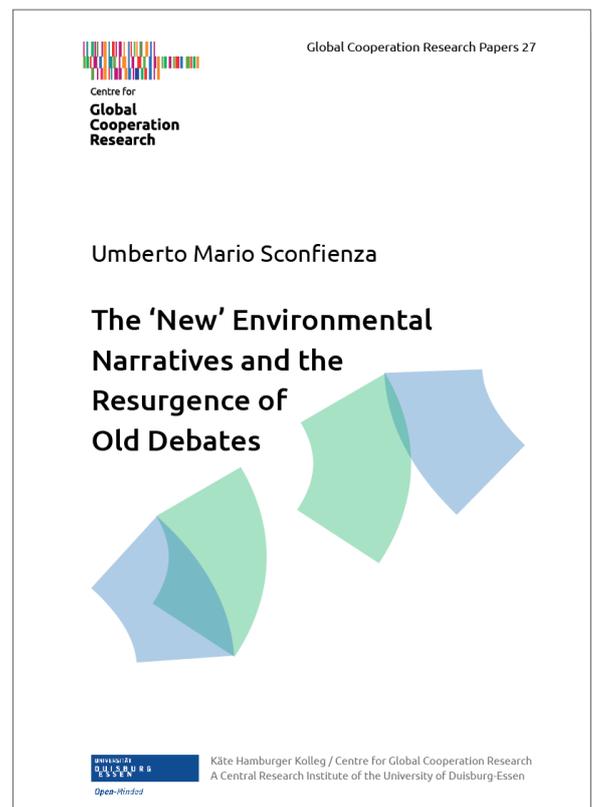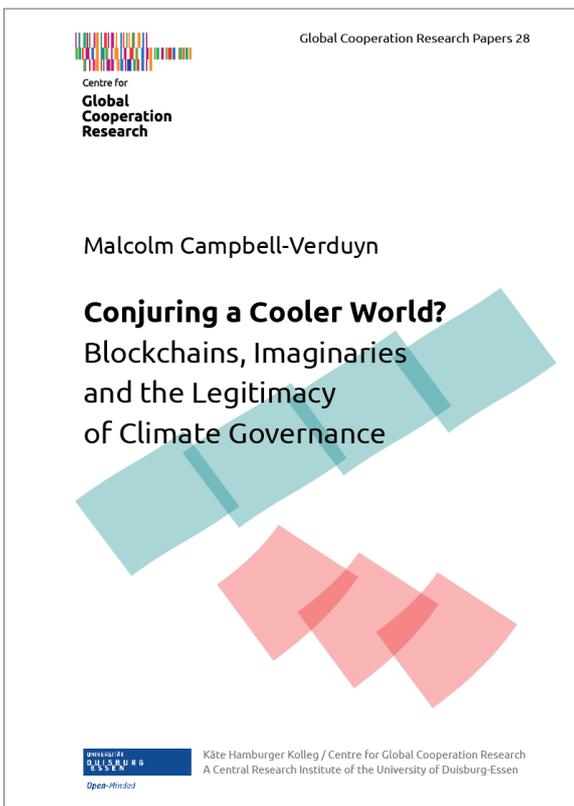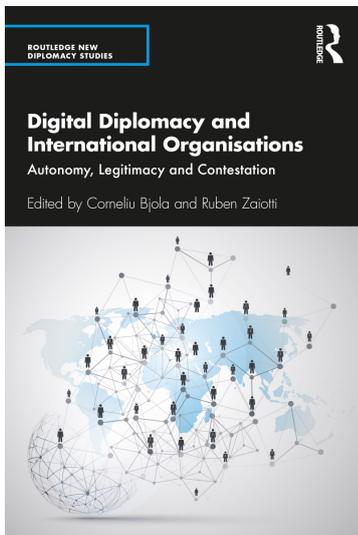# Research Papers Series

Alena Drieschova
The Social Media Revolution and Shifts in the Climate Change Discourse (Global Cooperation Research Papers 29). Duisburg 2021

The paper analyses the role of social media in shifting the climate change discourse in the North Atlantic region. Changes in the media environment have removed traditional gatekeepers of information dissemination and empowered new kinds of actors to reach large audiences. Yet, the techniques and the particular messaging through which these audiences can be reached has had to change as well. Messages spread widely on social media if they get shared, liked, retweeted frequently. They need to provoke a reaction in their audience, that leads the audience to actively respond to the messages, be it only with a mouse click. Within the climate change field two new kinds of actors have the potential to seize upon this new opportunity structure: climate sceptics and pro-climate activist social movements. Through a qualitative social media analysis, this paper compares the specific messaging strategies these two communities have deployed.

Global Cooperation Research Papers 29

Centre for
**Global
Cooperation
Research**

Alena Drieschova

**The Social Media Revolution and Shifts in the Climate Change Discourse**

UNIVERSITÄT DUISBURG ESSEN
Open-Minded

Käte Hamburger Kolleg / Centre for Global Cooperation Research
A Central Research Institute of the University of Duisburg-Essen

Global Cooperation Research Papers 28

Centre for
**Global
Cooperation
Research**

Malcolm Campbell-Verduyn

**Conjuring a Cooler World?**
Blockchains, Imaginaries
and the Legitimacy
of Climate Governance

UNIVERSITÄT DUISBURG ESSEN
Open-Minded

Käte Hamburger Kolleg / Centre for Global Cooperation Research
A Central Research Institute of the University of Duisburg-Essen

Global Cooperation Research Papers 27

Centre for
**Global
Cooperation
Research**

Umberto Mario Sconfienza

**The 'New' Environmental Narratives and the Resurgence of Old Debates**

UNIVERSITÄT DUISBURG ESSEN
Open-Minded

Käte Hamburger Kolleg / Centre for Global Cooperation Research
A Central Research Institute of the University of Duisburg-Essen

# Reviews



**Matthias Ecker-Ehrhardt, 'IO Public Communication Going Digital? Understanding Social Media Adoption and Use in Times of Politicization', in Bjola, Corneliu and Zaiotti, Ruben (eds.), Digital Diplomacy and International Organizations. Autonomy, Legitimacy, and Contestation, London and New York: Routledge 2021, 21–51.**

Growing interest in the use of digital media by International Organizations (IOs) reflects recent development in those organizations: centralized public communication and organizations' mandates calling for direct implementation of policies on the ground, as a growing number of private users and groups are engaging virtually with IOs. Social media discourse provides IOs with new output legitimation strategies. Those platforms directly or indirectly enable feedback from public sentiment. Platforms are also used to engage with stakeholders, thus circumventing official channels, especially when states are involved, by signalling their intentions, and by coordinating actions during campaigns, but also in crisis management.

The recently published volume on 'Digital Diplomacy and International Organizations', edited by Bjola and Zaiotti directly speaks to these issues. In their introduction the editors point towards a research bias in digital diplomacy studies, a field that has focused predominantly on the role social media has had in shaping national images and brands. They identify a 'state-centrism of research on digital diplomacy'. International Relations-inspired liter-

ature on digital diplomacy started to develop an interest in IOs, as did organizational communication literature, wherein IOs can be conceived as semi-autonomous entities created to address specific global problems, operating in a setting (the international system) characterized by a lack of central authority.

Matthias Ecker-Ehrhardt takes the newly developed role of IOs in international public discourse as a starting point for his contribution to the volume: 'IO Public Communication Going Digital? Understanding Social Media Adoption and Use in Times of Politicization'. 'Politicization' is a result of external contestation, organizational mandates, and a new degree of organisational control over public communication. The author adds that 'the opening up of IOs towards civil society has fostered wide-reaching expectations regarding citizens' direct participation in global governance'.

Ecker-Ehrhardt's chapter is based on a large-N comparative analysis of social media presences on Facebook and Twitter. The sample of his analysis consists of 49 IOs' social media activities between 2008 and 2018, subdivided into 290 constitutive units 'to understand variation in their use of social media'. This resulted in 385 Facebook pages and 861 Twitter accounts. Rising levels of public awareness and contestation drives IOs to engage in strategic communication in order to manage legitimacy. In a global sphere of advocacy organizations, IOs find themselves in the new role of what Jens Steffek has called a 'transmission belt' for societal demands. Ecker-Ehrhardt looks at protest activities and scandals and the data show a positive correlation between protest activities (but not scandals) with the setup of social media channels in the following year. With regard to internal conditions of social media activities, more ambitious mandates positively correlate with social media activities. The expected number of social media presences increased almost fivefold, if IO bodies are tasked with the local implementation of programmes. A general impression of communications' efficiency also proved valuable in this field. Central communication departments with established codified public communication correlate strongly with an intense use of social media channels. The author, however, did not find support for the idea that smaller organizations would make up ground by using social media: 'According to this research, social media was most easily accommodated by the stronger and more professional actors, which falsify earlier hopes that social media may compensate for a lack of resources and contribute for bringing about a level playing field in global governance.' (44)

This insightful analysis, in a highly interesting volume on the general topic of 'Digital Diplomacy and International Organizations' succeeds in establishing a thoughtful relationship between nine hypotheses derived from recent literature on the subject, and quantitative findings

supporting those to a different degree. Ecker-Ehrhardt ends his contribution with a plea for process-tracing internal workflows, going beyond single case studies: 'Complementary evidence of comparative studies would help to come up with sound general conclusions about the role of digital communication in the current (and future) trajectories of global governance.' (45)



**Koinova, Maria (2021). Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Contested States. Oxford: Oxford University Press.**

Maria Koinova's recently published monograph *Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Contested States* develops a novel understanding of diaspora entrepreneurs based on their linkages to de facto states and various global contexts.

Koinova is interested in conflict-generated diasporas and how the affected people mobilize towards their countries of origin during experiences of contested sovereignty. Socio-spatial linkages, as they emerge in the process, can be understood as resulting from the pursuit of homeland-oriented goals through channels of interest. Koinova's empirical results come after years of research and close contact with diaspora entrepreneurs in the UK, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, and France. She distinguishes four types of entrepreneurs: The Broker (strong linkages: host-land, original homeland, global locations), the Local (strong linkage: host-land, weaker: original homeland, global locations), the Distant (strong linkage: original homeland, weaker: host-land, global locations), the Reserved (weaker linkages: host-land, original homeland, global locations).

In 2012–2017, she conducted more than 300 interviews in the UK, Sweden, Germany, France, the Netherlands,

Armenia, Belgium, Kosovo, and Switzerland (ERC Project 'Diasporas and Contested Sovereignty'). Her study looks closely into conflict-generated diasporas linked to the *de facto* states (original homelands of) Kosovo, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Palestine at different stages of recognition. In passing, this work also integrates the study of fragile statehood with that of migrants' incorporation and transnationalism.

The approach aims at a closer look into the interweaving of political environment and individual motivation under the condition of trans-locality. 'While the configurations of socio-spatial linkages are endogenous to the diaspora entrepreneurs, the PRE [politically relevant environment] factors are exogenous to them.' Koinova sees her typological theory as advancing both structural and dynamic elements.

Reviewing the literature, she points towards the need to overcome a dichotomous view of diasporas as either 'peace-makers' or 'peace-wreckers' by highlighting the hitherto neglected affiliations of actors to trans-national, global contexts.

Recent criticism has made it apparent that diasporas 'mobilize not simply in host-lands, but online, and in cities, refugee camps, supranational organizations, sites of global visibility, and spaces contiguous to or distant from the homeland'. But even in this new scholarly trend, 'a deep immersion in the individual dimension of diaspora entrepreneurs is missing' (10). Koinova's excellent study digs deeply in these fabrics. Her approach, theorizing diaspora individual agency from a socio-spatial perspective by prioritizing linkages to global contexts over personal characteristics, yields a surprising result: It is this individual dimension that finally unveils global inclinations.

Maria Koinova has written a very insightful book that provides a novel theorizing of agency in diasporas. By emphasizing linkages to global context over personal characteristics, the volume offers an innovative socio-spatial perspective that will be of interest to many readers in the field of global migration governance and diaspora studies.

*Reviews: Martin Wolf*

# Selected Publications

Received since May 2021

Abrahamsen, Rita and Bareebe, Gerald (2021). 'Uganda's Fraudulent Election', *Journal of Democracy*, 32(2): 90–104.

Anderl, Felix, Bales, Marius, Bliss, Frank, Brunke, Laura Isabella, Debiel, Tobias, Mutschler, Max, Scheper, Christian, Sondermann, Elena, Ulbert, Cornelia and Vüllers, Johannes (2021). 'Covid-19 und der Globale Süden: Nachhaltiger Frieden', in Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), Leibniz-Institut Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (HSFK), Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH) and Institut für Entwicklung und Frieden (INEF) (eds), *Friedensgutachten 2021: Europa kann mehr!*, Friedensgutachten, Bielefeld: Transcript, 75–93. [Open Access] https://www.transcript-verlag.de/media/pdf/e9/33/ea/oa9783839457863.pdf.

Behagel, Jelle Hendrik and Mert, Ayşem (2021). 'The Political Nature of Fantasy and Political Fantasies of Nature', *Journal of Language and Politics*, 20(1): 79–94.

Biswas, Bidisha (2021). 'Confessions of a Reluctant Hindu', *Washington Post,* 09.06.21, available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/confessions-of-a-reluctant-hindu/2021/06/09/df266408-c92c-11eb-8708-64991f2acf28_story.html.

Campbell-Verduyn, Malcolm (2021). *Conjuring a Cooler World? Blockchains, Imaginaries and the Legitimacy of Climate Governance,* Global Cooperation Research Papers, No. 28, Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research (KHK/GCR21). [Open Access] https://www.gcr21.org/de/publikationen/gcr/research-papers/conjuring-a-cooler-world-blockchains-imaginaries-and-the-legitimacy-of-climate-governance.

Campbell-Verduyn, Malcolm and Hütten, Moritz (2021). 'The Formal, Financial and Fraught Route to Global Digital Identity Governance', *Frontiers in Blockchain*, 4: 1–12. [Open Access] https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fbloc.2021.627641/full.

Campbell-Verduyn, Malcolm, Hütten, Moritz and Rodima-Taylor, Daivi (2021). 'Technology, Small States and the Legitimacy of Digital Development: Combatting De-risking Through Blockchain-based Re-risking?', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 24: 455–482.

Drieschova, Alena and Adler, Emanuel (2021). 'The Epistemological Challenge of Truth-Subversion to the Liberal International Order', *International Organization*, 75(2): 359–386. [Open Access] https://www.doi.org/10.1017/S0020818320000533.

Ecker-Ehrhardt, Matthias (2021). 'IO Public Communication Going Digital? Understanding Social Media Adoption and Use in Times of Politicization', in Corneliu Bjola and Ruben Zaiotti (eds), *Digital Diplomacy and International Organisations: Autonomy, Legitimacy and Contestation,* Abingdon, Oxon/New York, NY: Routledge, 21–50.

Fakhoury, Tamirace (2021). 'Refugee Return and Fragmented Governance in the Host State: Displaced Syrians in the Face of Lebanon's Divided Politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 42(1): 162–180. [Open Access] https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436597.2020.1762485.

Freistein, Katja and Fehl, Caroline (2021). '(Un)making Global Inequalities: International Institutions in a Stratified International Society', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 24(2): 251–278.

Freistein, Katja, Gadinger, Frank and Unrau, Christine (2021). 'Häuser, Mauern und Grenzen: Rechtspopulistische Globalisierungserzählungen zwischen Bedrohungsszenario und Sicherheitsversprechen', *ZIB*, 28(1): 101–126 [Open Access] https://www.nomos-elibrary.de/10.5771/0946-7165-2021-1-101/haeuser-mauern-und-grenzen-rechtspopulistische-globalisierungserzaehlungen-zwischen-bedrohungsszenario-und-sicherheitsversprechen-jahrgang-28-2021-heft-1?page=1.

Jongen, Hortense and Scholte, Jan Aart (2021). 'Legitimacy in Multistakeholder Global Governance at ICANN', *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 27(2): 298–324. [Open Access] https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-02702004.
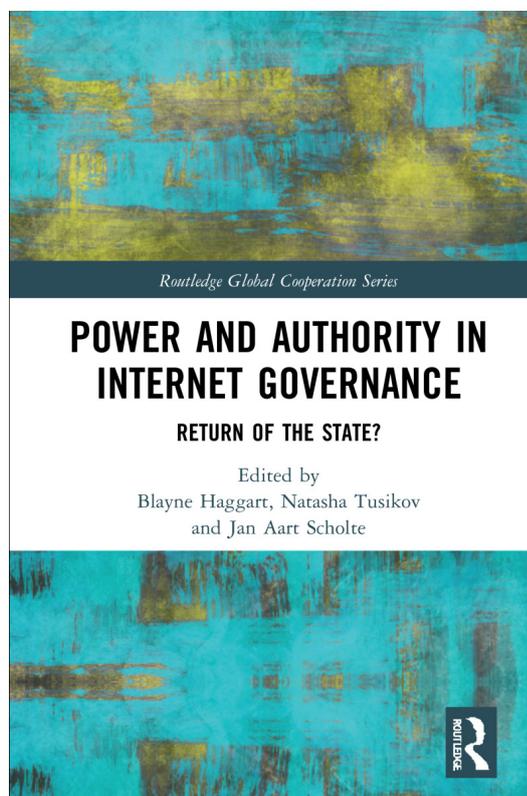
Kluczewska, Karolina (2021). 'Donor-Funded Women's Empowerment in Tajikistan: Trajectories of Women's NGOs and Changing Attitudes to the International Agenda', *Studies in Comparative International Development* (online first). [Open Access] https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-021-09343-8.

Kluczewska, Karolina and Foroughi, Payam (2021). 'The Soft Power of Neoliberal Civil Society: The Case of Post-Communist Tajikistan', in Kirill Nourzhanov and Sebastien Peyrouse (eds), *Soft Power Influence in Central Asia: The Politics of Influence and Seduction,* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 249–270.

Kluczewska, Karolina and Korneev, Oleg (2021). 'Engaging with Labour Migrants: Emigration Policy in Tajikistan', *Asian Studies Review* (online first). [Open Access] https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2021.1931809.

Kluczewska, Karolina and Kreikemeyer, Anna (2021). *Advancing Peacebuilding from the Ground Up,* Policy Brief, 4/21, Hamburg: University of Hamburg: Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy. https://ifsh.de/publikationen/policy-brief/policy-brief-0421.

Koinova, Maria (2021). *Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Contested States*, Oxford/New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Marchand, Marianne H. (2021). 'The *Caravanas de Migrantes* Making Their Way North: Problematising the Biopolitics of Mobilities in Mexico', *Third World Quarterly*, 42(1): 141–161. [Open Access] https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436597.2020.1824579.

Mert, Ayşem, Chan, Sander, Boran, Idil, van Asselt, Harro, Ellinger, Paula, Garcia, Miriam, Hale, Thomas, Hermwille, Lukas, Mbeva, Kennedy Liti, Roger, Charles B., Weinfurter, Amy, Widerberg, Oscar, Bynoe, Paulette, Chengo, Victoria, Cherkaoui, Ayman, Edwards, Todd, Gütschow, Malin, Hsu, Angel, Hultman, Nathan, Levai, David, Mihnar, Saffran, Posa, Sara, Roelfsema, Mark, Rudyk, Bryce, Scobie, Michelle and Shrivastava, Manish Kumar (2021). 'Climate Ambition and Sustainable Development for a New Decade: A Catalytic Framework', *Global Policy*, 12(3): 245–259. [Open Access] https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12932.

Şahin Mencütek, Zeynep and Nashwan, Ayat J. (2021). 'Perceptions About the Labour Market Integration of Refugees: Evidences from Syrian Refugees in Jordan', *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 22: 615–633. [Open Access] https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-020-00756-3.

Scheel, Stephan (2021). 'The Politics of (Non)Knowledge in the (Un)Making of Migration', *Journal for Migration Research*, 1(2), 39–71. [Open Access] https://doi.org/10.48439/zmf.v1i2.113.

Scholte, Jan Aart, Verhaegen, Soetkin and Tallberg, Jonas (2021). 'Elite Attitudes and the Future of Global Governance', *International Affairs*, 97(3): 861–886. [Open Access] https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab034.

Scholte, Jan Aart, Verhaegen, Soetkin and Tallberg, Jonas (2021). 'Explaining Elite Perceptions of Legitimacy in Global Governance', *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(2): 622–650. [Open Access] https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1354066121994320.

Sconfienza, Umberto Mario (2021). *The 'New' Environmental Narratives and the Resurgence of Old Debates,* Global Cooperation Research Papers, No. 27, Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research (KHK/GCR21). [Open Access] https://www.gcr21.org/de/publikationen/gcr/research-papers/the-new-environmental-narratives-and-the-resurgence-of-old-debates.

Smith Ochoa, Christopher, Gadinger, Frank and Yildiz, Taylan (2021). 'Surveillance Under Dispute: Conceptualising Narrative Legitimation Politics', *European Journal of International Security*, 6(2): 210–232. [Open Access] https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2020.23.

Tedeschini, Michele (2021). 'Historical Base and Legal Superstructure: Reading Contingency and Necessity in the Tadić Challenge', in Ingo Venzke and Kevin Jon Heller (eds), *Contingency in International Law: On the Possibility of Different Legal Histories,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 129–144.

Unrau, Christine (2021). 'Alles Heuchler? Der Heucheleivorwurf in der Migrationsdebatte zwischen Erfahrung und Erzählung', in Claudius Mandel and Philipp Thimm (eds), *Experience: Implikationen für Mensch, Gesellschaft und Staat: Festschrift für Wolfgang Leidhold,* Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann.

open access publication

# Routledge Global Cooperation Series

Series Editors: Tobias Debiel, Dirk Messner, Sigrid Quack, Jan Aart Scholte

*https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Global-Cooperation-Series/book-series/RGC*

The Routledge Global Cooperation series develops innovative approaches to one of the most pressing questions of our time – how to achieve cooperation in a culturally diverse and politically contested global world?

Many key contemporary problems such as climate change and forced migration require intensified cooperation on a global scale. Accelerated globalisation processes have led to an ever-growing interconnectedness of markets, states, societies and individuals. Many of today's problems cannot be solved by nation states alone and require intensified cooperation at the local, national, regional and global level to tackle current and looming global crises.

*Latest Title*

Power and Authority in
Internet Governance
Return of the State?
Edited By Blayne Haggart, Natasha Tusikov, Jan Aart Scholte
280 Pages | 8 B/W Illustrations
Hb: 9780367442033
~~£120.00~~ £96.00

## Recent series publications

Hegemony and World Order
Reimagining Power in Global
Politics
Edited By Piotr Dutkiewicz,
Tom Casier, Jan Aart Scholte
Pb: 9780367457242
276 Pages | 3 B/W Ill.
£34.99 £27.99

The Justification of
Responsibility in the UN
Security Council. Practices
of Normative Ordering in
International Relations
By Holger Niemann
Pb: 9780367504809
258 Pages 11 B/W Ill.
~~£36.99~~ £29.55

Rethinking Governance
in Europe and Northeast
Asia: Multilateralism and
Nationalism in International Society
By Uwe Wissenbach
Hb: 9780367321666
236 Pages 1 B/W Ill.
£ 96.00 (eBook £ 29.59)

China's New Role in
African Politics: From
Non-Intervention towards Stabilization?
Edited By Christof Hartmann, Nele Noesselt
Hb: 9781138392076
256 Pages
£ 96.00 (eBook £ 29.59)

Trust in International
Relations: Rationalist, Constructivist, and Psychological Approaches
Edited By Hiski Haukkala,
Carina van de Wetering,
Johanna Vuorelma
Hb: 9780367820985
188 Pages
£ 100.00 (Pb £ 29.59)

Centre for
**Global
Cooperation
Research**

*Series Editorial Management at the Centre*
Tel: +49 (0)203 379 5241
Patricia Rinck
E-Mail: rinck@gcr21.uni-due.de

Learn more about the Centre's new publication formats as well as all publications by our staff and visiting fellows