Ideas for Re-ordering the World in Times of Multiple Crises
Continuity and Change beyond Covid-19

3rd Annual Conference, 22-23 April 2021
Ideas for Re-ordering the World in Times of Multiple Crises:
Continuity and Change Beyond Covid-19

The Conference

The recent frequency and simultaneity, with which crises seem to occur on a global scale, call into question the adaptability of the current international system. The multitude of crises we are facing on several fronts, including – but not limited to – global public health, the climate system, or international political institutions, could even be regarded as symptoms of a profound recasting of the very principles and norms of world order. Against this background the Annual Conference seeks to foster exchange on how perceptions of cumulative crises affect the re-ordering of the world: Does it makes sense to think about global politics in terms of continuity and change in times of the COVID-19 pandemic?

The KHK/Centre for Global Cooperation Research and the Institute for Development and Peace in cooperation with the Main Research Area ‘Transformation of Contemporary Societies’ at the University of Duisburg-Essen invite critical engagement and interdisciplinary thinking based on the research and analyses presented in this context. We hope you find the descriptions of the individual contributions to the Conference on the following pages useful for your own reflection and preparation.

We look forward to your participation and an engaging two days!

Your conference organization team
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How to participate & What to expect

From **09:00 (UTC +02:00)** onwards you can start to sign in to the zoom conference platform. To do so, please follow the link you received upon registration.

Please note that you will first be led to a waiting room. The organizers will admit you to the official event after having checked whether your name appears on the registration list. To be able to do so, we kindly ask you to **log in with the name stated in your registration**.

To get the most out of the event, we recommend that you familiarize yourself with the basic functions of zoom, e.g. by accessing the various introductory videos on https://support.zoom.us/hc/en-us. Please also note that **upon entering the zoom platform, your microphone will be muted by default** in order to avoid distraction. Individual **sessions will be recorded** for follow-up work and documentation. As a spectator you will be asked to consent to this as well, although you won’t appear in the recording if you’re only following the panel sessions.

However, we do encourage active participation and therefore would like to invite you to **indicate your interest in asking a question or commenting via the chat function to our team throughout the event**. The moderator then may **call you up to pose your question to the panel**. If you prefer not to appear in person, we still invite you to submit your questions via chat, so that the moderator can read them to the panel. We hope that you understand that due to time constraints it is possible that not all questions will be raised during the session, but we will forward all of them to our speakers after the meeting.

We look forward to welcoming you in our virtual conference hall on Zoom.
# Conference Programme

All times are CEST (Central European Summer Time) / UTC + 2h.

## Thursday, 22 April 2021

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| 14.00-15.30 | Panel 3 | Variations of World Ordering Beyond Western Hegemony: Re-conceptualizing Core Principles of Global Politics | Moderator: Christof Hartmann, *University of Duisburg-Essen, INEF*

- Development First! The Normative Commonality in Sino-African Cooperation
  - Georg Lammich, *University of Duisburg-Essen*

- Re-ordering the World along Resilience: Covid-19 and the Decline of the Neo-Liberal Paradigm
  - Tobias Debiel, *University of Duisburg-Essen, INEF, KHK/GCR21*

- Beyond Rich and Poor: Identifying Global Development Constellations
  - Christine Hackenesch, Svea Koch & Sebastian Ziaja, *Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik*

- Waning US Hegemony, Global Rise of China? A Cross-Regional Comparison of LAC, MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa
  - Nele Noesselt, *University of Duisburg-Essen* | Thomas Demmelhuber, *Friedrich-Alexander Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg*

15.30-15.45 Coffee Break

15.45-17.15 Panel 4

**Changing Multilateral Governance Arrangements and Practices in Crisis Situations**

- Transnational Governance of Migrant Returns in Pandemic Times
  - Zeynep Sahin-Mencütek, *Ryerson University & Bonn Centre for International Conversion*

- Hybrid Institutional Complexes and Global Crises

- Regional Regulatory Governance and Migration in South America: Achievements and Challenges in the Context of the Venezuelan Exodus
  - Andrea Bianculli & Juan Carlos Triviño, *Institut Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals*

- Reinvigorating Multilateral Funding Structures: Towards a Universally-Owned United Nations Development System
  - Sebastian Haug & Silke Weinlich, *Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik* | Nilima Gulrajani, *Overseas Development Institute*

17.15 *End of Conference Day 1*
Friday, 23 April 2021

09.15-09.45 Taking Stock

Kick-Off Round
Nina Schneider, University of Duisburg-Essen, KHK/GCR21

09.45-11.30 Panel 5
Re-configuring Transnational Actor Networks and their Role in Envisioning an Alternative Future

Moderator: Aysem Mert, KHK/GCR21

How to Enhance Transformative Capacity in Transnational and Transdisciplinary Knowledge Networks as a Response to Multiple Crises
Johanna Vogel, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik

Digital Reordering of Global Supply Chains? How Worker Voice Tools Affect the Post-pandemic Governance and Contestation of Labour Rights
Christian Scheper & Carolina Vestena, University of Duisburg-Essen, INEF

Towards a Typology of Solidarity Cities Across Europe in the Omnipresent [of] So-Called Refugee Crisis since 2015
Gulce Safak Ozdemir, Pompeu Fabra University Barcelona

Partnership as Metagovernance Norm: The Promises and Pitfalls of ‘Meaningful’ Participation of Civil Society in Global Health Governance
Elena Sondermann & Cornelia Ulbert, University of Duisburg-Essen, INEF

Rewriting the Future Through Collaborative Intersectional Organising: The Case of North Macedonia’s Coalition of the Future
Simona Getova, Pompeu Fabra University Barcelona

11.30-11.45 Break

11.45-13.15 Panel 6
Towards a Sustainable Future: Greening Growth, Finance and the Economy

Moderators: Kathrin Berensmann, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik

Macroeconomic Pathways away from Growth Dependence and Inequality
Olivia Davis, University of Duisburg-Essen

The Breaking of the Central Bank Technocratic Consensus? Varieties of Central Banking and Financial Regulation in the Face of the Climate
Andreas Dimmelmeier, Independent Researcher

Central Banks and Climate Stress Testing: A Case of Transnational Governance in an Era of Climate Change
Stine Quorning, Copenhagen Business School

Net Zero Central Banking: A New Phase in Greening the Financial System
Ulrich Volz, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik / SOAS University of London

13.15-14.15 Lunch Break

14.15-15.45 Panel 7
The Future of Transnationalism: The Role of Transnational Actors in Shaping Global Governance

Moderator: Aysem Mert, KHK/GCR21

Interlinking the Global with the Local: The Role of Transnational Actors in Shaping Local Governance
Maja Huisman, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik

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Simona Getova, Pompeu Fabra University Barcelona

15.45-16.00 Break
Panel 7

Continuity and Change in an Asymmetric World Economy

Moderators: Jenny Preunkert, University of Duisburg-Essen

Pandemic Pushes Polarisation: The Corona Crisis and Macroeconomic Divergence in the Eurozone
Jakob Kapeller University of Duisburg-Essen / Johannes Kepler University Linz

The Developed/Developing Country Division in Global Trade: Losing Traction in a Covid-19 Era?
Clara Brandi, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik | Clara Weinhardt, Maastricht University

How to Reduce Germany’s Current Account Surplus
Achim Truger & Till van Treeck, University of Duisburg-Essen | Jan Behringer, Hans-Böckler Stiftung

Economic Dynamics and Economic Leadership in the US/China/EU Triad. Endogenous Institutional Change on a Global Scale
Markus Taube, University of Duisburg-Essen

Closing Remarks
The Panels
Panel 1:  
Ideas for Reconstructing Order and Legitimate Authority in the Face of (Institutional) Crises

**Moderator:** Birgit Mersmann, University of Duisburg-Essen

*Birgit Mersmann* is an art historian and image theoretician with a pronounced transcultural research and teaching profile. Since October 2018 she holds the Professorship for Modern and Contemporary Art at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Her research foci include, among many others, modern and contemporary Western and East Asian art, image and media theory, translation studies, transculturality, and global art history.

**Contributions:**

“Mapping Ideas for a Post-Pandemic World: National Parochialism over Global Visions?”

Sigrid Quack and Jasmin Schmitz, University of Duisburg-Essen, KHK/GCR21

**Abstract:**

The Covid pandemic has highlighted the global interconnectedness of societies. At the same time, the pandemic has exposed the fact that contemporary societies are always as vulnerable as their most vulnerable groups. While the socio-economic impact of the pandemic varies from country to country, it has struck the weakest groups disproportionately and is likely to increase poverty and inequality within and between countries at a global scale. But the pandemic has also made visible the mutual interdependence, obligations and need for recognition between members of societies, generating broad societal resonance for the protests of the most vulnerable against long-enshrined inequalities, discrimination and racism, and giving rise for proposals of rebuilding a more equitable international order.

Yet, anecdotal evidence suggests that ideas for re-ordering the world post-covid circle more about around national reform rather than rethinking the relationship between societies at a global scale. This paper seeks to provide a first mapping of proposals for re-ordering the world post-covid to examine whether the thesis that national prerogative overrides global visions empirically holds true.

Based on a review of secondary literature and policy analysis undertaken by the Global Pandemic network (https://www.globalpandemicnetwork.org), the paper will assess what reform proposals have been made by international organizations and governments in four world regions: North America, Europe, Africa and Asia. Within these regions, the focus will be on selected countries, probably the US, Kenya or South Africa, Germany, and India or China. The paper will analyze to what extent ideas for re-ordering throughout and after the pandemic are focused on within-society change and/or address transformation of the relations between societies at a global scale. The aim is to come to a first assessment whether there is empirical support for the thesis
that national prerogative overrides global visions for rebuilding the world after covid.

**Sigrid Quack** is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Duisburg-Essen and director of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Cooperation Research. She is also president of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (SASE). Her research focuses on comparative sociology, globalization and institutional change as well as transnational governance and international standard setting.

*Jasmin Schmitz* is Research Assistant at KHK/GCR21 with a background in Public Governance, gained from study courses at several European universities. Her research interests include non-state actors, sustainable development cooperation and areas of limited statehood.

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**“Europe’s Migration Policy between Local and Global Legitimation Crisis”**

**Andreas Niederberger, University of Duisburg-Essen**

**Abstract:**

This paper argues that the crisis of European refugee and migration policy is more than a tricky problem of European coordination. Rather, the failure to develop a convincing refugee and migration policy is symptomatic of a deeper crisis of transnational institutions and their legitimacy and authority in particular. The attempt to focus on solving the refugee and migration crisis therefore misses the real problem. At least as long as there is no institutional and procedural alternative to the EU, there will be no solution to the crisis of European refugee and migration policy without a solution to the crisis of authority and legitimacy of the EU.

In the first part of the paper, I will show why the crisis of European refugee and migration policy points to the crisis of transnational legitimation structures, such as the EU claims to embody. Against this background, I will examine in a second step the nature of the EU’s legitimacy crisis in more detail and briefly consider two possible strategies for (re)establishing the EU as a legitimate transnational structure. This consideration will show that strategies that address the EU’s deficits in consecutive steps are not convincing, as they have exacerbating effects on other deficits. Against this background, I will suggest in the final section of the paper how to proceed to establish, at least in Europe, institutions that can achieve transnational legitimacy and thus also point to a more convincing approach to the refugee and migration issue.

**Andreas Niederberger** is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Duisburg-Essen since 2014 and coordinator of the European research project ‘Norms and Values in the European Migration and Refugee Crisis’. His work is primarily focused on political and social philosophy, international political theory, ethics of migration, deontological ethics and philosophy of law.

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**“Dissociation from International Institutions as Contribution to a Peaceful World Order?”**

**Matthias Dembinski & Dirk Peters, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt**
Abstract:
The liberal order and the dense web of international institutions underlying it has come under pressure recently with states increasingly willing to dissociate from these institutions and insisting on their need for autonomy or sovereignty. If anything, this tendency has only accelerated through Covid-19. This might not necessarily be all bad news. Dense interactions and institutions themselves can create conflicts as the current state of the EU or the OSCE demonstrate. A less densely institutionalized world might hold less potential for conflict, therefore. However, the road to such a world itself bears significant risks as the process of leaving institutions carries ample potential for conflict. Every recent case from Brexit to withdrawals from the ICC or the Paris Climate Accord illustrates this.

Is there a way for states to handle such processes without creating or exacerbating conflict between those who stay committed to institutional norms and those who dissociate themselves from them - a way to organize divorce so that it leads to peaceful coexistence rather than a long-term deterioration of relations?

We will present the design of an interdisciplinary research project that seeks to answer this question by studying past processes of dissociation in international politics from the perspectives of history and political science/International Relations. We spell out how dissociation and conflict are potentially linked and how these linkages can be studied; and introduce and discuss cases which will help us gain a better understanding of how processes of dissociation can contribute to increasing or decreasing conflict between the parties involved.

Matthias Dembinski is a Senior Researcher and Project Leader at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt. He is working on the issues of European foreign and security policy, transatlantic relations, the European Union, and NATO.

Dirk Peters is holding a position as Senior Researcher, Project Leader and Member of the Executive Board at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt. His expertise lies in the fields of security policy of the European Union, German foreign policy as well as parliaments and military operations.

“Who is Entitled to be Author of a Re-ordered World?”
Franziska Martinsen, University of Duisburg-Essen

Abstract:
In recent research in the field of political theory, approaches can be found to link human rights research with concepts of radical democratic theory in order to clarify the question of the extent to which addressees of rights can also become their authors. This specific perspective allows a new understanding of the concerns and struggles of human rights activists as bottom-up contributions to a revision of the prevailing international human rights regime and, accordingly, offers the opportunity for a reflexion of the hegemonic world order. In this context, processes of political subjectivation in the context of social movements, such as the global struggles for climate justice, play a prominent role. Insofar as human rights are seen as an essential component of a (not merely normative) world order, the radical
democratic theory approach promotes a critical reflexion of the persisting (neo)colonial global structures, e.g. from marginalised perspectives: In this context, the political desire of actors is to be understood as an impulse in the sense of disrupting the existing institutional (world) order. The insights gained from this radical democracy discourse will contribute to sharpening theoretical arguments for making human rights a vehicle for change even in circumstances where those rights are insecure. My short think piece intends to stimulate a theoretical discussion on the extent to which political struggles for rights can be understood as processes of attaining authorship of a re-ordered world.

Franziska Martinsen is Visiting Professor for Political Theory at the University of Duisburg-Essen and Research Fellow at the Käte Hamburger Kolleg Law as Culture/Centre for Advanced Study. Her research interests include political philosophy and theory, the political history of ideas, legal and social philosophy, democratic theory, and theories of (global) justice.
Panel 2: Assessing (Trans-)Regional Security Dynamics

Moderator: Johannes Vüllers, University of Duisburg-Essen, INEF

Johannes Vüllers is Senior Researcher at the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF). His research focuses on social movement in political processes of transformation, contentious politics, religion and violence/peace processes, power-sharing agreements and mediation in civil wars.

Contributions:

“European Union’s Integrated Peacebuilding Response to the Post-Lisbon Crisis”
Purnima Sharma, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Abstract
The European Union (EU) is an influential security actor especially in the arena of peacebuilding. The post-Cold War scenario had transformed the nature of war and conflicts from inter-state to intra-state that forced the international institution like the United Nations and a newly established regional organisation such as the EU among other actors of peacebuilding to develop new methods and instruments to deal with them. However, the types of security challenges that emerged in the beginning of 2000s stirred the world political structure for these were more complex and had global impact that demanded global response.

In this regard, the EU formed several policies and adopted a comprehensive approach to peacebuilding by developing a cooperation and coordination between civilian and military aspects of crisis management and among various actors of peacebuilding. However, the post-Lisbon security threats such as Arab Uprising, rise of terrorism (ISIS/ISIL or Daesh), refugee crisis, rise of populism and xenophobia, radicalization of youth, et cetera, were evident that the peacebuilding actors lack common global vision.

As a result, the EU took an initiative by adopting a Global Strategy that emphasized the integrated approach of peacebuilding which combines the internal and external aspects of security, establishes a security-development nexus, uses all instruments and tools, develops coordination and cooperation between civil and military and among various actors of peacebuilding at local, national, regional and global scale. Moreover, this approach has increased the Union’s capability to act during the Covid19 pandemic not only within its territory but in the conflict-affected regions like Somalia, Mali, Nigeria, and others.

Therefore, by keeping all the aforementioned points in mind, this paper tries to examine the transformation of the EU into a global security actor, especially in the arena of peacebuilding, after adopting specific approaches to it over time.
Purnima Sharma is a Doctoral Research Scholar at the Center for European Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University in India. Her Ph.D. project deals with the ‘Role of the European Union in Peacebuilding: From Comprehensive to Integrated Approach’. Her research interests include peacebuilding, the European Union and international organisations.

“Chinese Concepts of Regional and Global Order: Decrypting the Security Narratives of Daguo Waijiao”
Nele Noesselt, Elizaveta Priupolina & Tanja Eckstein, University of Duisburg-Essen

Abstract:
The rise of China in terms of economic and monetary power has been accompanied by an internal reconceptualization of the country’s national and global role conception. The dominant narrative of the inner-Chinese debate is based on the concept of daguo – literally translated as “great power”/”major power.” Given the claim made both by Chinese political scientists as well as the political elites that the PRC does neither pursue any global hegemonic ambitions nor seek to replace the US as the centre of world politics – and given the ongoing efforts to define a distinct “Chinese” approach to the theory and practice of international relations (Noesselt 2010; 2016) – the tantalizing question for international China watchers is to understand the definitions and role claims inscribed into the concept of daguo. This paper argues that the term daguo functions as an “empty signifier” (Laclau), and that the official definition of daguo has thus not been fixed in any written documents – but that it has been effectively communicated via symbols and images circulated and spread via CCTV documentaries. This paper hence seeks to assess the Chinese visions of regional and global security as visualized in the CCTV documentary Daguo Waijiao (Great Power Diplomacy) – with a special focus on the PRC’s interactions with (and counter-positions taken to) the US (Eckstein) and Russia (Priupolina).

Nele Noesselt holds the Chair for Political Science with a special focus on China/East Asia at the University of Duisburg-Essen. She is currently deputy director of the Institute of East Asian Studies (IN-EAST) at the University of Duisburg-Essen and heads the board of the German Association for Asian Studies. Her research focuses on East Asia and China.

Elizaveta Priupolina is a Member of the DFG Project “Governance in China” and Research Associate at the Institute of East Asian Studies of the University of Duisburg-Essen.

Tanja Eckstein is a Research Assistant and Ph.D. Student at the University of Duisburg Essen. She is mainly interested in research on Asia, business and development, international business, and trade and relations in highly intercultural environments.

“Transnational Jihadism and the Genesis of Islamist Insurgencies in Sub-Saharan Africa”
Jannis Saalfeld, University of Duisburg-Essen, INEF

Abstract:
Over the past three decades, twelve countries in sub-Saharan Africa have
witnessed armed conflicts involving Islamist rebel groups. The scarce existing comparative research on this development highlights the local conditions enabling Islamist insurgencies. Providing a counterpoint to this research, I contend that the regional rise of militant Islamism is inextricably linked with external Pan-Islamist crisis narratives and ideological innovations. In a first step, I identify two distinct landscapes of violent Islamist conflict in sub-Saharan Africa, one emerging in the 1990s and one in the 2000s. While in the 1990s, violent Islamist conflict was confined to East Africa and largely rooted in non-Islamist insurgencies and ideologies, in the 2000s it became a regionwide phenomenon primarily based on militant politico-religious rejectionism.

In a second step, I show that the genesis of both conflict landscapes has been decisively shaped by the evolution of pan-Islamist thought and action in the Arab world in the 1980s and 1990s. Specifically, I demonstrate that the emergence of an Arab-based foreign fighter movement in Afghanistan and the (pan-)Islamist takeover of the Sudanese state provided a crucial impetus to the outbreak of East Africa’s Islamist rebellions in the 1990s. Furthermore, I show that the rise of Salafi-jihadi ideology from within the foreign fighter movement subsequently paved the way for the transformation of the topography of violent Islamist conflict in sub-Saharan Africa.

Jannis Saalfeld is a Researcher at the Institute for Development and Peace at the University of Duisburg-Essen. His research interests lie in religion and conflict, social movements and political change, and power-sharing with a regional focus on East Africa.
Panel 3:
Variations of World Ordering Beyond Western Hegemony: Re-conceptualizing Core Principles of Global Politics

Moderator: Christof Hartmann, University of Duisburg-Essen, INEF

Christof Hartmann holds the Chair for Political Science with a special focus on International Relations and African Politics at the University of Duisburg-Essen. His research is mainly concerned with processes of institutional change in African countries, comparative analysis of different formal institutions, especially electoral systems and regime types, presidentialism and term limits, political parties and their regulation, as well as vertical power-sharing.

Contributions:
“Development First! The Normative Commonality in Sino-African Cooperation”
Georg Lammich, University of Duisburg-Essen

Abstract:
Following recent debates about the multiplicity and inconsistency in the internal and external conceptualization of a replicable “China model” and the various interpretation and strategic localization of such a model in the African context, this paper focuses on the Chinese development-security nexus and the agency of African states and elites in strategically readjusting this concept to align with their domestic priorities.

Xi Jinping has noted on several occasions that ‘development is the foundation of security and security is the condition for development’ (发展是安全的基础, 安全是发展的条件). This guiding principle has not just been relevant to China’s domestic policymaking for several decades but is increasingly used in the context of China’s engagement in Africa. The interrelationship between security and development is a well-established though still debated concept in global policymaking and often associated with an interventionist approach. While the Chinese variation of this concept shares the fundamental idea that development and peace are interrelated it emphasizes national sovereignty, political stability, and state-led economic planning as core to a prosperous and harmonious society. The Chinese development-security paradigm provides an alternative narrative for African leaders that reject the interventionist role of Western powers. The notion that state-led development and the provision of economic opportunities should take precedence over political reforms and stability is more relevant than inclusiveness has thus become a widely shared understanding in Sino-African cooperation.

Georg Lammich is currently a Postdoctoral Scholar at the Chair for Political Science with a special focus on International Relations and African Politics at the University of Duisburg-Essen. His Ph.D. project dealt with hybrid interregionalism and Sino-African cooperation.
His main research is concerned with Sino-African relations, Regionalism, African agency and conflict resolution in Sub-Saharan Africa and the African Union.

“Re-ordering the World along Resilience: Covid-19 and the Decline of the Neo-Liberal Paradigm”
Tobias Debiel, University of Duisburg-Essen, INEF, KHK/GCR21

Abstract:
The Covid-19 pandemic poses a severe threat to the mainstream assumptions of development policy. „Leave no one behind“ – the mantra of the SDGs – faces a new, unforeseen challenge. The Global South has been affected in multiple dimensions. Pathways to transformation are being put on the back-burner. Instead, resilience, a concept shaped in the interdisciplinary debate on environmental sustainability, has been discovered by the social sciences as well as by health and development policies. The Global Peace Index 2020 makes an interesting case by identifying the decisive factors for resilience in times of Covid-19: a well-functioning government, a conducive field for business, high levels of human capital and good relations with neighboring countries.

Recent developments indicate that particularly the quality of political institutions has gained new attention in discourses and practices. It has become a crucial ingredient for respective policies in the fields of Global Health and Global Development. The pandemic, thus, might mean a tipping for the declining hegemony of the neo-liberal paradigm which has dominated economic and public policies since the 1980s. Unpacking and re-inventing resilience – a fashionable, but rather dazzling concept with neo-liberal connotations – from a positivist, institutionalist perspective might have an unexpected potential: It could inform respective discourses and practices that the state matters. The contribution argues that the disastrous pandemic, insofar, might have a collateral benefit: the emergence of a new paradigm beyond the neo-liberal orthodoxy.

Tobias Debiel is the Director of the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) and Co-Director of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research. His research interests lie in state failure and global governance; state building and violent conflicts; and structures of violence and development chances in times of globalization.

“Beyond Rich and Poor: Identifying Global Development Constellations”
Christine Hackenesch, Svea Koch & Sebastian Ziaja, German Development Institute

Abstract:
The Covid-19 pandemic is the most recent example that global development challenges problems can occur anywhere in the world, confuting the assumption of a world divided into developed and developing countries. Recent scholarship has coined the term ‘global development’ to capture this changing geography of development problems. Our paper contributes to these debates by proposing a novel empirical approach to localize global development problems in country contexts worldwide. Our approach rests on a universal understanding of ‘development’. We identify countries that are
particularly relevant for global problem solving and consider not only the problem dimension but also countries’ capacities to address these problems. We focus on poverty, violence and environmental degradation as key examples for major global development problems. In addition to the problem dimension, we include countries’ financial, administrative and democratic capacities and identify relevant problem-capacity constellations. Our results show that countries with the most severe problem combinations are as diverse as Afghanistan, Nigeria and the United States. Two thirds of countries with above average contributions to global problems are authoritarian regimes. We also find that middle-income countries have hardly anything in common apart from their income level. Our analysis thereby shows that traditional concepts of a binary world order and of foreign aid as financial transfer to remedy imbalances between the poles do not suffice to address global problem and capacity constellations that have long evolved beyond rich and poor.

Christine Hackenesch has been a Researcher at the German Development Institute (DIE) in Bonn since 2008. Currently she serves as the Head of the Research Programme "Inter- and transnational cooperation with the Global South". Her research interests include among others EU-African relations, China-African relations, EU support for democracy, human rights and good governance.

Svea Koch is a Researcher at the German Development Institute (DIE) in Bonn. She is part of the Research Programme “Inter- and transnational cooperation with the Global South”. Her research interests include EU external relations and development policy, EU Green Deal and socio-ecological reconstruction, and governance of sustainability transformations.

Sebastian Ziaja has been a Senior Researcher in the Research Programme “Transformation of Political (Dis-) Order” at the German Development Institute (DIE) in Bonn since 2019. His research interests include regime change, state capacity, aid fragmentation, and measurement of social science concepts.

Nele Noesselt, University of Duisburg-Essen & Thomas Demmelhuber, Friedrich-Alexander Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg

Abstract:
There is a vivid scholarly debate on geopolitical shifts on the global level and a waning US hegemony and/or the decline of US primacy. The argument for these shifts is rather simple: observers hint at a strategic neglect of various world regions by US foreign policy and a simultaneously occurring filling of this void by Chinese actors. Yet, questions remain: is it solely the Trump administration’s trade protectionism and “America first strategy” that created a vacuum other – non-democratic – actors such as China were able to fill or do we have to look at additional explanatory (foremost structural) factors such as historical legacies, linkage effects and/or geopolitical proximity causing a shift from a US-centered world order to a more fragmented, potentially “post-liberal” one? Based on the premise that world regions are integrated in the international system with international, regional, national and local levels becoming increasingly blurred, we aim at providing a more fine-grained explanation of geopolitical shifts on the global level and their effects on Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle
East and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa. And, finally, will turn to the question whether this development trend is an irreversible one.

*Nele Noesselt holds the Chair for Political Science with a special focus on China/East Asia at the University of Duisburg-Essen. She currently is leader of the research project “Configurations of Governance and Development Paths in the Studies of Chinese Political Scientists”.*

*Thomas Demmelhuber is Professor of Middle East Politics and Society at the Friedrich-Alexander-University of Erlangen-Nürnberg. Demmelhuber’s research focuses on state, power and politics in the Middle East from a comparative perspective including international actors such as the European Union.*
Panel 4: 
Changing Multilateral Governance Arrangements and Practices in Crisis Situations

Moderators: Katja Freistein, University of Duisburg-Essen, KHK/GCR21

Katja Freistein is a Research Group Leader at the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen. At the KHK/GCR21, she is responsible for the thematic field 'Pathways and mechanisms of global cooperation'. Her broader research interests are global inequality, international political sociology, and discourse theory.

Contributions:

“Transnational Governance of Migrant Returns in Pandemic Times”
Zeynep Sahin-Mencütek, Ryerson University & Bonn Centre for International Conversion

Abstract:
The Covid-19 crisis prompted many migrant workers, irregular migrants including asylum seekers, and those stranded in transit zones to evaluate the option of returning to their home countries. Actual returns occur across the globe with small and high numbers due to the ensuing lockdowns and difficulties accessing income and protection. Receiving, sending, and transit countries, as well as international organizations, are involved in return operations. The International Organization of Migration (IOM) worked with regional governments in Africa, Latin America, and Asia to facilitate the return of thousands of stranded migrants in transit places. It opened ‘humanitarian corridors’ by collaborating and negotiating with the origin and host countries. Besides its material logistics provision, it also invested in information campaigns and communications with crisis-affected communities and governments to legitimize its operations and claim its compliance with international norms. This study focuses on how ‘times of crisis’ help IOM maintain its rising role in global migration governance architecture, particularly in challenging policy fields like returns in which origin countries are often reluctant to cooperate. Also, how power imbalances between origin and receiving countries, on the one hand, migrants and states, affected return practices in multiple crises. An emphasis on these questions provides us with broader insights to evaluate migration governance practices’ characteristics in ‘pandemic times’ and transnational governance constellations.

Zeynep Sahin-Mencütek currently is an Associate Researcher at the Bonn International Centre for Conversion (bicc) and formerly held a fellowship at the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research where she conducted research on polycentric governance, emerging transnationalism and grassroots community organisations of Syrian refugees.
“Hybrid Institutional Complexes and Global Crises”
Benjamin Faude, London School of Economics & Kenneth Abbott, Arizona State University/Earth System Governance Project

Abstract:
Over the past two decades, global governance institutions have been confronted with numerous crises, such as the current Covid-19 pandemic, the financial crisis in 2008, the unprecedented numbers of refugees that reached Europe in the mid-2010s, and the terrorist attacks carried out on 9/11/2001. These crises created complex, interconnected and rapidly changing sets of problems which, according to many observers, have outstripped the problem-solving capacity of existing multilateral institutions. As a result, formal international governmental organizations (FIGOs) have increasingly been seen as unfit for purpose.

At the same time, the Covid-19 pandemic has made clear that contemporary global governance takes place not only through FIGOs, but through highly diverse institutions. Beyond the World Health Organization (WHO), informal intergovernmental organizations (e.g., G20) coordinate national responses; trans-governmental networks strengthen pharmaceutical regulation. Multi-stakeholder institutions (e.g., GAVI) deliver medicines and vaccines. Civil society organizations provide health services (e.g., Médecins Sans Frontières), respond to outbreaks (e.g., GOARN), and provide funding (e.g., Gates Foundation). The Access to COVID-19 Tools Accelerator and COVAX vaccine initiative unite all these institutions and more.

This paper contributes to the conference by examining the ability of such heterogeneous institutional constellations - which we call “hybrid institutional complexes” (HICs) - to supply global governance in times of crises and beyond. Given their institutional diversity, we argue that HICs have systematic advantages vis-à-vis FIGOs in addressing complex, dynamic problems. These include substantive fit for multi-faceted and complex issues; political fit for diverse actor preferences; low institutional costs, and thus high adaptability, flexibility and rapid response; diverse actor participation; experimentation; and coherence. Importantly, HICs also empower non-state actors, enabling them to bypass deadlock in interstate institutions and to reorder governance systems. Yet HICs may also produce negative outcomes: reducing the focality of core institutions; forestalling potentially stronger responses; weakening governance legitimacy; and creating costly complexity.

We argue that the substantive and political advantages of HICs will make them increasingly prominent in future crisis responses. Moreover, we hold that HICs will make future crisis management more successful, as long as they are carefully coordinated by governance actors with the necessary authority and resources. In sum, we present HICs not only as a new descriptive and analytical lens to study global governance, but also as an institutional vehicle that is already reordering global governance and increasing its problem-solving capacity during crises and beyond.

Benjamin Faude is a LSE Fellow in Global Politics at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Before coming to LSE, he was Senior Research Fellow for the Global
Governance Unit at the WZB Berlin Social Science Centre. His research focuses on the implications of institutional complexity on global governance.

Kenneth Abbott is a Jack E. Brown Chair in Law Emeritus, Professor of Global Studies Emeritus, and Senior Sustainability Scholar in the Global Institute of Sustainability at Arizona State University. His research focuses on a broad range of public and private institutions. He is a Lead Faculty Member of the Earth System Governance Project, and a Member of the editorial boards of Regulation & Governance and Journal of International Economic Law.

“Regional Regulatory Governance and Migration in South America: Achievements and Challenges in the Context of the Venezuelan Exodus”
Andrea C. Bianculli & Juan Carlos Triviño-Salazar, Institut Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals (IBEI)

Abstract:
Since the 2000s, the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) has established different mechanisms supporting the mobility and protection of intraregional migrants, as in the case of the MERCOSUR Residence Agreement. However, the socio-political collapse of the post-Hugo Chávez regime in Venezuela represented a major challenge to this approach as millions of Venezuelans emigrated to neighbouring countries in the region. In this context, MERCOSUR has faced important pressures to steer regional regulatory governance arrangements that respond to the migration of Venezuelans based on a human rights approach. Additionally, MERCOSUR arrangements coexisted with old and new regional processes, i.e., the South American Conference of Migration (CSM) and the Quito Process, respectively. Against this backdrop, our paper empirically and comparatively assesses these various regulatory governance arrangements. More specifically, it will examine the various constellations of states and non-state actors and networks, their strategies through the mechanisms established to cooperate in the response to common regional challenges resulting from human mobility. By looking into these different regulatory governance arrangements within the area of migration, the paper makes a twofold contribution. First, it will unravel the range of formal and informal mechanisms and the processes through which constellations of actors interact, relate, and negotiate ideas, interests, and resources, and which underlay different regional regulatory governance arrangements; thus, strengthening comparative regionalism research. Second, it will highlight the relevance of the regional arena vis-à-vis the international as concerted and multilateral responses to challenges derived from migration based on a human rights approach have been, until the recent approval of the 2018 Global Compacts on Migration and Refugees, elusive at a global scale.

Andrea C. Bianculli is Assistant Professor at the Institut Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals (IBEI). Her research, which lies at the intersection of comparative and international political economy, examines the relationship between trade, regulation, and development, with a regional focus on Latin America.

Juan Carlos Triviño is Juan de la Cierva (Formación) post-doctoral fellow at the Institut Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals (IBEI), currently involved, among other things, in the IBEI-led European project GLOBE. His research follows two distinctive lines: the Multilevel Governance of Immigration and Integration and Regulatory Governance.
“Reinvigorating Multilateral Funding Structures: Towards a Universally-owned United Nations Development System”
Sebastian Haug & Silke Weinlich, German Development Institute & Nilima Gulrajani, Overseas Development Institute

Abstract:
Multilateralism is under pressure. The United Nations (UN) development system, in particular, has found itself under attack from my-country-first governments; faces the increasing tension between China and the US; and is expected to address Covid-19-related emergencies. A structural key dimension undermining the UN’s long-term ability to effectively deal with these, and similar challenges has centred around funding practices. While the UN has often been hailed for allowing equal representation of member states, “Northern” countries have had the overwhelming power of the purse: in 2018, more than 90 percent of member state funding for the UN development system came from industrialised countries. With both responsibility and power in the hands of the few, the UN is ill equipped to face the challenges and transformations ahead. In order to increase the likelihood of UN entities to effectively fulfil their mandates in times of political and economic turmoil, we argue, traditional funding structures need to be restructured and expanded. In this paper, we outline suggestions for more inclusive cost-sharing arrangements that build on contributions from all member states and invite non-state actors to expand their engagement. Our proposals include inclusive-redistribute funding schemes; reliably funded core budgets; tighter regulations of earmarked contributions; as well as funding apps, voluntary fees for the use of UN statistics and levies on financial transactions. This broader financing setup would provide a step towards taking seriously universality provisions that lie at the heart of Agenda 2030 and offer a concrete means for making multilateral organisations more resilient.

Sebastian Haug is a Researcher at the German Development Institute (DIE) in Bonn where he is part of the research programme “Inter-and Transnational Cooperation”. research interests include among others the United Nations, global governance, debate about ‘rising powers’, development cooperation, and South-South Cooperation.

Silke Weinlich is a Senior Researcher at the German Development Institute (DIE) in Bonn and part of the research programme “Inter- and transnational cooperation”. Her research interests include development cooperation beyond aid, United Nations, multilateral negotiations, and global governance / international organisations.

Nilima Gulrajani is a Senior Research Fellow at Overseas Development Institute and Visiting Fellow at King’s College Department of International Development, the G20 Research Centre at the University of Toronto, and the Canadian International Council. Her research interests include among others comparative analysis of bilateral donor agencies, especially their architecture, governance, strategy and performance.
Panel 5:  
Re-configuring Transnational Actor 
Networks and their Role in Envisioning an 
Alternative Future

Moderators: Aysem Mert, KHK/GCR21

Aysem Mert is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen and an Associate Senior Lecturer at the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University. In her research she focuses on discourses of democracy and environment at transnational and global levels, grassroots responses to climatic disasters and democracy in the Anthropocene.

Contributions:

“How to Enhance Transformative Capacity in Transnational and Transdisciplinary Knowledge Networks as a Response to Multiple Crises”
Johanna Vogel, German Development Institute

Abstract:
The world society currently experiences multiple crises. In order to use the transformative moment that crises bear and make sustainable pathways more likely, cooperation in networks can be a useful tool. Transnational and transdisciplinary knowledge networks support e.g., finding innovative solutions because they function as a forum to negotiate joint definitions of a problem and find solutions that are legitimated across the diverse actors within the network. What strategies can be used as network facilitator or member to support project development that aims for sustainable transformation?

Sustainable transformation is regarded here as “a qualitative degree of change that might happen in a system (…). Sustainable development (…) is one possible qualitative outcome of a transformation process (…)” (Göpel, 2016, p. 3). In order to achieve transformation, transformative capacity is crucial. Here transformative capacity is seen as “systemic, critical, generative and reflexive” (DRIFT, 2020). Transformative networks have the goal to create joint projects with an impact beyond the network or initiate transformation in a wider social or institutional setting. Members can be regarded as innovators or change makers (see (Holley, 2012)). Collective action is fostered to produce innovative practices, public-policy proposals or other projects that might have social impact (Plastrik, Taylor, & Cleveland, 2014, p. 35). Describing strategies how to unfold networks’ transformative capacity is the aim of this thought impulse. The author suggests that networks should focus on three essential elements to foster their transformative capacity: Relations – in form of trust building, a joint vision, and supportive structures.

Johanna Vogel is a Research Associate at the German Development Institute (DIE) in Bonn, where she joined the research programme “Inter- and Transnational Cooperation” with a focus on the influence of right-wing populist parties on European development.
Global supply chains are understood primarily as economic structures, but they involve political ordering processes: Disputes over governance, power, and values, but also the making and contesting of law, especially in the field of labour rights. Information and epistemic practices are central in these disputes over rights, as supply chains are not only transnational but often characterized by strong information imbalances and opaque networks. Digitalisation and related changes in communication practices promise to radically transform this field. The digitalisation of supply chain management is already advanced in some areas, and workers’ movements have in turn also discovered digital tools for networking and voicing grievances over labour rights. These tools, however, are also highly contested, as they seem like a technical fix for social problems and bring new forms of control through corporate actors as well. The crisis of global supply chain structures due to the pandemic is now massively driving the digitalisation of governance and raises new questions about the politics of digital technologies. Drawing on a database of worker voice tools and interviews with providers, multi-stakeholder initiatives and companies, our paper analyses socio-legal and political implications of worker voice tools by looking at interpretations of labour rights (re)produced by software programmes and their use. We argue that the digitalisation of supply chains has productive effects for transnational legal ordering processes even if it brings ambivalent implications for the politics of labour rights. The conflicts in this socio-legal field have worsened for workers since the beginning of the pandemic crisis.

Christian Scheper has been working as (Senior) Researcher at the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University of Duisburg-Essen since 2008. His research focuses on transnational politics of regulation and governance, in particular the power and legitimation of multinational corporations, global value chains, human rights and international labour standards.

Carolina Vestena is a Senior Researcher Senior Researcher at the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Her research focuses mainly on social movements in Brasil and Portugal, legal mobilization/law and social movements, political and legal theory, human and social rights, and social inequality and social policy in Brasil.

“Towards a Typology of Solidarity Cities Across Europe in the Omnipresent [of] So-called Refugee Crisis since 2015”
Gülce Safak Özdemir, Pompeu Fabra University of Barcelona

Abstract:
The main contribution of this paper is to develop a solidarity city concept and its typologies through a comparative analysis of 14 global cities in Europe within the context of so-called refugee crisis. While sanctuary cities have taken place in migration studies over the past two decades, “solidarity cities” is a relatively new concept. Yet, the literature has primarily focused on multi-level governance of migration by considering the relationship between cities and their national governments. Little is known about what types of solidarity is built within the city through diverse set of actors. Considering local governments and local civil society actors and their roles in terms of building solidarity towards newcomers, this paper proposes build a solidarity city typology. By adopting a qualitative comparative analysis approach, this paper zooming into cities to distinguish the role of local governments and local civil society actors across diverse size and positions of cities in Europe. Accordingly, the solidarity typology is developed as bottom-up-(civil society oriented), top-down-(local government oriented), decoupling-(non-harmonious top-down and bottom-up solidarity), full-(harmonious collaboration of local government and civil society actors) and limited-(no established solidarity) solidarity cities. This research mainly based on official documents of local governments and registered local civil society organisations. Inspired by MIPEX index, I created a local level governance migration index for the local governments and civil society organisations. Collected data illustrates that although national policies have an important impact on solidarity building in the cities such as the link between Germany’s welcoming culture and Berlin as a Solidarity City, cities located in the same country can be vary in terms of how solidarity is built towards newcomers such as Barcelona and Madrid. This initial conceptualization highlights a further research questions such as “under which conditions a city become a solidarity city?” or/and “how power hierarchies structured in the cities to build solidarity hub for the newcomers.”.

Gülce Safak Özdemir is currently a Ph.D. Candidate at the Department of Political and Social Sciences at Universitat Pompeu Fabra where she also obtained a master’s degree in Migration Studies. Her dissertation highlights the intersection between top-down(policy-oriented) and bottom-up(practice-oriented) forms of solidarity towards refugees, asylum-seekers, and migrants in the European Cities.

“Partnership as Metagovernance Norm: The Promises and Pitfalls of ‘Meaningful’ Participation of Civil Society in Global Health Governance”
Elena Sondermann & Cornelia Ulbert, University of Duisburg-Essen/INEF

Abstract:
The Covid-19 pandemic both highlights and threatens the necessity of collective action. Nowadays, it is regarded as ‘good practice’ to engage with non-state actors or more specifically with civil society in global policy processes. Institutionally, this engagement often takes the form of a ‘multi-stakeholder partnership’. Although we can witness ‘shrinking spaces’ for civil society in many countries, at least on a global level, it is especially in times of crises that civil society is hailed as contributing to providing global public goods. Since civil society organizations (CSOs) are regarded as the group of actors closest to the needs of communities, they are attributed the role of
giving marginalized and vulnerable groups a voice, thereby ensuring that ‘no one will be left behind’. In our contribution we propose to think of ‘partnership’ not only as a form but also as a norm of metagovernance. As metanorm, partnership is about the roles and relations of different sets of actors. We present a conceptual model that allows us to assess the quality of ‘meaningful’ participation of civil society in multi-stakeholder partnerships thereby also taking the process of governance into account. Empirically we apply this model to the Global Action Plan for Healthy Lives and Well-Being for All, a rather new initiative to accelerate progress towards the health-related targets of the 2030 Agenda. Against this background, we also trace the effects the Covid-19-pandemic has had on the conditions and process of CSO participation in this rather new ‘partnership’ in the governance of global health.

Elena Sondermann is a Political Scientist and Researcher at the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Elena’s work focuses on global and international cooperation, mainly in the fields of global development politics and global health governance. She has a particular interest in actors’ roles and relationships. Her research critically engages with paradigms and narratives of global discourses.

Cornelia Ulbert is the Executive Director of the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University of Duisburg-Essen. A Political Scientist specializing in International Relations, she researches global/transnational governance and international cooperation, with a particular focus on the role of international organizations, civil society and private actors in global health and international labour standards.

“Rewriting the Future Through Collaborative Intersectional Organizing: The Case of North Macedonia’s Coalition of the Future”
Simona Getova, Pompeu Fabra University Barcelona

Abstract:
Mainstream versions of low-carbon transition endeavours are under scrutiny for perpetuating the socio-economic precarity that people live in despite the socio-ecological, political and health crises that we face. They are also created through processes that lack due procedural and recognition justice. In the face of adversity, the rise of grassroots initiatives of intersectional solidarity have been recorded across the globe. The lack of system-transformative ventures as a response to the interwoven crises on an institutional level, nationally, regionally and globally, has brought about citizens’ organising around intersectional principles in North Macedonia through the Coalition of the Future. By re-imagining the future through participatory processes of collective visioning for a grassroots Balkan and a national Green Deal, the Coalition’s praxis takes inspiration from transformative intersectional principles such as: ‘conducting intersectional analysis across all actions,’ ‘rejecting false responses to the climate crisis that fail to address root causes,’ and ‘creating regenerative economies that centre systemic democratically controlled, community-led alternatives,’ among others. This contribution will illustrate the ways in which the Coalition’s work centred affected voices, conducted wide-reaching civil society discussions for strategizing and building
joint demands, and the different physical and digital platforms or spaces that are used for such broad collaborative organising. By focusing on the decision-making processes, the contribution will provide a theoretical reflection of what such intersectional reconfiguration practices in collective organising can tell us about the possibilities for a more just and system-transformative process of visioning Green New Deals and other efforts of socio-ecological transformations toward low-carbon futures.

Simona Getova is a Predoctoral Researcher at the Political and Social Sciences Department at the Pompeu Fabra Universitat, Barcelona where she is currently pursuing a doctorate in the area of political ecology. Her main research interests include the intersections of feminist political education, direct governance, community-led models of social and environmental justice, building transnational power for systemic change.
Panel 6: Towards a Sustainable Future: Greening Growth, Finance and the Economy

Moderator: Kathrin Berensmann, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik

Kathrin Berensmann is a Senior Researcher at the German Institute for Development Policy in Bonn where she is responsible for the research programme “Transformation of Economic and Social Systems”. Her main research focus is on green finance, debt, development finance, financial systems development, international financial markets, monetary and exchange rate policy.

Contributions:

“Macroeconomic Pathways away from Growth Dependence and Inequality”
Olivia Davis, University of Duisburg-Essen

Abstract:
The economic growth seen over the past half a century has been inseparably linked to the precarious environmental position humanity now finds itself in. Economic growth remains a political priority across the globe, however, given how it is considered a means to the important objectives of employment, income, public finances, welfare spending and overall stability. It is unlikely, however that absolute decoupling of carbon emissions could be achieved fast enough to avoid the temperature rise of 1.5°C to 2°C. The economic contraction and unemployment induced by the COVID-19 crisis has posed an additional hurdle, especially in the context of the pre-existing growth dilemma, since growth is hardly an option under current circumstances. It seems sensible therefore to explore other means of providing employment, income, welfare and ecological stability, outside of the growth paradigm. To this end, I draw some inspiration from the New Deal of the 1930s in the United States under the Roosevelt administration, which provided employment, social security and an effective means of tackling the ecological disaster of its time – the Dust Bowl. I then evaluate the possibilities and limitations of a potential Green Welfare State in the present-day context.

Olivia Davis is currently completing her Ph.D. at the Gerhard Mercator Graduate College in Duisburg. Her thesis explores alternative forms of economic organization that may be viable under the starting premise of a doubly embedded economy, in which economic activity is guided by the overarching principles of both social equity and ecological health and sustainability.
Andreas Dimmelmeier, Independent Researcher

Abstract:
During the second half of the 20th century, central banking and financial regulation seemed to globally converge to a technocratic understanding underpinned by assumptions from neoclassical economics. Accordingly, a non-interventionist policy that favoured market discipline and price stability was considered best practice. The multiple crises of the last decades have, however, damaged this consensus and opened the space for competing interpretations of the functions of regulators and central banks. Especially on the climate crisis departures from the arrived wisdom can be observed. While some actors like the Bank of England double down on the earlier approach by emphasizing risk disclosure and transparency to incorporate climate concerns, other central banks and regulators are considering more interventionist approaches. Central banks that had maintained a more interventionist and developmentalist understanding such as the People’s Bank of China are now also applying measures such as credit guidance or prudential regulations to promote climate mitigation and adaptation. Whereas central banks and regulators in core capitalist countries had previously branded these policies as ‘backward’, some institutions are now reconsidering their position. The European Central Bank, for example, is pondering selective asset purchase to support a low carbon transition. This article seeks to establish a typology of central banks’ and regulators’ responses to the climate crisis by checking policies, statements and strategies from the 83 members of the Network for Greening the Financial System. Subsequently, it analyses whether these variations can be attributed to Varieties of Capitalism or geographical proximities.

Andreas Dimmelmeier has been a Marie Curie Fellow at the University of Warwick and the Copenhagen Business School. He obtained his Ph.D. on ‘The Role of Economic Ideas in Sustainable Finance: From Paradigms to Policy’ in 2020. His research is mainly concerned with sustainable finance, philosophy of science, and network analysis.

“Central Banks and Climate Stress Testing: A Case of Transnational Governance in an Era of Climate Change”
Stine Quorning, Copenhagen Business School

Abstract:
Central bankers have come to acknowledge that climate change can lead to profound changes to society and the economy, posing a threat to financial stability. Central banks have started to develop tools to elucidate how climate-related risk affects financial stability. Yet little work has been done on, why central bankers, who are conservative in nature and cherish institutional credibility, became concerned with climate-related risks in the first place. Using the case of climate stress testing (CST), this article shows, how the idea of CST was formed, not by central bankers, but by a group of transnational ‘eco bourgeoisie’. CST was sketched out by a group of
transnational professionals of think tanks, green activists and finance professionals, to enter the formal corridors of power in ministries and development banks. It was not until this stage, where the idea of CST had been nurtured amongst these other stakeholders, that CST made the final leap into the conservative central banking community. The article holds two important contributions. Firstly, transnational professionals take up an important role in financial governance in shaping policy initiatives that end at the desks of central bankers. Thus, central bankers did not embark on this agenda at their own initiative as currently anticipated. Secondly, the initial implementation of CST has been driven by a broader range of actors than hitherto anticipated, highlighting the role not just of transnational professionals and other government bodies, but also of smaller central banks, in particular Banque de France and De Nederlandsche Bank.

Stine Quorning is a Ph.D. student in International Political Economy at the Department of Organization at the Copenhagen Business School. Her research is mainly interested in the role of Central Banks in the emerging sustainable finance regime and in addressing climate change.

“Net Zero Central Banking: A New Phase in Greening the Financial System”

Ulrich Volz, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE) / SOAS, University of London

Abstract:
Reaching net-zero greenhouse gas emissions is a critical goal of climate policy. Across the world, growing numbers of governments are introducing targets and plans to achieve net-zero around the middle of this century. Alongside this, leading banks and investors are committing to align their portfolios with net-zero by 2050. As guardians of the financial system, central banks and supervisors also need to introduce explicit strategies to support the transition to net-zero as the next stage in confronting the risks of climate change.

The rationale for central banks and supervisors is two-fold: first, achieving a net-zero economy is the best way of minimising the risks of climate change to the stability of the financial system and the macroeconomy; and second, central banks and supervisors need to ensure that their activities are coherent with net-zero government policy. The first signs of financial authorities starting to align their operations with net-zero are beginning to emerge; a systematic approach is now required. This report is a first attempt to examine the role that central banks and financial supervisors could play in supporting the transition to net-zero.

Ulrich Volz is Senior Researcher for the Research Programme ‘Transformation of Economic and Social Systems’ of the German Development Institute (DIE). Since 2012 he also holds the position of Associate Professor at the Department of Economics at SOAS University of London and is Honorary Professor of Economics and the University of Leipzig since 2014. His work is centred around sustainable finance, open economy macroeconomics and global economic governance.
Panel 7: Continuity and Change in an Asymmetric World Economy

Moderator: Jenny Preunkert, University of Duisburg-Essen

Jenny Preunkert is Acting Professor at the Department of Sociology at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Since 2018 she has been lecturer at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Philosophy at Leipzig University. Her broader research interests include sociology of Europe and European studies, economic and financial sociology, political sociology, sociology of social inequality, and sociology of crisis.

Contributions:

“Pandemic Pushes Polarisation: The Corona Crisis and Macroeconomic Divergence in the Eurozone”
Jakob Kapeller, University of Duisburg-Essen

Abstract:
This paper discusses the uneven consequences of the macroeconomic fallout from the coronavirus and related economic policy responses against the background of an analysis of longer-term macroeconomic divergence in the Eurozone. We show that the macroeconomic impact of the Corona crisis is estimated to be more severe in Southern Eurozone countries than in Northern Eurozone countries, which further reinforces the tendency of an increasing economic polarization. This polarization process can be traced back to existing differences in production structures and uneven vulnerabilities of the underlying growth models. As a consequence, any policy response to the Corona crisis that does not take the deeper problems of structural polarization into account will suffer from limited impact in the medium to long run.

Jakob Kapeller is Professor for Socio-Economics at the Institute for Socio-Economics at the University of Duisburg-Essen. He has been the Head of the Institute for Comprehensive Analysis of the Economy (ICAЕ) of the Johannes Kepler University Linz, Austria since 2015. His research interests include economic and social change, history of economic and political thought, political economy and heterodox economics, and philosophy of the social sciences.

“The Developed/Developing Country Division in Global Trade: Losing Traction in a Covid-19 Era?”
Clara Brandi, German Development Institute & Clara Weinhardt, Maastricht University

Abstract:
This paper revisits the developed/developing country distinction as a prominent, but contested, feature of the world trade regime in the light of the economic repercussions of the Covid-19 pandemic. In recognition of the North-South divide, the World Trade Organization (WTO) grants its
developing country members more flexibilities in terms of liberalization commitments and financial or technical assistance. Yet, there has been a seeming detachment of the binary distinction between “developed” vs “developing” countries. In the context of the WTO, the US and others have along these lines pointed out that emerging markets such as Brazil, India or China ought to give up their developing country status - and the benefits it comes with - in recognition of their improved position in the global economy.

Against this background, we revisit whether the economic repercussions of the Covid-19 pandemic reinforce this trend and further blur the developed/developing country divide in the global economy. Moreover, we reflect upon potential implications for the debates in the WTO on what indicators should be used to define the developed country status. We find a nuanced picture that contains both elements of continuity and change: while the short-term implications of the Covid-19 pandemic cut across the developed/developing country distinction, its long-term economic repercussions largely reiterate the divide – with the exception of China among the emerging markets. Moreover, the rise of (economic) “resilience” as a prominent indicator shows that current WTO debates on how to define the developing country status in terms of economic development may be insufficient to capture structurally different positions in the world economy.

Clara Brandi is a Senior Researcher and Head of the Research Programme “Transformation of Economic and Social Systems” at the German Development Institute (DIE). Her main research interests include global governance, international trade policy and trade agreements and interlinkages between trade, sustainable development and climate change, including in the context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Clara Weinhardt is Assistant Professor in International Relations at Maastricht University and a Non-Resident Fellow at the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin. Her research focuses on global governance and international negotiations in the areas of trade and development and particularly spotlights EU-Africa relations and emerging countries, especially China.

“How to Reduce Germany’s Current Account Surplus”
Achim Truger & Till van Treaec, University of Duisburg-Essen & Jan Behringer, Hans-Böckler Stiftung

Abstract:
Germany has had a large and persistent current account surplus for the past almost two decades. We review different theoretical explanations of this phenomenon and conclude from the empirical literature that Germany’s external surplus reflects an imbalance that is a threat to macroeconomic stability at both the national and the international level. Interestingly, although intertemporal general equilibrium models highlight the role of private households in determining national current account positions, the increase in Germany’s external balance for the most part is the reflection of larger financial balances of the corporate sector and the government. While the share of the national income going to the private household sector has declined dramatically since the early 2000s, the corresponding increase in the
income share of the private corporate sector and the government was not accompanied by higher spending by these sectors on goods and services as a percentage of GDP. We discuss how the external surplus might be reduced through (a combination of) higher public and private demand for goods and services and shorter working hours.

Achim Truger is a Professor for Socioeconomics with a focus on government activity and public finances, at the Institute of Socioeconomics of the University of Duisburg-Essen. He was appointed to the German Council of Economic Experts in March 2019. He has published in numerous fields of macroeconomic policy and finance and is engaged in scientific policy consulting for governments, parliaments, trade unions as well as local and international NGOs.

Till van Treeck is Professor for Socioeconomics and Executive Director at the Institute of Socioeconomics of the University of Duisburg-Essen. He is a macroeconomist/political economist with an interdisciplinary orientation. His research is mainly focused on the macroeconomic implications of income distribution, including the fields of sectoral imbalances, external imbalances, personal saving and labor supply decisions, and ecological issues.

Jan Behringer is a Researcher in the Tax and Fiscal Policy Department at the Macroeconomic Policy Institute (IMK) at Hans Boeckler Foundation in Dusseldorf. His research interests include the determinants of current account balances and panel econometrics.

“Economic Dynamics and Economic Leadership in the US/China/EU Triad. Endogenous Institutional Change on a Global Scale”
Markus Taube, University of Duisburg-Essen

Abstracts:
After three decades of a rapid intensification of global economic interaction and the realization of substantial welfare gains for large parts of the world population, today the global economic system finds itself in a state of upheaval. Global value chains are being unwound and decoupling has become an operative priority for corporate CEOs as well as economic policy makers all over the world. It is suggested that these dramatic changes are not the result of a singular exogenous shock but have rather been brought about by endogenous developments that have gradually altered the basic parameters of international economic cooperation. The rapid economic rise of China and its capacity to attain economic strength without (fully) converging to “Western” concepts of market competition and individual freedoms has fundamentally changed the expectation of long-term payoffs to continued cooperation in the USA and EU. While support to China’s “catching-up” development constituted a win-win equilibrium for all major stakeholders until the recent past, today such cooperative behavior appears to be no longer in the interest of the incumbent industry and technology leaders. As such, the structure of the “strategic game” underlying economic relations between China and the USA/EU has changed. The “think piece” deliberates some economic forces that unwind existing equilibria and outlines the game theoretic reasoning behind the current trade wars, decoupling and (de-)globalization.
Markus Taube holds the Chair for East Asian Economic Studies / China as a faculty member of the Mercator School of Management. He is the Director of the IN-EAST School of Advanced Studies at the University of Duisburg-Essen as well as a Co-Director of the Confucius Institute Metropolis Ruhr. Concurrently (2019-2021) he also acts as the Director of the Institute of East Asian Studies (IN-EAST).
The Institute for Development and Peace (INEF)
We combine basic with applied research contributing to academic debates as much as to political discussions. We work on issues at the interface of development and peace. Empirically, we focus on the situation of vulnerable groups in the Global South and structures of violence, poverty and lack of rights. From 2018 to 2021, our academic work focuses on »Ordering and Responsibility in the Shadow of Hierarchies«; with the following research areas: »Transnational Governance and the Responsibility of Private Actors«, »Development Partnerships in Times of SDGs« and »Resistance and Political Ordering«.

Selected INEF publications (published in 2021)

NEW INEF Blog series
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Info-Box

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# Upcoming Käte Hamburger Lectures

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* * *

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Meeting on the second anniversary of the Paris Agreement signing in 2017, the United Nations Climate Change Secretariat founded the Climate Chain Coalition (CCC). Backed by a number of multi-stakeholder groups like the Blockchain for Climate Foundation, the Ottawa-based CCC promotes the ‘blockchainization’ of the Paris Agreement. What kind of ‘cooler’ world do blockchain-based climate governance projects conjure? This paper scrutinizes the shared visions materializing across climate finance experiments, locating them largely within existing individualistic imaginaries rather than more collectivistic alternatives. It finds the imaginaries of ‘cool’ technological experimentation to fall short in materializing broader input and more effective output required to overcome the legitimacy crisis facing market-led climate governance.

Forthcoming (May 2021)
Research Papers by Umberto Mario Sconfienza and Malcolm Campbell-Verduyn and Elena Drieschova
What follows is a list of new publications of the Centre’s current and former fellows and staff as well as authors from our wider academic network. We publish an updated list and invite you to inform us about your recent contributions to the field of global cooperation research. The published list represents a selection of titles that we feel are substantive contributions to the field.


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