

# CIS News

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CIS News

## CIS Chair in Swiss Politics Filled

On 1 February 2008, Adrian Vatter took up his position as professor of Swiss politics at the University of Zurich and the CIS, after the untimely death of Ulrich Klöti in 2006. Vatter was previously assistant professor in Bern (2001-2002), visiting professor at the University of Konstanz (2002-2004) and held a chair in Konstanz (2004-2008). He lives in Bern and is married with two children.

By Karin Gilland Lutz

The most recent addition to the CIS professorial body is Adrian Vatter. He wrote his dissertation at the University of Bern ("Eigennutz als Grundmaxime in der Politik", 1994), and left the world of academia behind for the private sector until his dissertation supervisor Wolf Linder offered him a part-time position as "oberassistent" in 1996. In 2001, he finished his habilitation ("Kantonale Demokratien im Vergleich. Entstehungsgründe, Interaktionen und Wirkungen politischer Institutionen in den Schweizer Kantonen") and became assistant professor for political analysis and policy evaluation in Bern, a position which he held until he left for Konstanz in 2002. There, Vatter held the chair in policy analysis and political theory until he arrived in Zurich this year.

After almost exactly two months as professor of Swiss politics in Zurich, Adrian

Vatter could conclude for himself what others have known for a long time: that the ratio of students-to-teaching-staff is very high indeed in political science. Nevertheless, one of the main reasons why Vatter decided to come to Zurich were the limited opportunities in Konstanz to teach the topic he researches: Swiss politics. "It's a completely different experience to teach a topic that you know from researching it yourself, as compared to one that you know from reading other peoples' books about it," says Vatter with reference to political theory, and adds that the level of interest in Switzerland is far lower in Germany than vice versa - "the only time during my years in Konstanz that anyone asked me anything about Swiss politics was when Blocher lost his seat in the national government."



Adrian Vatter

Since arriving in Zurich, Vatter has reorganised his chair into three sections: (1) political institutions, (2) elections and direct-democratic votes, and (3) policy analysis and evaluation. The

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first section concerns itself with political institutions such as direct democracy, federalism and consociationalism. Here, Vatter and his collaborators are just starting on a new project financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (NFP 58) on direct democracy and religious minorities. "The question we want to ask in this project is whether direct democracy is a tool that protects different kinds of religious minorities, or whether it rather tends to lead to discriminatory legislation," Vatter explains. Another current project in this section – also financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation – deals with the quality of democracy in the different



Swiss cantons. "Our hypothesis is that in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, democracy is perceived rather as a representative process, whereas in the German-speaking part the participative element is prevalent," Vatter summarizes the project and stresses that this is not meant in a normative sense: "It's an empirical question, nothing more and nothing less." The second section of the chair focuses on decision-making processes and electoral behaviour. Among other things, Vatter and his collaborators contribute to the VOX analyses carried out after each national-level direct-democratic vote in Switzerland. The third



right place at the right time, things you can't influence no matter how good you are at what you're doing."

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section, policy analysis and evaluation, is headed by Thomas Widmer. One of his current research projects deals with the question of how the interdependencies between the processes of creation, diffusion, and utilization of information affect public performance. Another ongoing project addresses the position of the muslim population in the Canton of Zurich (financed by the Department of Justice and Home Affairs, Canton of Zurich).

On a more personal level, Adrian Vatter regards life within academia with a certain distance. "I guess it's an advantage if you're a bit strange," he reflects, and points to the difficulty of leaving work at the office when work and self are so closely connected. To boot, there is the common view of academia as a calling that leaves no space for anything else, and the difficulty of questioning that myth, especially at the outset of one's career. "You have to burn for what you're doing, otherwise the price is too high. Still, planning to become a professor is something I'd warn up-and-coming talents against, since so much depends on being at the

# Who Wants to Be a Millionaire? Scientist?

*What is your research question? How is your hypothesis connected to the theory? Is there an endogeneity problem? How do you define your main concept? These and many other questions were raised as the MA-CIS students who started their work in the fall of 2006 presented their thesis research at a one-day internal conference.*

*By Karin Gilland Lutz*

The first ever MA-CIS cohort started in the fall of 2006. Almost three semesters later, in March 2008, these students presented their MA thesis as work in progress to peers and supervisors at a day-long internal conference. Present in the audience were MA-CIS students as well as CIS professors Frank Schimmelfennig, Katja Michaelowa, Andy Wenger and Lars-Erik Cederman, who chaired a session each. Myriam Dunn, Dirk Leuffen, Guido Schwelinius and Lena Schaffer acted as discussants during the day's proceedings.

For the presenting students, it was an opportunity to obtain feedback and input on their work (which was "work in progress") from a wider range of

*Bianca Sarbu, Alexandra Schärner and Guido Schwelinius at the MA-CIS conference.*



experts than usual, as well as a chance to experience how business is done at academic conferences world-wide – a central element of life as a professional academic. For the first-year MA-CIS students present, the day was an eye-opener in terms of getting a sense for what it means to write an MA thesis. For the professors present, the day gave an inkling as to who among the MA-CIS students might have what it takes to write a PhD.

## Program

**Alexandra Schärner**, Ethno-Nationalist Conflict and Identity: The Search for Belonging in Africa's Great Lakes Region.

**Johannes Hamacher**, Ruthless Rebels? Exploring Rebel Group Behavior toward Civilian Populations.

**Julian Wucherpfennig**, Dynamics of Civil War: Taking Time and Events Seriously

**Mikael Marila**, Maintaining International Peace and Security: An Analysis of the Impact of Refugees on the Deployment of United Nations Peacekeeping Missions into Civil Conflicts 1951-2001.

**Christa Deiwijs**, The Effect of Perceived or Real Bias in Third-Party Interventions on the Recurrence of Civil Wars.

**Daniela Schulz**, ESDP Crisis Management Operations and Human Rights.

**Rachel Schubert**, Humanitarian Aid's Impact on Civil Wars: A Cause for Concern?

**Linda Maduz**, Welfare State Development in East Asia: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of East Asian Social Protection Systems.

**Mark Thompson**, New International Trade Theory and Economic Development. An Agent-Based Approach.

**Thomas Jensen**, Coalition Formation within the European Parliament.

# CIS Colloquium: Bringing Researchers Together

The CIS aims to bring researchers together. The CIS Colloquium contributes to this goal by providing a forum for the presentation of research conducted within the CIS as well as outside of it. Originally, the CIS Colloquium was also a platform for PhD students. However, as of the fall of 2008 they have their own colloquium within the CIS and will not regularly present their work in the "old" Colloquium.

The CIS Colloquium's informal setting encourages presenters to try out new ideas on their fellow researchers, or to discuss research design problems for which they have not yet found a suitable solution.



Marc Kilgour (above). Susan Wright (below).



## Program

**Philip Manow** (University of Konstanz) & **Kees Van Kersbergen** (University of Amsterdam) The Impact of Class Coalitions, Cleavage Structures and Church-State Conflicts on Welfare State Development.

**Fiona Barker** (EUI Florence) Reconciling Diversities: Sub-State Nationalism and the Politics of Immigration in Divided Societies.

**Stephanie Rickard** (Dublin City University) Unequal Costs: Examining the Missing Link between Trade Openness and Government Spending.

**Miranda Schreurs** (FU Berlin) From the Bottom Up: The Local Politics of Climate Change.

**D. Scott Bennett** (Penn State) Governments, Civilians, and the Evolution of Insurgency: Modeling the Early Dynamics of Insurgencies.

**Idean Salehyan** (University of North Texas) International Conflict and the Delegation of War to Rebel Organizations.

**Susan Wright** (University of Michigan) The Origins and History of the US Counter-Bioterrorism Program.

**Gesine Fuchs** (University of Basel) Pay Equity by Law? Legal Mobilization by Social Movements in Four European Countries.

**Christian Joppke** (American University Paris) Spiegel der Identität: Das Islamische Kopftuch in Westeuropa.

**Marc Kilgour** (Wilfrid Laurier University) Stabilizing Power Sharing.

# UN Conflict Prevention and the Environment: Hot Air or a Cool Breeze?

*By Simon Mason and Victor Mauer*

We are talking with Chris Coleman, Principal Officer in the Executive Office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the 38th floor of the UN building: "There is a danger that conflict resolution is understood as something very abstract and philosophical, which is a hindrance to action. Focusing on environmental factors can help make conflict prevention tangible. Take an example: there are pastoralists and traditional farmers, they need the same area that is limited, what can we do about this?"

Working on the policy report "Linking Environment and Conflict Prevention: The Role of the United Nations" we often felt that we were hearing a lot of hot air – and not simply because we were writing about climate change. Talking with Chris Coleman was one of those rare moments that felt more like a cool breeze. It was not just that he used concrete, visual imagery; it was also a sense of realistic optimism that one can do something. This is not typical when trying to figure out what the UN is doing, or could do, in relation to preventing conflicts related to the environment. Yet this was exactly the task we set ourselves when we started the project in the spring of 2007. The Swiss Mission to the UN had mandated the Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich and swisspeace, Bern, to write a report on the link between environment and (violent) conflict, and the role of the UN in dealing with such conflicts. The report was published nearly a year later, in June 2008.

The report is split into three parts: the first part summarizes the state of the art research on the links between environment and conflict; the second part explores the role of the UN in dealing with such conflicts; and the third part summarizes some 26 measures to prevent environment-related conflicts.

As regards the first part, it is important to point out that no conflict is monocausal. The very concept of "environmental conflicts" is tricky, as it suggests that a specific type of environment or "scarcity" of natural resources leads to a specific form of conflict. The reality is more complex. There is a growing consensus that the form of human use of the environment is more related to various types of conflict and cooperation than a specific type of natural resource. To take this into account yet to keep things simple enough to be useful to policy makers, we distinguished between three types of environment-related conflicts. This grouping was also chosen in view of the task of identifying possible measures to prevent such conflicts.

The first type refers to direct-use conflicts related to local and regional resource scarcity. The use of the resource is close to where the resource is located. Often these conflicts are of a low escalation level, and the economic and political capacity to deal with such tensions in developing countries is often very limited. Examples are situations where different land use systems clash. Property rights and land tenure systems can be useful in preventing such conflicts, yet they must consider the traditional systems already in place if they are to be effective. Participatory measures to get people affected

involved in the decision-making process are called for here.

The second type refers to indirect-use conflicts related to the "resource curse", i.e. a situation in which the resource is used far from where the resource was originally located. Diamonds, timber, oil, drugs and coltan are good examples. If the political framework is not developed, the use of these resources is often related to instability and highly escalated conflicts, because a lot of money can be made from them. Better regulation of exploration, production, trading and consumption are key measures for preventing such conflicts.

The third type refers to complex conflict "hot spots" where the dynamics of a large-scale, escalated conflict have to be considered as much as the forms of natural resource use (both direct and indirect). This last group of conflicts does not really fit into a clean conceptual scheme, but serves to grasp the messy reality. The war in Darfur is a case in point here. What type of conflict is it? Local land skirmishes have always existed there, yet generally, traditional land property rights and conflict management systems could



*Children in the southern Nuba Mountains, 2005. Picture courtesy of Mey E. Ahmed.*



cope and prevent such clashes from escalating. In combination with a long series of droughts in the 1970s and 1980s and detrimental policies by the government of Sudan, these traditional systems were overtaxed. At the same time, the diverging development of the center and the periphery, and shifting alliances to maintain political power, played key roles. There are measures to deal with this conflict, but the first key lesson is that there are no easy solutions or "quick fixes", especially as the role of external actors (USA, China, Eritrea, Egypt, Chad, Libya) complicate matters.

Of the various types of conflicts, the third seems the most media-friendly, the second the most research-friendly, and the first the most neglected. One of the main messages in our report, therefore, is for the UN to focus on the first, the direct-use type of conflicts. Why? First of all, because they are important, even if they are not very dramatic. The daily struggle for survival for most people in subsistence economies does not lead to wars, but can lead to tensions and small-scale violent clashes. If people migrate from their land, end up in the city and become part of a political movement that turns violent, this can hardly be described as an "environmental conflict", but that does not mean it should not or cannot be addressed, and that environmental factors do not play a key role. The second reason for the UN to deal with this type of conflict is because it is tangible, concrete - and there is therefore some chance that the UN might have a positive effect. The Sahel zone is a good example: It is an area affected by climate change already today, changes that may become even more marked

in the future. Moreover, the impact of autocratic governments ignoring or oppressing their people, and the negative consequences of US counter-terrorism policies demonizing any opposition to these governments are much more pressing problems than the impact of climate change in the Sahel zone today. If the UN focuses on concrete problems such as good governance, land tenure, access to water, and support for the development of policies that enable local participation and the development of sustainable livelihoods, it could take a key step in dealing with pressing problems of the moment, as well as addressing root causes before the conflict escalates.

To do this, the UN has to strike a very delicate balance between politicizing and depoliticizing conflicts. The danger of politicizing a conflict is that the government will be likely to try and block any external efforts to change the status quo, as the topics of land, water and public participation are "securitized". On the other hand the danger of depoliticizing conflicts is that one turns everything into a technical or economic problem, whitewashing the actors involved from their responsibility. The solution is flown in from the outside, standard "one size fits all" solutions are imposed. Economic globalization becomes the pill to solve all ills. The complexity of local political realities is ignored. This approach has its merits, as it can be agreed on at the global level of the Security Council, and it makes life easier for the governments concerned, as they are not responsible for the seemingly apolitical nature of the conflict. There is only one problem with this approach: It does not work. Even the very best solution imposed from the out-

side is doomed to fail, because local and regional actors do not have ownership of it.

Thus, rather than developing any "ideal" solution in our report, we tried to take into account the various (and at times contradicting) views in a balanced manner. This balancing approach also meant that we needed to learn to live with the tension of paradoxes between the need to complexify and simplify problems and solutions.

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# Political Strategies in Direct-Democratic Campaigns

*CIS PhD students Laurent Bernhard and Regula Hänggli are collaborating on an NCCR-project, led by Hanspeter Kriesi, which examines three direct-democratic campaigns in Switzerland. In this article, the three authors reveal some of their results.*

*By Laurent Bernhard, Regula Hänggli and Hanspeter Kriesi*

The study of direct-democratic campaigns has long been neglected in political science. It has simply been taken for granted that these campaigns have minimal effects. More recent studies have nevertheless challenged that conventional wisdom and have increased interest in campaigns as a research topic. These studies, however, tend to focus on the voters' information processing and tend to neglect the campaigners' information strategies.

Our research question is: How do political campaigners try to influence the voters in order to win direct-democratic votes? In other words, our project examines the "information supply side."

The goal of our project is, first, to explore and to describe the different strategic choices made by the political actors involved. Second, we attempt to explain these choices as a function of certain context conditions and the strategic reactions of the various other actors involved. Third, we try to assess the effect of the different appeals in terms of their visibility, resonance and support in the public sphere and in the citizen public, as well as in terms of the citizens' voting behavior.

Our conceptual and theoretical frame-

work (Kriesi et al. 2007) assumes that the political actors who make the strategic choices are embedded in a context with institutional, issue-specific, and actor-specific aspects, all of which are decisive for the choices that actors are likely to make. Against this background, we have conceptually divided the set of choices into three subsets concerned with coalition formation, mobilization, and message crafting.

With respect to coalition formation, we expect the coalition formation of the actors involved to be based primarily on the actors' shared beliefs, and less on their short-term strategic considerations. This is in line with the advocacy coalition framework of Sabatier (2007).

With respect to mobilization, we rely on concepts from electoral campaign analyses, political marketing and social movement research. We expect campaigns to be especially intense when the actors involved expect a close outcome. Relying on political marketing, we develop expectations about the timing and targeting of the campaigns. In analogy to the concept of the action repertoire in social movement research, we introduce the notion of a communication repertoire and distinguish between direct and indirect channels based both on the actors' own organization and on the media. Most importantly, we expect actors to get the attention of the media above all by producing events with news value: The "nuts and bolts" of media management is the strategic scheduling of events.

Message crafting refers to decisions about agenda-building (priming,

framing) and rhetorical strategies. We build on Riker's dominance principle, on the literature of issue-ownership, and on the literature on framing, priming, agenda-building and agenda-setting. We also extend the notion of issue-ownership: Accepting that each issue has different aspects, we can speak of "issue attribute ownership." This opens up the possibility that different actors can "own" different attributes of one and the same issue. Of particular importance here are Sniderman and Theriault (2004) and Druckman et al. (2004, 2007) about framing in competitive contexts. We believe that the focus on the salience aspect of issues and issue attributes has led students of framing to neglect the position/evaluative aspect of issues and their attributes. We suggest that it is not only important to study the emphasis actors put on certain attributes, but also how they evaluate them.

Based on this general framework, we have elaborated a twofold strategy of data collection: Interviews with the individuals responsible for the campaigns of the key collective actors, and content analysis of the campaign material produced by these actors. Each actor is interviewed twice, at the beginning and at the end of the campaign. The interviews are based on structured questionnaires, which we developed for the first campaign and improved considerably for the following two. In the case of the tightened asylum law, our first campaign (2006), we completed two interviews with all 47 organizations that were identified as relevant actors in the course of the campaign. The two other campaigns under scrutiny are the corporate tax reform (2008) and the naturalization initiative (2008). For the



former, we have been able to interview all 31 relevant organizations. For the latter, interviews with all 33 relevant organizations are still being conducted at the time of writing.

So far, we have conducted some initial analyses of the asylum law campaign (Selb et al., 2008, Kriesi et al. 2008b, 2008c). They reveal that coalition formation in a direct-democratic campaign is decisively shaped by the institutional setting and the belief systems of the actors involved. Thus, the binary logic of the vote (i.e., the yes/no choice faced by the voters) imposed the formation of two camps in spite of all the substantive distinctions the actors wished to make. Network analysis allowed us to identify and to describe the opposing coalitions and their respective component parts. The political parties were the key actors in this campaign, but as expected, they were not the only actors involved. According to the assessment of all actors we interviewed, the SVP – the party of the new populist right – was the most powerful actor overall. Our analysis also confirmed that in both camps the heterogeneity of the alliances led to the formation of smaller coalitions, all based on distinct sets of beliefs.

Concerning the mobilization choices, the second aspect of our theoretical framework, we found that the two opposing coalitions adopted slightly different strategies. Our results are in line with our hypothesis that the actors' campaign behavior depends on the position they take in a given vote. This confirms our broader expectation that campaign decisions are highly pre-structured by

the institutional and the issue-specific setting.

With respect to the timing aspect, the "no" campaigners started significantly earlier with their campaign activities than their adversaries. We attribute this result to the fact that the contra camp had to collect 50 000 signatures in order for the vote to take place at all. Since the vote took place immediately after the collection phase, the challengers faced a strong incentive not interrupt their mobilisation effort.

As far as targeting is concerned, campaigners have to decide whether to focus on probable "yes" voters, probable "no" voters or independents and "undecided". In the case of the asylum law, the two campaign sides mainly targeted their own respective constituencies. Taking into consideration that we are dealing with an issue that was very familiar to the voters, citizens' preferences were assumed to be well established. In such a situation, mobilizing rather than chasing unaligned voters is the dominant campaign strategy. Regarding the communication repertoire, however, there was no difference between the pro and the contra campaigners, once the invested resources, such as money, staff and volunteers, were controlled for.

Regarding the rhetorical strategies, first results suggest that the opponents of the revised asylum law relied more on negative campaigning, such as attacking the opposite side or its position. This is in line with the view that the magnitude of these attacks depends on the actors' positions: Defenders of the status quo typically have nothing to defend posi-

tively. The status quo is visible to all and not subject to transformation by rhetorical reinterpretation. The proponents of change, in contrast, tend to make "positive" appeals. In addition, we could show that the victorious pro camp relied on a trespassing strategy which consisted in endorsing the humanitarian tradition of Switzerland, the main argument of their adversaries.

Finally, our project also made use of panel data which allowed us to examine the dynamics of opinion formation, especially the role of partisan predispositions in the voters' choices (Selb et al. 2008). Direct-democratic votes are particularly well suited in this regard, since partisan predispositions and voting choices do not carry the flavor of tautology inherent in parliamentary and presidential elections. Confirming previous work (Lazarsfeld et al. 1944, Gelman and King 1993, Finkel 1993), we find that, as voters accumulate issue-specific and partisan knowledge in the course of the campaign, vote intentions dramatically converge on pre-campaign partisan predispositions. Moreover, voters whose issue-specific and partisan predispositions collide tend to resolve their ambivalence in favor of their partisan leanings.

#### *Papers listed*

Finkel S.E., Schrott, P.R. 1995. Campaign Effects on Voter Choice in the German Election of 1990. *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 349-77.

Gelman A., King G. 1993. Why Are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls so Variable When Votes Are so Predictable? *British Journal of Political Science* 23: 409-51.

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Kriesi, Hanspeter, Laurent Bernhard, Regula Hänggli 2007. Political Strategies in Direct-Democratic Campaigns, NCC Working Paper No. 8, July 2007.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Laurent Bernhard, Regula Hänggli 2008a. Political Campaign Strategies. Politische Vierteljahresschrift 2 (forthcoming 2008).

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Laurent Bernhard, Regula Hänggli 2008b. Coalition Formation in Direct-democratic Campaigns: A Case Study of the Vote on the Swiss Asylum Law. NCCR Working Paper No. 12, February 2008.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Laurent Bernhard, Regula Hänggli 2008c. Coalition formation in direct-democratic campaigns: a case study of the vote on the Swiss asylum law (unpublished manuscript).

Lazarsfeld, P.F., Berelson, B., Gaudet, H. 1944. The People's Choice. How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sabatier, Paul A. and Christopher M. Weible (2007). The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications', in Paul A. Sabatier (ed.) Theories of the Policy Process, 2nd edition, pp. 189-220. Boulder, Col: Westview.

Selb, Peter, Hanspeter Kriesi, Regula Hänggli, Mirko Marr 2008. Partisan choices in a direct-democratic campaign, (unpublished manuscript).

Simon Hug has left the CIS in order to take up a political science chair in applied methods in international relations at the University of Geneva.

Stefanie Walter will be the Fritz-Thyssen Fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University for one year as of the fall of 2008.

Fabrizio Gilardi becomes CIS Professor in public policy in the fall of 2008.

Silja Häusermann has won a Max Weber fellowship at the EUI (Florence). As of September 2008, she will spend one year there, pursuing her post-doctoral work on the dynamics of institutional change.

Additionally, Silja Häusermann was awarded the Jean Blondel Ph.D. Prize 2008 by the European Consortium for Political Research, and the Ernst B. Haas Best Dissertation Prize 2008 by the APSA European Politics and Society section for her Ph.D. thesis "Modernization in Hard Times. Post-Industrial Pension Politics in France, Germany and Switzerland", which she defended in 2007 at the University of Zurich.

Hanspeter Kriesi will be on sabbatical from the CIS during the fall of 2008. He will be at the EUI (Florence), and in his absence Romain Lachat will return from New York to teach Kriesi's course on comparative politics. A team of three - Marc Helbling, Romain Lachat and Katayoun Safi - will take care of Kriesi's research seminar.

The current stand (July 2008) regarding the 2008 MA-CIS intake is that 12 new students from 6 different countries will start the program in 2008.

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## Conference Proceedings

*The CIS periodically supports conferences to bring politicians, academics, and the media together to discuss current topics of relevance to the CIS. Two such conferences recently took place: Religious Communities in Switzerland in a Time of Globalization, organized by a consortium of universities under the banner Civil/Society/Projects (CSP), and the Conference on Development Economics and Policy, held by the Verein für Socialpolitik (VfS). The two conferences had different audiences, different topics, and very different methods of investigation—in short, two worlds.*

*By Mark Thompson*

*VfS Conference Proceedings,  
30-31.05.2008*

The VfS, founded in 1873, is parent organization to a number of smaller, topic-oriented research committees. Its Development Economics Council convened this conference under the joint organization of Stefanie Engel, Professor of Environmental Policy and Economics, ETH Zurich, and Katharina Michaelowa, CIS Professor of Political Economy of Developing Countries, University of Zurich.

A keynote speech by Thomas Sterner, an environmental economist from the University of Gothenburg, opened the conference. Sterner highlighted the need for developed and developing countries to share the burden of international climate policy. The next day's keynote speech by Fabrizio Zilibotti, a macroeconomist from the University of Zurich, underscored how developing countries might close the technology gap through flexible or rigid industrial institutions, depending on the size of this gap. In addition

to a poster presentation session, the conference's full schedule consisted of four sessions with four parallel thematic study groups: Aid, Economic Policy, Institutions and Political Economy, and Health and Education.

The next conference will most likely be held in Frankfurt. More information, along with the papers presented at the conference, can be found at:

<http://www2.vwl.wiso.uni-goettingen.de/ael/>

*CSP Conference Proceedings,  
04.06.2008*

The conference's main theme was the role of ethnic diasporas in Switzerland. Dr. Giuseppe Noy, former Justice of the Federal Court, opened the conference in this vein by stating that tolerance of minorities is an essential part of the rule of law. Jacques Picard, University of Basel, pointed out how globalization, migration, communication, and production structures can provoke nationalist backlashes and the formation of narrow group identities. Hans-Rudolf Wicker, University of Bern, then gave a practical account of how diasporas make up an important part of today's globalized society by exporting norms from their host country back into their country of origin, and even occasionally exacerbate conflict in their countries of origin. A concrete example of this was presented by Laurent Goetschel, University of Basel and swisspeace, who showed how the special relationship between Jews and Israel interact with Swiss national politics, where the Social Democrat Party (SP) sides with the Israel-critical Jews and the Swiss People's Party (SVP) sides with the ardent pro-Israel Jews;

the international Palestinian conflict thus becomes an ordering principle for national political groups and factions within the minority itself. Along similar lines, Samuel-Martin Behloul, University of Lucerne, talked about how the general political discourse on terrorism and its association with Islam has created a cultural schema applied to domestic political questions: The generic question of religious education thus becomes framed by certain politicians as a question of Islamic education so as to polarize voters. Rifa'at Lenzin of the Zürcher Lehrhaus underscored how feminist Islamic discourse gets caught between the male-dominated religious discourse of the Islamic world on the one hand, and on the other hand the Western feminist discourse that is preoccupied with sexual freedom and questions of equality that neglects religion, an essential part of female Islamic identity. The conference closed with a discussion led by Giuseppe Noy, whose prevailing theme was that minorities' need to "integrate" is tempered with the realization that the culture and religion of the "majority" is itself heterogeneous.

# Narrow Path to Peace

*Frank Pearl, High Presidential Counselor for Social and Economic Reintegration in Colombia, talked about his experiences at the CIS on 28 May 2008.*

*Interview by Jürg Roggenbauch*

*Translation by Mark Thompson*

**Mr. Pearl, a small war has raged in Colombia for decades. How do I integrate a long-time fighter, who has killed 15 people, into society again?**

*Before all else, that person must take responsibility for his actions— before the law, himself, and in the eyes of his fellow man. This includes being punished, recounting the truth so that the victims' families receive certainty about the fate of their relatives, and [so] the country can cultivate its historical memory in order to learn something from the past. And this also includes the obligation to alter one's behavior, to accept the rules of democracy, and to respect his fellow man. Should these principles be followed and society cooperate, then the numerous impediments in the difficult and long reintegration process can be overcome.*

**The fine line between punishing offenders and the effort to integrate them sooner or later, despite their crimes, is extraordinarily difficult and in addition, very controversial.**

*Naturally, for example, someone who has killed 15 people should be behind bars for 60 to 70 years. However, we don't have any choice but to include such people, too, in our efforts for peace. This means that we must be flexible in the carrying out of justice – for a higher purpose. All offenders must be punished, but at the same time they must have an incentive to give up and turn themselves over to the*

*state. While they must be held accountable, they also should receive a chance to reintegrate. An opportunity which should inspire them to give up their weapons. Thus further murder is at least prevented, the violence stopped.*

**Relatives of dead victims and other people who have suffered due to armed conflict are to be restituted by the offenders. How exactly?**

*On the one hand, families must find out the truth about their murdered or disappeared relatives. On the other hand, the offenders must make economic reparations. For example for houses, from which they have driven people who lived there. In addition, the state provides financial support.*

**Colombia recently extradited 14 paramilitary leaders to the USA. Critics claim that they were extradited only for drug-related offences, not for any crimes against humanity.**

*The same people who say "Colombia's government is not ready to extradite paramilitaries, because they are in bed with them," are those who today criticize that these people actually are being extradited. The state is not ready to retribute the victims, they now say. It's more important that currently around 670 former paramilitaries are in prison awaiting trial. They are the ones who actually carried out crimes at the behest of their leaders, and they can provide information better than anyone else. In addition, we have reached agreement with the USA to guarantee economic and other reparations for which the 14 extradited commanders are responsible.*

**Nevertheless, Colombia's government is often accused of preferring the right-wing paramilitaries and of disadvantaging the leftist guerillas.**

*The law for justice and peace, upon which the possibility for reintegration stands, is strict. The paramilitaries have accepted it, without having surrendered. Apparently, however, the demands of that law go too far for the FARC guerilla. Our goal is the reintegration of all armed fighters. In order to be reintegrated, they must nonetheless take responsibility for their actions and accept punishment. Whoever is not ready to do so, shall continue to be pursued as a common criminal. A whole series of high-ranking politicians is entangled in the machinations of paramilitary activity. They must answer to justice.*

**Is this a good sign, because the judiciary apparently is working well, or a bad one because so many await trial?**

*Both. The government strives for a cleansing. This is good, but it has its price.*

**Most of the paramilitaries have given up their weapons, and FARC, the biggest guerrilla [organization], has been substantially weakened. Is Colombia now actually coming closer to the end of its seemingly endless conflict?**

*That solely depends on whether FARC is ready for a peace process. When they'll be that far along, no one knows.*

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## Between Rumors and Rebels in Bujumbura

*Judith Vorrath is writing her PhD in a project on democratization in divided societies as part of the NCCR “Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century,” for which the CIS acts as leading house. To collect data for her dissertation, she spent two months in Bujumbura, the capital of Burundi. In this account of her travels, she reflects on some of her experiences in the field.*

*By Judith Vorrath*

“What are you doing in Burundi?” was one of the most common questions people asked me before and during my field research. Those asking before I left had often not heard about this small country in the African Great Lakes region, while others assumed it would not be a good idea to travel there due to the only very recently, and in fact only partially, settled civil war. The civil war and the ongoing political transformation were nevertheless the reasons why I went to Burundi. The civil war in Burundi, which started in 1993, was fought out mainly between Hutu and Tutsi (the same groups involved in violent conflict in neighboring Rwanda). It left more than 300 000 people dead and at least 600 000 people fled the country, most of them to Tanzania. At the end of 2002, Burundi had the second largest refugee population worldwide, topped only by the millions of Afghan refugees. The return of Burundian refugees and especially of exiled political elites after the peace and cease-fire agreements is at the core of my dissertation research. I spent most of my time in Burundi in the capital city of Bujumbura, to interview local and international experts as well as Burundian elites. However, in the following I

will not present the contents or results of my research, but rather the field experience as such.

Upon arriving in October 2007, my first impression of Bujumbura was that it was a dusty microcosm where people immediately recognized newcomers and where rumors spread easily. Receptionists, taxi drivers and all kinds of other local people constantly inquired where I was from, what I was doing in Burundi – and sometimes if I was married. Most foreigners are associated with the United Nations or some other organization in the humanitarian or development aid business. Thus, although I was not the only researcher from abroad, the fact that I was doing field studies without any host organization on the ground caused surprise, severe head shaking or suspicion – or all of the above simultaneously. However, most often people would simply observe me and though they normally talked in the local language (Kirundi), I often knew they were talking about me. Going down to eat breakfast in my hotel sometimes felt like entering a stage. Being used to the anonymity of a European city, this level of interest in me was sometimes hard to (under)stand. Yet, many people were

very helpful and even concerned about me. Burundians and other Africans I met frequently found my decision to go to an African country on my own brave (perhaps thinking to themselves that I was naïve rather than brave...), and they were at times worried I would get lost. I decided that there was no point in trying to change peoples’ perceptions, and that they could even be an advantage in some situations.

Overall, it was essential to be as open and consistent about the cause for my stay as possible, not only for ethical reasons, but also to prevent the accidental spread of rumors. Against this background, the two months were a time of constant considerations and trade-offs between decisions: What questions could I pose? What topics were sensitive? Why did I get this or that reply? Could I trust this person or not? How much personal distance was necessary, or damaging? And so on. One minor yet important case of conflicting goals was between coming across as competent and well-informed in an interview situation, and leaving my interview partners sufficient “space” in the conversation to prevent any undue exercise of influence on their answers. Mostly I had to trade the second for the first, with the result that I had to sit through long lessons in Burundian history, which some of my interview partners seemed to think I urgently needed.

Another strong impression Bujumbura made on me was the fact that I could not immediately tell that I was in a (post-)conflict country. The UN convoys on the road from the airport to the city and the high number of uniformed individuals in the streets (of whom many

*Downtown Bujumbura.*





must have been integrated former rebel fighters) were plain to see, but I had to go to the outskirts of Bujumbura to see bullet holes in façades and destroyed houses as direct signs of combat. With time, of course, the scars and legacies of war became more obvious. Beyond the extreme level of poverty, there often seemed to be latent fears and suspicions. In light of these circumstances, I was rather surprised about the openness of (some of) my interview partners: For example, nearly all of them brought up the ethnic issue, though I never raised that point myself. Contrary to the situation in Rwanda, talking about ethnicity is not a taboo in Burundi, though the issue of national reconciliation has not been systematically addressed there yet. In general, access to people, especially political elites, was less difficult to obtain than I had thought. I rapidly enlarged my contact list and nearly no one refused an interview or did not show up.

Most challenges I faced were instead of a logistic nature, like making contact by telephone since coverage for mobile phones was patchy and some people were very hard to track down even when the mobile coverage worked. In addition, there is no system of addresses in Bujumbura, and even if there are street names hardly anybody – including the taxi drivers – knows them. Thus, one day I ended up looking for the National Assembly which, my interview partner confidently told me, every taxi driver should know. As I had feared, things turned out differently. It got even more complicated when I realized my driver did not only have no clue about the address or directions, but also had never heard of the National Assembly. My mentioning that

it was the parliament did not ring any bells either, so we kept driving around and looking until I finally got through with a phone call to somebody who could give useful directions. For obvious reasons, I preferred walking during the day when the distance was manageable. As it is not so common to see white people walking around, some incredulity and occasional “muzungu” (Kirundi for white person) cries followed me. Of course sellers and beggars approached me, but normally not in too adamant a way. I basically never felt threatened or unsafe during the day, though security guards and taxi drivers constantly warned me of all the thieves. In this case, they were really talking about criminals in the streets, but often Burundians refer to their politicians in the same way, calling them “voleurs”. When doing this, they point to newly constructed buildings and stress that one only needs a couple of months in certain official positions to fill one’s pockets. Corruption is certainly a big issue and several scandals have upset the Burundian political scene recently. But the phenomenon is equally present on lower levels as a kind of survival strategy penetrating people’s everyday life.

After about one month I had pretty much got used to Bujumbura, but I also got a bit tired of the many overwhelming impressions and of being “on duty” as a researcher virtually all the time. Nevertheless, I only left the city twice to go to the interior of the country, once to talk to repatriated refugees, and once to visit the home village of a Burundian friend. Needless to say, logistics were a tricky issue here, and in addition every departure from Bujumbura was poten-



*Soldier standing guard.*

tially risky, because the remaining rebels are located mainly around the capital. Most of the time, vehicles with white people would only be stopped for road charges – followed by the provision of a receipt! – but I did meet people who had themselves been in very tense situations or had even been robbed, or whose colleagues had had such unpleasant experiences. For local people the situation is much worse, and during my two trips out of Bujumbura I realized that locals go very quiet when uniformed men stop the mini-bus to check everybody’s documents. The greatest part of the Burundian population lives in the countryside, and in addition to high levels of violence and banditry and low levels of social services, they normally have to eke out a living by farming tiny pieces of land. In Bujumbura it is easy to forget the fragility of the whole situation, until there is an incident that brings back into focus that Burundi is in limbo between peace and war.

Personal field trip experiences are anecdotal and I am far from able to present a definitive account of Burundi or its people. There were many surprises, and many of them continue to puzzle me to this day. However, what appears noteworthy



## Sino-Capitalism at the CIS

or even bizarre to an outsider – like me – often reflects a situation of hardship and insecurity for the local people. In light of these circumstances, I am even more grateful to the many people I met who have provided their time to help me out without having a direct benefit from it.

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*Christopher McNally of the East West Center in Hawaii visited the CIS in July 2008 to present his work on capitalism in China.*

*By Mark Thompson*

China has always had a certain mystique for Europeans and Americans, which most likely comes from the latter's ignorance of the country. Christopher McNally dispelled that mystique to a large extent with his presentation at the CIS. Entitled "Sino-capitalism," the presentation developed the thesis that China's economy is an essentially capitalist one, but at the same time McNally tempered this statement slightly due to the Chinese economy remaining in transition. The regulation of intellectual and other property rights are the next major steps towards a definitively capitalist economy in China, according to McNally.

What defines the Chinese version of capitalism, "Sino-capitalism," is the dominant role of the state in the system. McNally likened this variant unto capitalism in Bismarck's Germany and Meiji Japan. He traced this back to China's tributary state (imperial state), where families had to divide their wealth in order to avoid predation by the government. This gave rise to an entrepreneurial class beneath a strong bureaucratic state, both of which persist in *guanxi* family networks and in the Communist party.

The Chinese Communist party currently instrumentalizes capitalism to legitimize its rule, and in doing so it has become "addicted to economic growth."



*Christopher McNally.*

This growth comes at a massive ecological and social cost, which the CCP tries to address with a mix of repression and government responsiveness. But the régime's total dependence on growth has meant that it has had to guarantee the supply of raw materials from Africa, and to do so, China developed a submarine fleet and naval bases along the Indian Ocean to counter American naval predominance there. Yet, in his talk McNally characterized this aspect of China's rise as not a specifically Chinese feature, but rather as the natural behavior of a large capitalist economy striving for a place in the international political economy. *Sino-capitalism* will be published as a book, and McNally's previous book is already available: *China's Emergent Political Economy – Capitalism in the Dragon's Lair*. New York and London: Routledge, 2008.

## PASEC Meeting at the CIS

*From April 30 to May 6 2008 the CIS hosted a meeting of the Scientific Board of the Programme d'analyse des systèmes éducatifs de la CONFEMEN (PASEC), the CONFEMEN secretariat from Dakar, Senegal, and some invited experts.*

*By Katharina Michaelowa*

PASEC is a program for educational evaluation, similar to PISA or TIMSS, but specialized in primary education in francophone countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Its objectives are: 1. to identify the determinants of student achievement; 2. to measure and compare student achievement; 3. to build capacity within the national evaluation units of member countries. The program is anchored institutionally within the Conference of francophone education ministers (CONFEMEN), Switzerland also being a CONFEMEN member.

The meeting was opened by the Secretary General of CONFEMEN and by the Swiss representative to CONFEMEN. Participants included economists, statisticians, political scientists and educational scientists from Belgium, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, France, Germany, Madagascar, Niger, Senegal, Switzerland and Togo, and also included two members from the CIS.

Discussions centered on the most recent evaluations, notably for Gabon and Mauritius, which differ from the majority of sub-Saharan African countries examined in previous evaluations. Both countries show high primary enrolment rates and have relatively well equipped education systems. However, major concerns remain with respect to the distribution

of educational services and inequalities of student achievement. In Mauritius, special schools were created to accommodate children in disadvantaged areas. Initial results suggest that these schools are effective in that, in a given academic year, the children enrolled achieve as much as other children from more favorable social environments. Nevertheless, so far these special schools have been unable to completely overcome the initial disadvantage of their pupils.

Besides the discussion on recent program activities, the main objective of the meeting was to consider a number of methodological questions related to international comparisons of student achievement in the rather difficult context of sub-Saharan African. To understand the methodological difficulties, one should note that in the countries concerned, it is often difficult to get access to reliable information on the overall student population, which is a critical prerequisite for any representative sample. Schools frequently open or close without any change in government statistics. At student level, it is often difficult to say whether a child should be considered as actually enrolled. In many cases, even teachers do not know whether certain students have dropped out or whether they may return to school (for instance after the harvesting season). Moreover, generally high drop out rates create considerable concern about potential selection effects. Given that PASEC carries out student tests both at the beginning (pre-test) and at the end (post-test) of the academic year, even between the two tests, a high loss of respondents is usually observed. This often leads to a post-test sample that

no longer corresponds to the intended sample and frequently over or under-represents certain parts of the population. A methodological guidebook is being produced, in which these and other problems will be discussed.

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*PASEC technical advisors Alexis le Nestour and Kouak Tiyab with CIS economist Patrick Nkengne.*

# CIS Publications

## Featured books

**Ruloff, Dieter** (ed.). *Sicherheit und Unsicherheit in einer Welt im Wandel [Security and Insecurity in a Changing World]*. Zürich: Rüegger Publishers, 2008.

The volume presents a selection of topical lectures on various issues of international relations and economics by some of the guest speakers invited to the Swiss Institute of International Studies, a research group of the CIS, during 2007. Book chapters (mostly in German) contributed by: Federal Councillor Samuel Schmid, Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports: "Security: Demands and Challenges"; Professor Dr. Avi Shlaim, FBA, Fellow of St. Anthony's College and Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford: "The Iron Wall Revisited"; Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman, Professor of War Studies and Vice Principal (Research), King's College London: "Terrorism as a Strategy"; Walter B. Kielholz, President of Credit Suisse Group, Zurich: "Leadership and Change

in the Shadow of Globalization"; Federal Councillor Doris Leuthard, Department of Economic Affairs (FDEA): "European and Global Competition as a Challenge"; Dr. Elísio Macamo, lecturer of development sociology, University of Bayreuth (Germany): "Africa's Trouble with Modernity"; Dr. Josef Ackermann, CEO and head of the Group Executive Committee of Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main: "Developing Countries in the World Economy: Effects of the Sub-prime Crisis, the Influence of Emerging Markets, and their Significance for Deutsche Bank's Global Strategy".

**Dunn Cavelty, Myriam.** *Cyber-Security and Threat Politics: US Efforts to Secure the Information Age*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

This book explores the political process behind the construction of cyber-threats as one of the quintessential security threats of modern times in the US. Using an innovative theoretical approach, it focuses on how, under what conditions, by whom, for what reasons, and with what impact cyber-threats were propelled onto the security political agenda. In particular, it analyses how government officials have used threat frames, specific interpretive schemata about what counts as threat or risk and how to respond to this threat, from the 1980s until now, revealing a great deal about the character of the actors involved in the construction of the threat and also about how security is defined and ultimately practiced in relation to the threat. The findings point to a change in the nature and especially the logic of security: The maintenance of 'business continuity' for an individual, corporate, or local actor is often regarded as equally

important as national or even international security efforts in the realm of cyber-threats. This seems to be a new trend rather than an exception. By looking at the foundations and formation of these practices, the book closes a gap between two types of academic approaches: those in the realm of security studies, with a more theoretical perspective, and those with a more practical focus, covering issues of critical infrastructure protection and computer security.

**Dunn Cavelty, Myriam, and Kristian Sjøby Kristensen** (eds.). *Securing 'the Homeland'. Critical Infrastructure, Risk and (In) Security*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

This edited volume uses a "constructivist/reflexive" approach to address critical infrastructure protection (CIP), a central political practice associated with national security. The politics of CIP, and the construction of the threat they are meant to counter, effectively establish a powerful discursive connection between that the traditional and normal conditions for day-to-day politics and the exceptional dynamics of national security. Combining political theory and empirical case studies, this volume addresses key issues related to protection and the governance of insecurity in the contemporary world. The contributors track the transformation and evolution of critical infrastructures (and closely related issues of homeland security) into a security problem, and analyze how practices associated with CIP constitute, and are an expression of, changing notions of security and insecurity. The book explores aspects of 'securitisation' as well as at practices, audiences, and contexts that enable and constrain



the production of the specific form of governmentality that CIP exemplifies. It also explores the rationalities at play, the effects of these security practices, and the implications for our understanding of security and politics today.

**Wenger, Andreas, Vojtech Mastny, and Christian Nuenlist** (eds.). *Origins of the European Security System*. The Helsinki Process Revisited, 1965-75. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

This edited volume explores the significance of the early "Helsinki process" as a means of redefining and broadening the concept of security during the latter half of the Cold War. The early Helsinki process introduced innovative confidence-building measures, and made human rights a requirement of a legitimate and well-functioning international system, thus providing the framework for disarmament in Europe in the mid-1980s, as well as the inspiration for the later demise of Communism in Europe. Using newly declassified archives, the book explores the positions of the two superpowers and the crucial impact of European Community member states, which introduced European values into the Cold War debate on security. It also shows how Eastern and Central European nations, such as Poland, did not restrict themselves to providing support to Moscow but, rather, pursued interests of their own. The volume sheds light on the complementary role of the neutrals as mediators and special negotiators in the multilateral negotiations; on the interdependence of politics and economics; and on the link between military security and the CSCE process.

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