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CIS News

Start of MACIS Program



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Since October 2006, the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) is home to a new graduate program, the Master of Arts in Comparative and International Studies (MACIS). The program is intended to give students a solid foundation in the methodologies necessary to conduct research in the fields of international and comparative studies.

By Mark Thompson and Sara Kuepfer

The full-time degree program is geared towards students holding a BA who are interested in going on to doing a PhD in political science, or who wish to complement their existing background with the conceptual tools of political science. The program takes three semesters to complete. The first two semesters consist of intensive coursework, where students are able to explore different areas of political science and choose a topic for their Master's thesis, which is written during the third semester of the program.

The coursework consists of a core seminar series, which all MACIS students are required to attend. The core seminars cover five areas of political science where the CIS faculty is particularly strong: political violence, democracy, qualitative methods, quantitative methods and international political economy.

“Coming from a more practical international relations background, I have so far been able to benefit a lot from the emphasis on research design and methods”

Mark Thompson, MACIS student

In addition, MACIS students take several elective courses. These may either be courses taught specifically for MACIS students by faculty members and senior researchers of

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Three Guest Lectures on Terrorism

CIS, or courses in related fields of political science offered by ETH Zurich and the University of Zurich. This gives students the necessary flexibility to pursue their interdisciplinary interests. "I found the department very accommodating when I chose to take econometrics as an elective," says MACIS student Mark Thompson.

Although students must possess some background in the social sciences prior to starting the program, student backgrounds are very diverse, which allows for stimulating seminar discussions and interesting cross-country comparisons.

MACIS students this year come from a number of countries including Columbia, China, the United States, Finland, Germany and Switzerland. Some of them have been trained as economists, computer scientists or physicists prior to entering the program, just to name a few examples. According to MACIS student Johannes Hamacher, then, the "panoply of academic backgrounds" is what he likes particularly about the program.

According to program director Professor Frank Schimmelfennig, the CIS faculty is hoping to attract academically promising MACIS students to enroll in the PhD program at CIS upon graduation. Indeed, a large majority of the MACIS students currently enrolled are interested in pursuing a PhD. Two among them are already enrolled in the doctoral program at CIS and decided to complete the MACIS program to expand and solidify their knowledge in political science. One such student is Christa Deiwiks, a cognitive scientist by training, who is working on her PhD in international conflict research under the supervision of Professor Lars-Erik Cederman. Deiwiks, who has so far approached conflict solely from a decision maker's perspective in her previous academic work, benefits from the MACIS program as it allows her to study international conflict from a political science perspective.

But not all students have come solely for the program's research orientation. After having worked for a research project on sustainable energy at the United Nations, Patrick Licht-

ner, a trained physicist and specialist in solar energy, chose to enter the MACIS program because he would like to be more involved in the policy side of sustainable energy and international environmental questions.

MACIS students strongly benefit from the small class size of 15, which allows them to take part actively in class discussions. Mikael Marila, a graduate of the University of Essex, says: "I chose MACIS over many other noteworthy universities because of the program content and academic quality for what I had heard from my professors at Essex. Also, the location, language of instruction and the low tuition tipped the scale in favor of MACIS and Zurich."

In sum, the MACIS is about getting the tools and knowledge needed to tackle questions relevant to today's internationalized world. ■

This fall, CIS hosted three guest lectures dealing with different aspects of the war on terror. All three presentations showed that the asymmetrical war between non-state actors and governments is posing new challenges to today's state-based security structure as well as to the way we perceive and study contemporary security threats.

Counterterrorism Measures and Human Rights

Governments today face the difficult task of protecting their citizens from acts of terrorism while simultaneously upholding international human rights standards. Counterterrorism measures and human rights, then, was the topic of a CIS talk by Thomas Bisteker, Henry R. Luce Professor of Transnational Organizations at Brown University.

In the 1990s, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) introduced a new measure in its counterterrorism operations: targeted sanctions. At first glance, the idea of specifically targeting sanctions against individuals and groups suspected to be involved in terrorist activities is a great improvement from earlier types of sanctions that targeted entire states, including innocent civilians. Yet, the targeted sanctions regime is not entirely unproblematic either.

As Bisteker convincingly showed, the new measures have important legal implications, which yet need to be addressed. In particular, individuals listed as "terrorists" are not formally notified about why they were listed, nor are they told what steps they could take if they were wrongfully listed. In today's international system, where only states have legal standing, individuals who belong to a state that is unwilling or unable to take up their case are unable to address their case. Also, targeted individuals are denied the right to a fair trial hearing prior to designation under the current system.

In the course of his presentation, Bisteker put forward a series of recommendations that would help make the UN's targeted sanctions regime more compliant with international human rights standards. Among those recommendations were to designate

an ombudsman or an expert panel under UNSC authority that would thoroughly review the cases of listed individuals; or to set up an independent arbitration panel with the power to decide whether an individual should be listed. Ultimately, Bisteker argued, the coalition on counterterrorism would be stronger and more successful if it followed fair and clear procedures.

Terror and the Media

The live images that brought the horrendous 9/11 attacks into the living rooms of millions of people around the world ushered in a new age in international warfare. So argued CIS guest speaker James Der Derian, director of the Information Technology, War and Peace Project in the Watson Institute's Global Security Program at Brown University, who talked about the role of the global media in shaping the war on terror.

"The media has become a new battle space," Der Derian explained, whereby new global actors, such as terrorist groups, were having almost equal means of spreading their message as a superpower like the United States. In fact, Der Derian posited, Osama bin Laden today is on the same plane as the United States in its media effects.

The global media today not only transmits events, but also shapes the way people respond to these events. With the help of dramatic pictures or background music, the media successfully appeals to the emotions of its viewers, which makes it difficult for security experts and politicians to counter these



James Der Derian

images with rational arguments.

Moreover, as many world events are transmitted live with the help of satellite technology, the media today considerably speeds up the time politicians have to deliberate and react to new events. As Der Derian explained, today's media is "inseparable from global security" and thus carries more responsibility than ever before - a responsibility, so Der Derian, the media is not adequately living up to. To counter the powerful visual messages of the global media and to put them into



Thomas Bernauer and Thomas Bisteker

their proper perspective, Der Derian's Information Technology, War and Peace Project at the Watson Institute seeks to analyze and question these media effects and hence educate the public. If we allow the media to set the security policy agenda, Der Derian cautioned, we are prone to neglect even more pressing security issues such as diseases, global warming and other global threats that receive little coverage in the mainstream news.

Terror and Emotions

Emotions, such as fear, anger or sadness, play a powerful role in how we react to security threats such as terrorism. Indeed, it goes without saying that policy responses to world events always take place in an emotional context. Yet, scholarly discussion on the role of emotions in international politics is almost non-existent.

Roland Bleiker of the University of Queensland in Australia presented a paper addressing this gap in the international relations literature. Bleiker thereby made three

propositions to encourage the more systematic study of emotions in the international relations context. First, researchers needed to accept that "research can be insightful and valid even if it engages unobservable phenomena, and even if the results of such inquiries can neither be measured nor validated empirically." Second, the best and perhaps only way to study emotions, Bleiker posited, was to look at their representation. It is individual representations of emotions, such as through visual depictions, that shape political per-

ceptions, become collectivized and influence social dynamics. Examples are TV pictures of the 9/11 attacks or the Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse scandal, which both prompted strong responses from the public and politicians. Third, Bleiker stressed the need to embrace alternative sources of insight, such as the study of aesthetic sources, which can capture emotions particularly well. With the new research agenda he presented at CIS, Bleiker put forward a bold attempt to break new ground in learning to better understand policy decisions in the new age of international terrorism.

As all three speakers made clear, the new global war on terror forces us to think outside the box, re-consider our state-based international security structure, critically examine the power of the media in shaping our reactions to world events, and recognize that the emotions triggered by dramatic media representations of combat scenes and terrorist attacks impact the way the public and politicians react to them. ■

Europe, Israel, America: A Triangle of Complexes or Divergent Interests?

In cooperation with the Institute of Sociology at the University of Basel and Swisspeace, CIS organized a well-attended guest lecture by former Israeli foreign minister Shlomo Ben-Ami. In his speech, Ben-Ami made a strong case for the necessity and urgency of finding a settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

“The Middle East is not an enclave,” Ben-Ami stressed at the outset of his lecture, noting that whatever happens in this region has a direct impact on the West.

Ben-Ami argued that despite all the negative headlines that come out of the Middle East right now, a new window of opportunity has opened up for solving the 60-year old conflict.

Today’s “new era of warfare,” so Ben-Ami, is characterized by asymmetrical wars between states and movements. And according

to Ben-Ami, is that the United States will have no other choice but to become more actively involved in the Middle East peace process again. The deteriorating situation in Iraq, the growing regional dominance of Iran and the rising power of Islamic fundamentalists across the Middle East is forcing the United States to abandon its hands-off approach with regard to the Palestinian issue.

Indeed, Ben-Ami emphasized, the situation in post-war Iraq has brought to the open the rivalry between the two main camps within the Arab world: the secular moderates, on the one hand, and the Islamists, on the other.

According to Ben-Ami, Arab moderates today are eager to see a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is the case because secular Arab regimes see a settlement of the

offensive against the Hizbollah in Lebanon as an Israeli victory seemed to be in their own best interest. However, Ben-Ami warned, this “tacit alliance” could not be much longer maintained without an Arab-Israeli peace agreement.

An important precondition for a comprehensive peace settlement, so Ben-Ami, is to repair the deep rift that has developed between the United States and continental Europe as a result of the Iraq war. Europe had always considered the Palestinian question a more pressing issue than Saddam Hussein’s Iraq. Following America’s invasion of Iraq, the EU thus made America’s active support for a new Arab-Israeli peace process the prerequisite for EU assistance in the post-war reconstruction of Iraq.

The United States and Europe, so Ben-Ami, would complement each other well as joint peace brokers: The United States brings to the table unrivalled hard power capabilities, along with its strong leverage on Israel; Europe, in turn, has well-developed soft power capabilities.

For Ben-Ami, Europe’s multilateral, diplomatic approach to international affairs is the only possible way forward in the Middle East. America’s refusal to talk with Syria, Iran, Hamas and Hizbollah, he argued, was clearly counterproductive. He stressed that the enemies of the Middle East peace process would “not change their behavior as a pre-condition of negotiations,” but only as a “result of negotiations.” For example, “a wise policy would turn Hamas into an obstacle to peace in the eyes of the Palestinians,” Ben-Ami explained, and the “promise of a political horizon” was the prerequisite “for the Palestinian people to confront Hamas or for Hamas to change.”

The United States could learn from the Europeans also with regard to its vision, though noble and right in principle, to spread democracy in the Middle East. The United States was naïve to believe that Arab secular dictatorship could turn into liberal democracies within a few years, so Ben-Ami. Europe, by contrast, understood that democratization needed to occur slowly to prevent the Arab masses from voting in Islamic fundamentalists.



Shlomo Ben-Ami and Simon Hug at a CIS-reception

to Ben-Ami, an important distinguishing feature of these asymmetrical wars is that they do not produce conclusive victories. Yet, he stressed, this does not mean that peace is impossible. On the contrary, inconclusive situations can lead to a peace process, as the Camp David Accords signed in the aftermath of the 1973-Arab-Israeli war illustrated.

A further characteristic of this new win-

ning conflict as a way of taking away a significant popular support base of Islamic fundamentalists and thus curtailing the ambitions of Iran. Ben-Ami went as far as to talk about a “tacit alliance” between moderate Sunni Arab states and Israel against rising Shiite power in the region. He pointed out the example of Arab states’ reluctance at the United Nations to push for an immediate end of the Israeli

ISF Discusses Broadening Security Challenges

Amidst growing tensions and bloodshed in the Middle East, Ben-Ami expressed optimism that if the international community was willing to seize the current “window of opportunity,” progress on the Israeli-Palestinian front was not only an urgent necessity, but also a realistic possibility. ■

Shlomo Ben-Ami

Shlomo Ben Ami had a distinguished career both as a scholar and a policy practitioner. Born in Morocco in 1943, Ben Ami was educated at Tel-Aviv University and Oxford University, from which he received his Ph.D. in History. He then headed the School of History of Tel-Aviv University (1982-86) and subsequently served as Israel's ambassador to Spain (1987-1991).

Ben-Ami was elected to the Israeli Knesset in 1996. In July 1999, he was appointed Minister of Public Security. Following the resignation of David Levy in August 2000, Shlomo Ben-Ami served as Acting Foreign Minister and, in November 2000, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He held these positions until March 2001.

Ben-Ami is the author of many books, among them a thorough account of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations during the last two years of the Clinton administration entitled “A Front Without a Rearguard: A Voyage to the Boundaries of the Peace Process” (Yedioth Ahatonoth, Tel-Aviv, 2004) and a comprehensive overview of the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the quest for peace, “Scars of War, Wounds of Peace. The Arab-Israeli Tragedy” (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 2005). Ben-Ami now serves as the Vice-President of the Toledo International Center for Peace (www.toledopeace.org).

The Center for Security Studies (CSS), which is part of CIS, hosted the 7th International Security Forum (ISF), a high-level conference which took place from 26 - 28 October 2006 at the Kongresshaus in Zurich. As a Swiss government contribution to the Partnership for Peace program, the 7th ISF was supported by the Swiss Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sport, and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.

Security issues in international affairs are more wide-ranging today than ever before. States - even those with well-protected borders and friendly neighbors - are no longer secure when there is instability elsewhere in the world. Adding to the complexity is the rise of “soft threats,” including energy shortages, environmental pollution and transnational crime.

The breadth of security challenges in the post-9/11 world was the focal point of this year's International Security Forum (ISF) - “New Risks and Threats: The Challenges of Securing State and Society.”

One issue made clear in the two opening keynote speeches was that today's new risks

and challenges cannot be solved by states on their own. Instead, the evolving international security environment demands strong multi-lateral cooperation.

Ronald Asmus, former deputy assistant secretary of state for European Affairs during the second Clinton Administration, made a strong case for the necessity of the “the West” - with the United States and the EU as the key actors - to reconstitute itself to confront international security threats in a united way.

“We are headed into scary times,” Asmus warned. The possibility of failure in Iraq and Afghanistan - which would mean a major strategic setback for the US and its allies - nuclear proliferation, the unsolved Arab-Israeli conflict and Islamic fundamentalism

are only some of the security concerns that should keep Western leaders awake at night, he said.

Still, in the face of these immense challenges, the West finds itself more divided and disorganized than at any other time in the post-war era - a condition, according to Asmus, that must change. He called upon the US and the EU to formalize their cooperative relationship and use NATO, which is the West's only contractual security alliance, to enter into missions beyond Europe and thus secure the West's dangerous periphery. Though reconciliation will be difficult, Asmus sees a new window of opportunity opening up with the impending changes of administrations in the US, France and Britain.

The second keynote speaker, Monika Wohlfeld of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), stressed the important role of her organization - which, besides the established Western democra-

cies, also includes Russia and the former Soviet states - in promoting peace and security in Europe. She emphasized the OSCE's role in tackling democratic transition problems in former communist states, as well as

in helping to solve complex, protracted conflicts in Central Asia and the Caucasus. But for the OSCE to become a more effective tool in conflict prevention, Wohlfeld cautioned, its three key players - the US, EU and Russia - would need to work better together and set up early response mechanisms to allow the organization to act more swiftly.

Many of the key security challenges Europe and the US face today are associated with the Middle East. Several discussion panels at the conference thus focused on this region. One panel in particular explored the prospects for European-American conflict and cooperation over the Middle East. One panelist expressed fears that Washington would continue to place domestic public opinion on issues like



Iraq over what was good for the region itself, while EU politicians would put pressure from their own voting publics ahead of effective policy-making in the region. But as one of the participants warned, failure to re-invigorate the Arab-Israeli peace process or build peace in Iraq would have repercussions on the streets of European cities, where old Jewish, Muslim and Christian rivalries could erupt.

Probably the most talked-about security challenge today is international terrorism, and a series of panels were devoted to this topic. While prior to 9/11 terrorism was treated as a police problem requiring a law-enforcement solution, intelligence communities and law enforcement agencies today have to adapt to the new challenges posed by international terrorist networks, which use the latest mass communication technologies to recruit members and plan attacks.

In post-9/11 counterterrorism operations, the role of intelligence gathering has been strongly emphasized. Contrary to the Cold War period, where information was scarce, law enforcement and intelligence officers today have a massive amount of information available, including a large number of terrorist websites to monitor. Hence, today's challenge lies in analyzing and sifting through information, a task that cannot be satisfyingly accomplished by inventing new technological tools. Some speakers particularly lamented the lack of intelligence officers who speak Arabic and understand Muslim culture, or who may even be able to infiltrate terrorist cells, as a key shortcoming in counterterrorism efforts.

Ultimately, however, the panelists agreed that defeating Islamic terrorism would require more than just handling intelligence. After all, terrorist violence is only the symptom of a movement that is ideologically grounded. The real war the West is fighting is ideological in nature, and the West needs to fight back by re-affirming and remaining true to its own liberal democratic values.

Indeed, democratization has become a key tool for the international community to promote peace and security. As one speaker put it, "security without democracy today is deemed illegitimate, while democracy without security is unsustainable."

One panel discussed the dilemma of promoting democracy in societies recovering from conflict, whereby the imperatives of democracy and those of peace-building often pull in different directions. While the electoral process in a democracy sharpens social divisions, peace-building efforts focus on promoting consensus and co-existence. Although democratization is a useful strategic approach to peace-building, the panelists concluded, its form and process must be tailored to the particular circumstances and vulnerabilities of societies emerging from conflict.

Although the number of democracies in the world grew in the 1990s, many new democracies have remained very unstable, speakers pointed out. At the same time, some panelists have observed the international community retreating in its commitment to promoting democracy. Moreover, with the US propagating the promotion of democracy as a key tool in the war on terror, there has been a backlash against the idea of democracy, as it is being increasingly associated with US imperialism. This also has become a convenient excuse for dictators to deride democratization in their countries, some panelists lamented.

Meanwhile, the promotion of democracy can conflict with a rival security concern of most Western countries - namely the need to secure oil supplies. As was discussed in one of the panels, the uncertainty of who will win elections in energy-producing countries can put energy supplies for consuming countries at risk, leading them to favor the short-term stability provided by less-than democratic governments.

In the course of the discussion, the view that many oil-producing countries tend to have authoritarian governments and have great difficulties in affecting a transition to democracy was highlighted. As one panelist explained, oil exports, which generate a rent that accrues directly to governments, strengthen incumbent power holders in any government. This is an obstacle to democratic transition as democracy is based on alternations of power. An oft-mentioned case in point in this context was Russia, where growing authoritarianism has gone hand-in-hand with rising oil prices.

An observation that underlined many of the panel discussions was that both the terms of "security" and "democracy" have evolved to include an ever broader set of meanings. Today, "security" also includes the concept of human security, such as freedom from fear and want, while the term "democracy" has come to encompass the notions of civil, political, cultural, economic and social rights. As the many panel discussions have made clear, trying to reconcile the sometimes conflicting challenges of securing both state and society is proving a daunting task. ■

This article was first published by Sara Kuepfer in a special print edition of the ISN Security Watch newsletter (<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/news/sw>) on 28 October 2006.

After Enlargement and the Referendums: New Avenues for EU Politics and Research – an International Workshop at CIS

On 27 October 2006, the European Politics chair at CIS hosted a conference on new avenues for EU politics and research after the enlargement and the referendums. It was designed as an informal workshop to explore the dynamics and current developments of the discipline as well as of the EU. Is the EU in crisis? Does it find itself in a substantially new situation? If so, are our theories of European integration and governance adequate or do they need to be adapted? Those were the questions that guided the discussions.

By Dirk Leuffen

How is EU decision-making affected by enlargement? At the beginning of the workshop, CIS members Stefanie Bailer and Dirk Leuffen proposed to turn to sociological group theories in order to study this issue. They derived at three scenarios: the oligarchization of EU decision-making, the socialization of new members to existing formal and informal practices and, drawing on Georg Simmel, formalization as a response to increased size and heterogeneity. When confronting their theories with early data on post-enlargement politics in the EU, they could so far find little evidence for an increased oligarchization. Their findings on formalization were mixed, but they detected a clear continuity to existing patterns of decision-making after enlargement.

Virginie Guiraudon (European University Institute) presented a case study of the 2005 Treaty of Prüm and EU cooperation in the Area of Justice, Freedom and Security. The Treaty of Prüm was set up by seven member states outside the integration framework and focused on trans-bordering activities against terrorism, criminality and illegal migration. The Prüm procedure was discussed as a potential model of decision-making in an enlarged Union. As in the case of the Schengen treaty, an avant-garde of member states spurred integration. Whether this contributes to or undermines the legitimacy of the EU remains an open question.

Frank Schimmelfennig took a closer look at the prospects for further enlargement. He found that whereas the general mood of “enlargement fatigue” seemed to indicate a

break with previous patterns of enlargement, this was not supported by his data. Controlling for the number of remaining eligible (that is, both European and democratic) non-member states, the analysis showed that association and enlargement after 2004 had neither slowed down nor discriminated against the remaining outside countries. Future enlargement would thus be hampered by the obstacles to democratic consolidation in non-member countries rather than by EU decision-making procedures.

However, if enlargement appeared to be receding into the background, other forms of relationships with non-member countries would become salient. In this vein, Sandra Lavenex (University of Lucerne) explored the functional dynamics beyond and before full EU membership and the contributions

of European integration obsolete. On the other hand, Paul Magnette (Free University of Brussels) and Ioannis Papadopoulos (University of Lausanne) drew attention to the consociational setting in which EU politicization was embedded. Other cases such as Belgium and Switzerland showed how consociational systems watered down politicization. This dampened its more disruptive effects for the EU but weakened the chance that politicization could act as a remedy for the EU’s accountability deficit.

Amy Verdun (University of Victoria, Canada) focused on the question of the negative referendums on the EU constitution. She discussed the Convent method and designed a set of possible scenarios of how the EU should proceed. Verdun, however, denied that the EU was in a state of crises.



Dirk Leuffen and Stefanie Bailer

of a governance perspective to analyzing the EU’s relations with its neighboring countries. The typology she presented demonstrates the diversity of EU external relations and highlighted the various forms of EU impact beyond accession.

Politicization is one of the most pervasive trends in European Union politics. The “permissive consensus” of the EU population, which allows elites to strike high-level bargains fairly autonomously, seems to be a thing of the past. Two papers explored the theoretical consequences of this shift. Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (University of North Carolina and Free University of Amsterdam) argued that politicization increased the importance of “identity” and made functionalist theori-

In a final section dealing with the EU’s international relations, John Keeler (University of Washington) discussed the fight against terrorism in a transatlantic perspective. Drawing on Downs’ issue attention cycle Keeler examined the media coverage of terrorist attacks in the US and the UK, and he found transatlantic convergence in the aftermath of the Madrid and London attacks. Sophie Meunier (Princeton University) analyzed the EU as a “conflicted trade power,” which was not only a core power player in international trade but was also using “power through trade” to essentially “clone” itself, that is, to spread liberal democratic norms and its model of regional integration. ■

Financing Referendum Campaigns Conference

On 27 – 28 October, Simon Hug and Karin Gilland Lutz of CIS, as well as Uwe Serdült and Tobias Zellweger of the research Centre on Direct Democracy (c2d) in Geneva, organized a conference in Zurich, which discussed the topic of financial regulations pertaining to campaign activities in direct-democratic votes.

By Karin Gilland Lutz

The idea for this conference came out of the realization that although there is a significant literature on the role of money in elections (at least in the United States), there is very little scientific work on the role money plays in direct democracy. Nevertheless, many critics of direct democratic institutions lament the excessive role money plays in referendum campaigns. The bluntest question in this context is: is it possible to buy a result? And if so, under what circumstances? Others argue that rules regulating the financing of referendum campaigns which lead to transparency might actually help voters make more informed decisions: For example, knowing which donors support what side on an issue might be a valuable piece of information for voters. If, say, the insurance industry was to support a 'no' vote on a particular issue, voters would conclude that the insurance industry must be benefiting from a 'no' and thus vote accordingly, depending on their likes or dislikes of this particular industry.

These insights are, however, almost exclusively based on theoretical models or empirical results stemming from the United States. In other contexts where referendums are used, we know very little about the rules regulating the financing of direct-democratic campaigns and the effect money and rules pertaining to it have in this context.

Given the lack of attention paid to this aspect of direct democracy, the first purpose of the conference was to use it as an opportunity to gather information about as many countries with direct-democratic provisions as possible regarding financial regulations. As many conference participants acknowledged during the conference, even at this basic level there was no secondary literature for most of

them to refer to; rather, it was necessary for most to fall back on various acts of legislation and, of course, the constitution of each country to be able to account for the situation in their country.

The second goal builds on the first one, and consists of setting out a framework for comparative research in this area. Quite concretely, this would mean identifying all the relevant variables that reasonably might come into play in the relationship between money and direct democracy. On the basis of the analysis that that would enable, goal number three of this conference will hopefully be fulfilled in due course: the provision of insights into what type of financial regulations are advisable, on the assumption that since money can not be taken out of the equation, at least its role must be clear to the voters.

The conference opened with a welcoming address by Simon Hug and Uwe Serdült, setting out the goals of the conference. Thomas Stratmann (George Mason University) followed up in the next session with a paper on 'Campaign spending and ballot measures', together with Uwe Serdült and Tobias Zellweger (c2D) who presented their comparative work on financial regulations. After lunch, the program continued with country studies, beginning with Western Europe: Denmark (Sara Binzer Hobolt, Oxford University), Switzerland (Martina Caroni, Luzern University), France (Francis Hamon, University of Paris (emeritus)), Ireland (Karin Gilland Lutz, Zurich University), UK (Navraj Ghaleigh, Edinburgh University) and Spain (Carlos Closa, Centre for Political and Constitutional Studies).

On the second day of the conference, the morning was devoted to Central and Eastern Europe, with papers on Estonia (Jüri Ruus, Tartu University), Lithuania (Algis Krupavicius, Kaunas University of Technology), Latvia (Daunis Auers, Latvia University) and Hungary (Tibor Gazso, Szazadweg Research Centre). In the afternoon, the focus was on the US (Daniel Smith, Florida University) and Canada (Richard Johnston, University of Pennsylvania). The conference closed with

a round-table discussion chaired by Andreas Auer (c2d).

The round-table discussion concerned itself with setting out a research agenda building on the progress made during the conference. Since data on financial regulations does not seem to be comprehensively collected anywhere at the moment, the conference participants had an interest in establishing such a database under the auspices of c2d, on the basis of the various variables that could be identified as relevant in the course of the conference. Simultaneously, the experienced lack of secondary literature on this topic, as well as the quality of the papers, justifies an attempt to publish the conference papers in some as yet unspecified format.

The conference organizers wish to thank the sponsors of the conference, in alphabetical order: c2d, CIS, Institute for Political Science at Zurich University, Schweizerische Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften (SAGW), Scientific Cooperation between Eastern Europe and Switzerland (Scopes), Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF), Vereinigung Akademischer Mittelbau der Universität Zürich (VAUZ), and Zürcher Universitätsverein (ZUNIV). The organizers are also grateful that the sessions could take place in the seminar room of the NCCR Democracy 21 at Stampfenbachstrasse 63 in Zurich, and would like to take this opportunity to thank the conference participants for their contributions to the conference. ■

International Water Management in the Zambezi Basin

Professor Thomas Bernauer and two PhD students from his group at CIS, Lucas Beck and David Walker, are participating in an interdisciplinary project recently launched with colleagues from the environmental and engineering sciences at ETH Zurich and the Swiss Federal Institute of Aquatic Science and Technology (EAWAG).

By Lucas Beck

The project, entitled African Dams Project (ADAPT), is sponsored by the ETH Initiative for Environment and Sustainability (www.cces.ethz.ch). Its goal is to develop an integrated set of analytical tools that helps in systematically and comprehensively assessing the ecological and socio-economic effects of existing dams in the Zambezi basin and to suggest ways to improve dam operation. Moreover, the researchers look at plans for new dams and water transfers in the Zambezi basin and come up with possible alternative designs that would provide a more sensible balance of ecological and socio-economic benefits and costs.

With a length of ca. 2,600 km, the Zambezi river is the fourth-longest African river and the largest river flowing into the Indian Ocean. The drainage basin of ca. 1.4 Mio km² covers approx. 4.5% of the total continent. Eight central and southern African countries contribute to the Zambezi river basin: Zambia (40.7%), Angola (18.3%), Zimbabwe (15.9%), Mozambique (11.4%), Malawi (7.7%), Botswana (2.8%), Tanzania (2.0%) and Namibia (1.2%).

Although the Zambezi has a great development potential (discharge to the sea of approx. 110 km³ per year), water use currently is limited mainly to hydropower production and some small-scale water supply through a series of impoundments (see map). The largest dams and reservoirs along the Zambezi are:

(i) Kariba (Zambia/Zimbabwe), commissioned in 1959

(ii) Kafue hydropower scheme (Zambia), consisting of the Kafue reservoir (1971) and the Itezhi-Tezhi reservoir, 450 km upstream of the Kafue dam (1977)

(iii) the Cabora Bassa reservoir (Mozambique), completed in 1974.

The combined regulating effects of large dams along the Zambezi have considerably altered the physical and chemical state of the water system, resulting in profound long-term ecological changes in the river and delta region. They have also increased the vulnerability of the downstream population. The drought affecting southern Africa for the past few years has compounded existing vulnerabilities.

mm/year (basin-wide average; compared to 990 mm/yr in Switzerland), modification to the existent hydropower schemes on this scale would certainly amplify the current hydrological, environmental and social alterations. Changes in climate conditions (precipitation – evaporation), wetland size (present evaporation of ~110 km³/year) and reservoir surface area (current reservoirs' evaporation is ~15 km³/year) are therefore expected.

Studies on population development in the Zambezi basin suggest that at current growth rates (2.9%/year) the total population of the basin will double (to 75 millions) in 2020. One immediate consequence of rapid population and urban growth rates is an escala-



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About 40 possible new hydropower plants with a total installation capacity of more than 13,000 MW have been identified in the basin. About 85 percent of the total capacity is on the Zambezi river itself, while the remainder is on its tributaries. Close to half of the potential is in Mozambique, about 25 percent in Zambia and about 20 percent in Zimbabwe. Around five percent of the potential is divided between Angola, Malawi and Tanzania. Starting from a very low runoff of only ~70

mm/year (basin-wide average; compared to 990 mm/yr in Switzerland), modification to the existent hydropower schemes on this scale would certainly amplify the current hydrological, environmental and social alterations. Changes in climate conditions (precipitation – evaporation), wetland size (present evaporation of ~110 km³/year) and reservoir surface area (current reservoirs' evaporation is ~15 km³/year) are therefore expected. Studies on population development in the Zambezi basin suggest that at current growth rates (2.9%/year) the total population of the basin will double (to 75 millions) in 2020. One immediate consequence of rapid population and urban growth rates is an escala-

Key challenges in the Zambezi basin

1. Population growth of 2.9% accentuates needs for (i) food production, (ii) irrigation and (iii) energy generation. Expected basin population in 2020 is 75 Mio. Only 1 per mill. of the basin is irrigated. Water sanitation is missing in large parts.
2. Urgently needed socio-economic development and increase of standard of living.
3. Five large (> 1 GW) planned dams along the main stem and more than 30 smaller dams (< 1 GW) within the Zambezi river basin.
4. Extreme vulnerability of the hydrological system to small changes in precipitation, evaporation and water consumption/diversion (only ~70 mm/yr of runoff) and therefore to potential climate change.
5. Pressure on remaining pristine environments (such as wetlands) and need for long-term protection.
6. Pollution of the Kafue Flats and other aquatic systems by upstream mining (heavy metals).
7. Coping with the deficits of the current major dams (no Environmental Impact Assessment at times of construction).
8. Coping with the international aspects of Integrated Water Resources Management (eight countries involved).

In view of these challenges, the project seeks responses to the following questions:

- How can we predict regional flooding of wetlands and river corridors for different modes of operation of large dams?
- The long-term rate of greenhouse gas emissions (CO₂, CH₄) from reservoirs is closely linked to carbon input via soil erosion and eutrophication leading to anoxic conditions. How can they be minimized?
- What are the effects of dams on the longitudinal nutrient and sediment



Thomas Bernauer talking to park wardens in the Lochingyar National Park

transport and on the critical wetland systems?

- Riparian wetlands require seasonal flooding, which is often prevented by water storage behind large dams. What kind of flooding is necessary to maintain vital ecosystem functions, and what are cost-effective mitigation strategies?
- Which socio-economic and political conditions make particular geographic areas of the river basin most vulnerable to man-made changes in water availability (including quality aspects) and the hydrological regime in particular? In which geographic areas are water-induced conflicts among particular social groups and/or countries likely to occur?
- What impacts will population development and climate change have on the system?

The ADAPT project entered a one-year pilot phase in September 2006. The objectives in this pilot phase are threefold. First, to develop a basic water system allocation model for the whole Zambezi river basin, gather relevant hydrological and socioeconomic data, establish a computer-based Geographical Information System (GIS) platform, and examine the national and international water

sector policies of the eight riparian countries. Second, the pilot phase includes research on selected geographical areas embedded in a basin-scale context. The project initially focuses on the Kafue basin and the Kafue flats in Zambia with the aim of developing and testing integrated water management tools. Third, the pilot phase also serves the purpose of building strong research partnerships in the region. The initial focus is on Zambia, which has the largest share of the basin. ■

Politics, Policy Rhetoric and Financial Markets

Do political conflict and political rhetoric influence the behavior of emerging market bond markets? To answer this question, CIS-researcher Markus Stierli has constructed a dataset on political conflict and economic policymaking rhetoric by Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) on newspaper coverage for countries listed in the JP Morgan EMBI+ Index. Evidence from panel data analysis suggests that bond markets indeed respond to political conflict.

By Markus Stierli

The market for traded external debt instruments is among the most developed in emerging markets. Models of bond pricing famously hold that the price of the bond is obtained by discounting future cash flows. A substantial strand of literature has been devoted to the question whether the behavior of emerging market bond markets can be attributed to their underlying credit and currency risks. Yet, only few attempts have been made to link bond pricing to political processes and institutions. Stierli extends the analysis to government rhetoric related to macroeconomic policymaking.

Market Reaction to Political Conflict

Open markets confront policymakers with policy dilemmas. If markets are open, policymakers' actions are assessed by domestic constituencies and international investors simultaneously. Investors' pricing decisions may be related directly to policies regarding macroeconomic variables, such as interest rates or exchange rates, or to domestic political configurations that bear an effect on the macro economy.

Even though economic policymaking is often understood as a technocratic process, the probability of political conflict looms large whenever politicians' preferences regarding these trade-offs are heterogeneous in democratic systems. As political conflict renders economic policy outcomes less predictable, the market is expected to exhibit greater volatility and decreasing returns. Additionally, political conflict involving

trade or labor unions is expected to have a strong negative impact, at least short-term, on bond returns, since upwards wage pressure increases the likelihood of inflation and complicates exchange rate stabilization by raising interest rates.

Market Reaction to Announcements Concerning Macroeconomic Objectives and Priorities

The basic idea here is that domestic constituencies and international investors value specific announcements differently, depending on the type of the announcement. Given that currency prices, indebtedness and inflation constitute important economic risks in emerging economies with liberalized capital accounts, policymakers' actions and statements regarding these factors can be expected to explain a part of bond performance.

There are a number of circumstances when policymakers face the challenge of having to satisfy the needs of domestic voters while simultaneously appeasing international investors under the constraint of internationally mobile capital. Prominent examples are the prioritization of economic objectives, notably unemployment reduction, at the likely expense of price stability; and poverty reduction at the expense of growing deficits or a suspension of debt repayments. Even though such policies may have positive effects on economic performance in the medium run, investors are likely to react aversively to such policies. A crucial distinction between domestic constituencies and international investors is that the former are less likely to consider long-term effects of specific policies, since they can rearrange their portfolios quickly. In addition, policymakers' behavior will depend on the electoral cycle and the voters' abilities to disentangle external shocks from economic mismanagement.

Methodology

In order to test the effect of economic policymaking processes on bond market behavior, Stierli has constructed a dataset containing monthly observations from the JP Morgan Emerging Markets Bond Index Plus (EMBI+) for 19 countries over the Period 1994-2004.

Variables for monthly index changes and volatility were constructed from daily series provided by Datastream. Policymakers' statements about macroeconomic objectives are obtained by qualitative data analysis (QDA) procedures from daily newspaper coverage. Using a sequence of semiautomatic coding routines, over 9000 articles could be classified according to a country-date specific identifier. Rather than assuming repeated cross sections, the bounded N - large T properties of the data suggest that time series dependence should be appropriately modeled, taking into account unobserved effects, autoregression and correlations across panels.

Empirical Results

Results show that policymakers' rhetoric is unlikely to be evaluated by economic agents as a credible commitment. Promises to fight inflation or to ensure capital mobility and free market principles are significantly associated with decreasing returns and higher volatility. This may be due to the fact that associated criteria can be easily related to announcements ex post. No proof can be found for the argument that the prioritization of domestic objectives does contribute to market movements. This result is interesting in regard to conventional wisdom about how international markets value domestic unemployment and poverty reduction schemes.

In line with the uncertainty assumption, political conflict induces increased market volatility. However, it does not explain variation in monthly returns. It can be interpreted from this that economic agents do not by design derive potential future losses from political conflict. Hence, there is no straightforward evidence of a democracy premium.

Beyond the main variables of interest, the results imply strong statistical evidence that downgrades in sovereign credit ratings are good predictors of downward market movements and market volatility. While exchange rate volatility seems to pass through into bond prices as a source of risk, interest rates have a more complex influence on bond markets. While the probability of a positive change in bond returns increases with higher interest

Policy Autonomy and International Financial Stability

rates, volatility is higher under relatively high interest rates. Additionally, Stierli finds that neither elections nor IMF programs are associated with bond market movements. Accordingly, IMF programs are unlikely to contribute to a moral hazard type insurance problem. ■

Do governments still have room to pursue autonomous policies in open economies? This is the question Thomas Sattler, a researcher in Prof. Thomas Bernauer's group, seeks to investigate in his dissertation work.

By Thomas Sattler

The liberalization of the international financial system during the last decades has been

accompanied by debates about its stability and the consequences for domestic economic policymaking. Critics of this liberalization process fear that unrestricted capital flows dramatically reduce policymakers' room to pursue autonomous economic policies and decrease international financial stability. Proponents argue that openness increases economic efficiency and thus raises social welfare. Moreover, many political scientists contend that despite international economic integration, governments retain significant control over their economies and still have the possibility to generate distinctive macroeconomic outcomes.



Thomas Sattler

and economic growth. Despite the missing link between monetary policies and outcomes, the public rewarded the government for its reaction, and political support for the government increased after the policy change. Nevertheless, no meaningful accountability existed because policies essentially were ineffectual. These findings thus do not support the assertion of many political scientists that the British government had substantial room to maneuver during the last decades.

The other studies in Sattler's dissertation focusing on policymaking during international financial crises (one of them co-authored with Stefanie Walter) paint a more nuanced and less pessimistic picture. They suggest that governments in fact have some possibilities to resist market forces during these

In his dissertation, Thomas Sattler analyzes several aspects of this debate about domestic policy autonomy and international

episodes of economic turmoil, at least in the short and medium run. Governments in OECD countries and emerging market economies, for instance, successfully defended their exchange rates against attacks in more than half of the cases since the 1970s when countries became more open to capital flows. Whether policymakers choose to keep their exchange rates stable during a crisis depends on various political, institutional and economic characteristics of the government, including election periods, political regime type, central bank independence, inflation and foreign exchange reserves. For instance, the more democratic a political system, the greater is the political willingness to defend. This is the case because the political costs of a currency devaluation are high for democratic governments. Citizens infer from an exchange rate collapse that the government did not manage the economy well, and political support for elected policymakers consequently declines.

The question of how governments can defend their currency, however, is quite controversial among social scientists and policymakers. Many theoretical studies have questioned the standard view in economics that governments can stop speculation by raising interest rates. According to this view, raising interest rates increases the cost of speculation and thus makes speculative activity unprofitable. But many economists now emphasize the adverse effects of high interest rates on economic growth, which may increase rather than decrease the expectation of a devaluation. Thomas Sattler's empirical analysis of crisis outcomes in OECD countries shows that interest rates are an effective tool to stop low and intermediate levels of speculation. A notable exception is the crisis in Sweden in 1992, when the government raised interest rates to several hundred percent and then devalued. The Swedish case suggests that raising interest rates may be ineffective to stop extremely strong speculative pressure. When interest rates increase beyond a certain level, the adverse impact of such high rates on the economy trumps the signal of strong commitment to the exchange rate. Speculators then

anticipate that the government will devalue in the future if they continue to attack. When speculators noticed that the initial defense by the Swedish government seriously harms economic growth, speculation resumed after a few months forcing the government off the peg. Empirical evidence on this twofold relationship is not yet conclusive, however, and should be investigated further.

Similarly, there is substantial disagreement between policymakers and social scientists about whether political intransparency helps to manage crises and enhances the government's policy autonomy in general. Although economists and political scientists generally agree that transparency is desirable, governments often are reluctant to follow this advice in practice. An example is the decision of the Thai government during the Asian Financial Crisis to conceal speculative pressure and to sell foreign exchange reserves hoping that confidence in the Thai Baht would return. Using a game-theoretic model of a speculative attack, Thomas Sattler shows that large degrees of intransparency / uncertainty may trigger a speculative attack that would not occur with more or full transparency. Uncertainty then is counterproductive because the government has to engage in a costly exchange rate defense, which reduces social welfare. Intransparency helps the government to gain time in a crisis situation under very specific circumstances. If the government does not implement the reforms necessary to stabilize the exchange rate in the long run, however, uncertainty delays the crisis, but does not help to resolve it.

Overall, the results suggest that government room to maneuver in open economies is smaller than many political scientists claim. Governments can influence some macroeconomic variables, such as exchange rates, in the short and medium run. The capacity of governments to shape developments in the real economy in fundamental ways is limited, however. Currently, Thomas Sattler and his co-authors are extending the study on economic policymaking in Britain. They analyze whether monetary policy became more effective after the Bank of England was

granted independence in 1997 and examine the impact of fiscal policy on economic outcomes since the 1980s. ■

For further information about the research project, or to receive copies of individual studies of this dissertation, please contact Thomas Sattler: sattler@ir.gess.ethz.ch

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Politikplus – The Second Round

In December 2004, eleven female researchers from CIS and the Universities of Berne and Geneva founded the peer group politikplus. In two years of lively activity, politikplus has succeeded in helping its members clarify their career perspectives and in providing them with the professionally relevant soft skills. Entering its third year, the peer group has been able to secure funding from the “Bundesprogramm Chancengleichheit,” a Swiss federal program that promotes equal opportunities for women, until 2008.

By Charlotte Reinisch

The primary aims of politikplus are to promote focused discussions on career development, as well as to strengthen organizational and leadership skills among the group members. Moreover, group members provide



mutual support in improving each others' research and enlarging each others' horizontal and vertical networks. Ultimately, politikplus seeks to increase the academic profile and visibility of its members.

In their project proposal, the group has formulated measures and worked out a program aimed at achieving these goals. In February 2005, politikplus was selected by a jury of professors from several faculties at the University of Zurich to be one out of the seven peer groups in Zurich to be funded for one and a half years by the “Bundesprogramm Chancengleichheit.”

The group members decided on having each group member organize one event in the course of every funding period. The group coordinator is responsible for general coordination, project and financial management, and the co-operation with the women's center at the University of Zurich (UniFrauenstelle Zürich). In addition, the group benefits greatly from the experience and the networks

of their scientific advisors, CIS faculty members Professor Lars-Erik Cederman and Professor Hanspeter Kriesi.

During the first one and a half years, politikplus organized public panel discussions on successful publishing and on the compatibility of family and career. In addition, the group held several workshops and group meetings, in which the peers discussed their academic work and evaluated their respective career plans. Moreover, members of politikplus had the opportunity to meet with Professor Eve-

lyn Huber Stephens from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Harvard Professor Lisa Martin, and Professor Liesbeth Hooghe from the Free University of Amsterdam and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, from whom they received beneficial advice along with gaining a rare insight into these scholars' career paths.

Following the success of the first round, nine founding members of politikplus, along with four new female researchers from CIS and the Universities of Berne and Geneva, successfully applied for a second round of funding by the “Bundesprogramm Chancengleichheit” in April 2006.

Since July, politikplus has organized one workshop, a meeting with the group's scientific advisors and a reception for the CIS community. In addition, group members have received professional advice from Dr. Barbara Haering, a member of the Swiss National Council and managing partner of the consulting firm econcept AG; Professor Katharina Michaelowa from the University of Zurich; and Professor Anne Deighton from Oxford University. Politikplus is now looking forward to another year of stimulating exchanges with researchers and their scientific advisors. ■

Website: www.ipz.unizh.ch/politikplus
 Coordinator: Reinisch@pwi.unizh.ch



Anke Tresch, Karolina Milewicz, Elgin Brunner, Stefanie Walter, Stefanie Bailer, Silja Häusermann, Andrea Iff, Charlotte Reinisch, Karin Gilland Lutz, Myriam Dunn, Michelle Beyeler, Margit Jochum, Anna Locher

New Faculty Member at CIS

Since September of this year, Professor Katharina Michaelowa chairs the newly formed professorship for Political Economy and Development at the Department of Political Science, University of Zurich.

By Mark Thompson

Prior to her academic career, the German-born economist from the greater Frankfurt area had been politically active for developmental causes, which sparked her interest in studying development issues in greater depth. Uncertain about which academic discipline to choose to study these questions, she was encouraged by a friend to go into economics. This friendly advice led her to Mannheim University, to the Delhi School of Economics and subsequently to Burundi, where she wrote her Master's thesis in cooperation with the country's ministry of planning and the German Development Corporation. Moving on to her PhD in economics at the University of Hamburg, she soon found herself in Paris working for the OECD on donor coordination and development, while at the same time completing her dissertation in 1998. From 2000 to 2006, she worked for the Hamburg Institute of International Economics, where she became the head of the research group "Trade and Development" in 2001.

Due to her expertise in developmental topics, as well as her familiarity with quantitative methods and economics, Michaelowa was a good match for the newly created professorship on the "Political Economy of Developing and Transition Countries" at the University of Zurich. In an interview with CIS News, Michaelowa said that she highly enjoys the opportunity to teach development courses, especially at a time when the subject is being taught at fewer and fewer German universities. Furthermore, she looks forward to working together closely with political scientists at CIS, as well as with other researchers working at both the University of Zurich and ETH on topics related to political economy.

When asked why economists are so strongly represented in research projects on development-related political, social and policy

issues, she notes that many of the main sponsors of basic research in these areas, such as the World Bank and the IMF, think and function in economic terms. Trained economists, herself included, usually feel more comfortable



Katharina Michaelowa

with quantitative research methods, she adds. Yet, both quantitative and qualitative methods have their place, Michaelowa explains: "Quantitative research often leads to counter-intuitive findings, like our findings that class size has little to no influence on educational outcomes in western Africa. Contrary to common idea that small class size translates into a better education, it is doubtful whether qualitative methods could have discovered such a macro-trend. In contrast, however, only qualitative research methods can adequately explain this phenomenon by showing that the quality of frontal teaching style is independent of class size."

Developmental studies, she further explains, are no different from other social sciences in terms of methodological tools used to generate coherent results. While her own work often deals with questions of efficiency, she notes that considering efficiency alone is not enough, especially when the objective is to formulate concrete policy recommendations. In particular, ignoring the interests

of key political actors often translates into ineffective policy advice. This political aspect has increasingly been incorporated into development aid policy - hence buzzwords like "good governance" and "process-conditionality" - which try to take political realities into account when aid policy decisions are made.

This particular aspect of development aid has given her impulse and direction for her new research projects, where she will look at poverty reduction outcomes for projects which use process-based conditionality rather than outcome-based conditionality for aid, comparing their effects on policy equilibria. As she feels that the development of human capabilities and human resources is key to the development process, she also would like to analyze these issues with a specific focus on education policy. ■

You can find out more about Professor Michaelowa and her work at:
<http://www.ipz.unizh.ch/mitarbeiter/interne/michaelowaEng.php>

CIS Guest Scholar Robert Bleiker

Roland Bleiker, an Associate Professor at the School of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland in Australia, spent part of his sabbatical leave as a visiting scholar at CIS this fall. CIS staff writer Sara Kuepfer met with him to talk about his intellectual background and academic work.

Born and raised in Zurich, Roland Bleiker studied international politics in Paris, Toronto and Vancouver, before he eventually moved to Australia to pursue his PhD in International Relations. It was a combination of the program content offered at Australian National University, along with an attractive scholarship offer, that led him to move to the new continent.

The study of international relations at Australian universities is more historical, normative and interpretative as opposed to social-scientific, Bleiker explains. Thus, he sees himself “fit in better intellectually” in Australia than he would in the United States, for example, where quantitative work is more heavily emphasized. At Australian National University, he wrote his dissertation on transnational social movements and practices of dissent, which he later turned into a book titled *Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Another long-term research interest of Bleiker is the conflict between the two Koreas. Between 1986 - 1988, Bleiker worked as Chief of Office of the Swiss Delegation to the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Panmunjom, the Korean DMZ. He spent another year in South Korea in 1998, serving as a visiting Professor at Pusan National University, and he has regularly returned to the country since. His latest book *Divided Korea: Toward A Culture of Reconciliation* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005) reflects his long-held preoccupation with the conflict.

While at CIS, Bleiker was working on his current project on emotions and politics. His interest in the topic was sparked by the observation that although emotions play an important role in the way people react to security threats and world events, political scientists

are poorly equipped to take emotions into account when analyzing political processes. Bleiker is currently looking for ways in which emotions can be conceptualized.

One important source that can be used to study emotions, says Bleiker, are visual representations, such as photographs. In a visual age such as ours, Bleiker explains, images



Roland Bleiker

representing current events have a powerful impact on how we feel about and react to these events. Moreover, dramatic world events that can be easily captured through powerful imagery tend to grab our attention much more easily than other, equally important security threats. The terrorist attacks of 9/11, for example, would perhaps not have triggered the strong popular reaction they did had the attacks not been captured on screen. In contrast, more gradual processes such as the spread of contagious diseases and environmental degradation, which are a greater cause of death globally than terrorist violence, are paid less attention to as they are not so easily representable through dramatic imagery. “The logic of pictures prioritizes dramatic events, and terrorism is the ultimate image-event,” Bleiker explains.

Media representations of transnational security issues strongly shape the way we perceive and react to the issue in question. A case in point is the way the HIV/Aids epidemic in Africa has been represented in the Western media in the past two decades. In a recent

paper, Bleiker criticizes the way people with Aids in Africa have been represented as passive victims of the disease, which reinforces colonial-era stereotypes about Africans. Such representations may trigger compassion in Western viewers, but the pictures fail to convey “the complexities of the local and personal situation” of people living with Aids, Bleiker writes.

Nevertheless, Bleiker has observed a shift in the representation of the disease in recent years, whereby the focus is slowly changing from the representation of “people dying with Aids to people living with Aids.” As an example, Bleiker’s article describes a photography project in Ethiopia, where children with HIV/Aids were provided with cameras and tasked with taking pictures representing how they experience life with the disease. The photography project resulted in a series of pictures that break down the hierarchies between the victims of the disease and the photographer, thus conveying a much more “pluralist” view of what it means to be living with HIV/Aids.

Through his work, Bleiker seeks to add an additional dimension of human experience to the study of international processes. By becoming more aware of how media images shape our perception of security issues, and by understanding how our emotions shape our reaction to traumatic world events, we are better equipped to address these issues. For example, says Bleiker, this knowledge may allow us to deal more intelligently with terrorist trauma by avoiding the common “us versus them” reaction we have observed in the post-9/11 United States. Moreover, increased emotional awareness may make us less susceptible to politicians appealing to our emotions.

Through his work, Bleiker seeks to broaden the spectrum of knowledge we use to understand political processes, which he hopes will make us more attune to the breadth of existing transnational challenges. Bleiker hopes that this new body of knowledge will eventually lead to better policy and, ultimately, to a “more inclusive transnational community.” ■

Recent Publications

Featured Books

Wenger, Andreas; Wollenmann, Reto (eds.). *Bioterrorism: Confronting a Complex Threat*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2007 (forthcoming)

Especially since the anthrax attacks of 2001, the issue of bioterrorism has been controversial: Are governments underestimating the potential hazard of biological toxins, as some claim, or is the danger in fact exaggerated? What are the policy options for dealing with such a complex threat? The authors of this book offer a reasoned assessment of the issues at the core of the debates. Identifying a high level of uncertainty as a key characteristic of the bioterrorism threat, the authors examine the legacies of the secret state biowarfare programs of the previous century, analyze academic and political controversies about current dangers, and consider the impact of rapid scientific and technological change on the development of future threats. In the process, they provide new insight into the broader question of risk management and the role of public and private actors in international security relations.

Friesendorf, Cornelius. *US Foreign Policy and the War on Drugs: Displacing the Cocaine and Heroin Industry (CSS Studies in Security and International Relations, Andreas Wenger and Victor Mauer (eds.))*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007 (forthcoming)

This book explores how US foreign policy has exacerbated the global drug problem. It analyses a crucial side effect of coercive US strategies on farmers, traffickers and governments: the geographic displacement of the cocaine and heroin industry. The book offers an original explanation of the adaptability of drug markets to state pressure. Using IR theory, it highlights the negative consequences of policies that rely on coercion. To explain displacement, a causal mechanism is developed and applied to three cases: the destruction of the 'French Connection' in the 1970s and its impact on Southeast Asia

and Mexico; the shooting-down of suspected trafficking planes over Peru in the 1990s; and the current US-sponsored war in Colombia. While the link between foreign policy and displacement should not be oversimplified, Friesendorf argues that US initiatives have been a major cause behind the global spread of cocaine and heroin.

Nuenlist, Christian; Locher, Anna (eds.). *Transatlantic Relations at Stake: Aspects of NATO, 1956–1972*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2006 (Zürcher Beiträge zur Sicherheitspolitik 78), 2006

In August 2004, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich hosted a conference on NATO in the 1960s. Established Cold War historians and younger scholars elaborated on the expansion of NATO's political role, which came to complement or even exceed its military and force-planning functions. The publication assembles articles covering the decade of the 1960s in three sections. It focuses on rifts between Europe and the United States; on central issues including arms control, détente, and de Gaulle; and on the role of individuals in the transatlantic framework. In particular, the book offers an alliance perspective on issues including the Berlin crisis, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the Harmel report. Taking into consideration a wealth of newly available primary sources, the authors paint a complex and nuanced picture of NATO's "coming of age."

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European Politics

Leuffen, Dirk. "Wenn Zwei sich streiten, freut sich der Dritte? Divided Government im dynamischen Mehrebenensystem der EU." *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 13(2), 2006, 201–227.

Leuffen, Dirk. "Bienvenu or Access Denied? Recruiting French Political Elites for In-depth Interviews." *French Politics* 3(4), 2006, 201–227.

Rittberger, Berthold; Schimmelfennig, Frank (eds.). *Die EU auf dem Weg zum Verfassungsstaat*. Frankfurt: Campus, 2006.

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Schimmelfennig, Frank; Engert, Stefan; Knobel, Heiko. *International Socialization in Europe: European Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Change*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

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Lehmkuhl, Dirk. "...und sie bewegt sich doch". Der späte Bruch mit verkehrspolitischen Pfadabhängigkeiten durch europäische Integration und nationalen Reformdruck." In *Politik in Deutschland*. Schmidt, Manfred Schmidt; Reimut Zohlhöfer (eds.). Opladen: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006, 363–384.

Ruloff, Dieter (ed.). *China und Indien: Supermächte des 21. Jahrhunderts?* Zurich: Rüegger, 2007 (forthcoming).

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Bernauer, Thomas; Aerni, Philipp. "Competition for Public Trust: Causes and Consequences of Extending the Transatlantic Biotech Dispute to Developing Countries." In *The International Politics of Genetically Modified Food*. Robert Falkner (ed.). Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, 138–154.

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