

# CIS News

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## EDITORIAL

As you will notice, the CIS Newsletter has been given a makeover. This change comes along with a new face at CIS, Ursina Wälchli, who is now responsible for CIS Communication and Public Relations. We warmly welcome her, as well as Diana Bruni, who is now in charge of the needs of the students in our “Master of Comparative and International Studies” (MACIS) course (see p. 13). And, of course, we welcome all our new students, starting this semester, whether they be enrolled at the B.A., M.A., or Ph.D. level. We are proud to see the first round of students now entering our joint ETH-UZH master program after this program has finally taken all administrative hurdles that come along with such a joint endeavor. And we will also see the first UZH students start with our so called “structured Ph.D. program”, involving a more intensive syllabus focusing on research methods (p. 6-7) – while all classes will, of course, be open for CIS Ph.D. students from both universities. In terms of research, we continue to discover the broad variety of topics covered at CIS. There is considerable scope for cooperation in multiple fields. In this newsletter, the focus is on Africa. On the following pages, you will discover how

much of the research at CIS deals with this region of the world. Interestingly, many different CIS research groups are involved in this research with at least one or two projects, and I am sure that even real CIS insiders would not necessarily manage to match the studies described with the particular CIS research group in which they are carried out. Once our currently vacant position in Swiss Politics is filled, who knows whether we will not see some links to Africa being forged even here, maybe on Swiss development cooperation policy?

In the future, the CIS Newsletter will regularly present research areas relevant to a number of our researchers. The CIS is well known for its work on democracy through its key role in the National Center of Competence in Research (NCCR). But there are many other topics such as social policy, international climate policy, conflict and violence, or policy diffusion, for the analysis of which the CIS brings together a broad range of expertise and research perspectives. There is a lot to discover and a lot to share.

Enjoy reading!

Katharina Michaelowa

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## Focus

# AFRICA IN CIS RESEARCH

The new millennium has increasingly seen international research concentrate its attention on the long-neglected African continent and its growing role in world affairs. Research on Africa – its development, potentials and frailties, political climate, and exposure to global developments such as globalization or climate change – is becoming a prominent topic in research all over the world. The importance of Africa as an interesting and challenging issue is also reflected in several CIS projects. They cover a wide range of topics ranging from climate change and ethnic questions to water protection and management. There is a regional focus on Sub-Saharan Africa. Most projects are conducted with local partners or with a team of international researchers covering a wide range of disciplines. While research groups located at the Centre for Development and Cooperation (NADEL) and the chair of Political Economy of Developing and Transition Countries traditionally focus on these issues, this article also sheds light on some research projects conducted by various other CIS groups. As we will see, a number of their projects relate to the large southern continent as well.

## Water

Water – and in particular, clean water – has become a scarce resource on the African continent. Subterranean and surface water resources are quite unequally divided along national boundaries. This poses a challenge to the political institutions of the respective countries, and water management has come to be a topic of great importance.

CIS projects dealing with water management are part of the African Dams Project (ADAPT). Taking a closer look at the Zambezi River Basin – the fourth-largest river of Africa – they seek to improve understanding of how particular anthropogenic and geophysical changes in the basin system may increase or decrease vulnerabilities. Other foci of interest are the implications of fair water distribution rules and the way in which political power can influence the water regime of the Zambezi across its eight riparian countries (Beck/Bernauer (research group) and Casarotto/Kappel). The goal is to provide the countries with a set of improved policy choices and suggestions for institutional structures in order to reach an optimal solution with respect to the allocation of water resources and general water management. Through the analysis of different water uses and related governance policies and through the construction of several multi-objective models that are fed with different scenarios and predictions, the implications of different policies, aid levels, and environmental factors are to be examined.

Preliminary study results show that the absence of effective international cooperation on water allocation issues, combined with climatic change



*Impacts of climate change in a Liberian slum*

and other factors such as population and economic growth, are likely to have serious impacts on the region. These involve a drastically reduced runoff in the dry season and changing shares of the eight countries in water demand. Allocation rules should be set up within the next few years before international conflicts arise over sharing the Zambezi's water.

As water becomes scarce, the issue of sanitation gains even more importance, so as not to pollute the remaining water resources and of course as a health and economic issue. One CIS project studies the persistent lack of private investment in sanitation facilities and their use in poor urban areas in Sub-Saharan Africa (Horst/Guenther). The study site is Uganda's capital Kampala, where probably more than 90% of the residents are not connected to the sewage system and at least 50% of people in low-income areas do not have access to any form of basic sanitation, despite extensive NGO educational and marketing interventions. Lack of sanitation is a

frequent cause of diseases with lethal effects that causes grave economic and social hardship for families, especially in urban slums.

The objectives of the project are first to analyze and understand the economic constraints underlying the persistently low level of private investment in and use of sanitation facilities in low-income areas and to estimate the willingness to pay for different financial and technological options of sanitation services. Based on these results, the research team will design demand-based sanitation solutions and test their effectiveness. This will allow the researchers to investigate the degree to which demand-led and market-based sanitation services can increase the acceptance and self-financing of on-site systems among the poor in Sub-Saharan Africa.

### Climate Change and conflict

Another issue that is strongly related to water issues is the impact of climate change on the everyday life of Africans. Identifying these impacts, with their strong potential for inter- or intra-state conflict, is another main goal in current research.

Two large CIS projects on climate change are collecting data on a worldwide basis, but have a special focus on Africa, as African regions in particular are expected to be most severely affected by climate change. One study is creating a data set of cooperative and conflictive events related to water in Mediterranean Countries, the Middle East, and the Sahel between 1997 and 2009 (Boehmelt/Bernauer). The goal is to identify the driving forces that lead to cooperation and conflict on water across the region and to iden-

tify atypical cases, e.g., countries that face severe water stress but show a rather low level of conflict. These will then be investigated in greater detail. Another objective is to assess how secure and resilient both economic and political systems are when faced with climate-induced water stress.

The second project dealing with climate change aims at understanding whether and how climate change might affect civil conflict through changes in economic performance and examines the moderating role of political institutions on the effect of climate change on conflict (Koubi/Ruoff/Bernauer).

Because agriculture is the most important sector in African economies, because the percentage of irrigated land there is the lowest in the world, and because the baseline probability of civil conflict is higher than in other world regions, Africa is a most likely case for observing the proposed hypothesis that climate change affects the probability of conflict through its impact on human welfare and economic growth. Initial results show that for most indicators, climate change does not seem to affect economic growth yet, and therefore does not influence the onset of actual civil conflicts. However, they suggest that democracy might mitigate the effect of economic

growth on civil conflict, implying that autocratic regimes are more prone to conflict when economic conditions deteriorate.

In addition to the above-mentioned studies, several CIS projects cover the performance and political economy of mechanisms and institutions in



*UN troops in the daily traffic*

international climate policy, including in particular the analysis of barriers for investment in climate change mitigation projects in Africa (Castro/Flues/Stadelmann/A. Michaelowa/K. Michaelowa).

Of course, climate change is not the only potential determinant of civil conflict we consider. Another possible source – in some countries – is ethnicity (see, e.g., the study on Burundi (Vorrath/Wenger) described in detail on p.14). Similarly, in a further research project (Weber/Michaelowa) two neighboring African countries are compared: Why do violent ethnic clashes occur in Kenya, while in Tanzania, different ethnic groups co-exist peacefully? The project brings into

focus the role of ethnicity in the political systems of different countries and the respective policies.

### Social processes and democratization

Understanding the various social processes that are taking place in Africa and the way in which variable factors, such as ethnicity, can influence and change these patterns, is another focus of research interest at CIS.

For a better understanding of informal insurance arrangements in rural areas, one research project is evaluating the risk aversion of individuals in combination with individual participation levels in community projects (Gheysens/Guenther). This is relevant because the rural population in many Sub-Saharan African countries largely depends on agricultural activities and is therefore highly exposed to climatic shocks and hence fluctuating income. Villagers mostly offset those risks through a dense, albeit informal net of social reciprocity and collaboration. An analysis of these informal arrangements can lead to a better

understanding of the investment and insurance decisions of poor rural populations. Preliminary results suggest a strong risk aversion towards uncertainty in losses, an indication that villagers could be interested in some forms of formal micro-insurance schemes.

Several research projects at the chair of Political Economy and Development are conducting research in the field of education, highlighting the situations of students and teachers.

For instance an econometric evaluation of educational policy interventions based on large-scale student survey data (PASEC and SACMEQ, comparable to PISA for African primary schools) serves to assess the impact of different school-level interventions on student learning.

A second project is concerned with the reform of teacher recruitment policy in 11 francophone African countries (Nkenge Nkenge/Michaelowa). Despite relatively strong teacher unions in these countries, traditional teachers have been widely replaced by low-paid contract



*Computer based learning*

teachers with reduced pre-service training requirements and fixed-term contracts. The study will try to establish the reasons for this process and its principal effects.

Another project considers the impact of World Bank and International Monetary Fund development lending on democratization in African countries (Haenny/Michaelowa). It provides a theoretical argument as well as economic evidence for the role of the international financial institutions in promoting horizontal and vertical accountability and civil rights. Further research on democratization in Africa (van Eerd/Kriesi) is presented in detail on p. 10.

All in all, CIS research provides a variety of new perspectives on African economic problems and political instabilities. We hope that by increasing our knowledge about Africa we may contribute to a better balance between the North and the South, to face future challenges together.



*Sanitation or drinking water?*

Research & Education

# CIS COLLOQUIUM SPRING 2010

by **Robert Gampfer**

As in the previous semesters, this spring's CIS colloquium was host to a variety of international scholars. The colloquium provides a weekly forum for scientists invited by CIS faculty members to present current research to an audience comprised of CIS members and students as well as other interested scholars from ETH and the University of Zurich. The sessions begin with a presentation by the visitor, followed by around 45 minutes of discussion – an excellent opportunity both for guests, who get valuable feedback and questions on their work, and for the other participants, who are presented with new ideas and gain first-hand insight into ongoing research.

The visiting scholars from universities in Europe, the US, and Canada were by no means all political scientists. Some of them started their academic careers as economists or mathematicians.

Michael Kosfeld of Frankfurt University started this semester's round with a study on cooperative behavior in forest management. He presented evidence of a correlation between cooperative behavior in game experiments and successful management of common woodlands. André Blais of Montreal University integrated party preference and sense of civic duty as predictors of voter turnout into a model and demonstrated its predictive powers empirically.

Lucio Baccaro of Geneva University investigated the role of corporatism in Europe today, arguing that it has become predominantly a tool to push through policies of wage and welfare austerity. Focusing on domestic politics as well, Thomas Saalfeld presented new work on the formation of party coalitions in the light of delegation processes.

It was a special pleasure to have Ron Rogowski (UCLA) as a guest. He reflected

on the implications of growing domestic inequality in modern democracies.

Jonathan Golub of Reading University suggested to use the realist notion of relative gains for exploring power relations inside the European Union, specifically the relation between net payments by member states and their success in realizing goals in common policy decisionmaking.

Another highlight was Stathis Kalyvas' presentation of his research on civil wars. Setting up a new typology of internal armed conflicts based on distinguishing between different techniques of warfare, he showed that these had undergone significant changes following the Cold War, which shows that characteristics of the international system influence modes of internal conflict and suggesting that macro-historical events have stronger impacts on civil wars than previously thought.

Mark Kayser (Hertie School of Governance, Berlin) proposed daily calorie consumption as a new, more fault-proof measure of societal inequality, which opens up new possibilities for assessing the influence of economic growth and regime type on inequality. In his presentation, Claudio Radaelli of Exeter University, introduced a new theoretical framework accommodating the concept of policy learning with the aim of making it analytically more amenable.

Unfortunately, the volcanic ash cloud in April affected the colloquium schedule, and Vivien Schmidt of Boston University had to cancel her visit.

**Program Fall 2010;**  
**Thursdays, 12.30 - 14.00 at Affolternstrasse 56, AFL-E-009**

30.09.: Jeffrey Lewis (Cleveland State University), Puzzles and Progress in Council Research

14.10.: Dieter Fuchs (University of Stuttgart), Explaining Support for European Integration: An Attitudinal Model

21.10.: Carlos Alós-Ferrer (University of Konstanz), Field Experiments on Approval Voting: The German Experience

27.10., 5pm (Wednesday!): Jude Hays (University of Pittsburgh), Spatial Interdependence and the Utility of Investment Liberalization

04.11.: Maija Setälä (Turku University, Finland), Normative Theory and Empirical Analysis in the Study of Deliberative Mini-Publics

11.11.: Ulrich Sieberer (University of Mannheim), Reforming the Rules of the Parliamentary Game

18.11.: Marc Debus (University of Mannheim), Regional Government Formation in Varying Multi-Level Contexts

02.12.: Cullen Hendrix (University of North Texas), After the Rain: Political Institutions, Water Resources, and Civil Unrest in Africa

09.12.: Catherine E. de Vries (University of Amsterdam), Issue Entrepreneurship and Multiparty Competition

16.12.: Jan Lorenz (University of Oldenburg), The Formation of Parties through Opinion Dynamics Under Bounded Confidence

**Robert Gampfer**  
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## Research &amp; Education

# THE NEW DOCTORAL PROGRAM „COMPARATIVE & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES“ STARTS IN FALL 2010

by **Petra Holtrup Mostert**

After an intensive time of planning, internal consultations and external expertise gathering from partner institutes from all over Europe the new structured doctoral program of the IPZ finally starts in fall 2010. Thus CIS offers three options proceeding doctoral studies, one at ETH, and two at IPZ. No matter which program is chosen, all three doctoral programs are structured with an average of a three-year full-time program (part-time is also possible) leading to the title of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science (Ph.D.) degree or Dr. ETH respectively. All programs share the same elements of completing a dissertation as well as coursework, which varies by amount and content. Despite the “traditional” General Doctoral Program (Allgemeine Doktoratsstufe) at UZH, which includes a dissertation and the collecting of 12 ECTS points in course

work, the newly introduced IPZ Structured Doctoral Program “Comparative and International Studies” (strukturiertes Doktoratsprogramm) demands the collecting of 30 ECTS points in course work. The reformed doctoral programs at UZH are conceptualized according to the recommendations of the Extended University Board (Erweiterte Universitätsleitung). The University of Zurich is member of the League of European Research Universities (LERU). LERU University members are committed to deliver the highest standards of excellence in a doctoral education.

*“Europe must support and promote excellence as a primary goal of research-driven doctoral training. The doctoral education, the third cycle in the Bologna process, differs widely from the first two cycles in that it is intimately tied to the research process. It is more flexible and more individualized*

*than the Bachelor and Master level.*

*Quality assurance of a doctoral training contains quality of supervision and curriculum, high completion and reasonable time to degree rates.”* (see also: Report «Doctoral studies in Europe: excellence in researcher training, May 2007».)

As a consequence of these reforms the doctoral study struc-

tures at UZH and ETH are getting closer together, which bring considerable positive effects for joint-coursework, event planning and student support in terms of management and international mobility. This also helps to promote high standards in the doctoral education at CIS. The invention of a structured dissertation option at CIS was born out of the necessity to adopt the Bologna criteria and to meet the LERU standards of a comprehensive structured and well supervised academic education on the doctoral level. In this context the whole supervising system has been revised. Starting in spring 2010 already all new Ph.D. candidates at the IPZ must sign a doctoral agreement with their supervisor, in which modalities of supervising, reporting, duties, coursework and progress reports are agreed on.

With regards to the envisaged targets of flexibility, individualization, and training Ph.D. students may select their course work individually according to the doctoral agreement (Doktoratsvereinbarung), which is elaborated together with the students’ doctoral committee (Promotionskommission). This document ensures the quality of the Ph.D. degree. The doctoral committee meets regularly with the Ph.D. student (at least annually) in order to assess the status of research and to provide feedback.

Additional to disciplinary skills, interdisciplinary skills which are rewarded with ECTS credits are becoming an integrated part of the PhD process. By reevaluating teaching, student mentoring, publication work, social engagement, etc., the university finally honors the intense workload of Ph.D. candidates, which goes far beyond their dissertation project.

General Doctoral Program		ECTS-Points	
Module			
„disciplinary skills“ (10 ECTS)	PhD – colloquium (compulsory) (1. and 2. semester)	4	In each category, a maximum of 6 ECTS points can be accredited
	Research Experience		
	Research Methods		
	Conference		
	Course of own field of research and dissertation relevant field (also e-learning)		
	Research visit/stay abroad		
	Publications		
	Workshops		
	Summerschool		
	Workshop, Summerschools etc.		
„transferable skills“ (2 ECTS)	Committees		
	Mentoring/Brown Bag Lunch		
	Language courses		
	University Didactics		
	Scientific Communication		
	Teaching		
	Management & Finance		
	Writing Dissertation	–	
Final defense	–		
		12 ECTS-Points	

Tab. 1: Curriculum General Doctoral Program

Structural Doctoral Program „Comparative and International Studies		ECTS-Points	
	Module		
„disciplinary skills“ (24 ECTS)	PhD – colloquium (compulsory) (1. and 2. semester)	4	
	Advanced Methods (compulsory)	12	
	- Advanced methods I (1. or 2. semester)	(4)	
	- Advanced methods II (1. or 2. semester)	(4)	
	- Advanced methods III (3. semester)	(4)	
	Research design & Implementation (2. semester)	2	
	Course of own field of research and dissertation relevant field (also e-learning)	In each category, a maximum of 6 ECTS points can be accredited	6
	Research Experience		
	Research visit/stay abroad		
	Publications		
Workshops			
Summerschool			
Workshop, Summerschools etc.	In each category, a maximum of 6 ECTS points can be accredited		
Committees			
Mentoring/Brown Bag Lunch			
Language courses			
University Didactics			
Scientific Communication			
Teaching Management & Finance			
Writing Dissertation	-		
Final defense	-		
		30 ECTS-Points	

Tab. 2: Curriculum Structural Doctoral Program

The new structured doctoral program puts a main emphasis on a comprehensive methodological training.

By offering tailored coursework on demand, the program wants to additionally support the candidates needs.

Module	1 <sup>st</sup> sem.	2 <sup>nd</sup> sem.	3 <sup>rd</sup> sem.	4 <sup>th</sup> sem.	5 <sup>th</sup> sem.	6 <sup>th</sup> sem.
<b>Theory &amp; Evidence</b>	Advanced methods I (4 CP)	Advanced methods II (4 CP) Research Design and Implementation (2 CP)	Advanced methods III (4 CP)			
<b>Supporting Courses</b>	PhD Colloquium (2 CP)	PhD Colloquium (2 CP)	Coaching/prof. development seminar			Professional Coaching
<b>Electives &amp; practical work</b>	Electives	Electives	Electives	Electives	Electives	Electives
<b>Dissertation</b>	Work on literature review	Work on exposé	Writing	Writing	Writing	Writing
<b>Mile Stones</b>	Literature Review	Exposé approved	Conference paper		Conference / Journal submission; first results	Dissertation Defense

Tab. 3: Course organization, modules, credits and requirements

Students are intensively trained in the whole range of methods, being able to apply quantitative, qualitative and comparative analysis methods in a sound manner on actual research questions. By introducing milestones like conference paper, publication and presentation into the curriculum, the doctoral management tries to offer students a more structured and well supported research environment.

Therefore in spring 2010, the IPZ offered Ph.D. courses in Academic Writing (William Germano, New York) and Presentation Skills (Sarah Shepard, ETH). In fall 2010 there will be a tailored course in quantitative methods followed by a qualitative methods course and an additional course in Research design and implementation in spring 2011. Also Sarah Shepard will conduct her presentation workshop once more. Special coursework for Didactics and Finance Management and Research Funding are currently in the pipeline. Furthermore Ph.D. candidates enrolled in the structured program have the option to apply for extra financial support for conference or summerschool participation, travelling or event management. The funding is limited to 8000 CHF per year, the awarding is decided by the program management on the basis of a written proposal.

For further information please contact the following webpage:

[http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/studium/phd\\_en.html](http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/studium/phd_en.html)

or the program management:

Dr. Petra Holtrup Mostert.

Dr. Petra Holtrup Mostert  
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## Research &amp; Education

## RECENTLY COMPLETED PH.D. AT CIS



### Transboundary Water Allocation in the Zambezi River Basin

Supervisor: Thomas Bernauer

by **Lucas Beck**

My thesis is located in the context of transboundary water resources allocation using a case study on the Zambezi River Basin (ZRB) in Southern Africa. The ZRB is one of the largest water basins in the world and shared by eight riparian countries.

A first question addresses a potential future development of the ZRB until 2050. By means of a hydrological simulation model, the effects of demographic and economic development are explored and the consequences of increased water scarcity illustrated. Furthermore, I address the question of how political power influences water allocation. A model is developed that accounts for how upstream countries exercise power by using water whereas downstream countries use power to obtain water. It is shown that equilibrium water allocation outcomes are biased towards the more powerful coalition of riparian countries. In the third part of my thesis, I develop a policy for a fair water allocation in international river basins, based on three principles of fairness, namely "efficiency", "equitability", and "envy-freeness".



### Democratization and Ethno-Nationalist Civil War: The Role of Political Leaders

Supervisor: Lars-Erik Cederman

by **Lutz F. Krebs**

What causes the onset of civil war in democratizing, ethnically heterogeneous countries? Is it selfish political leaders seeking to protect their own political power, as argued by the "elite manipulation" theory? Or is it structural forces in the shape of an "ethnic security dilemma"?

The dissertation argues that neither theory is perfectly applicable.

Instead, two factors combine to make conflict more likely. Firstly, some ethnic groups may have cause to be worried about others, and may choose to trust only their own kin. Secondly, ongoing campaigns for political office create incentives for politicians to base their campaigns on such security worries. Hence, the "selection of elites", rather than manipulation by them, raises the likelihood of political violence.

The dissertation uses both large-N quantitative evidence and process-tracing case studies on Yugoslavia and Burundi to assess all three theories, finding support for more nuanced causal chains than those suggested by the "elite manipulation" school of thought.



### Conflict and Conflict Structuring in Urban Spaces of Switzerland at the End of the 20th Century

Supervisor: Daniel Kübler

by **Urs Scheuss**

Metropolitan sprawl in Switzerland has brought about a fragmentation of urban spaces. Moreover, segregation within metropolitan areas has produced socio-economic disparities. The aim of this thesis is to describe and to explain whether and how these differences are related to political divisions within metropolitan areas. On the one hand, the political orientations of metropolitan communes may correlate with the socio-economic composition. On the other hand, there are reasons to believe that party voting is affected by the place where citizens live. Accordingly, the same person tends to vote differently depending on the place of residence.

The empirical analysis reveals evidence for both explanations. Yet, place-related factors like homeownership, distance to the core city, urbanization, and public transport use seem to have more explanatory power. Furthermore, the results suggest that cantonal divisions, too, structure political conflicts within metropolitan areas.



**Social Preferences, Sorting, and Signaling: An Experimental Analysis of Labor Market Processes**

Supervisors: Katharina Michalewicz and Michael Kosfeld

by **Sebastian Fehrer**

Some employees are intrinsically concerned with the goals or missions of organizations. If these workers choose to work in firms with the right mission, their concern for the organization's goal helps to solve the problem of worker motivation. A growing number of behavioral studies have demonstrated the importance of social preferences for organizational aspects, such as contract choice. Processes of sorting workers between mission-oriented and other employers might thus be important for organizations beyond the issue of motivation.

Based on field surveys and lab experiments, this thesis investigates sorting processes in the labor market and contract choice in different settings. The overall finding of the thesis is that the motivation of employees based on their employers' missions is important. It influences the choice of employer and, at least in the case of NGO missions, positively correlates with trustworthiness. The contract choice experiments show that the sorting processes are potentially important for organizational issues.



**Democratization as Integration: Exile, Return and Changing Conflict Lines in Burundi's Democratic Post-War Transition**

Supervisors: Andreas Wenger, Lars-Erik Cederman, Simon Hug

by **Judith Vorrath**

Peace agreements since the 1990s have normally comprised different measures designed not only to build peace, but also to introduce a more democratic mode of governance. This dissertation asks what the driving forces of such two-fold processes are. It looks into changes in underlying lines of political conflict during transitions after ethnic civil war. In order to explain the occurrence of fragmentation instead of polarization in post-war transitions, it focuses on conflict lines that newly emerge over the course of the civil war.

More precisely, the dissertation examines the effect of the return of mobilized exile groups. In order to assess the influence of this factor at the level of political elites, a content analysis of news sources and elite interviews was carried out during field research in Burundi in 2007 and 2009. It provides evidence that conflict lines based on exile, but also on the rebellion have emerged and can best be understood as an expression of a larger political integration process.



**Democracy, International Interlinkages and Cooperation over Shared Resources**

Supervisor: Thomas Bernauer

by **Anna Kalbhenn**

This thesis deals with the international political economy of environmental politics, with a focus on the management of transboundary resources. It is organized around the following core questions: What is the impact of democratic structures and countries' interlinkages on cooperation and conflict over shared resources? Do governments strategically choose the location of measuring stations and the data reported to international agencies? What is the relative importance of domestic, international, and peer-group effects on global governance dynamics, in particular the commitment to multilateral environmental agreements? The empirical results imply that efforts to motivate laggard countries to contribute to global environmental politics should consider international context factors and peer countries' behavior. We observe that, for instance, the likelihood of treaty ratification increases with the number of countries that have already ratified a certain treaty, and I observe similar dynamics when it comes to government interaction over shared resources.

## Voices &amp; Faces

# IN SEARCH OF IDEOLOGY AND CLIENTELISM IN BOTSWANA AND LESOTHO

by **Jonathan van Eerd**

Jonathan van Eerd, a Ph.D. student at the CIS Chairs of Comparative Politics and International Relations, spent three months conducting field research in Southern Africa, collecting elite and expert information on political parties' mobilization strategies. What he found there was sometimes quite surprising.

telism is very hard to measure with quantitative data. Hence, I needed to take a more qualitative look on sub-Saharan Africa and finally booked tickets for Botswana and Lesotho. These two cultural cousin countries are interesting to compare because they differ regarding the saliency of clientelistic mobilization strategies. I travelled to the Southern African

hypothesis was that although both Botswana and Lesotho are characterized by the dominance of one party, clientelistic mobilization strategies are of bigger importance in Lesotho's election campaigns than in Botswana, where I expected to find more ideological differentiation amongst the political parties because substantial democratization was already in place during the Cold War.

However, measuring the extent of clientelistic mobilization strategies is not only hard to do in macro-quantitative research, but also difficult to capture in structured and semi-structured interviews. Who wants to provide insights into a matter as ill-reputed as "vote-buying"? With this warning in my head, I boarded the plain to Johannesburg, the hub for reaching most Southern African countries.

Upon my arrival, I managed to pick up two World Cup games and after having heard enough of the Vuvuzelas, I rented the cheapest Asian four-wheel drive I could get and entered Lesotho, Africa's only mountain kingdom. I had established private contacts to residents of the small camp town of Thaba-Tseka, which is a spectacular five-hour gravel road drive and 1,000 meters of difference in altitude away from Lesotho's capital, Maseru. This is why I had my first interview with John Monaheng Letooane, a retired farmer and still very active rural opposition politician, in his chilly house/party office at 2,500 meters above sea level. He explained to me how aggravated the incumbency advantage is in a poor mountain country where some constituencies can only be reached by horseback, unsafe four-wheel tracks, or helicopter. Having completed some



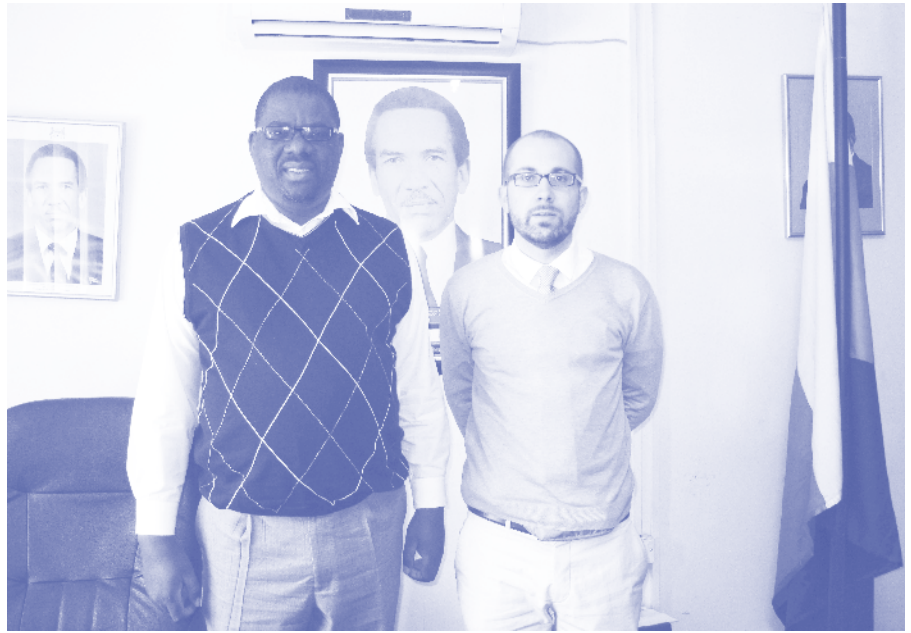
*Jonathan van Eerd meeting opposition politician John Monaheng Letooane in front of his private house and party office in Thaba-Tseka, Lesotho, 2500m a.s.l.*

I spent two years at my desk writing research designs, letters, and papers about the comparison of party systems on a continent that I only knew from rather sad pictures on TV. Of course, during this time I executed many Stata regression commands trying to explain the election outcomes of 28 African countries by the extent of clientelism, i.e. the direct exchange of votes for targeted benefits, in daily African political life. However, clien-

telism is very hard to measure with quantitative data. Hence, I needed to take a more qualitative look on sub-Saharan Africa and finally booked tickets for Botswana and Lesotho. These two cultural cousin countries are interesting to compare because they differ regarding the saliency of clientelistic mobilization strategies. I travelled to the Southern African

winter in June 2010, returning in September, to gain insights into the mobilization strategies employed by these two countries' incumbent and opposition parties for gaining votes in elections for the national parliament. In both countries, so called "dominant parties" control the government, with "dominance" implying that the same party has won an absolute majority in parliament in at least three consecutive and relatively free elections. My

more interviews with local politicians, I travelled back down to Maseru, where I spent many sunny days and frosty nights chasing after more politicians and political experts. As soon as you get the mobile numbers of the important persons in this scarcely populated country of almost the size of Switzerland, you have all the important contacts, and it is much easier to establish interviews by mobile phone than by using email or landlines. Although I had expected politicians to be much more reluctant to talk about clientelistic mobilization strategies than political experts, such as professors at the national university, quite often, the politicians were more open in talking about this “hot” issue than the experts themselves. For example, I asked one parliamentarian from the dominant party whether it was “sometimes important to deliver the electorate a gift like food or clothes, so that it will vote for the party”. He bluntly told me that he does “not



*Jonathan van Eerd meeting the governing party's executive secretary, Dr. Batlang Comma Serema, in his office in Gaborone, Botswana*

see any problem with that” and “although we do not have enough funding, still we do the little we can.” 700 kilometers further north in

Gaborone, Botswana's capital, now much nearer to typical African savannahs and deserts, the same pattern emerged: Academics and other experts were more reluctant to talk about clientelistic mobilization strategies in their country

than politicians. Obviously, they are aware of the theories of the proper conduct of democratic politics, while the animals politiques are fighting for political survival on a day-to-day basis. The experts did not want to portray a tainted picture of their political system to an outsider. After having spent five weeks in Lesotho and another five weeks in Botswana, having in total recorded 34 interviews in 50 working days and being much richer in academic as well as personal experience, I boarded the plane back to Zurich, where winter was slowly approaching.



*By-elections in Tonota North constituency, Botswana: Independent Electoral Commission official explains to a voter how he should cast his vote*

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## Voices &amp; Faces

# A BLOG BY POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

In February this year, a group of professors and postdocs at CIS launched a new blog called PoliSciZurich. CIS News spoke to the initiator, Prof. Fabrizio Gilardi.

*Q: The internet is replete with blogs. All topics, tastes, and inclinations, from the most mainstream to the most outlandish, are already well represented. Political science is no exception, so why start a new blog?*

FG: There is indeed no shortage of blogs, quite the contrary. However, not many discuss political science from a European perspective. There are many political blogs, and some American political science blogs, but few European political science blogs. We think that the CIS has something to contribute here. We are based in Europe, but we are also strongly integrated within the American and international political science communities, so we think that we can offer an interesting perspective.

*Q: Who are the bloggers?*

FG: We are a group of professors and postdocs at the CIS. We did not issue a “call for bloggers” because we wanted to start with a relatively small and cohesive group, but we are definitely open to taking on new bloggers, including Ph.D. students. Any interested person is welcome to contact me. We would like to keep the CIS affiliation as a precondition, however.

*Q: Which topics will be addressed?*

FG: The main themes are current political science research (both our own

and that of other colleagues) and its wider relevance, the evolution of the political science profession and academia more broadly, and teaching-related issues. Occasionally, we will also discuss current events, but only when they are directly linked to our research, so that we can really offer an informed and original perspective.



*The blog's title page*

*Q: What is the target group?*

FG: We have three target groups: students (both current and prospective), other political scientists, and the broader public, including the media. Not all posts will be equally interesting for all three groups, but we hope that the overall mix will appeal to all of them.

*Q: Political science, like many other disciplines, is said to be purely academic and rarely related to real political or societal affairs. Do you see PoliSciZurich as an opportunity to get rid of this prejudice, and if so, in what way?*

FG: Yes, improving the connection between our work and the “real world” is definitely a major objective of the blog. I actually think that most of our research does have quite clear policy implications or practical rele-

vance, but usually, this is not what we emphasize in our publications, which are targeted at our fellow political scientists. The blog allows us to discuss more informally why our research matters beyond a relatively narrow group of academics.

*Q: What trends are currently being debated regarding the profession of the political scientist?*

FG: Some issues, like debates on the identity of political science, are longstanding and are still quite lively, especially in Europe, where the different national traditions have not yet been supplanted by a common European perspective. This partly overlaps with a love-hate relationship with American political science, which tends to manifest itself especially with respect to methodology. Other trends are more recent. Something that strikes me is the extent to which the professionalization of young researchers has improved in recent years. Standards are being raised very quickly, while at the same time, some traditional requirements, such as the Habilitation in the German-speaking area, are losing importance in the eyes of many young scholars, who give priority to other quality certifications, such as top publications. I see this as a very positive development for political science, but one that can also be a source of misunderstandings with the older generation, which still holds power in the academic hierarchy.

*Q: Controversies to the Bologna process have been a big topic among academics and students in different countries across Europe, especially during*

Voices & Faces

# NEW FACES AT CIS

*the student protests last year. In some countries, angry students have stepped up their protests by occupying university buildings. Would that be also a topic in the blog, and if so, in what way do you believe that you can offer an original take on these issues?*

FG: This is certainly a relevant topic for the blog, and some of us might well post something on this in the future. We have different backgrounds and have studied, taught, and researched in many different countries, so we certainly have a sense of how things can



Diana Bruni Hulette joined CIS at the beginning of July 2010 as the Administrative Coordinator for the two Master programs: The Master of Arts in Comparative and International Studies (MACIS) and the Master of Arts in History and Philosophy (MAGPW). Before she joined ETH, she worked in the international tour operating industry and international student travel services. Her profession and passion for travelling and languages took her to many places in the world, including California, where she ended up working and studying for 12 years. During her B.A. studies in Radio and Television, she was working for Lonely Planet Publications as New Media assistant writer and author. She also served as the school coordinator for an international language school in San Diego. In her spare time, she worked as a freelance production assistant for a local film producer and hopes to find the time to continue working on her first documentary film, which she started while studying at university. The opportunity of living abroad for many years allowed her to experience and appreciate both the differences and similarities of people across the globe. She is married and has two young daughters.



In July 2010, Ursina Wälchli joined the CIS, where she is responsible for managing all matters of communications, public relations, and the coordination of CIS events. After obtaining her Master's degree in Science of Religion and Indology from the Universities of Berne and Heidelberg, she worked as a research assistant in a Swiss National Foundation-funded project on the public reception of Tibetan refugees and Tibetan Buddhism in Swiss media and politics. She then started working as student counselor and international coordinator at the Institute of Political Science of the University of Zurich. Ursina has an active interest in international and intercultural relations. She spent one year in Heidelberg to learn Hindi, travels to Asia as often as possible, and wrote her Master's thesis on the Indian Diasporas. The respect and sensitivity for different cultures, she says, are of great importance in every institution working in an international setting. Her goal at the CIS is to give the center and its publications a distinct visual appearance and to strengthen its good reputation.



*Vivid discussions and comments*

be different from a specific status quo. A perspective that does not receive much space in the media is how the Bologna process has changed things for us professors and researchers as opposed to students and administrators, so this might be an interesting take. And I think it would be worth emphasizing that, despite all the problems, the Bologna reform has actually had quite positive consequences on the whole.

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## Voices &amp; Faces

# POLITICAL CONFLICT AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN BURUNDI

by **Judith Vorrath**

When I started my Ph.D. in the NCCR Democracy at the end of 2005, I did not foresee that a small East African country would become one of my main occupations for the following years. But it turned out that Burundi happened to have all the characteristics that were relevant for my research. Moreover, it is located within the African Great Lakes region, one of the focus regions of our NCCR project on democratization in divided societies (IP3). So I started to get involved with Burundi as the main case of my research – and beyond.

In my Ph.D. thesis, I examine the democratic post-war transition in Burundi after 2001 that followed an ethnic civil war and officially ended with elections in 2005. Since the development of political conflicts – whether violent or non-violent – during such transitions is of great importance for the overall process, I focused on changes in underlying conflict lines and possible explanations for such change. That change takes place even though manifestations of ethnic divisions caused by the civil war can be seen in many cases of post-war transitions. From Afghanistan to the Democratic Republic of Congo and Indonesia (Aceh), countries in different parts of the world have followed a path from polarization at the outbreak of the civil war to fragmentation during peace negotiations and following transitions. Such a fragmentation, including the proliferation of relevant political actors, is difficult to understand, since it often seems to contradict the (ethnic) logic of the civil war. In addition, it even takes place under power-sharing arrangements that

have become the most common solution in negotiated agreements and are normally expected to freeze the main civil war conflict line instead of transcending it.

In Burundi, the main conflict line at the time of civil war ran between the two politically relevant ethnic groups – the Hutu and the Tutsi. There was an increasing ethnic polarization around the time of the elections in 1993. After the elections, the two biggest parties in the country – each seen as representing one of the two ethnic groups – were the only parties in the National Assembly. Only six parties had competed in the vote. By contrast, 34 parties participated in the first post-war elections in 2005 and five passed the threshold to be represented in parliament. But such a multiplication of political actors on both sides of the ethnic divide does not automatically indicate a fragmentation of conflict lines, since conflicts could still mostly take place between Hutu and Tutsi actors.

In order to arrive at a systematic assessment of the development of political conflicts and conflict lines, I conducted a content analysis of news sources over a ten-year period of observation. The results showed that intra-Hutu conflicts newly emerged with the start of peace negotiations and become more and more relevant over time, and intra-Tutsi conflicts also increased from a previously low level. At the same time, inter-ethnic conflicts more or less remained at the same level, indicating a fragmentation of political conflict lines. Quite surprisingly, the intra-Hutu conflicts even became most numerous towards the end of the political transition, while



*National monument overlooking Bujumbura*

intra-Tutsi conflicts completely disappeared and inter-ethnic conflicts clearly declined. Thus, there was a visible and relevant change in conflict lines during Burundi's post-war transition. In my dissertation, I propose that this fragmentation of conflict lines as a breakup of the political landscape is far from coincidental, but based on more fundamental changes arising from the dynamic of the civil war in Burundi. On the Hutu side, where intra-ethnic conflicts persisted, exile and rebellion had led to different paths of mobilization. The integration of these differences during negotiations and the following transition could be one factor explaining fragmentation.

I was mainly interested in the impact of returning exile groups, because refugee communities had emerged as relevant political and military actors during the Burundian civil war. In order to assess their role for political conflicts in post-war transition, I conducted interviews with Burundian political elites. This was also crucial in order to get an "inside" view on political conflicts and cross-check my previous findings.

Despite a previous focus on different African countries and regions, I was a

newcomer to Burundian politics. Furthermore, I had no experience in field research and conducting elite interviews. Thus, the first stay was particularly challenging in methodological as well as social and organizational terms. The only way to prevent any serious mistakes was to get as much information as possible beforehand from researchers and experts with links to Burundi. But despite all these efforts in advance of my trip, I could not help feeling unprepared when I arrived at Burundi's capital, Bujumbura, in October 2007. This partly had to do with the fact that what has been called a "post-war" period was not exactly "post-" at that point, since one rebel group remained outside of the peace process and maintained



*Judith Vorrath at Bujumbura's central market*

bases around Bujumbura. But knowing from different sources that the situation was safe enough to travel to Burundi, I did not really feel uneasy about my security; rather, I expected that interviewing high-ranking politicians could be a tricky thing to do under these conditions.

With very few prior contacts, I started to approach international and local experts dealing with the refugee issue as well as conflict and civil war more generally. Fortunately, the

"snowball system" worked relatively well, and I was able to get through to several political elites. Because of the rather exploratory nature of the first field trip, it was necessary to return to Bujumbura for more elite interviews in 2009.

During both stays, I was surprised at how approachable most politicians were, especially those who held important positions during and right after the transition. It was rare for anybody to refuse an interview or not to show up for an appointment. Sometimes, potential interview partners seemed to be trying to rid themselves of me by telling me several times to call back again, but I did not give up and usually managed to meet the person at last. However, logistics were a major issue, as contacting people by e-mail was rarely an option and phone lines were bad or unstable. I often spent entire mornings calling people over and over again until I finally got through and the respondent was answering the phone. Once an appointment had been fixed, the next challenge was to find the actual office or house of the interview partner. More than once, I found myself in a taxi, cruising around with a driver who had no more clue as to the directions than I did. When people came to my place for an appointment, I was never really sure what would happen, either. People sometimes just picked me up to go to another place, while others wanted to make another appointment or stayed for more than five hours. Everything was possible, which made planning relatively difficult. The situation could also become a bit awkward at times, for example when sitting in a car with a former rebel and his armed

guards on the way to his house or in front of a party leader's office when his secretary announced me as a party member to a crowd of people waiting outside. Knowing that rumors spread easily in Bujumbura, I was always very careful to not become part of them. I tried to be as open as possible about my intentions and actions, but I am sure that stories circulated anyway.

In the light of these challenges, I was very glad when I had finally managed to conduct more than 50 elite and almost 30 expert interviews. However, during the analysis of the interviews, the amount of information also required very thorough analysis, and more than once, I wished I had not recorded so many interviews. Nonetheless, I found several interesting results. The findings of the content analysis were overall supported, but most importantly, it was possible to identify the underlying reasons and affiliations behind the fragmentation. Apart from conflicts between political and military actors, similar tensions between elites in exile and those who remained inside the country could be identified on the Hutu side, sometimes even leading to organizational splits. These conflicts were "imported" into the political system when exile groups returned and integrated. Thus, fragmentation not only took place during Burundi's transition: it also had structural reasons, with new conflict lines emerging due to the civil war.



## Voices &amp; Faces

# TALKING POLITICS: WHY NOT SET UP A ‘POLITICAL SCIENCE LIVE’ ARCHIVE?

by **Dirk Leuffen**

American political science in Europe today is mostly equated with quantitative social science. Whether one regards quantification as good or bad, it's just one side of the coin. American political science has more to offer. Check out, for instance, the marvelous "Conversations with History". In this

a useful preparation for his former work as director of policy planning at the state department. The basic idea behind the platform is to "capture and preserve through conversations and technology the intellectual ferment of our times."

I imagine that such a platform would be valuable tool for the German-

science commitments? How do they look back today on their beginnings and curricula? By whom were they influenced, and how large a role did chance play? How do they today judge their former theories and early beginnings and how do they evaluate the state of the art of our discipline? And what shortcomings and challenges do they see ahead of us? At least for my students, who watched the contribution by Ernst Haas, neofunctionalist integration theory suddenly became "real" and important.

From a technical point of view, we can make more use of such forms of infotainment today. For the sake of capturing the big picture, I would suggest that the three major political science associations of the German-speaking world – DVPW, ÖGPW, and SVPW – should consider commonly setting up such an archive of political science oral history (possibly as a starting point for a European project of a similar kind). Initial interviews could cover "usual suspects" such as Klaus von Beyme, Ernst-Otto Czempiel, Helga Haftendorn, Max Kaase, Peter Graf Kielmansegg, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, or Hanspeter Kriesi, to name but a few who have followed and shaped the courses of (sub) discipline(s). Ultimately, the selection of candidates should be based on a ranking of political scientists. Surely, the archive could contribute to an evocation of reflections on the state of political science in Europe.

This is a shortened version of a blog posted on <http://poliscizurich.wordpress.com/>



*Creating oral history?*

collection of unedited audiovisual interviews, Berkeley's Harry Kreisler talks to important academics and activists and makes them reflect on their lives and their work. "Political awakenings" are discussed, but the conversations also touch upon current political, economic, or cultural questions. You can, for instance, get a firsthand report of Ernst Haas' youth in Nazi Germany, hear Barry Eichen-green comment the global economic crisis, or learn why Stephen D. Krasner considered his academic background

speaking political science community as well. To be clear, the focus of this should be on our discipline – political science. I believe that both for current and for future generations, it should be illuminating to discover the emergence of various schools of thought and approaches from our contemporaries in the format of a late night show. Wouldn't it be fascinating to get armchair information on the background of current "big names" of political science, their formative experience, and their political

Voices & Faces

# EXPERIENCE AT THE YALE UNIVERSITY

by **Johannes LeBlanc**

From January 2009 until December of the same year, I had the opportunity to participate in an exchange program with Yale University. Despite its famous name, the university is located in a surprisingly small town. New Haven is about an hour and a half north of New York City. Living in New Haven without a car proved difficult in the beginning, since all major stores are located outside the city center, and in early 2009 the region was hit by the worst winter in years. After mastering these initial difficulties, I could finally immerse myself in the huge range of courses and activities offered at Yale and explore the university with its enormous libraries and study rooms and its Gothic architecture. Probably the most impressive buildings are the Sterling Memorial Library in the very heart of the university campus, surrounded by several colleges, and the just as impressive Payne Whitney Gym. Due to renovation work at the department of political science and the resulting shortage in workstations, I studied at Sterling Library and smaller, neighboring departments for most of the time.

Besides several courses on social science methods, I attended the comparative politics workshop and the workshop on “Order, Conflict and Violence”, both taught by Stathis Kalyvas. My experience with most workshops I attended in Germany was that students act rather reserved in their requests to speak. At Yale I found that the opposite was the case. The amicable atmosphere, combined with flat hierarchies, allowed for lively discussion in which everyone took part. My impression was that such a culture of



*Yale Campus, New Haven*

discussion is just as productive for the speaker as for the audience. Of course, some presentations caused stormy debates. But even the most controversial discussions, nevertheless, always remained fair and respectful.

Another impression that helped to shape my understanding of academia was the open atmosphere at Yale that always allowed for an informal exchange with other scholars. The creation of numerous discussion forums provided professors and students of different departments with the opportunity to talk through their projects and to clarify outstanding questions. I believe that this kind of easy exchange between scholars is the actual key to successful academic careers. In this way, research networks are established quite quickly, and nobody gets stuck in their work because one always finds someone

qualified to discuss problematic issues. I have definitely profited a lot from my stay at Yale in academic and maybe even more in personal terms.

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## Events

# CIS CONTRIBUTES TO PLATFORM FOR CARBON MARKET RESEARCHERS AND BUSINESS IN ZURICH

by **Axel Michaelowa**

Zurich is home to innovative thinkers and businesses. This can be clearly seen in the exciting new field of market mechanisms for mitigation of greenhouse gases. More than a dozen renowned carbon market consultancies, project developers, and service providers are active in the Zurich region – a cluster globally only surpassed by London. To name just a

few shining examples: Project developer South Pole is a world leader in programs for the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM); First Climate is the first private business that has set up a fund for post-2012 emissions credits; and Perspectives has the highest success rate in CDM methodology development.

ding on technological innovation, the impact of CDM on the Indian pulp and paper industry, and the role of forestry in the market mechanisms. CIS research alone covers the political economy of the CDM, the question of whether CDM “eats up the low hanging fruit” in developing countries, and developing country strategies in the climate negotiations.

However, to date, there has only been

limited interaction between all the Zurich carbon market players. Axel Michaelowa, a researcher at CIS who also works for the carbon market consultancy Perspectives, felt that there should be a way to harness the potential of

Zurich’s unique carbon market cluster. After the disappointing outcome of the climate negotiations in Copenhagen, he got in touch with some friends to set up a Zurich carbon market network. The reaction was enthusiastic. On 15 March 2010, the Zurich Carbon Market Association (Zurich CMA) was set up as an association under Swiss law and elected Axel Michaelowa as its first president. The Zurich CMA aims to be a non-political platform for networking, knowledge-sharing, and outreach for institutions, companies, and individuals who have an interest in the evolution of sustainability-focused and high-quality carbon markets. While there are many carbon market lobby organizations world-

wide, The Zurich CMA is unique in its combination of research and business members, aiming not to lobby politicians, but to increase expertise by open and informal interaction.

The Zurich CMA showcased the broad carbon market knowledge in Zurich at its inaugural workshop “Carbon markets on the road from Copenhagen to Cancun”, held just after the founding meeting at the ETH. The high interest in the field was shown by the participation of 60 experts, including climate negotiators from all relevant departments of the Swiss government. Four sessions addressed forestry as the new frontier of carbon markets, project-based offsets, emissions trading, and new market mechanisms. Five-minute presentations were followed by lively discussions, for example on the double counting of forestry sequestration in Switzerland. CIS researcher Paula Castro gave a presentation on the design of sectoral mechanisms and incentives for the private sector. The Zurich CMA plans informal evening meetings every three months; the first will be held on 20 May 2011. Furthermore, brownbag lunches with presentations on specific topics are envisaged. We hope that in times of turmoil over climate policy, the Zurich CMA will enable the researchers to learn from the experiences of business, while businesspeople can develop new ideas from listening to the results of researchers. Building on this interaction, the carbon market cluster in Zurich will gain in strength, benefiting everybody.



*Founding committee of the Zurich Carbon market Association*

few shining examples: Project developer South Pole is a world leader in programs for the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM); First Climate is the first private business that has set up a fund for post-2012 emissions credits; and Perspectives has the highest success rate in CDM methodology development.

Zurich even outdistances London when it comes to research on the design and challenges of carbon markets. Three research groups at the ETH and one group at the University work in the field, with a double-digit number of Ph.D. students and postdocs. Among the many topics addressed are the allocation of emissions allowances, the impact of emissions tra-

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Events

# PEIO 2011:

by **Dunja Ewinger**

## 4th Annual Conference on Political Economy of International Organizations (PEIO) on 27-29 January 2011 in Zurich

The PEIO conference - first launched in 2007 by Katharina Michaelowa (CIS) and Axel Dreher (University of Goettingen, formerly ETH/KOF) - has evolved into a regular event.

Next year's conference (PEIO IV) will take place in Zurich, Switzerland, with Thomas Bernauer and Katharina Michaelowa (both CIS) and Jan-Egbert Sturm (KOF) as the local organizers. PEIO IV brings together economists, political scientists, and other scholars to address political-economy issues related to international organizations such as the World Trade Organization, the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Union, as well as other international organizations (IO) that have received less attention so far in academic literature.

Among the questions to be addressed are issues of how IOs are organized and governed, the incentives for governments to deal with IOs as well as incentives of bureaucrats who staff them, and the effects of IOs on policy outcomes. Interaction of IOs with transnational actors e.g. commercial lobbies and NGOs will be considered. Particular attention will be devoted to the interaction of the international political economy with the domestic political economy of IO members.

<http://peio.vweb10-test.gwdg.de/>

Alumni

# ALUMNI GRADUATE PARTY



*Enjoying the sun....*

by **Pia Guggenbühl**

In April, there was another occasion to cherish the memories of student years and meet up with former co-students in the tower restaurant of the University of Zurich. On the occasion of the graduation party of the VZP and the IPZ, a prize for the best master's thesis was given for outstanding performance by nomination of the professors of IPZ. In the fall term 2009, the winner was graduate



*Award winner Martin Baumann (right) with colleague*

student Martin Baumann, who wrote his thesis at the chair of PD Dr. Thomas Widmer on "The attractiveness of Switzerland as an asylum destination and the efficiency of the accentuation in asylum politics".

Presenting Martin with prize money and flowers, Association president Pia



*...at the reception in the Uni tower*

Guggenbühl congratulated him on his achievement. The graduation party lasted until late in the evening, and the graduates enjoyed the beautiful spring evening and the stunning view on the city of Zurich and the mountain panorama.

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## Partners &amp; Affiliated

# NADEL - CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION

by **Rolf Kappel**

NADEL, a unit at the D-GESS department, provides training, research, and consultancy in the field of cooperation with developing countries. The present team consists of seven academic professionals and two administrative staff members. Furthermore, there is constant supervision of doctoral candidates.

## Training

The Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) prepares students with a university degree (or equivalent qualification) for working with developing countries. The course starts every second



*MAS student presenting the results of a teamwork session*

year and consists of three parts. A full-time study semester provides insight into the major social, economic, political, demographic, and ecological development processes. This semester is followed by a project assignment in a developing country. During the concluding advanced semester, the participants have the opportunity to deepen and broaden their knowledge. The MAS is taught in German. Upon

successful completion of the MAS, the diploma "MAS ETH in Development and Cooperation" is awarded by the ETH Zurich. The Certificate of Advanced Studies (CAS) is an advanced academic training program for promoting professional qualifications in key areas of development cooperation. The graduates are introduced to the main instruments used in development cooperation, and familiarized with the central topics in the current debate on international development policies. Upon successful completion of the training, the "Certificate in Advanced Studies ETH in Development and Cooperation" is awarded by the ETH Zurich. The advanced training courses are conceived as units focusing on specific topics and are geared towards the requirements of development cooperation.

## Research

Research at NADEL focuses on providing empirical results and operational solutions. As part of an overarching objective to alleviate poverty in developing countries, the main areas of research are economic and institutional reform, strategies to reduce poverty and means of verifying their effectiveness, as well as issues of sustainable resource use. Projects are generally tied into joint international research programs that also include partners from developing countries.

## Consultancy

The members of NADEL regularly carry out consultancy assignments for both governmental and non-governmental development agencies. Such mandates are important, as it is essential for the lecturers to resort to up-to-date



*Discussing research results*

experience while teaching. Key areas of consultancy include strategic and operational planning as well as implementation of development cooperation projects and programs. Furthermore, NADEL provides expert advice on rural development and natural resource management issues, on economic and political reforms, and on measuring poverty.

## NADEL

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News

# NEW CIS LOCATIONS



Cityport: the new University building at Oerlikon

by **Ursina Wälchli**

In July 2009, the University of Zurich decided to move all institutes of the Social Sciences to a common location: Campus Zurich Nord. As part of this move, the Institute of Political Science and those of its professors who are part of the CIS moved to a new building near the Oerlikon train station at the end of June 2010. The IPZ is located on the 3rd floor of the Cityport building, where bright, spacious rooms offers a completely new working atmosphere.

Only a short time later, the ETH Zurich presented its new accommodation strategy. The ETH branch of the CIS, including the central CIS administration, moved to the ETH building (IFW) at Weinbergstrasse in September 2010. This includes the positive effects of being closer connected to our fellow researchers and students at the ETH's D-GESS department. In this way, the CIS benefits from a wide range of opportunities, for example, the CIS library's integration into the

D-GESS library. The whole inventory is now accessible online.

As a consequence, the two CIS branches now operate from different locations. University research groups



Public transport connects the two locations



IFW: the new ETH building

are situated in Oerlikon, while ETH-affiliated groups and the official CIS administration are based at Weinbergstrasse.

Both buildings offer a wide range of new comforts; better infrastructure, a cafeteria in the building, and great opportunities for spontaneous scientific discussions from door to door. Networking has become easier within the respective departments, but communication with the other part of the CIS is now more complicated. But with all the joint events and courses, we won't lose touch. All joint courses and colloquia will be held at both sites, alternating each semester.

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University of Zurich  
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## News

## CIS NEWSFLASH

**Ph.D. scholarships**

During the upcoming academic year, CIS Ph.D. candidate **Livia Schubiger** will be a visiting fellow at the Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence at Yale University (CT, USA). Her dissertation project on the dynamics of violence and mobilization in intra-state armed conflicts is supported by the University of Zurich Alumni Association (research grant from the support fund for aspiring young academics) and the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF fellowship for prospective researchers).

CIS and NCCR doctoral student **Lisa Müller** received a fellowship for prospective researchers from the Swiss National Science Foundation to spend one year as a visiting graduate student at Columbia University in New York. During her research stay from February 2010 to January 2011, she will be working on her dissertation on the impact of mass media on the quality of democracy in OECD countries.

CIS Ph.D. candidate **Bruno Wuest** is spending one year at New York University, working on his thesis and various research papers on industrial relations in Western Europe and automated content analysis. For this purpose, he was awarded a one-year scholarship by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

**Sophie Perrin**, a CIS Ph.D. candidate at the International Relations department, received a grant from the Swiss National Science Foundation (Fellowship for Prospective Researchers) that allows her to spend six months abroad, namely at the Universities of Essex and Oslo, and to finalize her doctoral project on "Explaining the dynamics of international legal commitment in the area of air pollution".

**Dominic Hoeglinger**, a CIS Ph.D. candidate at the Chair for Comparative Politics (UZH), received a scholarship from the Swiss National Science Foundation to spend six months at Aarhus University, Denmark. During his stay at one of the largest political science departments in Europe, he will finalize his dissertation project on "Disentangling the 'awakening giant' the public debate on European integration in Western Europe", in which he explores the increasing politicization of European integration in Western Europe.

**Change of Managing Director at IPZ**

Markus Stierli is leaving the University after nearly ten years to take up a new challenge in the financial industry. Petra Holtrup Mostert will take over the position of Managing Director at the Institute for Political Science. We wish them both all the best.

**Democracy module at the European Social Survey (ESS)**

CIS Professor Hanspeter Kriesi is the principal applicant for a module on the quality of democracy in the European Social Survey (ESS). The module will be part of the 6th project round in 2012, providing data to support the ESS's goal to map long-term attitudinal and behavioral changes in Europe's social, political, and moral climate.

**Thomas Bernauer appointed as President of SNF Division IV**

CIS Professor Thomas Bernauer has been appointed as president of Division IV (national research programs, national centers of competence in research) of the Swiss National Science Foundation, starting in January 2011.

**Michael Bechtel wins DVPW Dissertation Prize**

Michael Bechtel has received the DVPW Dissertation Prize 2010, which is awarded by the German Political Science Association (DVPW) for the best dissertation in political science published in the previous year.

**Carola Betzold wins the Political Studies Association's 60th Anniversary Graduate Paper Competition**

NCCR student Carola Betzold successfully presented her paper "Borrowing Power to Influence International Negotiations: AOSIS in the Climate Change Regime, 1990-1997" at the British Political Studies Association's 60th Anniversary Conference in Edinburgh in March 2010. The paper was selected as Best Paper in the Graduate Paper Competition.

**40 years of "Nachdiplomstudium für Entwicklungsländer" (NADEL)**

On 29 October 2010, NADEL celebrates its 40th year of existence. In 1970, three ETH professors established a postgraduate program in international cooperation.

### **New staff members**

There have been two personal changes in the CIS administration. Dunja Ewinger (Newsletter and PR) and Claudia Jenny (MACIS administration) have left the CIS. We welcome new arrivals Ursina Wälchli and Diana Bruni.

### **Paper by Michael M. Bechtel published as lead article in International Organization**

CIS researcher Michael M. Bechtel and Gerald Schneider's paper "Eliciting Substance from 'Hot Air': Financial Market Responses to EU Summit Decisions on European Defense" has been published as the lead article in the April 2010 issue of International Organization.

### **Kathrin Frey wins the best paper award of the EGPA Study Group on Performance in the Public Sector**

The EGPA Study Group on Performance in the Public Sector awarded Kathrin Frey its best paper award this year. The award goes to the best paper presented at the annual meeting of the study group.

### **Gabriele Ruoff winner of the 2009 SNIS Award**

Dr. Gabriele Ruoff, postdoctoral researcher at the CIS, has won the prestigious SNIS Award 2009. Her dissertation with the title "Growing Rich and Clean Up Later? Joint Effects of International Integration and Democracy on Environmental Quality in Developing Countries" convinced the jury composed of professors stemming from six different academic disciplines. The thesis can be downloaded either from the SNIS website or directly from the ETH.

### **Workshop at ECPR Joint Sessions 2011**

Michael Bechtel will co-direct the "Political Economy of Financial Markets and Crises" workshop (together with Thomas Sattler) at the ECPR Joint Sessions 2011, 13 - 17 April 2011.

### **CIS-directed workshop at Joint Annual Meeting of the Austrian, German, and Swiss Political Science Association**

CIS members Michael Bechtel and Thomas Bernauer will co-direct the workshop on "Integration, Cooperation, and the Environment" at the Joint Annual Meeting of the Austrian, German, and Swiss Political Science Association, Basel, 13-14 January 2011.

### **DVPW-Section of Political Economy**

The annual meeting of the DVPW-Section of Political Economy was organized by the CIS and took place on September 10-11 2010 in Zurich.

### **New MACIS class started**

A new group of about 22 students from around the globe will start their studies in our Master in Comparative and International Studies (MACIS) program this September.

### **Swiss legislative database "Smartmonitor" launched**

Smartmonitor provides the scientific community in Switzerland and abroad with basic data on the Swiss federal parliament, such as voting behavior of legislators and information on the bills voted on. Data is openly accessible to everyone: Data downloads for scientific purposes (basic research) are free of charge.

### **PoliSciZurich - a blog of political scientists in Zurich**

Professors and postdocs at the CIS have started a new blog in order to engage in a fresh exchange on research, teaching, and the academic profession by leveraging the distinctive traits of political science research in Zurich.

<http://poliscizurich.wordpress.com>

### **4th Annual Conference on the Political Economy of International Organizations to take place at CIS, 27-29 January 2011**

The 4th Annual Conference on the Political Economy of International Organizations is organized by the CIS and will be held in Zurich from 27-29 January 2011.

### **CIS inaugurates two new locations**

The Institute of Political Science of the University of Zurich, together with its CIS professors, has inaugurated its new location in Oerlikon. About 200 people meet on 28 September 2010 for the 'Cityport Eröffnungsfeier'.

The ETH branch of the CIS celebrated the successful move to the IFW building on 21 September 2010.



## Publications

## RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS



**Bornschieer, Simon** (2010): *Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right: The New Cultural Conflict in Western Europe*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

ISBN: 978-1-4399-0192-9

Over the last two decades, right-wing populist parties in Western Europe have gained sizable shares of votes and power, much to the fascination and consternation of political observers. Meshing traditionalism and communitarian ideals, right-wing populist parties have come to represent a polar normative ideal to the New Left in Western Europe. This study takes a dynamic perspective and applies both cultural and political criteria to analyze the parties of both the right and left in six countries. It develops a theory that integrates the role of political conflict around both established cleavages and party strategies regarding new divisions to explain the varying fortunes of the populist right.

Combining innovative data from election campaigns and opinion surveys, *Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right* explains the emergence of the Front National in France and the transformation of the Swiss People's Party into a right-wing populist party. Where the populist right has made a breakthrough, a new cultural cleavage has formed. On the other hand, when established parties succeed in averting the entry of a right-wing populist competitor, the new cultural conflict

presents itself in tempered form, as demonstrated in the case of Germany.



**Pavletic, Ivan** (2010): *Political Competition, Economic Reform and Growth: Theory and Evidence from Transition Countries*, Zürich: vdf Hochschulverlag.

ISBN: 978-3-7281-3296-3

Which political and institutional factors trigger reforms that enable the poor to benefit from the process of economic growth? How can the incentives of policy-makers be influenced in order to achieve such a dynamic? These are the questions this study seeks to address by examining the transition processes in post-communist countries. The author argues that political competition within an accepted and respected institutional environment has been a driving force in shaping the direction and success of transition reforms. Evidence shows that in countries with a sufficient degree of political competition, citizens responded to economic crises by calling for economic liberalization. Economic liberalization removed existing distortions, increased economic efficiency, and raised the level of public welfare. This activated a dynamic, self-enforcing reform process that also strengthened the political and economic power of the poor. In the absence of political competition, such a process failed to emerge, contri-

buting to the persistence of poverty. Based on these findings, there is good reason to postulate that some level of political competition is essential for transition reforms to improve economic efficiency and public welfare in a sustainable manner.



**Wenger, Andreas, Victor Mauer, and Daniel Möckli (eds.)** (2010): *Strategic Trends 2010: Key Developments in Global Affairs*, Zurich: Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich.

ISBN: 3-905696-26-6

*Strategic Trends* offers a concise annual analysis of major developments in world affairs, with a primary focus on international security. Providing succinct interpretations of key trends rather than a comprehensive survey of events, this publication will appeal to analysts, policy-makers, academics, the media, and the interested public alike. *Strategic Trends 2010* contains a global overview as well as chapters on the financial crisis, US foreign policy, non-proliferation and disarmament, resource nationalism, and crisis management. These have been identified by the CSS as the main strategic trends in 2010.



**Mason, Simon J. A. and Matthias Siegfried (eds.) (2010):** Debriefing Mediators to Learn from Their Experiences, Washington: United States Institute of Peace.

ISBN: 978-1-60127-052-8

Debriefing Mediators to Learn from Their Experiences examines interviews conducted with mediators to learn lessons about their mediation “method”. These methodological debriefings are typically conducted by individuals who have not been directly involved in the mediator’s work, but who want to learn the mediator’s perspective on what was done and why it was done. This handbook enhances the practice of mediation by showing how lessons from individual mediators can be identified and made available both to their organizations and to a wider practitioner audience. It also gives guidance to staff debriefing mediators who are or have been directly involved in peace negotiations.

Outlining a four-step process, this guide details how to:

- Prepare for the Interview
- Conduct the Interview
- Structure and Analyze the Experience
- Disseminate the Knowledge Acquired



**Häusermann, Silja (2010):** The Politics of Welfare State Reform in Continental Europe: Modernization in Hard Times, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ISBN: 9780521183680

This book challenges existing theories of welfare state change by analyzing pension reforms in France, Germany, and Switzerland between 1970 and 2004. It explains why all three countries were able to adopt far-reaching reforms, adapting their pension regimes to financial austerity as well as new social risks. In a radical departure from the neo-institutionalist emphasis on policy stability, the book argues that socio-structural change has led to a multidimensional pension reform agenda. A variety of cross-cutting lines of political conflict, emerging from the transition to a post-industrial economy, allowed governments to engage in strategies of political exchange and coalition-building, fostering broad cross-class coalitions in support of major reform packages. Methodologically, the book proposes a novel strategy to analyze lines of conflict, configurations of political actors, and coalitional dynamics over time. This strategy combines quantitative analyses of actor configurations based on coded policy positions with in-depth case studies.



**Albert, Mathias, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Alexander Wendt (eds.) (2010):** New Systems Theories of World Politics, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

ISBN: 978-0230233294

New Systems Theories of World Politics offers a fresh look at contemporary world politics. It uses a number of systems theoretical approaches in order to analyze the structure and dynamics of the international system. While a rich tradition of systems theorizing in International Relations emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, in recent years, the study of world politics has tended to bypass developments in systems theory in favor of micro-level theories. Drawing on advances in systems theorizing in both the social and natural sciences, from agent-based modeling to quantum physics, this book explores the utility of reinvigorated systemic thought in helping us to understand the contemporary global condition. The editors argue that the system of world politics can be analyzed in a comprehensive fashion by continuing the pioneering work of theorists like Karl Deutsch.

## Publications

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

**Bächtiger, A., S. Niemeyer, M. Neblo, M. R. Steenbergen, and J. Steiner** (2010): “Disentangling diversity in deliberative democracy: Competing theories, their blind spots and complementarities”, *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 18(1): 32-63.

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