute. Often domestic pressure makes a peaceful settlement difficult; a scapegoat must be found to justify costs and disadvantages. It is seldom possible to deal with the separation at the distribution level and thus draw a line under it through compensation and settlement payments.

In one of the cases examined, the peaceful transition to a normalized relationship succeeded, at least for a time: the GDR’s withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. Here, too, there were domestic

About the project



Research partner institutes:
German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Hamburg (GIGA), Leibniz Centre for Con-
temporary History Potsdam (ZZF), Leibniz
Institute for Contemporary History (IfZ).

PRIF project members: Prof. Dr Nicole
Deitelhoff (director), Dr Matthias Dembinski,
Dr Dirk Peters, Mikhail Polianskii.



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Polianskii, Mikhail: The Perils of Ruxit: Russia's Tension-Ridden Dissociation from the European Security Order, in: *Historical Social Research*, 47(2), 2022, 77–108. DOI: 10.12759/hsr.47.2022.17.

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constraints; Soviet President Gorbachev was under tremendous pressure not to engage in negotiations. But he succeeded in overriding this and reaching agreements with the Federal Republic on ample compensation. In principle, therefore, it was possible in the negotiating situation to resolve the conflict through agreements on a material level and not to get involved in discussions of values. The prerequisite, however, was Gorbachev's political courage. In retrospect, however, it should not be concealed that he did not succeed in forging a domestic coalition that went along with and supported the agreement. The conflict continued to smolder in the Politburo, with the familiar consequences.

The ideologization of a conflict always adds fuel to the fire; the example of Iran and its withdrawal from cooperation with the West from the 1970s onward is illustrative of this. The highly ideologized dispute with the United States led to constant friction and threats of war. The German government, on the other hand, continued to pursue its business with Iran, thus never getting into a high-tension situation, but had to face accusations of double standards.

What does this mean for the management of future conflicts? And does this necessarily mean that one's own norms should take a back seat in order to avoid escalation? Science cannot offer simple answers. The researchers argue that islands of cooperation should be sought. It must be prevented that a relationship is perceived only under one aspect and the conviction arises that one can never cooperate due to fundamental ideological differences. When this happens, war is not far away. Instead, it is important to identify areas in which common interests still exist, which can then lead to partial cooperation. In no case should the values that a regime represents be decisive for all areas of cooperation. This does not necessarily mean that one's own values should no longer be represented, but rather that one should avoid placing the entire relationship under the standard of these values. For example, one should certainly stand up for human rights, but without claiming to enforce them in another country. One can raise the issue and also advertise it, but one should not stop interacting with a government because it follows different norms, otherwise one quickly ends up with a polarization of the relationship and interstate conflicts.

PEACE REPORT 2022

HOW DO SANCTIONS Take Effect?

With its war of aggression on Ukraine, the Russian leadership has brought suffering and destruction to the people of the country. At the same time, the aggression is shaking the European peace and security order. The effects of the war continue to be felt around the world. The Peace Report 2022 took a stand on central questions: What has led to this war and what are the possibilities to escape the logic of confrontation, violence and war?

The recommendations of the editors to the German government outlined how politics could succeed in balancing the need for defense and pressure on the one hand and the ability to achieve peace on the other. The Peace Report also focused on the need for a new concept of European security after the “Zeitenwende” (turn of the times). This concept should combine defense capability with a long-term perspective on future cooperative

security structures and lasting peace.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF SANCTIONS

In its Chapter 4, “Institutional Peacekeeping,” the Peace Report underscored targeted sanctions as an effective political tool – if they are embedded in the context of an overarching strategy. In recent years, the EU and Germany have increasingly used sanctions or the threat of sanctions.

INFOBOX

THE PEACE REPORT

The Peace Report is the annual publication that PRIF has been publishing since 1987, together with the Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies (BICC), the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) and the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University of Duisburg-Essen. In it, the leading German peace and conflict research institutes analyze current international conflicts, highlight trends in international foreign, security and development policy and make clear recommendations for policymakers. Interdisciplinary teams of authors from political science, sociology, ethnology, physics and religious studies work together on the five recurring thematic chapters, bringing in different perspectives: Armed Conflict, Sustainable Peace, Arms Dynamics, Institutional Peacekeeping, and Transnational Security Risks. Dr Claudia Baumgart-Ochse is the editorial director.

2022 / Friedensfähig in Kriegszeiten / friedensgutachten

However, the sanctions that the West imposed on Russia shortly after the attack on Ukraine are unprecedented in their severity and the speed of their implementation. Together with the arms deliveries to Ukraine, they constitute an attempt to prevent a Ukrainian defeat without directly intervening in the war. As a foreign policy tool, they are thus intended to serve the purpose of putting pressure on the Russian aggressor and getting it to engage in serious negotiations. The sanctions against Russia are thus part of an overarching strategy.

Sanctions against major powers such as Russia do not lead directly to changes in behavior. Instead, they can have an effect in the medium and long term

by limiting the scope for action, according to the Peace Report. They should also be understood as a normative means to prevent other states from also violating international rules.

Moreover, sanctions alone cannot solve crises and, in the worst case, can even exacerbate emergencies and promote political repression and corruption. Therefore, the researchers noted, sanctions are not without preconditions or costs. In order to fulfill their purpose, their goals must be clearly communicated so that their success can be monitored. Furthermore, in the spirit of a value-based foreign policy, they must include clear exit strategies and intermediate goals, as well as a prudent calculation

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of humanitarian consequences to ensure that sanctions do not further worsen the initial situation. Chapter 4 was coordinated by Nicole Deitelhoff and Anton Peez; PRIF researchers Pascal Abb and Christopher Daase were also involved.

In further chapters, the authors of the Peace Report deal with the challenges of peaceful conflict management, the importance of feminist foreign policy, the escalation risks of the nuclear arms race, and the ambivalent position of security institutions in democracies.

THE PEACE REPORT IN THE PUBLIC DISCOURSE

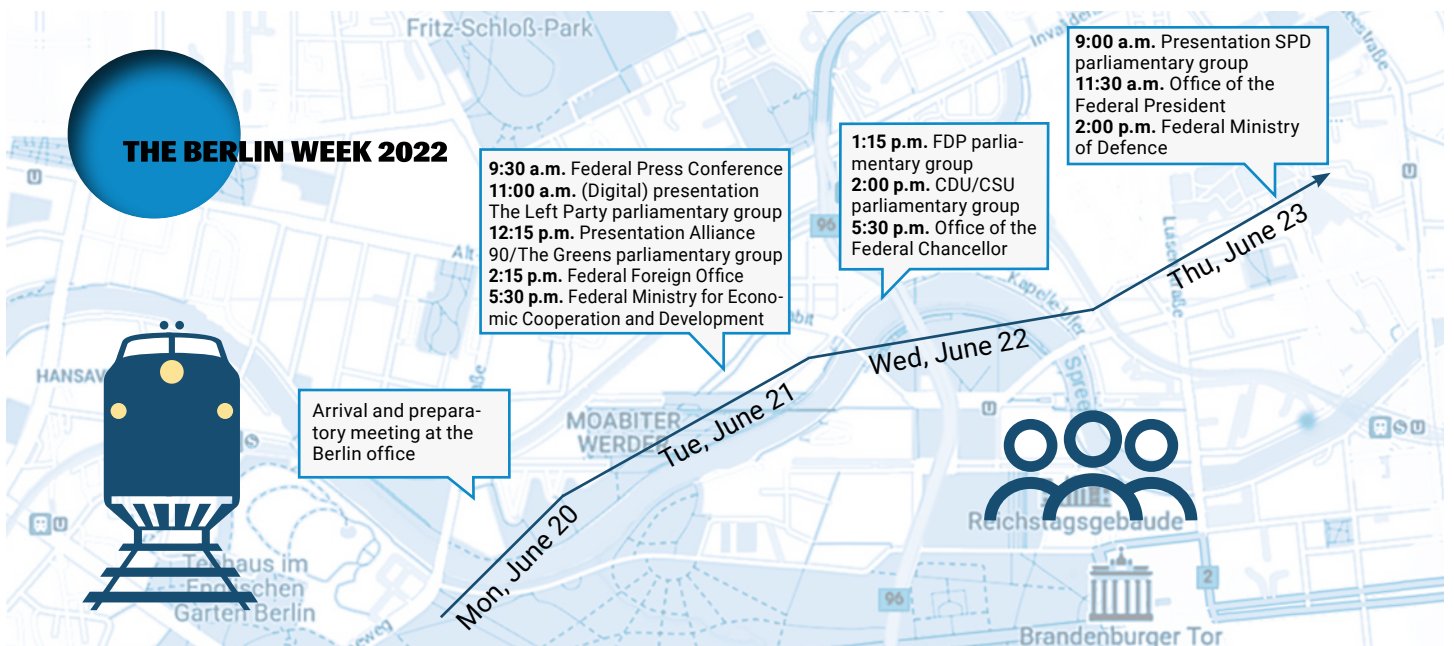
With the Peace Report, the four peace research institutes involved pursue the goal of offering a central medium for dialogue between research, politics and society by providing concrete recommendations for action for the Bundestag and the Federal Government. The appointments with parliamentary groups and ministries, the Federal Chancellery and the Office of the Federal President, which follow the presentation at the Federal Press Conference, are firmly established and the exchange of mutual expertise is appreciated by both sides. In this way, constructive advice can be given on current issues and the recommendations can also be discussed critically. At the same time, a targeted dialog with the public is sought through events



in cooperation with foundations, cultural and educational institutions, the churches and centers for political education.

In the media, the 2022 Peace Report was also very well

received. In addition to numerous reports in the established print media and on the radio, the Peace Report was featured in a special dossier on ZDF heute and discussed in the high-reach podcast JUNG&naiv.



Imprint

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