

# CIS News

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CIS News

## Isabel Günther, Professor of Development Economics

*The CIS professorial body has a new member: Isabel Günther, assistant professor (with tenure track) of development economics at NADEL.*

By Karin Gilland Lutz

Isabel Günther took up her position as assistant professor in Zurich in September 2008, within two years of submitting her PhD – the result of unusually clever career planning? "Not really. I think career planning is not the way to go in academia, anyway. Too many uncertainties", claims Günther: "When I was about 20, I went to Africa for the first time. I was part of a team that helped building a bakery in a South African township. I began asking myself why some regions in the world are so much poorer than others, and why does it seem so impossible to close the gap between different regions? But I always saw myself in the development aid sector rather than in the academic one."

Günther's PhD examined the measurement of poverty over time in Africa – "one of my main conclusions was that actually, we have to be very careful saying anything about improvements (or not) regarding poverty, because the data of many developing countries is extremely poor" - and having submitted her dissertation, Günther set off to Harvard. During her time in the US her work focused on health and population economics, with an emphasis on Africa. The focus

shifted back to include development economics when she arrived at NADEL.

Günther is currently working on a project (with the German and Dutch Development Aid) which applies methods normally found in medical studies rather than in economics. The research team wants to examine to what extent wells and/or latrines improve public health. To this end, public health is measured in Benin villages with and without wells and latrines, wells and latrines constituting the "treatment", villages without them being the placebo group. "But at the end of the study, all villages receive the treatment", Günther adds. "Anything else would be a bit problematic ethically."



Isabel Günther.

The fact that CIS is dominated by political scientists poses no problem for Günther, who rather sees it as an opportunity. "I think economics and political science are two sides of the same coin. It's not possible

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# Conference Report: PEIO-II

*(Isabel Günther continued)*

to fully understand development questions that are of concern to African countries without knowledge of both disciplines."

At NADEL, Günther is heavily involved in the teaching of the Advanced Masters Program in Development and Cooperation. She finds the mixed student body there very inspiring. "This is also where I see a real possibility of communicating my research outside the world of academia. When these students become professionals, they will bring with them my research results and my thinking, and those of my academic colleagues."

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*Jointly organized by Richard Baldwin (Graduate Institute), Axel Dreher (University of Göttingen), Simon Hug (University of Geneva), and Katharina Michaelowa (CIS), the second International Conference on the Political Economy of International Organizations (PEIO-II) was held in Geneva January 29-31, 2009. It brought together about 60 high-profile political scientists and economists from all over the world.*

By Katharina Michaelowa

In contrast to PEIO-I (Ascona, 2008), the current financial and economic crisis rendered the discussion of the political economy of international organizations even more relevant this year. In this vein, Richard Baldwin used his introductory keynote speech to call for much stronger research input into the ongoing policy debate. Moreover, various discussions revolved around the impact the crisis may have on the IMF in a situation in which this organization is redefining its role. Peter Bernholz (University of Basel) illustrated, using the example of the Bank for International Settlements, that even if the IMF should lose its role, international organizations never die. Helen Milner (Princeton) pointed out that despite all the criticism, the existence of most international organizations is largely undisputed. She also called for more caution when assessing their impact, as there is no appropriate counterfactual against which their performance may be evaluated.

The most unusual international organization discussed at the conference was the Benedictine abbeys. Bruno Frey and Katja Rost (both from the University of Zurich) used them as an example of the relevance of value systems for sustainable management.

A wide variety of organizations was covered by the conference program and the participants moreover benefited from a variety of analytical approaches, although econometric methods of analysis dominated to a certain degree.

Many discussions revealed that the exchange between economists and political scientists, and the mutual information about the relevant literature in this shared field is still only in its infancy. This conference contributed to the objective of bringing them closer together. PEIO-III takes place in 2010, with James Vreeland (Georgetown University, Washington DC) as local organizer instead of Simon Hug (University of Geneva).

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[www.cis.ethz.ch/events/PEIO](http://www.cis.ethz.ch/events/PEIO)

# CIS Newsflash

Stefanie Walter, who completed her PhD in 2007 (supervisor: CIS professor Thomas Bernauer), was appointed junior professor for international and comparative political economy at the University of Heidelberg in September 2008. She will take up her new position in the summer of 2009, after completing a nine-month research fellowship at Harvard University.

The Swiss National Science Foundation has granted the CIS European Politics group funding for the project "The Adoption, Implementation and Sustainability of Minority Protection Rules in the Context of EU Conditionality. A Comparative Analysis of Ten New Member States in Central and Eastern Europe". The project will be directed by Dr. Guido Schweltnus and Prof. Frank Schimmelfennig. The two doctoral students involved in the project are Lilla Balázs and Liudmila Mikalayeva.

Michael Bechtel was appointed senior researcher within the Bernauer group in September 2008. His current research projects concern the effects of European politics on financial markets, game theoretic models, mixed strategy equilibria, equilibrium selection in political science, and commitment and compliance in international environmental regimes. Bechtel holds a PhD from the University of Konstanz on the topic of the political economy of stock markets in Germany. See [www.ib.ethz.ch](http://www.ib.ethz.ch) for details.

On the ETH side of the CIS, the appointment process for an assistant professor in global governance takes its course. At the beginning of January 2009, Dr. Klaus Dingwerth (University of Bremen) and Dr. Stefanie Bailer (CIS) were interviewed for the position.

Lucas Beck has just spent two months in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique interviewing government officials, traditional leaders as well as opposition party members in Zimbabwe regarding water use in the Zambezi River Basin.

Katharina Michaelowa takes over as CIS director from Thomas Bernauer at the beginning of the spring semester 2009.

Thomas Sattler, formerly of the Bernauer group, has obtained a lectureship at University College Dublin (Ireland). He currently has a post-doc position at New York University, and will take up his position in Dublin in the summer of 2009.

Silja Häuserman, who completed her PhD under CIS professor Hanspeter Kriesi's supervision in 2007, has won yet another prize. This time she has been awarded the Swiss Political Science Association's 2008 prize for young scientists ("Nachwuchspreis") for her article "Changing Coalitions in Social Policy Reforms: The Politics of New Social Needs and Demands" (*Journal of European Social Policy*, 16, 2006). The prize consists of SFr. 3,000. Congratulations!

The annual MACIS workshop 2009 takes place at the end of February. In this workshop, MACIS students present the research designs of their MA theses. See the CIS Newsletter issue 15, page 3, for a report on the 2008 MACIS workshop.

CIS Professor Dieter Ruloff will be on sabbatical in the spring of 2009. He will spend some of his time in the eastern parts of Germany, due to the upcoming elections ("Bundestagswahlen") in September 2009, and has accepted an invitation to Beijing, China.

CIS researcher Jennifer Giroux held a workshop on the writing of resumés and cover letters for all MACIS students in October 2008. This brown-bag event provided all who attended with useful tips on how to format and phrase cover letters and how to make each word of their academic and professional CV count.

# MACIS Class Visits Geneva

*The group of MACIS students who entered the program in 2007 went to Geneva in September 2008. The author, Alrik Thiem, is one of the MACIS students who went along.*

By Alrik Thiem

Indubitably, the MA in Comparative and International Studies (MACIS) prepares one well for the world of academia, with its emphasis on theories and methods. Unfortunately, this often leaves little room to experience the practical nature of the objects under study. In order to remedy this shortfall in practice, our group and other institutes within the ETH, together with Professor Thomas Bernauer, set off for Geneva on 14 September 2008 to visit the institutions we usually only learn about through reading. The fact that Prof. Bernauer worked at the UN between 1987-1992 and kept in contact with friends and colleagues there, upon whom he had called to arrange our trip, promised to turn this two-day trip into a highly

interesting experience for all of us - social and natural scientists alike.

On the agenda for the first morning in Geneva was the World Trade Organization where we were to meet Bernard Kuiten, a counsellor in the external relations division. Initially a bit worried about the possibility of a media-scripted homily on the virtues of the WTO, we sat down in awed silence around the large table in a colonial-style room. However, Mr Kuiten was not at all the "salesman" type we had feared, but a very receptive and competent host who was more than happy to answer all our questions - some of which were quite critical of the organization's work - with calmness and deliberation. Upon reflection we realised, however, that presumably Mr. Kuiten normally has to deal with far more vociferous people than a group of ETH students. We then proceeded to the museum of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) where visitors can learn about the organization's history and its charitable work. This tour was followed by a talk with



*Jozef Goldblat.*

the President of the ICRC, Dr. Jakob Kellenberger. Hearing Dr. Kellenberger talk about meetings with Mr. Putin of Russia or the Taliban in Afghanistan as if this was the most natural thing in the world was simply riveting. It would not at all have been difficult to fill more than the one-and-a-half hour time slot we had with questions about the notable individuals he meets and greets, and the alleged war criminals with whom he has to negotiate.

*Visiting Bernard Kuiten at the WTO.*



Our last visit on the first day was to the Swiss mission to the UN, situated in the Rue de Varembe. As the ambassador himself was ill, we met one of his representatives, Boris Richard. After an introduction to the general organizational structure and the purpose of the mission, a lively dialogue on all sorts of issues pertaining to the role of Switzerland within the UN system developed. We discussed Switzerland's efforts in relation to the creation of the Human Rights Council and the role of the Swiss army in international missions with respect to Switzerland's neutrality. Part of the discussion also concerned the fact that Switzerland does not reach the proclaimed UN

development aid target of 0.7 per cent of its GDP.

We concluded this first day over pizza and cocktails, looking back on the places we had visited and the people we met. Everyone agreed that the day had been a success.

The second day would turn out to be every bit as interesting as the first. Our itinerary first led us to the World Health Organization, where we got the chance to learn about the work of the WHO's extensive library, including the possibilities it creates for poorer countries to access the wealth of medical knowledge stocked at the WHO. Subsequently, our guide Dr. Thomas Teuschler gave us some insight into the work of a medical doctor on the ground in a developing country. The example of malaria prevention in Africa and South-East Asia made clear to us how difficult to organize and fraught with various problems such a mission can be. Rebels, corrupt officials and distributional bottlenecks add to the complexity of the situation. The latest WHO report on malaria, however, raises hope: malaria cases have, according to the organization's experts, dropped from about 350 million in 2005 to around 250 million in 2008.

Having visited the WHO, we were expected by Michael Lim and Victor Konde of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Keeping their account of UNCTAD's history short, the two experts talked openly about the nature of their work and the main challenges developing countries face nowadays at the UN. Michael Lim alluded to the fact that developing countries do not represent a coherent group any longer, but have become quite divergent with respect to their economic



*Visiting Jakob Kellenberger.*

development. Hence, their political interests diverge too. Victor Konde spoke about how to encourage more entrepreneurship in the developing world. He highlighted the situation of women entrepreneurs as particularly difficult: they must overcome especially severe obstacles when establishing their own businesses. We were also able to talk to Michael Lim and Victor Konde about internships and carrier opportunities.

Our final appointment was with Jozef Goldblat, a diplomat of Polish origin whose record at the UN is second to none (he was present at the UN session in 1960 where Nikita Khrushchev banged his shoe on the desk!) He gave a compelling talk on the origins and present state of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which was particularly interesting against the backdrop of the current debate over the US-Indian nuclear deal and India's exemption from proper scrutiny in this regard. Given the topicality and emotiveness of the issue, there was such a multitude of questions from the audience that the speaker hardly had the chance to answer

them all. But what more telling evidence could there be for the success of these two days. It was without a doubt one of the most interesting and illuminating remedies for a shortfall in practical perspectives a student could wish for.

*On behalf of the entire group, the author would like to thank Thomas Bernauer, Susanne Böhm and Claudia Jenny for having made this excursion possible.*

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# Workshop Report: Civil Society and External Democracy Promotion

*A kick-off workshop for the new joint PhD program between the European University Viadrina (Frankfurt (Oder), Germany) and CIS took place on 30 October – 1 November 2008.*

By Frank Schimmelfennig

The program is financed by the German Heinrich Böll Foundation (HBS) and directed by Timm Beichelt, professor at the EUV, and CIS professor Frank Schimmelfennig. Aside from the supervision of individual doctoral theses, the program consists of workshops and field trips to the regional Foundation offices in Moscow, Belgrade and Tbilisi. These field trips are supposed to give the PhD students a better understanding of the conditions on the ground, and to help them establish networks with democracy-promotion practitioners and civil society organizations. Five PhD students have been selected for the program so far: Franziska Blomberg ("The impact of ethno-nationally divided civil society on the effect of external democracy promotion"); Stepanka Busuleanu ("Career and/or Civil Engagement? Biographies of Sur-Place-Scholarship holders in Russia"); Edina Szöcsik ("Ethnic Parties in Central and Eastern Europe"); Julia Hahn ("Altruist or Hegemon? The EU's Democracy Promotion Strategies in Eastern Europe"); and Susann Worschech ("The Transformation of Political Identity in the Process of Post-Socialist Democratization: The Example of the Ukraine").

The kick-off meeting focused on the state of the art in the main areas of research covered by the PhD program. Around 20 MA and PhD students as well as post-docs participated. Timm Beichelt gave an overview of the study of democratic transformation from

the early, optimistic research on the general path to democratic consolidation, via a more pessimistic emphasis on "post-Sovietism", to the more recent focus on divergent pathways and outcomes of transformation and their conditions. Professor Marc Morjé Howard (Georgetown University, Washington DC, US) presented his research on civil society in Central and Eastern Europe. He highlighted problems in the measurement of civil society, discussed the causes of civil society's weaknesses in the region and also questioned the assumption that the strength of civil society and (the quality of) democracy are related to one another in any straightforward manner. Frank Schimmelfennig summarized theories and research findings on external democracy promotion in Central and Eastern Europe. He emphasized the relevance of intergovernmental bargaining and external incentives (above all EU conditionality) for successful democracy promotion. In contrast, external civil society support has been less systematically researched but also appears to play a lesser role. The workshop also gave the PhD students the opportunity to present first drafts of their dissertation research proposals.

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# CIS Event: The Water-Energy-Food Nexus

*Tobias Siegfried of the Earth Institute and Water Center, Columbia University, US, gave a talk on the problems surrounding the inefficient distribution and use of energy in certain regions of India, and the negative consequences this has on agricultural irrigation and ultimately also on the (ever-lowering) ground water level. The talk was a joint venture between the CIS, the Institute for Environmental Decision-Making and the North-South Center.*

By Karin Gilland Lutz

Referring to the Indian situation as the “ground water wild west”, Tobias Siegfried of Columbia University (US) outlined the suboptimal interactions between three sets of actors – the state, utility providers, and farmers - as being at the root of the problem.

The state, or rather, democratically elected officials within the state, have weak incentives to enforce policies that would involve consumers paying for electricity, since such policies could easily be exploited by political opponents – the shadow of the next election is famously difficult to ignore.

Utility companies, in turn, cannot charge for the supply of electricity and thus can not undertake capital investments such as grid maintenance. The electricity supply is, accordingly, patchy and the electricity of poor quality.

Farmers, in turn, sap off electricity illegally to power their irrigation pumps. Due to the patchy electricity supply, however, they leave their pumps on 24-hours a day and thus water use is inefficient. How can these actors be brought to change their respective behavior? Look-ing at the Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh, India, Siegfried outli-

ned an “entitlement approach” to address the array of problems. Firstly, incentives to bring down rural electricity consumption would ease the ground water problem substantially (in fact, rural areas without electricity have no ground water problem).

Secondly, the provision of high(er)-quality electricity at more predictable times of day (or night) as well as of modern means of production would enable farmers to use resources in less environmentally detrimental ways.

Thirdly, electricity providers must introduce billing and accounting systems that enable them to recover costs at levels sufficient for the financing of long-term energy infrastructure.

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*No, nothing there...*





# Workshop Report: EU Institutions & Research Innovations

By Dirk Leuffen

In July 2008, the CIS European Politics research group and the University of Konstanz (Germany) co-hosted a workshop entitled "Political institutions in the European Union: Theoretical and Empirical Innovations in Current Research", to mark the occasion of Fabio Franchino's stay in Konstanz. More than 25 researchers from Germany, Austria and Switzerland participated, with Holger Döring as local organizer and generous financing through the University of Konstanz's excellence initiative fund.

The workshop took stock of empirical and analytical research on EU decision-making. Workshop participants were invited to present their ongoing research projects. The workshop thus offered a platform for getting feedback on work in progress and also opened networking potential for research groups or individuals working on related topics.

The workshop was structured in five panels. In Panel I Marco Steenbergen (University of Bern) analyzed the importance of European issues in national elections; Guido Tiemann (Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna) introduced a research proposal in which he is developing a spatial model of European Parliament elections; and Janina Thiem (University of Mannheim) informed the workshop participants about the results of her study on roll call voting in the European Parliament.

Panel II focused on partisan politics and contained paper presentations by Berthold Rittberger and Arndt Wonka (University of Mannheim) on national parties and EU decision-making, Holger Döring (Univer-

sity of Konstanz) on partisan politics in the Council of ministers, and Oliver Treib (Institute of Higher Studies, Vienna) who introduced a proposal about domestic politics in the EU.

In Panel III, "Legislative Politics", Philip Manow (University of Konstanz) presented work on tenure and career in the European Parliament, Stefanie Bailer (CIS) introduced her comparative project on party discipline and Robin Hertz, Thomas Jensen and Dirk Leuffen (CIS) presented the first results of their EU enlargement study.

Panel IV contained a paper by Daniel Finke (University of Mannheim) on non-separable preferences at EU treaty negotiations, Fabio Franchino (University of Milan) presented a joint paper with Bjorn Hoyland on legislative policy-making in parliamentary systems and Guido Schwellnus (CIS) introduced a new project on the adoption, implementation and sustainability of minority rights in the new EU member states.

In the final panel on policies, Michael Bechtel (then University of Konstanz; now CIS) and Gerald Schneider (University of Konstanz) presented a paper on stock market reactions in the armament sector to EU summits, Sebastian Haunss (University of Konstanz) on the importance of mobilization networks and Christoph Knill and Jale Tosun (University of Konstanz) presented a large-n study on policy change.

Three findings sum up the results. First, the research presented displayed a growing interest in actor preferences. While being aware of the importance of institutions, most of the projects acknowledged the importance of actor preferences in political analysis. Thus, while much EU research has

tended to focus mainly on the institutions component of Plott's "fundamental equation of politics" ('Institutions \* Preferences = Outcomes'), there now seems to be a stronger emphasis on the preference part of the equation. Second, there is a growing methodological awareness amongst the up-and-coming generation of EU scholars participating at the workshop. The new projects build on the solid empirical and theoretical foundations set by successful research projects completed in recent years. The comparative projects also draw on theories of comparative politics and thereby enrich the theoretical literature. Third, far from a "rien ne va plus" situation, we can thus expect some promising EU research in the years to come. Despite Ralf Dahrendorf's claim, printed in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* on 2 July 2008, that there might be too many dissertations written on "Brussels" (he argued that this might even lead to growing euroscepticism), the workshop seemed rather like an indication that there is a need for good EU research. The research projects presented in this workshop rise to the challenge.

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# Recently Completed PhDs

**Name:** Daniel Kammerer

**Supervisor:** Thomas Bernauer

**Dissertation Title:** "Determinants of Environmental Product Innovation - A Comparative Study on Manufacturers of Electrical and Electronic Appliances in Germany and California."

**Abstract:** "In my dissertation I studied the determinants of environmental product innovations. My research framework combines theories from political science as well as (environmental) management literature. For the empirical analysis I surveyed around 150 manufacturers of electrical and electronic appliances in Germany and California. The results show that both customer benefit and regulation play a key role for environmental product innovation. While customer benefit is more stimulating for innovations that are novel for the market, stringent regulation has a larger impact on the broad application of innovations that are already known to the market."

**Additional information:** Since February 2008, Daniel Kammerer works for my-climate ([www.myclimate.org](http://www.myclimate.org)), a former ETH spin-off company that develops innovative solutions in climate protection and encourages the use of renewable energies and energy-efficient technology.

between two social science students and an elderly professor."

**Additional Information:** Nenad Stojanovic will leave CIS in the summer of 2009, to pursue his postdoctoral research at the Center for Democracy in Aarau ([www.zdaarau.ch/](http://www.zdaarau.ch/)). As of fall 2009, he will moreover be a visiting fellow at the European University Institute in Florence ([www.iue.it/](http://www.iue.it/)).



*Nenad Stojanovic.*



*Daniel Kammerer.*

**Name:** Nenad Stojanovic

**Supervisor:** Hanspeter Kriesi

**Dissertation Title:** "Quotas et Démocratie. Les Dilemmes autour de la Représentation des Groupes dans une Société Multiculturelle."

**Abstract:** "My thesis explores normative and empirical dilemmas which the use of "quotas" as a form of group representation creates in multicultural representative democracies. The thesis has a rather uncommon form: It has been written as a dialogue

# CIS Event:

## Swiss Ambassador to Japan Visits CIS

*In December 2008, the Swiss Ambassador to Japan since 2006, His Excellency Paul Fivat, gave a talk on Japan's political, social and economic challenges.*

By Sheila Casey

Ambassador Paul Fivat began his talk with an overview of Japan's historical development from the 5th century BC right up to the present day. This set the scene for the main topic of his talk, namely the challenges that the country faces today.

The four major challenges Japan faces were outlined as (1) the short-term economic and financial challenge, (2) the long-term model competitiveness challenge, (3) the long-term ecological challenge and (4) the long-term strategic security challenge.

Regarding the first challenge, Paul Fivat mentioned the 1990s financial crisis in Japan, which resulted in a decade of stagflation, restructuring of the banking system and a partial withdrawal from international markets. As an export-led economy, Japan

*Ambassador Fivat.*



will not ride the wave of the current recession easily, Mr. Fivat pointed out. Japan's economic growth was negative for two consecutive quarters in 2008 and exports were substantially down, with companies making significant cutbacks and lay-offs. Our speaker noted the limited chances for effective government action in the wake of the financial crisis, as the opposition dominates the upper chamber thus making the government weak. Moreover, government debt is at 180 per cent as a result of the 1990s crisis and interest rates are at near 0 per cent.

On a more positive note, with respect to the second challenge, the maintenance of the long-term competitiveness of the Japanese model, the country does have a tremendous amount going for it, such as its envied traditional virtues (loyalty, work ethic, frugality, capacity for innovation, to mention but a few). There are, however, also some liabilities (such as the aging population, high production costs, environmental vulnerability, deficiencies in the political system, regional security challenges). As possible counter developments, our speaker suggested reforms to the education system, social change in the areas of family policy and equal opportunities between men and women, as well as technological innovation geared at aging citizens.

Turning to the third challenge, Paul Fivat referred to Japan's being a regular target of recurrent and highly destructive typhoons as well as earthquakes. With 90 per cent of its industrial capital invested in low-lying coastal areas, Japan is especially environmentally vulnerable. Among the possible solutions to these challenges are national efforts to promote sustainability and establishing concrete benchmarks, and suppor-

ting multi-lateral climate efforts. Moreover, Japan should obviously meet its own targets as part of the Kyoto Protocol, and be adequately prepared for natural disasters.

Regarding the fourth point, Japan's long-term strategic security challenge, the ambassador noted that Japan has lost its leading position to China and India. Asia was described as a "heterogeneous system" with three main competing powers, many small players (such as members of ASEAN), as well as rogue, failing and failed states. Apart from the UN Charter, it does not have anything like a regional collective security system. Our speaker concluded that in such an environment, the Japanese model can remain successful and prosperous and that throughout its history, Japan always found an answer to challenges. However, he also mentioned that Japan cannot do it alone, that the US alliance remains essential and that multilateralism is key. While China is taking the lead in Asia, Japan will do well in actively playing the "cooperation card" in the region.

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### Further Information:

The Swiss representation in Japan:  
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The Japanese representation in Switzerland:  
[www.ch.emb-japan.go.jp/](http://www.ch.emb-japan.go.jp/)

# PoliNet: New CIS Peer-Mentoring Group

*Introducing PoliNet - following in the footsteps of PolitikPlus and Stepping Stones, this group of PhD students is continuing the CIS tradition of peer mentoring.*

By Paula Castro

PoliNet is a group of 12 female PhD candidates at CIS, and has three main goals: Career planning, improving our scientific networks, and the acquisition of specific skills required for an academic career. To reach these goals, the group members – the peers – engage in four types of activities: Group meetings, coaching meetings with our scientific committee or with external guests, workshops for gaining specific skills, and networking events.

But how did it all begin? In April 2008 we all received a letter from the University's Office for Gender Equality (then "UniFrauenstelle – Gleichstellung von Frau und Mann", now "Abteilung Gleichstellung"), inviting us to a peer-mentoring information meeting. Almost at the same time, some former PolitikPlus (a peer-mentoring group that existed for several years at CIS) members organized an internal meeting at the CIS, to pass on their experiences and advice to us. Many of the subsequent PoliNet members had already discovered that they had more or less the same difficulties in the academic world (bringing in money to finance our research, publishing our work, enlarging our professional networks, ...), so it did not take a lot to convince us of the rewards of forming a peer group.

We submitted an application to the Office for Gender Equality...and were granted the sum of SFr. 18,000.



*PoliNet with advisors Michaelowa, Lavenex and Gilardi.*

Peer-mentoring is a way of promoting young researchers in a group setting. Each group forms independently and defines its own goals and the activities which will enable the group to reach those goals. Moreover, each group has a committee of at least two professors from relevant disciplines at its side, for support and input. The peer-mentoring program of which PoliNet is part is funded partly by the Swiss Federal Equal Opportunity at Universities Programme 2008-2011 ("Bundesprogramm Chancengleichheit") and partly by the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zurich.

From the very beginning – even while preparing our application – we attached importance to sharing the tasks. Some peers were involved in writing the application, others took on the task of commenting on and improving the draft, and yet others had the mission of preparing our budget. Now that we have received funding, each of us has responsibility for one or two group activities. Sharing tasks and responsibilities makes one feel even more committed to the group from the very beginning. It also

improves organizational skills and gives insight into how the university "works".

At the time of writing, PoliNet has existed for about half a year and has organized four group activities. In our first group meeting, we got to know each other better and planned our work as a group. We also made a personal and group SWOT analysis, which helped us find common strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats as PhD students.

Our second activity was a very successful meeting with four CIS post-docs. Thank you very much to Stefanie Bailer, Michael Bechtel, Daniel Bochsler and Tim Frey, who shared their experiences as PhD students with us and gave us very good advice. We closed this meeting with a relaxing drinks reception.

Our third activity was the first coaching meeting with our committee, comprising CIS professors Katharina Michaelowa and Fabrizio Gilardi, as well as Prof. Sandra Lavenex from the University of Lucerne. They told us about their academic care-

ers, advised us and offered suggestions for potential group activities.

In November 2008 we had a two-day workshop focusing on improving our presentation skills in English. With real presentation practice, good language tips and feedback on how (and not what) we present, this workshop was very useful for all of us, especially those facing the mandatory presentation of their PhD research proposal in the CIS PhD Colloquium.

For 2009, the PoliNet peers plan two important events which will be open to the public. First, there will be a panel discussion about the linkages between political science and actual politics. We plan to invite female politicians or high-ranking female civil servants with scientific backgrounds. Second, we plan to present our own research in an event open to interested students. Here, we want to gain experience as presenters as well as giving students a good insight into the world of scientific research.

**PoliNet Peers:**

Anna Christmann (project leader)  
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 Christa Deiwiks  
 Dunja Ewinger  
 Sophia Hänni  
 Linda Maduz  
 Anita Manatschal  
 Livia Schubiger  
 Hanna Schwander  
 Sophie Perrin  
 Lena Maria Schaffer

**Scientific committee:**

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**Further Information:**

<http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/polinet/>

# Conference Report: ASNA 2008

*The ASNA network was initiated by Uwe Serdült, assistant director of czd at the Center for Democracy Aarau. Karin Miryam Ingold at the Institute for Environmental Decisions (ETH Zurich) is part of the ASNA conference organization team.*

By Uwe Serdült and Karin Miryam In-gold

For the fifth year in a row the University of Zurich hosted the ASNA conference. We take this fifth anniversary as an opportunity to give a short historical sketch and to outline some possibilities for the future.

First of all, with the help of the Swiss National Science Foundation the conference organizers were always able to invite attractive keynote speakers: Ulrik Brandes, University of Konstanz (2004); John Scott of the University of Essex, and Vladimir Batagelj and Andrej Mrvar of the University of Ljubljana (2005), Steven Borgatti of the University of Kentucky (2006), Nash Contractor and Tom Snijders of the University of Groningen (2007), as well as Thomas Schweitzer of the ETH Zurich (2008). Most keynote speakers were social scientists, but in 2008 we tried to include natural scientists working with social networks. In this vein, Professor Schweitzer spoke on "Evolving Social Networks: The influence of cost, benefits and preferences." There is a great degree of interest in exploring common interests with the natural sciences, engineering and other disciplines further.

The conference participants (from all over the world) work with social network analysis in various fields and on all levels, from PhD research designs to the presentation of project results by established academics.

Year	Papers	Participants
2004	22	36
2005	33	62
2006	28	50
2007	40	80
2008	37	61

Occasionally, the conference included software demonstrations or workshops such as the ones on visone (by Michael Bauer, University of Karlsruhe), Pajek (Andrej Mrvar) and Siena (Christian Steglich, University of Groningen).

The number of participants has reached a level where parallel sessions have become necessary. The introduction of a conference fee (CHF 190) in 2008 probably accounts for the drop in the number of participants compared to 2007. Yet, the fee allowed us to reduce the time and effort we had to spend finding sponsors. Compared to other specialized conferences, the charge is arguably moderate and includes lunch, conference dinners and a Zurich city tour. Next year reduced rates for PhD students and daily rates are foreseen.

In 2008 there were 10 panels, exploring themes such as knowledge acquisition and learning; network dynamics and data collection; industries and markets, market uncertainties; inter- and intra-organizational networks; politics and migration; online communities and citation networks. Additionally, as a sort of experiment, the 2008 conference was connected to Ritsumeikan University (Kyoto, Japan), from where Dr. Igor Goncharenko held a talk on "VR technologies for applications of social network analysis" via an internet simulcast. A team headed by Prof. H. Ogawa and Victor V. Kryssanov at Ritsumeikan University is

currently trying to arrange a conference similar to the ASNA conference in Japan, and is coordinating the dates with us so that the two events can be held simultaneously and organized on one website. The 2009 conference is, in other words, already being planned.

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#### Further Information:

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# Does Group Size Matter?

## European Governance after Enlargement

By Robin Hertz and Dirk Leuffen

The EU's eastern enlargement is generally considered a major step in recent European integration. The accession of ten new member states in 2004 and then two more in 2007 ends the post-WWII division of the European continent. The EU now consists of 27 member states and almost 500 million citizens.

While eastern enlargement certainly underlines the success story of 50 years of regional integration, many questions arise as to the impact of the latest enlargement rounds. After the negative referendum results in France, the Netherlands and Ireland it has, for instance, been argued that citizens feel increasingly alienated by the EU. Others argue that the accession of the new member states has, in fact, substantively changed the "nature of the European beast." On such a reading, the inclusion of new member states with very different historical, cultural, political and economic backgrounds is expected

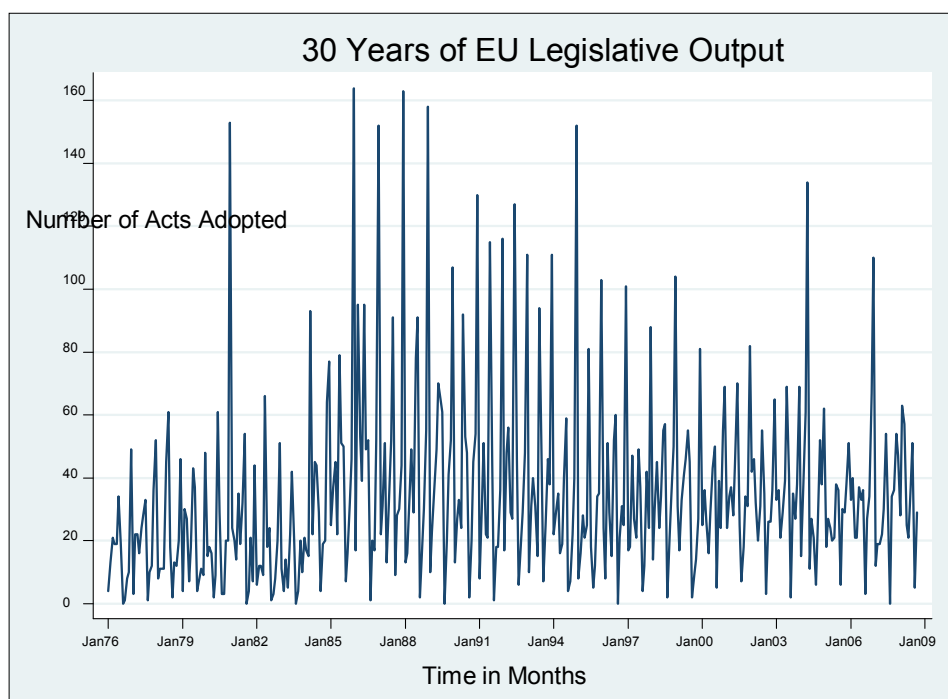
to change the EU and its workings fundamentally. It is against this backdrop that we, in our project, analyze the effects of eastern enlargement on EU governance.

The Swiss National Science Foundation is funding this project, which started in April 2008 and has a research team consisting of two PhD students, Robin Hertz and Thomas Jensen, as well as CIS professor Frank Schimmelfennig and Dirk Leuffen, a post-doc researcher at the CIS.

The analytical focus of the project concerns the question of how enlargement impacts on EU decision-making. Generally speaking, most theories of decision-making would lead one to expect that an increase in group size would make decision-making more cumbersome. Some theorists argue that transaction costs would rise. Others point out that in spatial models, a growing number of actors leads to smaller win-sets and thus to higher policy stability. Gridlock and the well-known joint-decision trap are

worst-case scenarios of the general idea that an increased group size makes finding solutions more difficult. In the case of the EU, we ask whether the institutions that were designed for a Community of six can ensure efficient and legitimate governance in a deeply integrated EU with 27 member states.

As a first step, we analyzed how group size impacts on legislative policy-making in the EU. Legislative output is a commonly used indicator of efficient decision-making. Our expectation was that more member states would lead to reduced policy output. In order to test this hypothesis, we constructed a data set comprising information on the legislative process for all EU legislation passed between 1976 and 2008. This data set is based on information published on the Commission's PreLex website and is unique in terms of its size. It contains information on more than 15,000 regulations, directives and decisions covering five enlargement rounds. Figure 1 plots legislative output on a monthly basis.



In order to find out whether group size actually had an impact on the quantity of legislation produced by the EU's institutions, we estimated a count model. We did in fact, as expected, find a negative correlation between group size and legislative output, but this only holds for regulations and directives. In addition, the effect is weaker than expected. Establishing a link between the enlargements and decision-making capacity is thus not straightforward.

Our first results more or less suggest a "business as usual" scenario of post-enlargement governance in the EU. While this comes as good news for the EU, it still constitutes a puzzle. Why do we not find stronger effects, given that enlargement has

Sociological Theories	Main Hypotheses
Formalization	Group size and the degree of formalization are positively linked. The larger the group, the more formalized decision-making becomes.
Oligarchization	Enlargement leads to a closer alignment of a few member states that informally dominate the decision-making process.
Adaptation	When new member states enter the EU, they will adapt to existing norms, practices, and codes of conduct.

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clearly increased the heterogeneity between the member states? In order to get a fuller picture of enlargement effects, we have turned to processes of post-enlargement governance.

Guided by sociological group theories, we currently test different mechanisms of group-size changes. In particular, we focus on three group theories: formalization, "oligarchization", and adaptation. From these general theories, we derive expectations about post-enlargement decision-making. For instance, "oligarchization" highlights the issue of power relations between the member states. The formalization scenario concerns institutional responses to a change in group size. The third approach, termed "adaptation", focuses on the behavior of new and old member states, respectively.

On the empirical front, we are currently preparing our next round of data collection. We are planning to establish a post-enlargement version of the "decision-making in the European Union" (DEU) dataset together with Dr. Robert Thomson (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland).

In the near future, we will collect information on the preferences of all member state governments as well as the Commission and the European Parliament regarding

about 30 legislative acts passed in 2008. With this data, we can test different decision-making models and the performance of the different models will be compared for the pre-enlargement and the post-enlargement periods.

If we can grasp empirically what is going on in the enlarged EU, we can contribute to the identification of some major, contemporary challenges to European governance and to the discussions about future EU reforms. By rigorously analyzing new data, we hope to get a better understanding of this important and recent development in European integration. Moreover, as we have tried to show in this report, there are various theoretical puzzles that make this a thrilling research subject. In our research, we use enlargement as an experimental laboratory setting to test general theories of EU decision-making. While our first results point towards a "business as usual" situation and therefore only partially meet our initial expectations, our question – rephrasing Tullock – remains: Why so much continuity?



# CIS Colloquium Fall 2008

The CIS Colloquium is a central CIS forum for exchange and interaction on topical research. In the fall of 2008 the colloquium had eight sessions. The colloquium always takes place at Seilergraben 49 (room E13) on Thursdays, 12.30-14.00), unless otherwise stated.

Previously, the CIS colloquium was used as a forum for invited guests to present their work, as well as for internal presenters at all levels, including PhD students presenting their research designs. However, due to the newly created PhD colloquium, which began in the fall of 2008, the original CIS colloquium is now a forum primarily for visiting scholars to engage with CIS researchers.

The fall 2008 colloquium season included such diverse topics as affirmative action, the EU's system of representation and violence against minorities.

The presenters came from a wide range of universities, including Georgetown University and Duke University in the US, the Norwegian Institute of Science and Technology in Trondheim, Norway, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland, and many more prestigious institutions in Europe.

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[www.cis.ethz.ch/events/colloquium](http://www.cis.ethz.ch/events/colloquium)

#### Program Fall 2008:

18 September

**Nils Petter Gleditsch** (PRIO) Resources, the Environment, and Conflict.

23 September

**Daniel Sabbagh** (CERI, Paris) Affirmative Action in the United States and France: The Case of Higher Education.

2 October

**James Vreeland** (Georgetown University) Political Institution and Civil War: Unpacking "Anocracy".

30 October

**John Aldrich** (Duke University) Why are Voters so Strategic – Even in Proportional Electoral Systems?

6 November

**Robert Thomson** (Trinity College Dublin) Networks of Power in the European Union before and after Enlargement.

13 November

**Arman Grigoryan** (CIS) War as a Cause of Violence Against Minorities.

11 December

**Berthold Rittberger** (University of Mannheim) The Historical Origin of the EU's System of Representation.

18 December

**Volker Schneider** (University of Konstanz) Complexity Theory and the Evolution of Policy Regimes in Telecommunications: State Intervention and Regulatory Reform.

# Welcome to MACIS!

September 2008 saw the arrival of the third cohort of MACIS students since the program's launch in 2006. Five of the 10 fresh-faced, knowledge-thirsty postgraduates hail from Switzerland's close teutonic neighbor, while the other five come from Greece, Great Britain, the Republic of Ireland and India.

By Sheila Casey

The new recruits were given a helping hand in getting their bearings in Zurich and at CIS with a series of orientation events organized especially for them in mid-September, including a tour of the city center and a welcome reception at CIS offices at Seilergraben. There, they had the opportunity to meet other graduate students as well as members of the academic staff. Helpful introductory talks on library and computer facilities were also part of the program.

The academic backgrounds of the new class are as eclectic as their nationalities. While several members of the class were relatively new to political science, others had solid records in the discipline upon arrival. A common feature of most new MACIS students is nevertheless that they had spent extended periods of time away from their home countries before arriving in Switzerland. See page 18 of this newsletter for an outline of the new recruits as well as their academic backgrounds.

Impressions of the program and life at CIS have been positive although the new group have cited the program's demanding workload as leaving little time for exploring the delights of Zurich. "MACIS seems coherent in form and content and students are well integrated within CIS", says Caroline Rosenthal from Berlin. "The courses are



*The third MACIS intake (from left to right): Panchit Puangsri (visiting student), Giorgos Chatzidakis, Janina Klein, Cate Mackenzie, Nils Christian Bormann, Sheila Casey, Thomas Winzen, Charles Bara, Sebastian Schutte, Caroline Rosenthal, Julia Hahn, Tatiana Lozano (advanced MACIS student).*

interesting and demanding, the people here friendly, open-minded and accessible", states Thomas Winzen from Bonn.

The program, which is taught in English and spans three semesters (two taught semesters consisting of core seminars and elective courses and a six-month period dedicated to researching and writing an MA thesis), aims, among other things, to equip students with the skills needed to carry out academic research.

All MACIS students have the opportunity of presenting their MA thesis research designs about half a year after commencing the program. Apart from providing them with a "motivating" deadline for putting together such a research design, the one-day event is an opportunity for them to receive input on their work from the wide range of CIS experts in the audience.

Moreover, MACIS students have ample opportunity to acquaint themselves with the work of the individual CIS research groups. "Being here is a great opportunity to see how an academic research institute works", reflects Giorgos Chatzidakis from Athens. By visiting the regular sessions of the CIS Colloquium and other CIS events, MACIS students can also gain insight into the work of political practitioners.

The MACIS is still a relatively new program, and in order to ensure that it benefits systematically from student input, two members of the new class are now on the MACIS teaching committee, which meets once a semester to discuss issues such as feedback on courses and administrative matters.

The individual research interests among the new cohort include conflict issues, the European Parliament, social movements,

policy issues, global governance and international relations.

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**The third MACIS intake is...**

**Charles Bara**

Economics, University of Bharti, Trichy, Tamil Nadu, India.

**Nils Christian Bormann**

Integrated Social Sciences, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany.

**Sheila Casey**

European Studies, NUI Maynooth, Ireland and University of Vienna, Austria.

**Giorgos Chantzidakis**

Economics major, Athens University of Economics and Business, Greece and Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.

**Julia Hahn**

Communications Studies, Social Sciences, Journalism, University of Erfurt, Germany and Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey.

**Janina Klein**

BA Political Science, Jamestown College, University of South Dakota, USA and Technical University of Darmstadt, Germany.

**Cate Mackenzie**

International Studies with Political Science, University of Birmingham, UK.

**Caroline Rosenthal**

Social Science, University College Utrecht, Netherlands and Exeter University, UK.

**Sebastian Schutte**

Anthropology, Computer Science and Cognitive Science, University of Freiburg, Germany.

**Thomas Winzen**

European Studies, University of Maastricht and Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic; Research Methods in Politics, University of Sheffield, UK.

# Conference Report: Disaggregating Civil War

By Christa Deiwiks

Hotel Uto Kulm on Uetliberg in a foggy fall setting was the venue for a two-day conference on civil war and conflict resolution in September 2008. The conference was organized by the CIS International Conflict Research group led by Lars-Erik Cederman. The conference took place in the context of the collaborative ECRP-funded project "Disaggregating Civil War." Being the second of its kind, this year's conference was titled "Disaggregating Civil War: Transitions, Governance and Intervention." The thirty-odd participants from all over the world are members of the three project nodes: the ICR group at CIS, the Department of Governance at Essex University, UK, and the Center for the Study of Civil War (CSCW) at the Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in Oslo, Norway.

In his introductory remark, Andrew Mack, director of the Human Security Report Project at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada, highlighted an issue which would recur throughout the two-day conference: The lack of communication and knowledge exchange between academics and policy makers with regard to the explanation, prediction and resolution of civil wars. Mack offered several reasons for this: The inability of quantitative studies to predict accurately the onset of war, the high sensitivity of quantitative analyses to model specification and coding, and last but not least the fact that the academic language might not seem very accessible to policy-makers. Most importantly, however, Mack stressed that in any post-conflict environment, the warring parties' respective grievances and those of the population have to be addressed. These potential explanatory

factors are nevertheless commonly missing in quantitative studies.

With these issues on the table, the conference proceeded with five panels. The first dealt with regime transitions. Criticizing the usual approach of focusing on changes from autocratic to democratic regimes, Kristian S. Gleditsch from Essex University, UK, highlighted changes between two non-democratic regimes, which under certain conditions are also accompanied by civil war. Jack Snyder from Columbia University, US, pointed towards the increase in violence in early stages of democratization due to the lack of institutional means to regulate or repress factional strife, which is especially detrimental in a setting where elite factions compete for newly available power.

The second panel was devoted to the governance of divided societies. CIS professor Lars-Erik Cederman presented his current work on power-access explanations of ethnic war, which hold that ethnic groups which are excluded from power, and which have a high level of mobilization capacity and a history of past conflict, are more likely to fight the government. Honing in on the previous conflict history, Julian Wucherpfennig, a CIS PhD student, highlighted the role of past conflicts over territory, which may strengthen identity salience and the perceived indivisibility of territory, making future conflict more likely. Scott Gates from the CSCW talked about power-sharing, which can be expected to be successful only if it reflects the balance of power between adversaries. Magnus Öberg from the University of Uppsala, Sweden, presented a new data set on operational conflict prevention in ethnic crises, including preventive measures and conflict outcomes.

The third panel, on intervention in civil war, featured a presentation by CIS researcher Arman Grigoryan about the possible conflict-inducing effect of third-party intervention. Han Dorussen from the University of Essex followed with a talk about the role of multi-dimensional peacekeeping, i.e. peacekeeping deeply involved in state-building, and its effects on conflict and cooperation. Finally, the talk by Christoph Zürcher from the University of Berlin in the intervention panel gave an example of how academic work could serve policy making. Christoph Zürcher currently does empirical work in Afghanistan and collects data on the population's subjective assessment of foreign development aid. Andrew Mack, whose presence and comments added – not only in this panel – a refreshing outsider perspective to the familiar academic viewpoint, highlighted that this is exactly the kind of information that policy makers – as well as the media! – are most interested in and that find application in their work.

In the fourth panel, dealing with methodological aspects of the study of civil war, Ravi Bhavnani, University of Illinois, US, discussed agent-based modeling and the role of ethnic salience in ethnic war. Michael D. Ward, professor at the University of Washington (Seattle, US), and Nils B. Weidmann, a CIS PhD student, presented their work on spatial and temporal statistical modeling of civil war. Michael D. Ward repeatedly brought up the issue of prediction in his presentation and comments. He pointed to the very low, and hence somewhat useless, predicted probabilities generated by current statistical models in civil war research. One way to improve these models would be by incorporating negative feedback into the model: What are the

cases where the model makes a wrong prediction, and why? Also, he pointed out that the gap between quantitative scholars and policy makers might be due to the fact that in quantitative studies, "actional" variables, which are actually interesting for policy makers, are sometimes just not relevant for the explanation and prediction of civil war. However, Dominic Rohner, a Swiss researcher currently at the University of York, UK, who investigates the effect of economic deprivation on conflict, expressed his concerns about predicting civil war and pointed to the possibility of self-fulfilling prophecies.

The last panel was devoted to current data projects. Among the ECPR projects were new data sets on ethnic power relations, the location of ethnic groups, non-state actors such as rebel groups and peace-keeping operations were presented, as well as a geo-coding project on the location of natural disasters to investigate their relationship to civil war.

The conference ended after two full days of intensive debates, knowledge exchange and reflection, and provided the participants with an overview of the research activities within the ECPR project and beyond. One conclusion that can be drawn is that while much progress has been made in the quantitative study of civil war, not least due to large and collaborative data collection efforts, academics and policy makers have yet to find a common language, a common understanding of what could be potential explanatory factors in civil war, and, perhaps most important of all, a common goal before insights from academia can be applied to problems outside academia. Besides providing the much needed platform for core researchers in the quantitative

study of civil war for exchange and mutual inspiration, the conference served another important purpose by raising awareness of this issue.

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**Further Information:**

“It Takes Two To Tango” in  
[www.cis.ethz.ch/publications/copy2\\_of\\_publications/CIS-NEWS\\_14](http://www.cis.ethz.ch/publications/copy2_of_publications/CIS-NEWS_14)  
 Conference website:  
[www.icr.ethz.ch/research/grownetconference/](http://www.icr.ethz.ch/research/grownetconference/)  
 Project website:  
[www.icr.ethz.ch/research/ecrp](http://www.icr.ethz.ch/research/ecrp)  
 Human Security Report website:  
[www.humansecurityreport.org](http://www.humansecurityreport.org)

# CIS Publications

## Featured Books

**Daniel Möckli.** 2009. *European Foreign Policy during the Cold War: Heath, Brandt, Pompidou and the Dream of Political Unity.* London: IB Taurus.

This book explores the dream as well as the enormous challenge of Europe speaking with one voice in international politics. It analyzes the very beginnings of European Political Cooperation (EPC) between 1969 and 1974. Europe's debut on the diplomatic stage was remarkably successful. By 1973, the EC countries were the single most effective actor group at the CSCE, where they asked the Soviet Union to recognize human rights as a principle of European security. They also negotiated with the US on a reorganization of the West, became involved in the search for peace in the Middle East, and even discussed European defense cooperation. However, with the exception of the dominant European role at the CSCE, none of this proved sustainable. Europe's quest for a distinct foreign policy provoked a sharp US reaction, with EPC declining into a crisis in 1974 and becoming a low-level phenomenon for the remainder of the Cold War. Assessing the impact of structures as well as actors, this source-based study examines why the EC Nine were successful at joint diplomacy during the early 1970s, but still failed to establish Europe as an effective political power in the long run.

**Jerome Perovic, Robert W. Orttung, and Andreas Wenger** (eds.). 2009. *Russian Energy Power and Foreign Relations. Implications for Conflict and Cooperation.* London and New York: Routledge.

This book examines Russia's new assertiveness and the role of energy as a key factor in shaping the country's behavior in international relations and in building political and economic power domestically since

the 1990s. Energy transformed Russia's fortunes after its decline during the 1990s. The wealth generated from energy exports sparked economic recovery and political stabilization, and has significantly contributed to Russia's assertiveness as a great power, in both the Eurasian and the global context. This development raises a host of questions for Russia and for the West about the stability of the Russian economy; how Russia will use the power it gains from its energy wealth; and how the West should react to Russia's new-found political might. Given that energy is likely to remain at the top of the global political agenda for some time to come, and Russia's role as a key energy supplier to Europe is unlikely to diminish soon, this book sheds light on one of the key security concerns of the 21st century: Where is Russia headed and how does energy affect the changing dynamics of Russia's relations with Europe, the US and the Asia-Pacific region?

## Other Publications

Bailer, Stefanie, Robin Hertz and Dirk Leuffen. 2009. "Oligarchization, Formalization, Adaptation? Linking Sociological Theory and EU Enlargement Research" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16:1, 162-174.

Bättig, Michèle B. and Thomas Bernauer. 2009. "National Institutions and Global Public Goods: Are Democracies More Cooperative in Climate Change Policy?" *International Organization* 63:2 (www.ib.ethz.ch/docs until publication)

Bechtel, Michael M. and Roland Füss. 2008. "When Traders Enjoy Less Policy Risk: Divided Government Economic Policy Change, and Stock Market Volatility in Germany, 1970-2005" *Swiss Political Science Review* 14:2, 287-314.

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- Helbling, Marc. 2008. Practising Citizenship and Heterogeneous Nationhood. Naturalisations in Swiss Municipalities. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
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