

FINAL REPORT

**Institutions for Sustainable Peace:
Comparing Institutional Configurations for Divided Societies**



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Executive Summary

How do different context conditions shape the impact of formal political state institutions--- such as (territorial) state structure, electoral systems and party regulation, government system, judiciary, and the security sector---on the survival of peace after civil wars? And how do these different state institutions interact in their effects? To tackle these questions, the SAW-funded “Institutions for Sustainable Peace” Project (ISP) set out to a) create an international academic network to bring together specialists from different topical areas of research and diverse theoretical and methodological backgrounds, b) institutionalize an exchange of ideas and cooperation, c) develop an integrated approach to institutional challenges, d) yield concrete research results to provide practitioners with advice on which institutional choices can best deal with which conflict risks. To achieve these goals the GIGA-based ISP core team focused on five interrelated components.

First, the GIGA team organized a series of four thematic conferences in Berlin, Hamburg, Oslo, and Geneva. These conferences brought together a diverse set of scholars on post-conflict institutions and generated a number of research results, for instance on how institutional reforms in post-conflict states affect chances of post-conflict peace.

Second, the outcomes of these conferences were published in a special issue (*Civil Wars*, 2013) and an edited volume (Routledge, 2017). In addition, the researchers used the ISP conferences to discuss and develop further individual research contributions on a wide set of topics related to questions about institutional prerequisites for peace. These contributions were published in several renowned political science journals, including the *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, or *African Affairs*.

Third, the GIGA team created an exchange and encounter program that enabled researchers from all over the world to exchange further ideas and develop research projects at partner institutions. In addition to ten research visits, this part of the ISP project also allowed to fund participation in a series of thematic panels at major international conferences.

Fourth, the GIGA team compiled two databases that stand as a lasting outcome of the ISP project. An Annotated Database Bibliography includes the collection of 609 datasets on institutions, conflict, and divisions, and detailed analysis of 254 datasets. A dataset on Police Reform in Peace Agreements (PRPA) adds a novel quantitative dimension to the thus far largely qualitative literature on post-conflict security sector reform (SSR).

Fifth, the GIGA team also sought funding for the start-up financing of joint projects. This was important input for the successful application for numerous research projects on “Security Sector Reform and the Stability of Post-War Peace” (DFG), “The Political Economy of Power-Sharing” (DFG), “Motor or Brake? The Effect of Religion on Sustainable Development” (German Ministry of Development Cooperation), and “Religious Minorities: Discrimination, Grievances and Conflict” (German Israeli Foundation).

1. Initial Questions, Goals, and Overview of this Report

Formal state institutions have long been regarded as vital for regulating the potential for violent conflict, particularly in divided and post-war societies that are characterized by splits along lines of ethnic or religious identity or of social disparity. The academic debate on institutional engineering has in the past offered options relevant both for the prevention of violence in these societies and for post-war situations. However, *empirical* evidence on which institutions work best for divided and post-war societies has often remained inconclusive, also due to a lack of integrative research in the field in regard to at least two aspects:

- First, there has been little effort to identify how specific contexts, e.g. the character of divisions, condition the prospect of successful institutional reform.
- Second, scholars have typically focused on one type of institution instead of engaging in integrative analyses of the **interaction** of the whole set of institutions, and between specialists there has been little exchange about various institutions.

As a consequence, interventions and reform may fail due to a lack of integrated approaches. The international network project “**Institutions for Sustainable Peace: Comparing Institutional Configurations for Divided Societies,**” funded by the Leibniz Community between May 2012 and April 2016 under Funding Line 3: Networks, aimed to help overcome these deficiencies by

- creating an international academic network that systematically brings together specialists from different topical areas of research and diverse theoretical and methodological backgrounds,
- institutionalizing an exchange of ideas and cooperation,
- developing an integrated approach to institutional challenges, and
- yielding concrete research results by providing practitioners with advice on which institutional choices can best deal with which conflict risks.

For this purpose, the network program was structured into **five work components**:

1. a series of thematic conferences,
2. publication of contributions to two conferences in high-standard publications,
3. an exchange and encounter program for senior and junior researchers,
4. the compilation of a shared database on cases of “institutions for peace,” and
5. the systematic generation of future research projects.

2. The Network Partners

The Institutions for Sustainable Peace (ISP) network and its main building blocks are constituted as (1) five core institutional network partners, (2) an extended circle of individual network partners, (3) a steering committee with representatives from the five core network partners, (4) a secretariat consisting of the scientific coordinator (full post-doc position, funded by the SAW grant) and two junior researchers (65% positions, funded by the SAW grant), and (5) a number of researchers who have been affiliated with the ISP network throughout the course of the project.

2.1. The ISP Network’s Core Institutional Network Partners

GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg

Representatives: Matthias Basedau, Sabine Kurtenbach, Andreas Mehler

Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University

Representative: Hanne Fjelde

Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

Representative: Keith Krause

University of Oslo, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)

Representative: Håvard Hegre

School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS), London

Representative: Phil Clark

2.2. The ISP Network's Extended Circle of Network Partners

Matthijs Bogaards, Jacobs University Bremen, **Michael Brzoska**, IFSH Hamburg, **Susanne Buckley-Zistel**, University of Marburg, **Christof Hartmann**, University Duisburg-Essen, **Caroline Hartzell**, Gettysburg College, **Donald Horowitz**, Duke University, **Ben Reilly**, Murdoch University, **Phil G. Roeder**, University of California at San Diego, **Gerald Schneider**, University of Konstanz, **Timothy D. Sisk**, University of Denver, **Stefan Wolff**, University of Birmingham

2.3. The ISP Steering Committee

Matthias Basedau, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Sabine Kurtenbach, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Andreas Mehler, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Nadine Ansorg, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Hanne Fjelde, Uppsala University, Department of Peace and Conflict Research
Keith Krause, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies
Håvard Hegre, University of Oslo/PRIO (now: Uppsala University)
Phil Clark, School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS)

2.4. The ISP Secretariat

Nadine Ansorg, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Felix Haass, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Julia Strasheim, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies

2.5 Scholars Affiliated with ISP throughout the Project

Fiona Adamson (SOAS), **Pritish Behuria** (SOAS), **Helga Malmin Binningsbø** (PRIO), **Elisabeth Bunselmeyer** (GIGA), **Susanna Campbell** (CCDP Geneva), **Jovana Carapic** (CCDP), **Senija Causevic** (SOAS), **Fletcher Cox** (University of Denver), **Marianne Dahl** (PRIO), **Brian Ganson** (CCDP), **Scott Gates** (PRIO), **Artak Galyan** (Central European University Budapest), **Sergio Gemperle** (swisspeace), **Esteban Ramirez Gonzáles** (Oxford, CCDP), **John L. Gray** (University of Otago), **Caroline Hartzell** (Gettysburg College), **Moncef Kartas** (CCDP), **Tatyana Kelman** (University of Texas), **Amir Knifess** (SOAS), **Jana Krause** (King's College London), **Anna Jarstad** (Uppsala University), **Oliver Jütersonke** (CCDP), **Martin Ottmann** (GIGA), **Dan Plesch** (SOAS), **Stephan Rosiny** (GIGA), **Roland Schmidt** (Central European University Budapest), **Claudia Simons** (SWP), **Jacob Summer** (Uppsala University), **Anders Themnér** (Uppsala University), **Ulrike Theuerkauf** (London School of Economics and Political Science), **Nina von Uexküll** (Uppsala University), **Mats Utas** (The Nordic Africa Institute), **Johannes Vüllers** (GIGA), **Tore Wig** (University

of Oslo/PRIO), **Christalla Yakinthou** (University of Birmingham), **Franziska Zanker** (GIGA), **Dominik Zaum** (University of Reading), **Sebastian Ziaja** (University of Essex).

3. Project Results

3.1. Database and Workshops

A core goal of the network vis-à-vis its lasting outcome was to create a database on institutions for peace, for which funding for the coordination, database feeding and additional hours for the IT department at the GIGA as well as for the technical workshops was acquired.

Within the course of the ISP network project, the ISP team compiled two databases:

Annotated Database Bibliography

First, at the end of 2012, the ISP project completed an **Annotated Database Bibliography**, including the collection of 609 datasets on institutions, conflict, and divisions, and detailed analysis of 254 datasets. Results were presented at the first ISP network conference in Berlin in September 2012, as well as at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association (ISA) in San Francisco in April 2013. The database was made available online at <http://www.giga-hamburg.de/isp> and was also published as part of the GIGA Working Papers series:

Ansorg, Nadine / Basedau, Matthias / Haass, Felix / Strasheim, Julia, 2013, *Mind the Gap: An Annotated Overview of Datasets in the Study of Institutions and Conflict in Divided Societies*, GIGA Working Paper, No. 234, September 2013, Hamburg: GIGA.

Police Reform in Post-Conflict Societies

Second, at the end of 2012, the ISP team started conceptualizing a new database on **police reform**. This was undertaken because the Annotated Database Bibliography, as well as the discussion with the network partners at the ISP network conference in Berlin in September 2012, had evinced a lack of empirical data in key areas, particularly on the state security sector. Alongside two student assistants, throughout 2013 the ISP team collected data on police reform in peace agreements.

Initial results were presented at a **network workshop** entitled “The Challenges of Security and Justice in Postwar Societies: Comparing Institutions for Sustainable Peace,” which was held at SOAS, a core network partner, and organized by Nadine Ansorg, who stayed as a visiting scholar at SOAS in London as part of the ISP exchange program (cf. below). Results were additionally presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association (ISA) in Toronto in March 2014, as well as at the 3rd ISP network conference in Geneva in May 2014 (cf. below).

In 2015, the ISP team prepared to publish as a result of this new dataset. An initial publication was accepted by the *Journal of Peace Research* in late 2015; the new dataset was published as a special data feature in July 2016:

Ansorg, Nadine / Haass, Felix / Strasheim, Julia, 2016, “Police reforms in peace agreements, 1975–2011: Introducing the PRPA dataset,” *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (4): 597-607.

In this article Nadine Ansorg, Felix Haass, and Julia Strasheim present new data on provisions for police reform in peace agreements (PRPA) between 1975 and 2011. They argue that the data adds a novel quantitative dimension to the thus far largely qualitative literature

on post-conflict security sector reform (SSR). The dataset includes information on six sub-types of police reform: capacity, training, human rights standards, accountability, force composition and international training and monitoring. In a first look at the data, the authors observe interesting variations in the inclusion of police reform provisions in relation to past human rights violations, regime type, or the scope of international peacekeeping prior to negotiations, and illustrate the implications of police reform provisions for the duration of post-conflict peace. The article also stimulates ideas on how scholars and policymakers can use the PRPA dataset in future to study new questions on post-conflict police reform.

A second publication is a chapter describing further data on the implementation of police reform, published in the *Routledge Edited Volume "Institutional Reforms and Peacebuilding"* by the ISP team as a result of the London workshop and the 2nd Network Conference in Geneva (cf. below):

Haass, Felix / Strasheim, Julia / Ansorg, Nadine, 2017, "The International Dimensions of Post-conflict Police Reform," in *Institutional Reforms and Peacebuilding*, eds. Nadine Ansorg and Sabine Kurtenbach (Routledge), pp. 153-180.

In this chapter, Nadine Ansorg, Felix Haass, and Julia Strasheim study the question of whether international peacebuilders influence the successful implementation of police reform in the aftermath of violent conflict. They observe that from Afghanistan to El Salvador to the DRC, international donors steer enormous resources to post-conflict countries in order to alter the structure and conduct of the police. These police reform programs often come with norm-oriented goals such as transforming the force into a politically accountable institution that serves the needs of local communities and reflects the overall composition of the society. They argue that two characteristics of external peacebuilders are associated with the implementation of police reform after war: the volume of resources they bring and the extensiveness of their mandate. The authors hypothesize that higher shares of security sector reform (SSR)-earmarked development aid should make police reform implementation more likely as SSR aid brings necessary financial resources, expertise, and equipment into conflict-ridden countries. At the same time, peace operations with stronger mandates are better able to mitigate the security dilemma between former belligerents and open up the political space to allow conflict parties to implement police reform. The authors then test these hypotheses in cases of the implementation of two types of police reform: first, implementation of provisions on political control of the police force through strengthening accountability structures and, second, implementation of provisions that regulate the composition of police forces such as the mode of representation of particular identity groups, women, as well as former warring parties. Using new data on police reform implementation, results from logistic regression show that international SSR financing is indeed correlated with a higher likelihood of implementing political control reforms, while it does not have an effect on the implementation of reforms in the composition of the police force. Additionally, peace operations are positively associated with a higher likelihood of implementation of political-control aspects of police reform.

3.2. Network Conferences

Within the ISP project, funding was sought for travel expenses, accommodation and other conference-related expenses for four thematic network conferences.

3.2.1. Berlin Conference

The ISP network held its **1st Network Conference in Berlin, 6–7 September 2012**, titled "Institutions for Sustainable Peace: From Research Gaps to New Frontiers." This first conference brought together all main network partners and a selection of further outstanding researchers in order to attain a concise overview of the existing state of the art, including dif-

ferent theoretical and methodological approaches in the five components of peace-related institutions in divided societies:

1. (territorial) state structure (e.g. federalism and other forms of administrative devolution vs. the centralized state),
2. electoral system (e.g. plurality systems vs. proportional systems/special designs) and party regulation (e.g. ethnic bans vs. no restrictions),
3. government system (majoritarian vs. more power-sharing institutions),
4. judiciary (e.g. legal pluralism vs. legal centralism), and
5. security sector (e.g. military integration vs. demobilization).

Particular emphasis was placed on the ability of institutions to deal with specific divisions within a given society. The conference reviewed and discussed theoretical arguments, empirical evidence (both large-N and small-N comparisons and case studies) and methodological challenges in order to raise awareness among scholars and identify challenges for future research.

Central findings from the conference were published by the ISP team in

Ansorg, Nadine / Felix Haass / Julia Strasheim, 2013, "Institutions for Sustainable Peace: Research Gaps and New Frontiers," *Global Governance* 19:1, 19-26

and in a **special issue of the journal *Civil Wars* (2013)**, edited by Sabine Kurtenbach and Andreas Mehler (see "Publications").

The Berlin conference had **23 participants**: Tim Sisk (University of Denver), Phil Clark (SOAS), Ben Reilly (ANU), Gerald Schneider (University of Konstanz), Hanne Fjelde (Uppsala), Helga Binningsbø, Marianne Dahl, Tore Wig (all PRIO), Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham), Susanna Campbell (Graduate School, Geneva), Susanne Buckley-Zistel (University of Marburg), in addition to the GIGA ISP core team comprised of Nadine Ansorg, Matthias Basedau, Felix Haass, Sabine Kurtenbach, Andreas Mehler, and Julia Strasheim, as well as researchers working on other GIGA projects, including Johannes Vüllers, Martin Ottmann, Franzisca Zanker, Anika Moroff, Claudia Simons, and Stephan Rosiny. The Berlin conference was primarily organized by ISP coordinator Nadine Ansorg.

3.2.2. Oslo Conference

The ISP network held its **2nd Network Conference in Oslo, 13–14 May 2013**, under the official banner "Harmony or Cacophony: The Concert of Institutions in Divided Societies." The second conference systematically dealt with the interaction between, and interdependence of, the different institutions in divided societies and post-conflict situations identified within the network project. Evident examples are the close relationship between the judiciary and the security sector, between party regulations and the electoral and government systems. Less explored but nevertheless important is the relationship between territorial state structure and the security sector or between the judiciary and the government system (who makes which rules for whom?).

The Oslo conference was primarily organized by ISP team member Julia Strasheim, who stayed at the core network partner PRIO in April and May 2013 as a visiting researcher, funded by the ISP Exchange Program (see below).

The Oslo conference had **21 participants**: Nadine Ansorg (GIGA), Matthias Basedau (GIGA), Pritish Behuria (SOAS), Helga Binningsbø (PRIO), Matthijs Bogaards (Jacobs University), Susanne Buckley-Zistel (Univ. of Marburg), Phil Clark (SOAS), Fletcher Cox (University of Denver), Scott Gates (PRIO), Hanne Fjelde (Uppsala University), Felix Haass (GIGA), Håvard Hegre (PRIO), Tatyana Kelman, Amir Knifess (SOAS), Sabine Kurtenbach (GIGA),

Aisling Lyons, Andreas Mehler (GIGA), Stephan Rosiny (GIGA), Julia Strasheim (GIGA), Tore Wig (PRIO), and Ulrike Theuerkauf (London School of Economics).

3.2.3. Geneva Conference

The ISP network held its **3rd Network Conference in Geneva, 27–28 May 2013**, called “Institutional Reforms in Post-war and Divided Societies: Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution?” The third conference dealt with the specific hazards and opportunities related to institutional reform in the five identified areas including the discussion of obstacles to implementation, actors (reformers and spoilers), questions of sequence, and the specific dangers of transitional stages and power vacuums (as frequently negotiated in power-sharing deals and security sector reform).

The Geneva conference was primarily organized by ISP team member Felix Haass, who stayed at the core network partner Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva in April and May 2014 as a visiting researcher, funded by the ISP Exchange Program (see below).

The **core results of the Geneva conference were published** in an edited volume:

Ansorg, Nadine / Kurtenbach, Sabine (ed.), 2016, *Institutional Reforms and Peacebuilding*, Routledge, 2017 (see below).

The Geneva conference had **24 participants**: Nadine Ansorg, Matthias Basedau, Matthijs Bogaards, Susanne Buckley-Zistel, Susanna Campbell, Phil Clark, Artak Galyan (CEU), Brian Ganso (CCDP), Sergio Gemperle (swisspeace), Esteban Gonzalez Ramirez (Oxford, CCDP), John Laidlaw Gray, Felix Haass, Caroline Hartzell, Donald Horowitz, Oliver Jütersonke (CCDP), Keith Krause, Sabine Kurtenbach, Andreas Mehler, Roland Schmidt (CEU), Gerald Schneider, Tim Sisk, Julia Strasheim, Stefan Wolff, Achim Wennmann (CCDP).

3.2.4. Hamburg Conference

The ISP network held its **Fourth Network Conference in Hamburg, 9–10 April 2015**: “Why Institutions Matter: Linking Research and Practice on Institutions for Sustainable Peace.” This conference brought together conflict scholars and practitioners in the field to discuss the role of institutions and institution building in conflict-affected and post-conflict societies, and to provide answers to the following questions: How can local and international actors design institutions that promote peace in post-war situations? What challenges do practitioners face when dealing with ongoing tensions between former warring parties or when facing the task of building up a new country after a long-lasting war? What are the ingredients of successful peace- and state building?

The Hamburg conference had **13 participants**: Thomas Bagger (Head of Policy Planning at the German Federal Foreign Office); Dunja Brede (Head of Competence Center “Relief, Reconstruction and Peace,” GIZ), Susanne Buckley-Zistel, Caroline Hartzell, Donald Horowitz, Ben Reilly, Gerald Schneider, Paul Seger (Swiss permanent representative to United Nations), Tim Sisk, Micha Wiebusch (SOAS), and Stefan Wolff, plus a number of local participants from the GIGA. The Hamburg conference was primarily organized by ISP coordinator Nadine Ansorg.

3.3. Academic Exchange and Encounter Program

Besides the joint conferences, two other mechanisms to intensify cooperation were established and funded by the SAW grant: (1) an **academic exchange program** and (2) a series of **encounters or meetings at international conferences**.

3.3.1. Academic Exchanges

As to the academic exchange program, the GIGA provided opportunities for two 3-month stays at the GIGA for each of the core partners. In return, GIGA researchers had a chance to deepen their understanding of relevant institutional devices in research stays at the partner institutions' premises. Funding was sought for travel and accommodation, as well as for additional costs – for example, to account for higher cost of living (e.g. in Oslo or Geneva). Equipment and communication was provided by the partner institutions.

In preparation for the conferences and other network activities, **Nadine Ansorg** visited core network partners in Geneva (October 2012), Uppsala (November 2012), Oslo (January 2013), and London (January 2013). She presented the ISP network at the respective partner institutes and intensified cooperation among partners and the GIGA.

From May to June 2012, **Nina von Uexküll** (Uppsala University) was a visiting researcher at GIGA Hamburg, where she contributed to the ISP database development (cf. below) and worked on a codebook on conflicts with non-state actors:

Von Uexküll, Nina / Therese Pettersson, 2013, *What they are fighting for. Conflict Issues in African Non-state Armed Conflicts 1989-2011*, presentation at the Meeting of the European Network of Conflict Research (ENCoRe), Amsterdam.

From April to May 2013, **Julia Strasheim** (GIGA) was a visiting researcher at PRIO (Oslo, Norway) where she organized the second network conference, worked on her dissertation and participated in academic life. She also worked on a paper on police reform in Kosovo that was presented at the second ISP network conference in Geneva (2014) and is forthcoming as

Gray, John / Julia Strasheim, 2016, "Security Sector Reform, Ethnic Representation and Perceptions of Safety: Evidence from Kosovo," forth. *Civil Wars*.

From October to December 2013, **Nadine Ansorg** (GIGA) was a visiting scholar at SOAS in London where she prepared the workshop "The Challenges of Security and Justice in Post-war Societies: Comparing Institutions for Sustainable Peace," worked on a paper entitled "Between a rock and a hard place: Securitization strategies to prevent conflict diffusion in Tanzania and Zaire" (currently under review at the *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*) and a database entitled "Consociational reforms in post-conflict countries" (currently under review in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*).

From March to May 2014, **Matthias Basedau** (GIGA) was a visiting researcher at PRIO (Oslo, Norway), where he helped initiate two collaborative research projects by PRIO and GIGA on religious and ethnic divisions. One proposal on identity conflicts and their (institutional) resolution in emerging petro-states was submitted to the Research Council of Norway (re-submitted, decision pending in November 2016). One dataset on religious claims made by and affiliations of rebels and governments has been created with the help of a startup fund (cf. below). Several papers on religious divisions, institutions and conflict were written or completed, of which at least five are now published or forthcoming in peer-reviewed scholarly journals (cf. below, Basedau 2016; Basedau and Koos 2015; Basedau, Pfeiffer, Vüllers 2016; Basedau, Fox, Pierskalla, Strüver, and Vüllers 2015, Vüllers, Pfeiffer and Basedau 2015). Since being a visiting professor at PRIO, Matthias Basedau has established ties with this core partner and is permanently affiliated to PRIO as an Associate Research Professor.

In April 2014, **Ben Reilly** from Murdoch University, Australia, was a visiting researcher at GIGA Hamburg. During his stay, Ben Reilly published, inter alia,

Reilly, Benjamin. 2014. "Power Sharing in the Asia-Pacific" GIGA Working Paper, No. 257, September 2014.

From May to June 2014, **Felix Haass** (GIGA) was a visiting researcher at the CCDP of the Graduate School in Geneva, where he helped prepare the 3rd Network Conference, worked on his dissertation and participated in academic life.

In June 2014, **Caroline Hartzell** (Gettysburg College) was a visiting researcher at GIGA Hamburg, where she worked on the edited volume *Power-Sharing and Power-Relations* with Andreas Mehler (see also "Publications" below).

From October to December 2014, **Franziska Zanker** (GIGA) was a visiting scholar at SOAS. She presented and discussed her work on the local arenas of power-sharing with colleagues at SOAS, finalizing a paper for African Affairs (with Andreas Mehler and Claudia Simons). She also set up a network with other scholars working on Liberia and spent time on her PhD dissertation on the legitimacy of peace negotiations.

In February 2015, **Micha Wiebusch** (SOAS) was a visiting researcher at GIGA, working on the role of regional organizations in protecting constitutionalism.

3.3.2. Joint Proposals for Panels at International Conferences

The network also submitted **joint proposals for panels** at the annual conventions of the International Studies Association (ISA), the European Consortium of Political Science Research (ECPR), and the American Political Science Association (APSA), and Point Sud (DFG). This was intended not only to intensify cooperation in the network but also to provide opportunities to discuss the related issues with the broader scientific community and colleagues from the South.

2012

- Even before the official start the ISP network held a pre-ISA catalytic workshop in San Diego (funded by an ISA grant, applicant Sabine Kurtenbach) on 31 March 2012 and participated with two panels at the ISA annual conference.

2013

- **ISA Annual Meeting, April 3–6, 2013, San Francisco:** Institutions for Sustainable Peace: Research Gaps and Challenges
- **ISA Annual Meeting, April 3–6, 2013, San Francisco:** The Institutional Prerequisites of Lasting Peace in Post-Conflict Situations
- **APSA Annual Meeting, August 29 – September 1, 2013, Chicago:** A Dangerous Liaison? Ethnicity, Natural Resources and Intrastate Conflict
- **London Workshop, November 2013:** The Challenges of Security and Justice in Postwar Societies. Comparing Institutions for Sustainable Peace

2014

- **ISA Annual Meeting, March 26–29, 2014, Toronto:** Postwar Violence Control – Between Global Policies and Local Needs
- **ISA, Annual Meeting, March 26–29, 2014, Toronto:** Securing the peace? Understanding conditions of peace on a local and national level
- **ECPR Graduate Conference, Innsbruck, July 3–5, 2014:** Nadine Ansorg, Felix Haass, Julia Strasheim served as section chairs for the "Peace and Conflict Studies" section
- **Point Sud, November 14–15, 2014, Stellenbosch:** Peace through institutions? Constitutional choices for divided societies

2015

- **ISA Annual Meeting, February 18–21, 2015, New Orleans:** Elites and non-elites in war-to-peace transitions: Behavior and interests
- **ISA Annual Meeting, February 18–21, 2015, New Orleans:** Building peace in the shadow of war: Dynamics of institutional change in conflict societies (Chair: Sabine Kurtenbach)
- **ISA Annual Meeting, February 18–21, 2015, New Orleans:** Roundtable – Institutional Change in Conflict Societies (Chair: Nadine Ansorg)

3.3.3. Further Selected Presentations of the Core ISP Team

2012

- Nadine Ansorg: “Institutions for Sustainable Peace – Perspektiven für geteilte Gesellschaften?” Presentation of the ISP Project at the GFA Consulting Group, Hamburg, 4 July 2012.
- Nadine Ansorg, Felix Haass, Julia Strasheim: “No Constitution of Peace? Towards a new Definition and Measurement of a Multi-Level Concept of Peace”, presentation held at “The Constitution of Peace. Current Debates and Future Perspectives,” University of Marburg, Marburg, 12 October 2012.
- Matthias Basedau: “Does the Success of Institutional Conflict Management Depend on the Character of Divisions? A Pilot Study on Ethnic Divisions and Inclusive Institutions in 34 African Countries”, International Studies Association (ISA), Annual Conference, 1–4 April 2012, San Diego.
- Andreas Mehler: “To engineer or not to engineer, that is the question. When does Constitutional engineering in divided societies occur?”, International Studies Association (ISA), Annual Conference, 1–4 April 2012, San Diego.
- Sabine Kurtenbach: “Institutional engineering and violence in post-conflict societies”, ISA Annual Conference, 1–4 April 2012, San Diego.
- Sabine Kurtenbach: “Peace is more than the Absence of War”, presentation held at “The Constitution of Peace. Current Debates and Future Perspectives,” Center for Conflict Studies, University of Marburg, Marburg, 11 October 2012.

2013

- Ansorg, Nadine: “Wars without borders: Conditions for the development of regional conflict systems in sub-Saharan Africa”, Seminar Centre for the International Politics of Conflict, Rights and Justice, SOAS, 13 December 2013.
- Ansorg, Nadine; Basedau, Matthias; Haass, Felix; Strasheim Julia: Theoretical and Methodological Concept: Database on Security Sector Institutions (DSSI), 2nd ISP Network Conference: Harmony or cacophony? The “Concert of Institutions” in Divided Societies, 13 June 2013, Oslo
- Ansorg, Nadine; Haass, Felix; Strasheim Julia: Between two “Peaces”? Bridging the Gap between Quantitative and Qualitative Conceptualizations in Multi-Method Peace Research, Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, 4 April 2013, San Francisco.
- Ansorg, Nadine; Basedau, Matthias; Haass, Felix; Strasheim Julia: An Analysis of Datasets in the Study of Institutions and Conflict in Divided Societies, ISA Annual Convention, 3–6 April 2013, San Francisco.
- Ansorg, Nadine; Haass, Felix; Strasheim Julia: “Characteristics of Intrastate War and Provisions of Post-War Policing in Peace Agreements”, Workshop: The Challenges of Security and Justice in Postwar Societies, SOAS, London, 18 November 2013.
- Matthias Basedau: One size fits all? Preliminary thoughts on the conditional effects of institutions on peace, 13 June 2013, Oslo.

- Sabine Kurtenbach: The Challenges of Security and Justice after War, Workshop: The Challenges of Security and Justice in Postwar Societies, SOAS, London, 18 November 2013.

2014

- Nadine Ansorg: Islands of Peace – Understanding the Causes of Long-lasting Peace in Non-War Countries, ISA Annual Convention, 29 March 2014, Toronto.
- Nadine Ansorg: “Islands of peace in sub-Saharan Africa”, Point Sud Workshop on “Constitutional choices for divided societies”, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, 14–15 November 2014.
- Nadine Ansorg, Felix Haass and Julia Strasheim: Police provisions in peace agreements, ISA's 55th Annual Convention, 29 March 2014 | Toronto.
- Nadine Ansorg: Institutional change in post-conflict societies: Road to peace or risk of renewed violence? International Conference at the occasion of the 50 years anniversary of GIGA, 11 April 2014 | Hamburg.
- Nadine Ansorg, Felix Haass and Julia Strasheim: Provisions for Police Reform in Peace Agreements, 3rd ISP Network Conference, 28 May 2014 | Geneva.
- Nadine Ansorg: Peaceful countries are not what they seem – Understanding Intra-state Peace in Non-War Countries. ECPR Graduate Student Conference, 4 July 2014 | Innsbruck.
- Matthias Basedau: Does discrimination breed grievances – and do grievances breed violence? New evidence from group-based data 1990-2008, Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, 26–29 March 2014 | Toronto.
- Matthias Basedau: Does the Success of Institutional Reform Depend on the Depth of Divisions? A Study on 34 African Countries, 3rd ISP Network Conference, 28 May 2014 | Geneva.
- Felix Haass: The Political Economy of Foreign Aid, Power-Sharing, and Post-Conflict Political Development, ECPR Graduate Conference, 4 July 2014 | Innsbruck
- Felix Haass: Profits from Peace. Foreign Aid, Power-Sharing and the Risk of Civil Conflict Recurrence, Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, 28 March 2014 | Toronto.
- Sabine Kurtenbach: The Challenges of Institutional Reform in the Midst of War. 3rd ISP Network Conference, 27 May 2014 | Geneva.
- Andreas Mehler: VORSICHT ZERBRECHLICH! Fragile Staatlichkeit als Herausforderung für die internationale Politik. Podiumsdiskussion im Rahmen der Berliner Langen Nacht der Wissenschaften, 10 May 2014 | Berlin.
- Andreas Mehler: Adapting Institutions. A Comparative Area Studies Perspective. International Conference at the occasion of the 50 years anniversary of GIGA, 10 April 2014 | Hamburg.
- Andreas Mehler: Beyond the Horizon: Governance, Legitimacy, and Representation in the Central African Republic, Oxford Central Africa Forum, 24.02.2014 | Oxford.
- Julia Strasheim: The Polity, Policy and Politics of Interim Governments and Post-Interim Peace, ISP Network Conference “Institutional Reforms in Post-war and Divided Societies – Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution?” 27 May 2014 | Geneva.
- Julia Strasheim and John Gray: Does Representation Matter? Investigating the Role of Ethnic Minorities and Women in Kosovo's Security Sector, ISA's 55th Annual Convention, 29 March 2014 | Toronto.

2015

- Håvard Hegre: Lecture on “The Future of Armed Conflict” (13 January 2015)
- Nadine Ansorg, Felix Haass, Julia Strasheim: Police Reform, International Interventions, and Post-Conflict Peace: A Statistical Analysis. ISA 56th Annual Convention, New Orleans, 18–21 February 2015

- Nadine Ansorg: Consociational reforms in post-conflict countries, ISA 56th Annual Convention, New Orleans, 18–21 February 2015
- Felix Haass: Two Sides of the Same Coin? The Political Economy of Occurrence and Quality of Post-conflict Elections. ISA 56th Annual Convention, New Orleans, 18–21 February 2015
- Julia Strasheim: Interim Governments and the Stability of Peace. ISA 56th Annual Convention, New Orleans, 18–21 February 2015
- Sabine Kurtenbach: State-Formation and Patterns Of Conflict In Regional Worlds. ISA Annual Convention, New Orleans, 18–21 February 2015
- Matthias Basedau: Great Expectations: Have Disappointed Hopes For Oil Windfalls Increased The Risk Of Violent Conflict In Mali And Niger? ISA 56th Annual Convention, New Orleans, 18–21 February 2015
- Matthias Basedau: Why Do Religious Leaders Support Faith-Based Violence? Evidence from a Survey Poll In Juba In South Sudan. ISA 56th Annual Convention, New Orleans, 18–21 February 2015

2016

- Matthias Basedau (with Ida Rudolfson, PRIO) Rebels with a Sacred Cause? Introducing the “Rebels and Religion Dataset”, ISA, Atlanta, 17 March 2016.
- Sabine Kurtenbach: Desarrollo Institucional para la Paz Sostenible. Experiencia internacional y recomendaciones para Colombia. PU Javeriana, 27 February 2016, Bogotá
- Sabine Kurtenbach: Reforming Institutions for Peace: Beyond the Liberal Peace-building Approach, PUC Rio de Janeiro 20 May 2016, USP São Paulo 20.+ 24.05.2016.

3.4 Publications, Website, and Policy Outreach

One of the core objectives of the ISP was to publish research findings in high-quality academic journals and edited volumes in renowned publishing houses. The network succeeded in doing so through a series of publications, which are highlighted below.

3.4.1. Academic Publications

Special Issue: Civil Wars

**Editors: Sabine Kurtenbach and Andreas Mehler
Taylor and Francis, 2013**

The special issue of *Civil Wars* resulted from the first network conference as well as joint panels among the network members at the annual conference of the International Studies Association. Here is a slightly edited excerpt from the special issue’s introduction (Kurtenbach & Mehler 2013, p1-2)

Two main challenges arise when dealing with questions of the effect of institutional design on the prospects for peace: first, scholars typically focus on one type of institution instead of engaging in integrative analyses of the interaction of the whole set of institutions, and there is little exchange between specialists on various institutions and their impact. Second, there has been little effort to identify how specific contexts such as the respective character of divisions or the traumatic experience of violence condition the prospect of successful institutional engineering.

All authors in this special issue share the view that institutions have an impact on the prospects for peace after war. However, there are quite distinct positions on the exact causal mechanisms at work defended by the contributors, and they also use different research methods, both quantitative and qualitative. Some contributions have a global

and others a more regional focus on their specific themes. Most authors in this special issue acknowledge that institutional choice may not be the only determinant for peace, but that the context (e.g. war termination) and actor behavior (international and domestic actors) play an important role in the implementation of peace as well.

Institutional Reforms and Peacebuilding

Editors: Nadine Ansorg and Sabine Kurtenbach

Routledge 2017, forthcoming

The edited volume “Institutional Reforms and Peacebuilding” resulted from the 3rd ISP conference in Geneva titled “Institutional Reforms in Post-War and Divided Societies.” It brings together a range of ISP partners and tackles the following questions:

This book aims to convey the patterns of institutional change in post-war societies and the ongoing risk of war recurrence. It deals with the overarching question: How can institutional reform contribute to the establishment of peace in post-war societies? The main argument of the book offers a new and under-researched aspect of institutional reform in post-war societies: it rests on the assumption that, for institutional reform to be successful in preventing a recurrence of violence, we need to focus on the mutual relationship between societal cleavages, pre-war institutional settings, and institutional reform in the aftermath of war. This relationship has been both under-theorized and empirically under-investigated. However, to support sustainable peace, institutional reform needs to account for the related effects and conditions that come out of societal cleavages and pre-conflict and wartime institutions.

Power-Sharing and Power Relations (Working Title)

Editors: Caroline Hartzell and Andreas Mehler

Forthcoming

This book was jointly supported by Andreas Mehler’s DFG project “Power-Sharing in Post-Conflict Situations: On the Institutional Prerequisites for Lasting Peace” and the ISP project. It tackles the following questions:

Power-sharing in post-war countries has been the subject of growing attention from scholars and policymakers over the last decade. Despite increased interest in power-sharing as a means of ending intrastate conflicts, various dimensions of this complex set of institutional arrangements have yet to be well elucidated. Most scholarship focuses on the question of whether power-sharing is able to help prevent the recurrence of war and achieve “peace.” Although this is an important question, it is not the only issue deserving of analysis. Furthermore, the responses to this question by numerous authors – who have differed in their use of concepts such as power-sharing and peace, indicators, case selection, and observation periods as well as statistical estimation techniques – have been so diverse that it has become difficult to find any common ground.

Notwithstanding these differences, what few scholars would contest is that power-sharing has both positive and negative effects, at least some of which are likely to have been unintended by the architects of these measures. Power-sharing may, for example, strengthen an elitist approach to politics; it could create incentives for new actors to take up arms; or it might prove an impediment to the process of healing the wounds of violent conflict as the perpetrators of atrocities gain positions of power and influence over government affairs. Alternately, power-sharing might lead to the creation of common new identities; enhance the capacities of some groups of actors in productive ways; or provide actors with resources that encourage them to contribute to post-conflict economic development. One thing is sure: the failure to investigate

these types of effects thoroughly means that it is difficult to determine whether outcomes such as the durability of the peace are attributable to the core dispositions of power-sharing pacts themselves, as has been claimed, or are the product of heretofore unexplored changes in relations among actors engendered by power-sharing.

Accordingly, the goal of this book is to extend the analysis of power-sharing beyond the role that power-sharing institutions play in the duration of the peace to the potential that they have to impact the relations of power within, between, and among actors, groups, and institutions in the post-conflict state.

List of Further Selected Publications:

2012

- Ansorg, Nadine, Felix Haass, Andreas Mehler, and Julia Strasheim: Institutionelle Reformen zur Friedenskonsolidierung, GIGA Focus Afrika, Nr. 6/2012, Hamburg: GIGA.
- Basedau Matthias, and Alexander Stroh. 2012. "How Ethnic are African Parties Really? Evidence from Francophone Africa", International Political Science Review, Vol. 33, No. 1, 5-24
- Bogaards Matthijs and, Matthias Basedau, and Christof Hartmann (eds.). 2012. Ethnic Party Bans in Africa. London: Routledge.

2013

- Ansorg, Nadine, Felix Haass, and Julia Strasheim. 2013. "Institutions for Sustainable Peace: Research Gaps and New Frontiers," Global Governance, Vol. 19, No. 1, 19-26
- Ansorg, Nadine and Felix Haass. 2013. Multilaterale Friedenssicherung in Afrika. GIGA Focus Afrika, 6
- Ansorg, Nadine, Matthias Basedau, Felix Haass, Julia Strasheim (2013), Mind the Gap: An Annotated Overview of Datasets in the Study of Institutions and Conflict in Divided Societies, GIGA Working Paper, No. 234, September 2013, Hamburg: GIGA
- Buckley-Zistel, Susanne. 2013. "Redressing Sexual Violence in Transitional Justice and the Labelling of Women as 'Victims'" in: Thorsten Bonacker / Christoph Safferling (eds.) Victims in Transitional Justice, The Hague: T. C. M. Asser Press: 91-100.
- Hartmann, Christof. 2013. "Territorial Power Sharing and the Regulation of Conflict in Africa." Civil Wars 15(sup1): 123-43.
- Koos, Carlo, and Matthias Basedau. 2013. "Does Uranium Mining Increase Civil Conflict Risk? Evidence from a Spatiotemporal Analysis of Africa from 1960 to 2008." Civil Wars 15(3): 306-31.
- Kurtenbach, Sabine, and Andreas Mehler. 2013. "Introduction: Institutions for Sustainable Peace? Determinants and Effects of Institutional Choices in Divided Societies." Civil Wars 15(sup1): 1-6.
- Kurtenbach, Sabine. 2013. "The 'Happy Outcomes' May Not Come at All – Postwar Violence in Central America." Civil Wars 15(sup1): 105-22.
- Matthias Basedau. 2013. "A Context-sensitive Approach to the Study of Presidentialism and Ethnic Violence," Ethnopolitics, Vol. 12, No. 1, 89-92.
- Mehler, Andreas. 2013. "Consociationalism for Weaklings, Autocracy for Muscle Men? Determinants of Constitutional Reform in Divided Societies." Civil Wars 15(sup1): 21-43.
- Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, Timothy D. Sisk. 2013 Bringing Back Transitory. Democratization in the 21st Century, GCSP Geneva Papers - Research Series No. 13.
- Pospieszna, Paulina, and Gerald Schneider. 2013. "The Illusion of 'Peace Through Power-Sharing': Constitutional Choice in the Shadow of Civil War." Civil Wars 15(sup1): 44-70.

- Reilly, Benjamin. 2013. "Parties, Electoral Systems and Governance", in: Larry Diamond / Marc F. Plattner / Yun-han Chu (eds.) *Democracy in East Asia: A New Century*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Reilly, Benjamin. 2013. "Political Parties and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding." *Civil Wars* 15(sup1): 88–104.
- Reilly, Benjamin. 2013. "Presidentialism Reconsidered: The Relevance of an Old Debate." *Ethnopolitics* 12(1): 82–85.
- Sisk, Timothy D. 2013. "Power-Sharing in Civil War: Puzzles of Peacemaking and Peacebuilding." *Civil Wars* 15(Supp. 1): 7–20.

2014

- Ansorg, Nadine. 2014. "Wars without borders: Conditions for the development of regional conflict systems in sub-Saharan Africa," in: *International Area Studies Review*, Vol 17, No 3.
- Ansorg, N. and Schultze, K. 2014. *Friedensinseln in Subsahara-Afrika*. GIGA Focus Afrika 5:1-8.
- Basedau, Matthias, and Jan Henryk Pierskalla. 2014. "How Ethnicity Conditions the Effect of Oil and Gas on Civil Conflict: A Spatial Analysis of Africa from 1990 to 2010." *Political Geography* 38: 1–11.
- Basedau, Matthias, and Sebastian Elischer. 2013. "Auf dem Rückzug in die Kasernen? Autoritäre Herrschaft und das Militär im subsaharischen Afrika." *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 47: 354–83.
- Basedau, Matthias, and Thomas Richter. 2014. "Why Do Some Oil Exporters Experience Civil War but Others Do Not? Investigating the Conditional Effects of Oil." *European Political Science Review*, No. 4: 549–74.
- Basedau, Matthias, Annegret Mähler, and Miriam Shabafrouz. 2014. "Drilling Deeper: A Systematic, Context-Sensitive Investigation of Causal Mechanisms in the Oil–Conflict Link." *The Journal of Development Studies* 50(1): 51–63.
- Basedau, Matthias, Johannes Vüllers, and Peter Körner. 2013. "What Drives Inter-Religious Violence? Lessons from Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, and Tanzania." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36(10): 857–79.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 2013. "The Choice for Proportional Representation: Electoral System Design in Peace Agreements." *Civil Wars* 15(sup1): 71–87.
- Buckley-Zistel, Susanne. 2014. "Narrative Truths: On the Construction of the Past in Truth Commissions," in: Susanne Buckley-Zistel / Teresa Koloma Beck / Christian Braun / Friederike Mieth (eds.) *Transitional Justice Theories*, Abington: Routledge, 184-200.
- Buckley-Zistel, Susanne, Teresa Koloma Beck, Christian Braun, Friederike Mieth. *Transitional Justice Theories*. Abington: Routledge.
- Buckley-Zistel, Susanne; Stefanie Schäfer. 2014. *Memorials in Times of Transition*, Antwerp: Intersentia, Series on Transitional Justice Vol. 16
- Daxecker, Ursula E., and Gerald Schneider. 2014. "Electoral Observers: The Implications of Multiple Monitors for Electoral Integrity." In *Advancing Electoral Integrity*, eds. Pippa Norris, Richard W. Frank, and Ferran Martinez I Coma. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 73–93.
- Kurtenbach, Sabine. 2014. "Postwar Violence in Guatemala: A Mirror of the Relationship between Youth and Adult Society." *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)* 8(1): 119–33.
- Kurtenbach, Sabine and Wehr, Ingrid. 2014. „Verwobene Moderne und Einhegung von Gewalt: die Ambivalenzen der Gewaltkontrolle“ in: *Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Sonderheft* 48, 95-127
- Reilly, Benjamin 2014. "Power Sharing in the Asia Pacific" GIGA-Working Paper No. 257 (September)

- Strasheim, Julia and Hanne Fjelde. 2014. "Pre-Designing Democracy: Institutional Design of Interim Governments and Democratization in 15 Post-Conflict Societies" in: *Democratization*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 335-358
- Wegenast, Tim C., and Matthias Basedau. 2014. "Ethnic Fractionalization, Natural Resources and Armed Conflict." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 31(4): 432–57.

2015

- Argueta, Otto / Kurtenbach, Sabine: "Guatemala – National Fragmentation, Local Cohesion," in: *Religion, Peacebuilding, and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected Countries*, eds. Fletcher D. Cox, Catherine R. Osborn, Timothy D. Sisk, Research Report.
- Basedau, Matthias / Koos, Carlo 2015. When Religious Leaders Support Faith-Based Violence. Evidence from a Survey Poll in South Sudan, in: *Political Research Quarterly*, December 2015 vol. 68 no. 4 760-772.
- Basedau, Matthias, Jonathan Fox, Jan Pierskalla, Georg Strüver, and Johannes Vüllers, 2015. (forthcoming), Does Discrimination breed Grievances—and do Grievances breed Violence? New Evidence from an Analysis of Religious Minorities in Developing Countries, in: *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Published online before print July 21, 2015, doi: 10.1177/0738894215581329.
- Bueno, Natália / Plagemann, Johannes / Strasheim, Julia (2015), Provincial Autonomy: The Territorial Dimension of Peace in Mozambique, *GIGA Focus International Edition English*, 10/2015, Hamburg: GIGA
- Cox, Fletcher, Catherine R. Osborn, Timothy D. Sisk, eds.: *Religion, Peacebuilding, and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected Countries*. Research Report.
- Haass, Felix and Martin Ottmann. 2015. *Buying Peace? The Political Economy of Power-Sharing*. *GIGA Focus International*, 9
- Kurtenbach, Sabine and Philipp Lutscher (2015), *Kolumbien – den Frieden gewinnen*, *GIGA Focus Lateinamerika*, 06/2015, Hamburg: GIGA
- Kurtenbach, Sabine. 2015. State Formation and Patterns of Violence: A Cross Regional Comparison, in: Víctor M. González Sánchez (ed.), *Economy, Politics and Governance: Challenges for the 21st Century*, New York: Nova Pub.
- Vüllers, Johannes, Birte Pfeiffer and Matthias Basedau. 2015. Measuring the Ambivalence of the Sacred: Introducing the Religion and Conflict in Developing Countries (RCDC) Dataset, in: *International Interactions*, 41, 5, 857-881
- Zanker, Franzisca, Claudia Simons, and Andreas Mehler. 2015. "Power, Peace, and Space in Africa: Revisiting Territorial Power Sharing." *African Affairs* 114(454): 72–91.

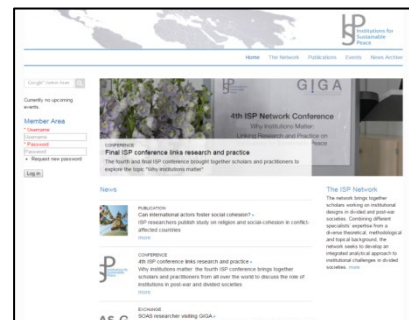
2016

- Ansorg, Nadine, Felix Haass, and Julia Strasheim. 2016. "Police Reforms in Peace Agreements: Introducing the PRPA dataset," *Journal of Peace Research* (forthcoming)
- Matthias Basedau. 2016. "Ideen, Institutionen, und Identitäten – Explikation eines multidimensionalen Religionsbegriffs in der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung", in: *Zeitschrift für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung*, Sonderband 1, 2016, edited by Jaqueline Werkner, 235-265.
- Basedau, Matthias, Birte Pfeiffer, and Johannes Vüllers. 2016. Bad Religion? Religion, Collective Action, and the Onset of Armed Conflict in Developing Countries, in: *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 60, 2, 226-255.
- Gray, John / Julia Strasheim, 2016, "Security Sector Reform, Ethnic Representation and Perceptions of Safety: Evidence from Kosovo," forth. *Civil Wars*

- Haass, Felix / Kurtenbach, Sabine / Strasheim, Julia (2016), Fleeing the Peace? Determinants of Outward Migration after Civil War, *GIGA Working Paper*, No. 289, August 2016, Hamburg: GIGA
- Andreas Mehler: Adapted Instead of Imported. Peacebuilding by Power-sharing, in: Tobias Debiel, Thomas Held, Ulrich Schneckener (eds.), *Peacebuilding in Crisis. Rethinking Paradigms and Practices of Transnational Cooperation*, Abingdon: Routledge 2016. 91-109
- Strasheim, Julia. 2016. "Why peace processes fail: negotiating insecurity after civil war, by Jasmine-Kim Westendorf (book review)", *Democratization*
- Strasheim, Julia. 2016. "Power-Sharing, Commitment Problems, and Armed Conflict in Ukraine", *Civil Wars* 18:1, 25-44

3.4.2. Website

The ISP project also initiated a website (<http://isp.giga-hamburg.de>), which served as an informational hub for network activities, publications, workshop, conferences, and talks. It is hosted by the GIGA German Institute of Global and Area studies and will remain archived there for the foreseeable future.



3.4.3. Selected List of Media and Policy Outreach

- Ansorg, Nadine 2015. UN im Kongo: Neues Mandat in schwierigen Zeiten. Available at: <http://www.dw.com/de/un-im-kongo-neues-mandat-in-schwierigen-zeiten/a-18344132>.
- Ansorg, Nadine 2014. Central African conflicts risk spreading. Available at: <http://www.dw.com/en/central-african-conflicts-risk-spreading/a-17360624>.
- Ansorg, Nadine 2015. Vereinte Nationen als Kriegspartei: Neue Gangart der Monusco-Mission im Kongo. Available at: http://www.giga-hamburg.de/sites/default/files/media%20contribution/ndr_info_nadine_ansorg_150322.mp3.
- Ansorg, Nadine. 2015. "Konfliktportrait Demokratische Republik Kongo", Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung: Online-Dossier: Innerstaatliche Gewaltkonflikte <http://www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/innerstaatliche-konflikte/54628/kongo>
- Ansorg, Nadine and Felix Haass. 2016. "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Germany" <http://providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-germany/>
- Haass, Felix and Julia Strasheim. 2015. „Demokratisierung“ Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung: Online-Dossier: Innerstaatliche Gewaltkonflikte.
- Haass, Felix / Kurtenbach, Sabine / Strasheim, Julia .2016. Flucht vor dem Frieden: Emigration aus Nachkriegsgesellschaften, *GIGA Focus Global*, 02/2016, Hamburg: GIGA (dt. und engl.)
- Kurtenbach, Sabine 2013. Transformationsprozesse, öffentliche Sicherheit und Militär, *GIGA Focus Global*, 05/2013, Hamburg: GIGA
- Kurtenbach, Sabine 2013. Friedensprozesse in Kolumbien - Teilerfolge, Misserfolge und aktuelle Herausforderungen, in: Marc von Boemcken, et al. (ed.), *Neue Kriege, neue Rüstung, neue Rüstungsmärkte. Friedensgutachten 2013*, Berlin, Münster: LIT, 208-219.
- Kurtenbach, Sabine / Lutscher, Philipp 2015. Kolumbien – den Frieden gewinnen, *GIGA Focus Lateinamerika*, 06/2015, Hamburg: GIGA

- Kurtenbach, Sabine / Julia Strasheim: Flucht vor dem Frieden. GIGA Berlin Gespräch 12.05.2016
- Strasheim, Julia. 2014. „Wie Kiev die Ukraine zusammenhalten kann,“ in: ZEIT Online, 11.02.2014.
- Strasheim, Julia / Annkatrin Tritschoks. 2015. „Flüchtlinge: Wir schaffen uns unsere Armutsmigranten selbst“, in ZEIT Online, 31.08.2015.

3.5. Start-up Funds

The ISP project also sought funding for the start-up financing of joint projects (5 x €6,000).

Sabine Kurtenbach used a start-up fund for research assistance on the specific patterns of SSR in a set of 29 postwar societies. This was important input for the successful application with Nadine Ansorg for a DFG-funded project on

“Security Sector Reform and the Stability of Post-War Peace”
(German Science Foundation, €394,000; 1.5.2016 – 30.4.2019)

The project analyses how varying forms of domestic and international political control over institutional reforms in the security sector affect durable peace after war. It uses a comparative approach and a mixed-methods research design that includes three qualitative, inductive case studies and a subsequent large-N quantitative analysis. Cooperation partners are Keith Krause from the Graduate Institute, Geneva, and Michael Brzoska from IFSH, Hamburg.

Matthias Basedau used a startup fund to dig deeper into the relationship between religious divisions, institutions and conflict. The fund was used to prepare two successful applications for externally funded projects:

“Religious minorities: Discrimination, grievances and conflict”
(German Israeli Foundation, €190,000)

“Motor or brake? The effect of religion on sustainable development”
(German Ministry of Development Cooperation, €294,000)

The projects focus on how religious actors and institutions may divide or unite people. In collaboration with PRIO, the Rebels and Religion (R&R) dataset was created; it includes religious claims and affiliations of some 450 rebel groups and governments between 1946 and 2013. The dataset also comprises data on democratic or other ideological orientations of state institutions. The dataset was discussed and presented at several occasions in Oslo, Konstanz, Hamburg and at the ISA in Atlanta 2016. Several publications are in preparation.

Andreas Mehler used a start-up fund for co-funding (with the German Foundation for Peace Research) the editorial workshop “Power-sharing and changing power relations: The long-term effects of inclusive peace settlements on peacefulness” from 5 to 7 June 2014 in Hamburg. Amongst the participants, Caroline Hartzell, John Ishiyama, Matt Hoddie and Chandra Lekha Sriram stand out. The outcome of the workshop will be an edited volume with a US-based university press (*Power-Sharing and Changing Power Relations*, editors: Caroline Hartzell and Andreas Mehler, cf. section on publications).

Two start-up funds were used to develop the idea of a power-sharing index with Benjamin Reilly during his research stay at Hamburg. A GIGA Working Paper (cf. section on publications) was published but due to changes in GIGA staff and other responsibilities this could not be translated into a collaborative research project.

3.6. Research and Dissertation Projects

In line with one of its main objectives, the ISP project was instrumental in securing the funding for a series of research and dissertation projects.

Security Sector Reform and the Stability of Post-War Peace

German Research Council (DFG), €394,000

Applicants: Dr. Nadine Ansorg, Dr. Sabine Kurtenbach

Security Sector Reform (SSR) after civil war is a recurring and up-to-date topic in academia and policy circles. SSR is commonly defined as changes in the structure and conduct of those state institutions responsible for the prosecution and punishment of non-legal manifestations of violence: the military, police, and judiciary (we further conceptualize SSR in section 2.3.1). In practice, SSR is thereby often norm-oriented and normative, as it takes the structures of security institutions in Western democracies as a main reference. Thus, particularly those reforms strongly sponsored by international actors usually aim to transform security forces into accountable institutions that efficiently provide state and human security in a framework of democratic rule.

Post-war SSR thereby includes several concrete measures, including disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating (DDR) ex-combatants; restructuring, reducing, or creating armed forces through military reform; separating the tasks of police and military into the protection of civilians and the protection of a state; training police forces in police reform programs; and creating foundations of the rule of law through judicial reform that trains judicial personnel to apply the law according to the Constitution and to provide mechanisms for non-violent resolution of disputes. Scholars and practitioners alike thereby see these measures, and the process of SSR as a whole, as one of the most vital elements for creating a stable post-war peace.

The empirical record, however, shows that SSR has been more successful in some cases than in others in contributing to post-war peace, understood here as the absence of collective, political violence. While SSR stands as a substantial contribution to peace after civil war in Liberia and Nicaragua, violence persisted in other cases where SSR was part of the peacebuilding effort, such as in the DRC. Against this background, the goal of the proposed project is to identify why SSR leads to post-war peace in some cases but not in others. Thus, the research question guiding this project is: Under what conditions does SSR increase the stability of post-war peace?

The Political Economy of Power-Sharing

German Research Council (DFG), € 406,125

Applicants: Prof. Dr. Andreas Mehler, Dr. Martin Ottmann

How does power-sharing affect resource allocation between elites and constituencies in post-conflict situations? The question of whether (and how) power-sharing arrangements between a state government and former rebel groups actually change the distribution and exercise of political power in a post-conflict situation is rarely investigated.

In this proposed research project, we argue that the type of power-sharing affects sub-national resource allocation patterns. Power-sharing provides an opportunity for former conflict actors to access state resources and distribute those resources strategically to their constituencies. Personalized power-sharing arrangements between political elites facilitate self-enrichment and are therefore hypothesized to result in low levels of resource allocation towards their constituencies. Structural power-sharing institutions, in contrast, facilitate a focused resource allocation to strategically important core constituencies. We also hypothesize that constituency size will moderate the re-

relationship between structural power-sharing and sub-national resource allocation. The expected benefit of such targeted resource allocation will increase with the size of the support bases of the elites. We further expect post-conflict resource allocation to vary by type and level of government income. A higher share of non-tax income, such as from natural resources and specific types of foreign aid, is likely to be associated with more pronounced patterns of patronage between elites in power-sharing arrangements and their constituencies. Ultimately, our theory implies that power-sharing is less a tool for transforming political power – and thus addressing the root causes of social conflict, but an instrument that institutionalizes patronage opportunities.

The proposed project relies on the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to substantiate these hypotheses: We first use statistical geo-spatial methods in order to investigate power-sharing as mechanism for sub-national resource redistribution to core constituencies. This analysis will make use of global data on post-conflict situations between 1992 and 2010. Central to this effort will be the creation of a new dataset, the Geographical Dimensions of Power-Sharing Dataset (GDPS) which geolocates the constituencies of all government and rebel constituencies in post-conflict situations. Second, we will conduct qualitative within-case analyses and in-depth process tracing of two post-conflict situations: Liberia and the Indonesian province of Aceh. This qualitative analysis will be based on field research in each post-conflict situation to better understand causal processes and scope conditions.

In addition to the successful project applications, the ISP project successfully supported dissertation projects by the two doctoral researchers who were part of the core ISP team at GIGA. The dissertations will be completed in 2016.

Interim Governments and the Stability of Post-Conflict Peace

Julia Strasheim (GIGA / University of Heidelberg)

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Aurel Croissant

After intrastate conflict, what properties of interim government increase the stability of post-interim peace? Interim governments have become a regular instrument to resolve intrastate conflict, but in explaining how they add to stable peace, past research faces both theoretical and methodological shortcomings. It often stays detached from conflict theory, exclusively studies institutional designs of interim governments while neglecting procedural features, and offers insight mostly into a few prominent cases while statistical analyses are lacking.

This dissertation addresses these shortcomings. I develop a bargaining theory framework that explains how interim add to peace by mitigating credible commitment problems of warring parties. I thereby show how a focus on the institutional designs of interim governments alone is insufficient to explain how commitment problems are solved, and thus additionally study procedural mechanisms of interim governments governments. I hold that interim governments that integrate the parallel political and military institutions that warring parties create during war increases the costs of defection, thus increasing the stability of post-interim peace. And I hold that interim governments that include civil society in decision-making raise the credibility of signals and thus the stability of peace.

Empirically, I test my hypotheses in a mixed-methods research design that combines three case studies with statistical survival analysis of a new dataset on all interim governments that were in power following at least one year of intrastate conflict (1989–2012). Case selection for a controlled comparison under a most similar system design was conducted using statistical matching techniques, resulting in the cases of Nepal, Angola, and Cambodia. Statistical results show that while institutional features such as

power-sharing and international interim government have no statistically significant effects on peace, or only small effects, particularly the integration of parallel political and military institutions remains statistically significant across several model specifications. These results are also confirmed by my case studies.

The Political Economy of Foreign Aid, Power-Sharing and Post-Conflict

Political Development

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Under what conditions do foreign aid flows and power-sharing institutions interact to induce (or obstruct) democratic reforms after civil conflict? I argue that higher levels of rebel participation in post-conflict cabinets (i.e. power-sharing governments) in conjunction with higher levels of foreign aid drive a mix of democratic and non-democratic reforms in post-conflict countries: power-sharing and foreign aid are more likely to improve electoral quality, but lead to fewer executive constraints (such as judicial independence and rule of law), and higher rates of corruption.

The mix of democratic and non-democratic political reform is the result of a clash of donor preferences on early democratization, information functions of power-sharing cabinets, and elites' office-seeking motives. Specifically, greater rebel participation in government allows rebels to better monitor government behavior (and vice versa). At the same time, both government and rebel elites in the power-sharing coalition rely on rent income that they can distribute among supporters to ensure their own political survival. But if power-sharing governments' rent income from foreign aid is implicitly or explicitly conditional on democratic development – as is typically the case in many post-conflict states – continued opposition to democracy might jeopardize rent income. Consequently, foreign aid flows and power-sharing interact to produce limited democratic reforms, particularly the holding of elections which are often highest on the donors' agendas. These reforms are limited, however, because the rent-seeking and political-survival motives of post-conflict elites clash with donor motives for complete democratization. Thus, reforms will fall short of full democratization, but entail characteristics of non-democratic regimes, such as increased corruption and weakened rule of law.

I find statistical evidence for this model of limited post-conflict democratization using recently published data on rebel participation in post-conflict governments and information on aid flows from the AidData project and indicators of post-conflict governance from Polity IV, Freedom House, NELDA election data, V-Dem, and Linzer and Staton's Judicial Independence Data.