ALEJANDRA DEL PILAR ORTIZ-AYALA

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ortiz-ayala@uni-erfurt.de

EDUCATION

University of Otago

National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Ph.D. in August, 2021 Dissertation:

War mentality and post-peace accord violence: A field experiment of political-ideological bias among Colombian soldiers.

Supervisors: Dr. Richard Jackson (Primary), Dr. Robin Turner (Co-supervisor), Dr. Jonathan Hall (External Adviser-Uppsala University)

Examiners: Dr. Beth Greener (Massey University, NZ), Dr. Roddy Brett (University of Bristol, UK), and Dr. Charles Butcher (NTNU, Norway).

Coursework (audited): Psychology of Peace and Conflict and Peace Education.

University of Los Andes

M.A. in Political Science 2012-2013, Mayor in Comparative Politics, Minor in Political Theory B.A. in Political Science 2008-2012, Mayor in Comparative Politics, Minor in Political Theory

DATA ANALYTICS SKILLS

Software & Tools LaTeX, Excel, STATA, JAMOVI, NVivo, Qualtrics

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Articles

- · Ortiz-Ayala, Alejandra, Anderson Vivienne Burgin, Anna. Ethical practice in research with refugeebackground youth: a dialogic reflection using Mohja Kahf's The Aunty Poem (Submitted to International Journal of Qualitative Methodology).
- Anderson Vivienne, Ortiz-Ayala Alejandra Mostolizadeh Sayedali(2023) Schools and teachers as brokers of belonging for refugee-background young people, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, DOI: 10.1080/13603116.2023.2210591.
- Ugarriza, J. E., Trujillo, Ortiz-Ayala, A., Quishpe, R. C., and Rodríguez-Calvache, M. An Elephant in the Room: Ideology as a Barrier for Post-Conflict Reconciliation.Submitted on the 18th of January 2023. (Under review) *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*.
- Ugarriza, J. E., Trujillo, N., Hurtado, E., Ortiz-Ayala, A., Rodríguez-Calvache, M., and Quishpe, R. C. Imprints of War: An Analysis of Implicit Prejudice Among Victims, Ex-Combatants, and Communities in Colombia. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology.*. Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000591. 2022
- · Ortiz Ayala. Alejandra. They see us like the enemy: Soldier´s narratives of forced eradication of illegal crops in Colombia. *Conflict, Security and Development.* DOI: 10.1080/14678802.2021.1986305. 2021
- · Baez S, Trujillo N, Hurtado E, Ortiz Ayala A, Rodríguez Calvache M, Quishpe RC, Ibañez A. The dynamics of implicit intergroup biases of victims and ex- combatants in post-conflict scenarios. *Journal of Interpresonal Violence*. December 2020. doi:10.1177/0886260520983258. 2020.
- Benitez, P., Marquez, K., Quintero, M. Ortiz, A.: "Benefits and guarantees of Public Force Members within Transitional Justice on compared perspective: Lessons for Colombian case", *Panorama*, 9(16) 2015. https://doi.org/10.15765/pnrm.v9i16.630. tiz. A and Orozco. M. "Political involvement, political participation and typology of media and new media consumption" Signo y pensamiento Vol. 34, Núm. 66 doi: 10.11144 /Javeriana.syp34-66. Ippt. 2015.

March 2018 - August, 2021

2008-2013

- Arbelaez, M. M. O., and Ortiz-Ayala, A. "Deliberation: political activity on internet and social networks in Colombia/Deliberación: actividad política en internet y redes sociales en Colombia". *Panorama*, 8(15), 91. 2014. https://doi.org/10.15765/pnrm.v8i15.552
- Ortiz Ayala. Alejandra and García Sánchez, Miguel. "Because I love you, I support you. Style of Government and presidential approval in Latin America," *Political Science Review*, (Santiago-Chile), Vol.34, No. 2 2014. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-090X2014000200002

Work in progress

- · Ortiz-Ayala, Alejandra, Pantoja, Sebastián, and Steele, Abbey. Wartime migration and trust in neighbors and the state in rural Colombia. (Work in progress). Target journal: *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development.*
- · Ortiz-Ayala, Alejandra. Total Peace without Security Sector Reform: Transformation resistance through Competitive Victimhood among Colombian soldiers. (Work in progress). Target journal: *Memory Studies*
- · Ortiz-Ayala, Alejandra and Tiscornia, Lucia, Socialization in the Military and the Logic of Internal Enemies: Implications for Post Conflict Dynamics in Colombia.((Work in progress). Target journal: International Journal of Conflict Management
- · Ortiz-Ayala, Alejandra and Hall, Jonathan, Willingness to protect civilians post-peace accord: A Survey Experiment in a Field Setting Among Colombian Soldiers. (Work in progress). Target journal: *Social Psychological and Personality Science*.

Invited Publications, Books, and Book Chapters

- Anderson, V; Ortiz Ayala, A; Mostolizadeh, S (2023) Refugee-background students in southern New Zealand: Educational navigation and necessary self-sufficiency, in Pinson, H; Bunar, N and Devine, D. (eds) Handbook on Migration and Education – International perspectives, Edward Elgar
- Ortiz-Ayala, Alejandra. From Liberal Peace to Positive Peace: Security Sector Reform in Deeply Divided Societies. In: Standish K., Devere H., Suazo A., Rafferty R. (eds) The Palgrave Handbook of Positive Peace. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore. 2021.
- Ortiz-Ayala, Alejandra, Hurtatis, Hector Iván, Zuluaga Camila, Chapter 7: Veterans speak: Approximations and inputs of a public policy for Colombian Veterans. In Pabon Ayala, Natalia, Ed. Memory and Victims of the Military Forces, Universidad del Rosario, Bogotá-Colombia. 2018

Reports, and Policy papers

- Ortiz Ayala, A. The Military and the Peace-Process in Colombia. WeltTrends: Institut f
 ür Internationale Politik, IIP (Paper 17/2019). 2019.
- \cdot Wills, Maria Emma, Ortiz Ayala, Alejandra, Machado, Juliana. Unpublished conversations between the Security Sector and the NCHM National Centre for Historical Memory (NCHM). 2018.
- Rodriguez Raga, Juan Carlos, Gabriel Camargo, Santiago de Zubiria, Alejandra Ortiz Natalia Garbiras: "Perceptions and attitudes regarding the conflict and post-conflict," In Rodriguez Raga, J. C. Mitchell A. Seligson, Political culture of the democracy in Colombia and in the Americas, 2012: Towards equal opportunities. Bogota: Vanderbilt University. 2013.

Reviews

- 2022, Ortiz-Ayala, Alejandra. The Madrigals Who Live on the Other Side of the Pacific: A review of Encanto. Howard, Bryon; Bush, Jared (Director); Castro Smith, Charise (co-director), Journal of Refugee Studies, feac029, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feac029
- Ortiz-Ayala, Alejandra. Book review of 'how ISIS fights: military tactics in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Egypt': by Omar Ashour, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2021, 256 pp. (UK) (Paperback), ISBN 9781474438223. In (pp. 1-2), 2021.

Social Media and Public Engagement

 \cdot War mentalities: disarming state soldiers' hearts and minds in Post-Agreement Colombia. Civil War Paths Blog January, 2023

- La transformación de la Policía Nacional y de la seguridad en Colombia with Viviana García Pinzón 10 Julio 2022. Razón Pública (Colombian nonprofit digital magazine)
- · Protests and violence: there is no room for dialogue with Viviana García Pinzón, Razón Pública y El Espectador 7 Julio 2021.
- Rethinking the security sector, beyond institutional reforms with Viviana García Pinzón Razón Pública, 24 May 2021.
- · Center for Latin American Studies, University of California, Berkeley (CLAS), (2021) "Moral Licensing and Impunity: Reflections on Colombian Security Sector Narratives" 27 April 2021.
- \cdot El Espectador "We came by force to eradicate, we won the peasants as an enemy because he is going to see him us as an enemy, he is not going to say that it was the State, he is going to say that it was the Army" 18 Nov 2020.
- El Espectador The Good ones and the bad ones: Is the security sector more than the sum of its bad apples? with Adriana Rudling, 20 Sept 2020.
- Post-Pandemic University, Faculty of Education at the University of Cambridge "A possible toilet paper effect in academic hiring" with Kalika Kastein https://postpandemicuniversity.net/2021/05/03/a-possible-toilet-paper- effect-in-academic-hiring/3 May 2021.

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS AND HONORS

EU Program European Solidarity Corps: Solidarity Projects, Project No.: 2023-1-DE04-ESC30-SOL-000150225. The application has obtained 83 points out of a possible 100. The maximum amount of funding is 9,708.00 euros (1/06/2023-31/05/2024). Name of the project: Seminar - "Everyday and practical peace-building" actions led by international students of the University of Erfurt.

Emerging Humanitarian Leaders Workshop, Winner of IHL Competition-New Zealand RedCross 2019.

Security Sector Reform in Sandö, Sweden. Scholarship granted by the Folke Bernadotte Academy, FBA. 2018

Rei Foundation/NCPACS Doctoral Scholarship for study at the University of Otago beginning in 2018, was awarded to cover full tuition fees plus provide a stipend of 25,000 NZD per year for 36 months of study. It is expected that three years is the minimum time needed to complete this course of study as a full-time student. 2018

Summer Seminar on Nationalism, Religion and Violence -2016. Prague. Scholarship granted by the Peace Research Institute Oslo PRIO.

INTERSHIPS OR ACADEMICS EXCHANGES

Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, March, 2023

Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Nov, 2018

Political Science Department, Los Andes University, Feb–June 2019

School of War, Colombian Army. Feb-June 2019

LECTURER POST-GRADUATE LEVEL

Willy Brandt School of Public Policy, University of Erfurt, Germany Winter 2022-2023

- $\cdot\,$ Introduction to Conflict Studies and Management
- · Project Group: Security Sector Reform and Transitional Justice with CAPAZ.
- \cdot Research Lens on Public Policy Intervention and Evaluation

Summer 2023

School of Political Science and International Relations, Rosario University, Bogotá-Colombia2016

 \cdot Research Methods

Law School, Rosario University, Bogotá-Colombia, Rosario University, Bogotá-Colombia2016

- $\cdot\,$ Civil Wars and Peace building in Colombia and the World
- $\cdot\,$ Research Methods

LECTURER UNDERGRADUATE LEVEL

Grancolombiano Polytechnic, Rosario University Bogotá-Colombia	2014
Introduction to Political Science	
· Comparative Politics	
· Quantitative Research Methods	
Externado University, Bogotá-Colombia	2013
\cdot Research Methods	
Supervision of Master Thesis	Summer 2023
· Identity, Agency and Protest Coalitions: Examining the role of North Indian Women in the Success of the 2021 Farmers' Protests.	
\cdot Afghan Refugee Youth's Sense of Belonging in Schools in Thuringia, Germany	
· Diasporic Palestinian Activism in the Era of social media.	
Femicide of Letin migrant memory in Spain and Company	

 $\cdot\,$ Femicide of Latin migrant women in Spain and Germany

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Research Affiliate, December 2023- Present

- ERC Project: A Multi-Theory Multi-Method Approach for Preventing and Reducing Radicalization leading to Violence. Grant agreement ID: 101018172 DOI 10.3030/101018172. PI: Ángel Gómez
- · Fieldwork coordination, data collection and survey design for the Colombian Police.

Assistant Research Fellow, June 2021-September 2022

- Project Refugee-background students in Aotearoa: Supporting successful secondary to tertiary education transitions lead by Associate Professor Vivienne Anderson, College of Education, University of Otago.
- Scope: To assist with administration, data collection, analysis and reporting for the project 'Refugeebackground students in Aotearoa: Supporting successful secondary to tertiary transitions, and to act as a mentor for participating students. The data collection implies conducting focus groups, in-depth interviews, and field notes from embedded ethnography. NVivo is used in the data analyses.

Research Affiliate, March 2020- Present

- · Dr. A.A. Abbey Steele. Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Program Group: Political Economy and Transnational Governance (PETGOV)
- \cdot Scope: Statistical analysis of data relating to resettlement, internal displacement and state-building in Colombia.

Project Manager, August-December-2021

 "Inequality and Governance in Unstable Democracies: The Mediating Role of Trust", lead by Juana Garcia, Natalia Garbiras, Leopoldo Ferguson and Michael Weintraub. Los Andes University Bogota-Colombia

- Scope: Support the execution of the project to accompany the reincorporation process of former members of the FARC-EP. This project seeks to contribute to achieve a successful reincorporation of the former members of the Farc-EP, creating a monitoring system that allows the National Government and the National Reincorporation Council in its Farc component to adjust the policies and programs in a timely manner in order to make them effective. For this, a significant sample of the population in the process of reincorporation will be surveyed and monitored over time.
- Support for the coordination and implementation of a first remote survey (already designed) between the parties and with the survey firm. The parties included leaders of the political party of ex-FARC and governmental organizations on charge of the reincorporation of the rebels. A. Sample design. B. Coordinate and supervise field work.
- $\cdot\,$ Relationship between all ied institutions of the project.
- \cdot Manage the relationship with the Specialized Information Systems, polling firm, selected to implement the different phases of the project.

Research Assistant, June-July 2021.

- · Literature Review: Genocide and Responsibility to Protect lead by Dr Katerina Standish, National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago.
- · Scope: 50hr writing, concise academic literature reviews, in essay format, including full citation for Genocide (overview, critique of genocide as an intervention construct, and the 'failure' of genocide theory to stop genocide) and Responsibility to Protect R2P (need, aims, success and failures of R2P mandate).

Research Assistant, First Semester 2018.

• Second Edition "Terrorism a Critical Introduction" by Professor, Richard Jackson Director, The National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago.

Research Assistant, First Semester 2018.

 Nobel Peace Prize in Colombia. Kevin Clements Director, Toda Peace Institute. Samon Eleven Bldg., 5th Floor, 3-1 Samoncho, Shinjukuku, Tokyo 160-0017, Japan.

Research Assistant, February -March 2018.

· Program on Security Institutions and Violent Instability (PSIVI). It is funded through the Minerva Research Initiative of the United States Department of Defense. University of California, Berkeley.n.

External Consultant, October-December 2017

· Project-Mapping Security Sector Reform Knowledge in Colombia. Folke Bernadotte Academy.

Research Assistant, February 2017-December 2017

- The Impact of Armed Conflict on the Military Mentality: A Proposal for Reconciliation and Security Sector Reform in the Post-Conflict Period Research Group in Human Rights, Law School, El Rosario University. Bogotá- 6 Colombia.
- Scope: Project Design (Grand Application), Coordination of field work, Designing surveys, experiments and semi-structured interviews, Data Collection (qualitative and quantitative), Systematization of qualitative and quantitative field research, Drafting reports publications related to the project's qualitative and quantitative analysis

Research Consultant, February 2017-December 2017

· 'Dialogue of plural memories for the peace building', leaded by the National Center for Historical Memory in Colombia, supported by the Swiss Embassy in Colombia. Bogotá-Colombia.

Research Assistant, June 2015 – May 2017

• Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Experimental Models of Political and Social Reintegration of Adults with Combat Experience in the Framework of the Armed Conflict in Colombia. Research Group in Human Rights, Law School, El Rosario University, Bogotá-Colombia.

Research Consultant, June-August 2016.

· 'Memorial Scenarios: contributions from different stakeholders and the territories for a peacebuilding', leaded by the National Center for Historical Memory in Colombia, supported by the Swiss Embassy in Colombia.

Research Consultant, February-Abril 2016.

• Conversations about memory with the Military Forces' directed by the United States Agency for International Development USAID, International Organization for Migration (IOM) and The National Center for Historical Memory in Colombia.

Research Consultant, January-December, 2014.

· Institute for Research on Conflict and Military Historical Memory, "School of War" Military Academy in Colombia.

Research Assistant, January 2011 – July, 2013.

· Democracy Observatory, part of the Department of Political Science in Los Andes University. Bogotá-Colombia.

FURTHER EDUCATION (WORKSHOPS SEMINARS, AND SHORT COURSES

Accepted as one of 16 mentees for the now 6th cohort 2023/2024 of Rowena Morse Mentoring Programme (RMMP).

Accepted to the Workshop "Political Ideologies and Political Identities in Post-Atrocity Transition" European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), (Canceled due to COVID-19-I attended online meetings) 14-17 August 2020.

Accepted as visiting doctoral researcher at the GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies in Hamburg (Canceled due to the COVID19) 20 April – 20 July 2020.

Emerging Humanitarian Leaders Workshop, Winner of IHL Competition- New Zealand RedCross. August 2019.

Security Sector Reform, in Sandö, Sweden Scholarship granted by the Folke Bernadotte Academy, FBA. March 2018.

Summer Seminar on Nationalism, Religion and Violence, Prague. Scholarship granted by the Peace Research Institute Oslo PRIO. 20th June-1 July 2016.

Academic Course: "Field Work: Qualitative Research Methods" Universidad del Rosario, 2016.

Academic Course: "Fundamentals for Python Programming" National Faculty of Public Health. Universidad de Antioquia. September 22-24 2015.

Statistical Programs: Multilevel Analysis, Course: Universidad del Rosario 2015.

How to build History Memory, Course: National Center of Historical Memory. 2014.

ACADEMIC SERVICE

Reviewed for the following Academic Journals:

- $\cdot\,$ Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy
- \cdot Journal of Peace Research

- \cdot International Interactions
- \cdot Peace Education
- \cdot Revista Desafíos (Colombia)

INVITED SPEAKER

2022

- Effective and Innovative Policymaking in Contested Contexts (EIPCC) Retreat 2022: How to conference. Strategic Networking and Proposals for funding.
- Erfurt Transatlantic Dialogue. The War in Ukraine, NATO and the Future of European Security Policy. Organized by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the U.S. Consulate General in Leipzig, and the Willy Brandt School
- Improving teaching to improve refugee education (ITIRE) International Webinar: Inclusion of Refugee Children in School and Daycare - Challenges and Opportunities. Schools and teachers as resettlement brokers for refugee- background young people. Anderson, V., Ortiz-Ayala, A., University of Otago (New Zealand) Friday, 10th June, 13-16 (CET time)
- Education, displacement, and the enduring double standard: Resisting the construction of 'worthy' and 'unworthy' refugees. From internal displacement to refugee status: The persistence of structural violence against Colombian forced migrants in New Zealand. Ortiz-Ayala, A. and Anderson, V., University of Otago (New Zealand). International Webinar. University of Vienna – July 19 – 2:45-6.00 CEST
- \cdot Schools and teachers as resettlement brokers for refugee background young people. Organized by Aotearoa Migration Research Network. Seminar Series. 10th May.
- \cdot Military Forces for a country in reconciliation. Organized by Seguridad Humana. 5th May

2021

• Militarization and Police Brutality in Latin America: Why It Happens and How to Prevent it. Organized by Kellogg Institute from University of Notre Dame. May.

2020

From Armed to Non-Armed Politics: A series of Virtual Seminars Initiating a Research-Policy Dialogue on the Political Dynamics of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR), Co-hosts: Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs, Linnéa Gelot, Mélida Jimenez (Folke Bernadotte Academy-FBA). Invited by FBA and Politics After War Network (PAW). December.

CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS (SELECTED)

2023

- · Conflict Research Society (CRS). 11-13 September 2023. Kin'g College London. Paper: Total Peace without Security Sector Reform: Transformation resistance through Competitive Victimhood among Colombian soldiers. Panel 'Colombia's Plan for Total Peace A Model for other Hybrid Conflicts?'.
- American Educational Research Association Conference (AERA) 2023 April 13-16. Paper: The persistence of structural violence in refugee resettlement: Afro-Colombian refugee-background students in New Zealand. For the panel: Barrier-Free Access in a (Super)Diverse World: Lessons for Policy and Practice from Refugee-Background Students and Teachers of Diverse Classrooms.
- International Studies Association (ISA) 64th Annual Convention, March 18, 2023: Real Struggles, High Stakes: Cooperation, Contention, and Creativity. (Montréal-Canada). Paper: "Socialization in the Military and the Logic of Internal Enemies: Implications for Post Conflict Dynamics in Colombia" for Panel "Colombia in the post-agreement period".
- Online Workshop Series, 2023. 'Migration, Refugees and the Enduring Double Standards': Implications for Education. Co-Organized by Education for Refugees in Europe (HERE). Paper: The persistence of structural violence in refugee resettlement: Afro-Colombian refugee-background students in New Zealand. April 3rd

2022

- New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE) Conference: Barrier-free access in a (super)diverse world: Lessons for policy and practice from refugee-background students and teachers of diverse classrooms. Virtual Symposium.
- Latin American Peace Science Society (LAPSS) Panel 1: Militarization, Violence and Resistance Panel
 8. Building Peace and Managing War. 19 and 20 of January

2021

- · VII Congress of the Colombian Network of International Relations Panel: Crossroads of Public Safety in the Global South: Views from Colombia and Mexico. 12th October
- · 17th Annual Workshop of the Households in Conflict Network (HiCN) "Conflict, Migration and Displacement", Panel: "IDPs, Trust, and Social Cohesion" Paper: IDPs, Social Cohesion, and Peace in Colombia (with Sebastian Pantoja and Abbey Steele) 8th October.
- $\cdot\,$ Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS) Abril

2020

- $\cdot\,$ What is a Battle field, who is a Fighter? Virtual Conference. University of Southern Denmark. October
- · Politics After War (PAW) Network Virtual Research Workshop: Reexamining Dilemmas of Peacebuilding in the Era of Trump and COVID. September
- · Latin American Studies Association (LASA) Annual Convention. Améfrica Ladina. May
- · International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention. Poster Presentation-Military, Defense and Security Matters. March

2019

- · Peace in Aotearoa-New Zealand: Past, Present and Future. 10th Anniversary Conference to Commemorate the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. November
- · New Zealand Political Studies Association Annual Conference (NZPSA). November
- \cdot Conflict Research Society Conference (CRS) at the University of Sussex. September
- \cdot Research Seminar at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago, New Zealand. September

2018

- · Seminar at The National Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies-University of Otago. "Postwar challenges: Path dependence of violence in Colombia and Sri Lanka". August
- · Poster Presentation at the National Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies- University of Otago. May

$\boldsymbol{2017}$

· Latin American Association of Political Science (ALACIP) Montevideo- Uruguay. July

ASSOCIATIONS

Folke Bernadotte International Research Working Groups (2023-2027)

Otago Researcher at Centre for Global Migrations at University of Otago.

Research Affiliate at The Political Economy and Transnational Governance (PETGOV). Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research.

Research Affiliate National Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago

Research Affiliate of Uppsala Peace Lab https://uppsalapeacelab.com

MASTER THESIS

Jaffar Arifi: Afghan Refugee Youths Sense of Belonging in Schools in Thuringia-Germany.

Raghad Medyan Adel Alrosan: Diasporic Palestinian Activism in the Era of Social Media.

Richa Atulkumar Sharma: Identity, Agency, and Protest Coalitions: Examining the Role of North Indian Women in the Success of the 2021 Farmers' Protests.

Isis da Cruz Beserra de Araújo: Policies to Prevent Femicide Against Migrants.

REFEREES

Associate Professor Vivienne Anderson, Dean, College of Education, University of Otago Phone: +64 3 479 5360 *E-mail: vivienne.anderson@otago.ac.nz*

Associate Professor Abbey Steele, Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam. *E-mail:* A.A.Steele@uva.nl

Dr. Maria Emma Wills Obregon Independent Researcher Email: mewo121@gmail.com

Professor Andreas C. Goldthau Director, Willy Brandt School of Public Policy Franz Haniel Chair for Public Policy, Faculty of Economics, Law and Social Sciences, University of Erfurt Nordhaeuser Str. 84, 99089 Erfurt, Germany *Email: Andreas.Goldthau@uni-erfurt.de*