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Editorial

Is there one truth or are there many, as some philosophers suggest? I am not sure, and as a rationalist at heart I would prefer one truth over many. But one thing is crystal clear to me after a lifetime in research: That there are many ways to knowledge, not just one. Still, the message remains difficult to spread, particularly among young and ambitious people in research, because "superior" cutting-edge methodology is often indeed a prerequisite for academic success, particularly regarding first-tier publications and job opportunities. But beware! Methods are as vulnerable to fashions and fads as any other human endeavor. Moreover, these swings are often hard to predict, something I learned myself early in my career. As a young research assistant I used to challenge the established folks in my field particularly regarding methods. Computer models like those propagated by Jay Forrester at MIT with his "Urban Dynamics" where all the rage among young social scientists in the early seventies. Why writing long and boring prose if a process can be modeled precisely and elegantly as a set of difference equations, with the extra benefit of running experiments on such a models? When Karl W.

Deutsch, an eminent figure in political science at the time, offered me a job on his GLOBUS world modeling team at the Science Centre Berlin, my methodological choice appeared to be vindicated. I was lucky not to accept (for personal reasons), because later on GLOBUS was discontinued as mounting technical problems made the limitations of world modeling increasingly evident. Methodological triangulation has its logic, and methodological "correctness" must always be met with due suspicion. But don't confuse methodological pluralism with indifference; the choice of methods must be justified of course. When we created the CIS one and a half decades ago, cooperation in conflict research was our goal. It never occurred to us that differences in research methodology among us could be an obstacle. Many things have changed since then, but pluralism in our methodology has not. Just look at the current issue of our CIS news. And enjoy the reading!

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Focus

CONFLICT RESEARCH AT CIS

Conflict research is a broad and popular research field that has gained more and more attention in the decade since 11 September 2001. In order to understand the underlying forces of human conflict and collective violence, several research teams at CIS study the historical development and emergence of conflict from a wide variety of perspectives. They seek to find answers to the most pressing questions of conflict dynamics and peacemaking processes: e.g., why do some wars fizzle out before they cause widespread death and destruction, while others rapidly escalate into horrific maelstroms? Why do some states grow into continental empires, while others remain small and weak? Why do some insurgencies inflict massive casualties on government forces, while others remain isolated and ineffectual? To answer such questions, they aspire to develop simplified models that highlight the mechanisms they believe to be most critical in driving these patterns, and test them by comparing their predictions to the patterns observed in the real world.

For instance, in analyzing war severity, Cederman, Warren, and Sornette use data on war deaths for the past five centuries to show that wars became more deadly as states became more adept at using nationalism to convince citizens to take up arms in defense of their homeland. Along similar lines, Warren, Cederman, and Schutte demonstrate that variation in state size since 1500 A.D. has been driven by the competitive pressures of territorial conquest, and that states have grown larger as technological improvements have made it easier

to travel long distances over rough terrain. Finally, Warren, Helbing, and Donnay examine casualty statistics from insurgent attacks in Iraq to show that the success of counterinsurgency operations hinges not on the killing of more insurgents, but rather on the creation of a broad climate of stability that fosters faith in government institutions. In order to gain more clarity concerning the hypothesis that democratization triggers political violence, Cederman, Hug and Krebs introduce a new algorithm that is able to automatically detect periods of democratization and autocratization.

Employing a more country-focused perspective, Popp (Wenger group) considers the emergence of contemporary Middle Eastern conflicts during the creation of the state system and, foremost, in the decades of the Cold War and the underlying so-called Arab Cold War. The continuous interference of extra-hegemonial powers in the Middle East, its regional security, and its intractable intra-state and inter-state conflicts is examined. Taking into account both global and interdependent regional influences on the course of these conflicts, the project team draws conclusions on the effect that historical "baggage" has on these conflicts.

Power and Terrorism

A prominent factor of armed conflict is military power and the most effective deployment of this power. Two projects deal extensively with that question. The research team of Pilster and Boehmelt (Bernauer group) draws upon theories of organizational learning to develop an argument about trade-offs between conventional and unconventional military effectiveness. The key questions are: Does a focus on conventional warfare have a negative impact on a country's military performance in counterinsurgency operations? Is a military that is heavily involved in low-intensity conflict less capable of engaging in

Protest against the Iraq War of 2003 at a US campus, Photo: N.N.

conventional warfare? The second project by Petersohn (Wenger group) investigates the effects of employing private security contractors (PSCs) on military effectiveness. It argues that PSCs initially have a negative impact on military effectiveness, but that this improves over time through learning. Although the services they provide are similar to those of mercenaries,

PSCs are considered legitimate actors in conflict. This is because PSCs successfully frame their conduct in terms of self-defense. In addition, the CIS (Petersohn) is involved in an international research project composed of 15 scholars from Europe, the US, and Africa that seeks to investigate the variances in the privatization of force across world regions and what different kinds of "markets for force" exist, how they emerged, and the consequences for the production of security.

An especially popular subject these days is research on terrorism. Giroux (Wenger group) is carrying out research that examines the modern characteristics of violent non-state actors (VNSA) within a complex, interconnected global terrain. The project aims to enhance the understanding of how VNSA leverage the technological, physical, and/or human terrain to their advantage and create opportunities to operate on a broader platform and circumvent state power. New concepts and measures to better counter the role and activities of VNSA are also explored. A case study examines the role of VNSA in the energy sector. In order to identify the general patterns and characteristics of targeting energy infrastructure for political or criminal reasons, a major element of this project is the development of the Energy Infrastructure Attack Database (EIAD), which is being developed in partnership with the Technology Assessment Laboratory for Energy Systems Analysis at the Paul Scherrer Institute (PSI). Wilner (Wenger group) is especially interested in gauging the chances of success for applying a policy of deterrence in the context of

violent radicalization and political violence in Western societies. Can the logic of deterrence apply to non-state actors, and how can terrorists/terrorism be deterred? Why are some Western citizens attracted to violent ideologies espoused by groups such as al-Qaida, and how does the radicali-

Bombed houses in Belgrade, Serbia, Photo: Seraina Rüegger

zation process occur? The project has developed an interdisciplinary model that offers insight on the personal, emotional, and cognitive changes that take place during the radicalization process. It explains how triggering factors lead to critical reflection of an individual's meaning perspective and personal belief system that guide and ultimately alter behavior.

Newer reasons for conflict

In order to understand emerging contemporary conflicts better, research teams tap different sources and show that a second glance is often required to identify the real sources of a dispute. Several projects come to the conclusion that power-sharing between different ethnic groups in governments would be an ideal tool to prevent conflicts in ethically diverse regions. Weber (Michaelowa group) compares the development of the high politicization of ethnicity in Kenya to the low politicization in Tanzania by tracing the impact of ethnic structures, colonial administration,

land distribution, and nation-building policies on the politicization of ethnicity. This is because recent literature shows that ethnicity must be politically relevant to have a negative effect on a country's development process. Evidence rejects the intuitive assumption that ethnic structure determines the politicization of ethnicity. Moreover, it supports the negative impact of colonial rule and land distribution, and the positive impact of nation-building policies. Indeed, fully implemented nation-building policies, such as the promotion of Swahili and the intermingling of secondary school students, have the potential to mitigate the political salience of ethnicity in a lasting way.

Deiwiks (Cederman group) investigates the relationship between ethnofederalism and secessionist conflicts. The working hypothesis is that grievances, especially those resulting from political and economic inequality between groups, but also from other factors, such as a history of low-level violence, lead to mistrust and

fear between groups, which then lead to secessionist demands. Violence erupts if the central government meets a mobilized opponent. Preliminary evidence supports the hypothesis that ethnic regions in federations are more prone to experience secessionist conflict than regions that are not designated to a particular ethnic group. Also, economic and political inequality between regions seems to increase the risk for secessionist conflict.

Research by Wucherpfennig (Cederman group) aims to demonstrate that striving for political change is a driving force of ethnic conflict. Groups excluded from the state are likely to strive for political change and demand

U.S. soldiers near Tarmiyah, Iraq, Photo: N.N.

statehood and access to the state. Ethnic groups in power, in contrast, aim to maximize their influence by excluding others. The model suggests that opportunities alone are not sufficient, but that motivations are equally important because challenging the state by violent means is costly and risky. For example, the prospects of
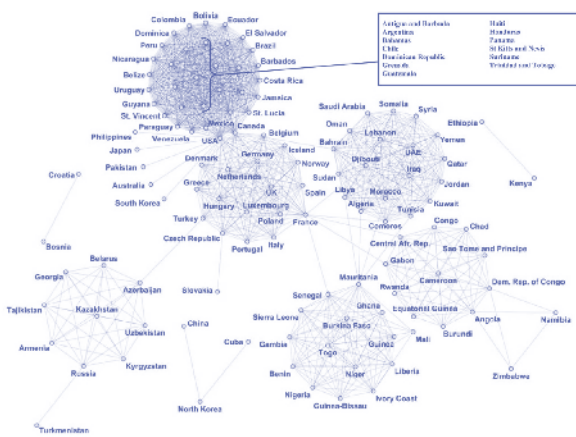
peace determine when wars end, as well as the institutional choices that follow. Governments can use institutional choices, i.e., power-sharing, as costly concessions to appease threatening challengers. Results show that power-sharing tends to occur empirically where peace is most fragile to begin with, but once this reverse causality is accounted for, it does reduce the probability of recurrent conflict. This explains the moderate success of power-sharing in recent cases, such as Iraq or Afghanistan, and draws attention to the counterfactual condition of the absence of institutions, in which case the model predicts even less stable peace.

Many prominent experts believe that ethnic grievances serve as a cover for greed-driven motives and that they fail to explain the occurrence of civil violence. However, this research fails to capture the role of the state and group-level challenges to governmental authority. Collaborative research by the Cederman group and UCLA shows that ethnic groups that are excluded from access to state power, or are experiencing economic inequality, are especially likely to hold ethno-nationalist grievances. Group-level inequality operates in both directions, i.e., both poorer and wealthier groups are more likely to get involved in violent conflict than groups whose wealth

lies closer to the country mean. Moreover, wherever ethnic groups can count on support from ethnic kin in neighboring states, the risk of internal conflict increases as well. The best way of breaking the cycle of violence driven by political exclusion is to include groups that have been badly treated by their governments and to give them a real stake in their country's future.

Change in the availability of water – an increasingly scarce resource – is a potential mechanism linking climate change to conflict. The claim that a causal relationship exists between water availability, climate change, and conflict is the subject of three research projects in the Bernauer group. A better understanding of factors enabling societies to mitigate or avoid such conflict is needed. One major issue is the lack of events data on water-related intrastate conflict and cooperation. Therefore, one CIS research team (Boehmelt/Buhaug/Gleditsch/ Tribaldos/Wischnath) reports on the construction of such a dataset for countries in the Mediterranean region and the Sahel for 1997–2009. Also, it presents a new scale that is used to code the data and illustrates its utility with a preliminary empirical analysis. Another group of researchers (Kalbhenn/Koubi/Spilker) specifies the mechanism through which climate change is likely to affect the risk of armed conflict by focusing on the causal chain linking climatic conditions, economic growth, and armed conflict. The results show that the "climate change/conflict" hypothesis rests on rather shaky empirical foundations, and that non-democratic countries are more likely to experience armed

Interstate alliance network 2000, Source: Camber T. Warren.

conflict when economic conditions deteriorate - suggesting that investing in climate-friendly economic growth and democracy can qualify as a no-regrets strategy. These findings are supported by another project (Siegfried) and suggest that, even in the absence of an effective water allocation mechanism, climate change is not likely to make an existing conflict worse. These results were established in studying the riparian countries of the Aral Sea basin that have experienced intense international water conflict ever since the Soviet Union, and with it, existing water management institutions and funding, collapsed.

Structural Conflict

A completely different focus is placed on they way in which conflicts rooted in the inner social structure of democracies are mobilized by political actors and thereby translated into political conflicts.

Comparing various European countries is the preferred way to examine these issues. One research project (Maag/Reinke/Kriesi) follows up on the scientific discussion about the magnitude, reasons, and consequences of the politicization of the European integration process. It analyzes the timing, the issue content, and the framing of this process as well as the associated structural conflicts and actor constellations. Other research teams are conducting different political analysis. Häusermann and Geering (Kriesi group) are investigating whether political parties are still responsive to voters in the realm of distributive politics and, if yes, to which group of voters. Data is being gathered in seven European countries and three policy fields (family, tax, and labor market policy).

Policy reforms liberalizing labor markets and retrenching social welfare have led to an increasing division of the workforce into labor market insiders and outsiders, a divide referred to as dualization. One research team (Häusermann/Schwander (Kriesi group)) investigates the political implications of dualization, focusing on electoral politics, i.e., the representation of insiders and outsiders in political parties. It is contended that the presence or absence of a radical right- or left-wing rival to moderate left parties explains whether outsiders are mobilized and represented, or ignored. The extent of dualization, voting behavior, as well as party constituencies in 12 European democracies are empirically analyzed before a much closer investigation of the match between voter policy preferences and party positions. Another project dealing with party issues in Europe (Bernhard/Hänggli/Fossati/Kriesi) aims at analyzing the communication and mobilization strategies of political actors involved in public debates about the issue of unemployment in six countries. How do political actors try to influence the public in order to reach their targets? In what ways do their strategies affect the mass media and the general public? Given the phenomenon of mediatization, public debates have become a crucial democratic platform for exchanging opinions between political actors, the mass media, and the citizens. Focusing on the Swiss national elections in 2011, a project in planning (Kriesi) will analyze the dynamics of the voting decision process in the campaign. Rsearch questions include how party strategies, media content, and campaign events influence the way in which citizens evaluate parties and form their voting intention. The main hypotheses to be tested relate to the joint impact of individual predispositions and context characteristics on the vote.

Leaving Europe behind, another project (Lachat/Bohl/Kriesi) brings together research teams from Switzerland, Canada, Germany, France, Spain, and the US to study party strategies and electoral behavior at different levels of governance. It focuses both on the "supply side" of the electoral market by focusing on alliances before elections, parties' promises concerning governing coalitions, and negative campaigning, as well as on

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KFOR tanks on the road in Kosovo, Photo: Seraina Rüegger

the political "demand side" of voter preferences by analyzing strategic voting. The Zurich team is developing so-called "campaign maps" for the Swiss case, which feature relevant information on electoral rules, the characteristics of candidates, party promises in various media outlets, and information derived from interviews with campaign managers.

Three projects look at democracy and political change in non-Western countries, respectively. Because many parties in Latin America use clientelistic appeals to mobilize voters, they fail to represent the programmatic preferences of their electorate adequately, which is one of democracy's most central goals. Bornschier (Kriesi group) studies the historical and contemporary circumstances in which political competition in some countries on the continent has come to be based on programs instead of particularistic benefits. Van Eerd (Kriesi group) looks into the causes and consequences of the varied stability and responsiveness of sub-Saharan African party sys-

tems. For the past 20 years, most of the 48 sub-Saharan African countries have been holding regular and formally free elections. They give birth to parties and party systems featuring varying degrees of stability and responsiveness, and hence mixed outlooks for the democratic consolidation of an African country. Preliminary results show the importance of stable opposition parties in dominant party systems for the democratic consolidation and development of African countries. This may be explained by the existence of strong and durable non-ethnical political conflicts. The final research project (Maduz (Kriesi group)) examines the circumstances in which social protests brought about political change in three East Asian countries (1985-2005). The question is particularly interesting to look at in the context of the young democracies of the East Asian region, where elections often do not constitute effective channels for the people to voice their political demands. Initial results suggest that governments' responsiveness to social protests varies depending on the size and intensity of protests, as well as on the composition of social groups participating in the protest activities.

Attaining and Sustaining Peace

Research groups at the CIS are also concerned with questions of peacemaking - how peace is attained and how it is made to last. The dissertation project of Bormann (supervised by Cederman and Hug) focuses on identifying the conditions of successful conflict resolution. It is hypothesized that reinforcing ethnic cleavages make conflict resolution more difficult and demand the strongest institutional insurances for conflict parties. One widespread criticism of such institutions is that they "freeze" ethnic identities. Alternative strategies try to de-emphasize ethnic boundaries, but it is often difficult to implement these institutions in societies where ethnic groups have just fought for their recognition in the political process. The goal is to disentangle these intricate relationships as a way of increasing the understanding of when there are democratic solutions to civil wars.

In another dissertation project, Vogt (Cederman group) is focusing on the solution of ethnic conflicts and the successful democratization of states following ethnic conflict. Ethnic conflicts usually stem from contested identities and boundaries of the demos in an age where most conflicts are about the definition of the democratic community. The project team argues that in order to achieve democratic stability after ethnic conflicts, it is necessary to bridge ethnic cleavages in politics, particularly in the realm of political competition and interest representation. Which political and civic institutions promote de-ethnicization after ethnic conflicts? There are two factors: the electoral

system and the intermediary organizations between the people and the state. Where these organizations, particularly the political parties, become ethnicized, i.e., structured along ethnic cleavages, ethnic conflicts are more likely. Thus, stable democracy is less likely to be achieved. An ethnically diverse civil society has a positive impact on successful democratization after governmental ethnic conflicts. The central argument of a book project by Warren (Cederman group) is that the possibility of violent fragmentation of people based on different political positions is less likely to happen in countries with dense mass media structures, because such structures generate opportunities for the successful application of integrative appeals on a national scale. Evidence indicates that dense mass media structures allow states to reduce their likelihood of large-scale civil conflict, that ethnic groups living in areas that are inaccessible to mass media technologies are substantially more likely to engage in violence against the state, and that individuals exposed to mass media messages are far more likely to express a willingness to fight and die for their country in the event of a war. Thus, mass communication networks can serve as powerful forces for domestic peace and stability.

Three projects focus on factors of mediating peace. The biggest of these projects (Böhmelt/Metternich/Pilster/Ruggeri (Bernauer group)) deconstructs the formation of state coalitions in peacekeeping operations to analyze the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions in civil wars. It elaborates a theoretical framework along the number of countries in an intervening

group, peacekeepers' regime types, and their supply-side incentives by utilizing data on peacekeeping operations from 1948 to 2000. Related projects (Böhmelt (Bernauer group)) deal with the effectiveness and determinant factors of mediating coalitions. Mediators forming a coalition are driven by their own incentives, constrained by their own domestic factors, and may be tied to the militant

Barracks in South Korea, Photo: Christa Deiwiks

parties through various kinds of relationships. Empirical analysis largely provides support for the theory that, first, there is an inverted U-shaped relationship between the size of a mediating coalition and mediation effectiveness. Second, mediators sharing a history of conflict and distrust will bring this relation into a mediation attempt, making it less effective. Finally, a coalition of mediators that is largely democratic should be more effective due to a shared culture of peaceful conflict resolution, inclusivity, and increased communication flows.

Conflict management, specifically the non-interventionary conflict management of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), is the interest of Aris' (Wenger group) project. The goal is to analyze the SCO as a tool of conflict management amongst its members and the wider region, and the debate regarding its role in peacekeeping operations and its central principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states. Aris is also co-chair of a panel that examines the perspectives and the potential roles of the often-neglected neighboring and regional powers in managing the security situation in Afghanistan. In summary, CIS research on conflict is as varied as conflict itself. While some of the results can help to improve our understanding of political dynamics, others do evidence-based solutions to some kinds of conflict. The goal must be to disseminate these research results to the minds and practices of the affected people in order to see the mitigating effects of day-to-day work at CIS.

Research & Education

RECENTLY COMPLETED PH.D. AT CIS

Transnational influences and democratic socialization in authoritarian contexts

Supervisor: Frank Schimmelfennig

By **Tina Freyburg**
Can democratic change be externally encouraged in authoritarian contexts? International efforts to democratize stable authoritarian regimes are confronted with one inherent problem: Why shall the ruling political elite agree with reforms that affect its core practices of power preservation? Straightforward instruments of democracy promotion require - at least in practice - the tacit consent of the regime. Hence, if external efforts of inducing democratic rules are to be successful, an indirect, gradual approach appears more suitable. This thesis explores subtle processes of democratization that may be side-products of external activities undertaken for other purposes. In doing so, it examines the first intermediate step in a chain of mechanisms that may finally lead from transnational exchange to regime-level democratic change. The results reveal that inter-administrative cooperation is able not only to implant elements of democratic governance in domestic legislation, but also to bring about positive changes in the attitudes toward these elements among administrative staff.

Ethnic Diversity, Clientelistic Resource Distribution, and Politicization: The Impact of Ethnicity on Education in Africa

Supervisor: Katharina Michaelowa

By **Anke Weber**
Ethnic diversity is widely assumed to have negative effects on a country's education outcomes. Yet, comprehensive explanations for this link are still missing.
This dissertation proposes and tests empirically three separate mechanisms through which ethnicity might affect education in Africa. It is examined whether and how ethnic diversity affects a village's community activities; to what extent it determines clientelistic resource distribution; and how its effect on education is influenced by the political salience of ethnicity. First, these three mechanisms are tested in a multilevel model using district level school enrollment in 31 African countries. Second, the relevant factors causing ethnicity to be a politically salient factor are established by comparing the development of the high politicization of ethnicity in Kenya to the low level of politicization in Tanzania. Third, the influence of ethnic diversity on the impact of parental involvement in education in Tanzania is examined.

Mean Well to Do Good? Antecedents of Volunteering Re-Examined

Supervisor: Simon Hug

By **Ursula Häfliger**
What are the factors influencing the formation of social capital?
This thesis illustrates how volunteering, a form of social capital, can be explained by an interdependence of values, motives, structure, and context at the individual and organizational levels. First, a dynamic model of volunteer motivation is presented that integrates different sociological and psychological approaches to pro-social behavior. This model is assessed in an experimental set-up (online and field experiment) for individual behaviour at different stages of the volunteer process. In this way, changes in the volunteer motive structure can be illustrated. Second, contextual factors of volunteering can be tested at the same time and at different levels. They show that social interaction is strongly influenced by contextual factors. These may be framing, incentives, or institutional parameters.
It can thus be shown, first, that targeted recruitment efforts may be worthwhile for volunteer organizations and second, that organizational networks can be positively influenced by the degree of state activity.

Still pedaling? The Impact of Eastern Enlargement on European Union Decision-Making

Supervisor: Frank Schimmelfennig

By **Robin Hertz**

This dissertation assesses the impact of Eastern enlargement on the EU's decisionmaking process from a rational-choice institutionalist perspective.

The analysis touches upon the following three issues: anticipatory behavior of the old member states and its impact on the EU's legislative output, the impact of group-size on decisionmaking speed, and the cooperative behavior of the new member states after Eastern enlargement.

In a nutshell, the main results of the study are the following: Enlargement has not changed the cooperative style of Council bargaining. At the cost of slower decisionmaking, the continuously cooperative approach to EU decisionmaking has maintained the EU's capacity to act. While finding unity within diversity remains possible, it has, therefore, become more difficult. The EU seems less flexible and less well capable to adapt and to react to internal crises and global events in the future.

Europeanization of the Polity and Politics in a New Member State: Institutions, Domestic Power Constellation, and Conflict in the Decision-Making Process

Supervisor: Frank Schimmelfennig

By **Flavia Jurje**

This dissertation contributes to the current theoretical and empirical inquiries into Europeanization by analyzing the impact of the EU integration process on decisionmaking structures in a new EU member state, Romania. Based on interviews with more than 180 domestic actors, a social network analysis of the institutions of a policy process, power constellation, and conflict among national elites was conducted. Six policy networks were analyzed, before and after integration. Its findings are that Europeanization fosters a 'closed' decisionmaking process, restricting the access of many non-state actors from participating in various stages of the decisionmaking process; it empowers the executive at the expense of domestic legislatures and other societal actors; and it substantially diminishes the level of conflict. All these effects are stronger in the hard case of Europeanization, especially before accession; however, substantial changes occur also in the soft Europeanized sector, as well as after enlargement.

The EU and Democratic Governance Promotion: Effectiveness, Consistency and Impact on the EU Acquis

Supervisors: Frank Schimmelfennig and Sandra Lavenex

By **Anne Wetzel**

Since the early 1990s, democracy promotion in third countries is an element of the EU's agenda. This thesis deals with a particular model - the promotion of democratic governance norms, including transparency, accountability, and participation. The thesis analyses how effective the EU's promotion of democratic governance is. The EU successfully promotes formal changes of rules of democratic governance. This is not true, however, for the implementation of rules. Secondly, the thesis focuses on the EU as an exporter of rules of democratic governance, particularly analyzing whether strong countervailing sectoral economic interests lead to inconsistency in the promotion of participatory governance. A comparison of three cases from two policy sectors suggests that this is the case. Finally, the thesis deals with the impact of democratic governance promotion on the EU itself, demonstrating how democratic governance promotion efforts entrap the EU and how EU member states try to retain room for maneuver "back home".

Research and Education

RECENTLY COMPLETED PH.D. AT CIS

Flow of Messages. Framing and Opinion Formation in Direct-Democratic Campaigns

Supervisor: Hanspeter Kriesi

By **Regula Hänggli**
Because the media plays a vital role in conveying frames from the political actors to the public in our diverse society, this thesis first investigates which processes influence the creation or change of frames applied by journalists, i.e., "frame building". It distinguishes between frame construction, frame promotion, and frame mediation processes. Second, the book investigates framing effects. In order to do so, it distinguishes between two versions of frames - frames in communication and frames in thought. Framing effects have been defined as the effects of frames in communication on frames in thought. Results show that strong frames in communication also become strong frames in thought, and, over the course of a campaign, frames in thought become better predictors of an individual's voting choice. Since frame building has largely been neglected in research, it serves as the main emphasis. Nevertheless, this process would be irrelevant if media frames did not have an effect on citizens. The evidence of framing effects found in this study renders frame building relevant.

The European Union and Its Neighbourhood: The Promotion of Democracy and Regional Cooperation

Supervisors: Frank Schimmelfennig and Sandra Lavenex

By **Tatiana Skripka**
The dissertation explores the European Union's ability to change domestic and international environments outside its borders and beyond the countries most likely to be candidates for accession. Empirically focusing on the wide neighborhood of the EU, the study accomplishes two goals. First, it investigates how the EU can induce democratization in the countries that are hard cases for external democracy promotion. It is demonstrated that the transfer of legal rule, coupled with the development of close functional ties of policy cooperation, is a viable strategy for the EU to trigger democratic governance reforms in the neighboring states. Second, the dissertation examines the impact of EU integration on the shaping of external regional cooperation. Here, the findings show that EU influence is less pervasive than generally assumed. Instead of a single model of integration for export, the EU offers a set of loosely connected templates that are only selectively borrowed by the regional initiatives in the EU neighborhood.

From Knowledge to Action, Analysis of the Decision Making Process in Africa: The Case of the Reform of the Teacher Recruitment Policy

Supervisor: Katharina Michaelowa

By **Alain Patrick Nkengne Nkengne**
This dissertation analyzes how decisions on public issues are made in francophone Africa, now that the progressive move toward democracy allows new actors to enter the political arena. It examines the reform of the teacher recruitment policy, which consists of a change in teacher status allowing the government to replace traditional teachers by low-paid contract teachers, and investigates the conditions under which it is possible to undergo such a reform in countries with relatively strong teacher unions. While many countries have adopted the reform, some have not. Factors that triggered the reforms vary among countries, and may include the severity of the lack of teachers, the existence of a high number of teachers paid by the communities, and mainly pressure from donors through external aid. In some countries, civil society was more involved in the policy process. However, this involvement did not block the reform; neither did it prevent the reform from diverting significantly from the usual policy. (Ph.D. defense to be held in March)

Research & Education

CIS Colloquium Fall 2010

By **Robert Gampfer**

This fall semester, we welcomed a variety of scholars from European and American universities to the CIS Colloquium. The colloquium provides a weekly forum for scientists invited by CIS faculty members to present their ongoing research. It is an excellent opportunity both for the guest speakers, who get valuable feedback and questions on their work from the audience, and for the other participants, who are confronted with new ideas and gain first-hand insight into the current research of other political scientists.

This semester's round started off with a presentation by Jeffrey Lewis of Cleveland State University, whose subject of study is an unusual one for US political scientists: The EU Council of Ministers. He highlighted the ambivalent nature of decisionmaking in the Council, claiming that it can neither be explained solely through an intergovernmental or supranational approach, nor through a two-level perspective focusing on domestic politics. Instead, a specific "culture" of EU decisionmaking has developed over time. Also located in the area of European politics was Dieter Fuchs's (University of Stuttgart) talk. He concentrated on the voter level, presenting a model of citizens' attitudes on European integration and empirical evidence for it. Carlos Alós-Ferrer of the University of Konstanz undertook an investigation into appraisal voting as an alternative to the common modes of majority or plurality voting. He presented the fascinating results of his field experiments, showing a stark divergence in voting outcomes between appraisal and majority voting. Still another approach to democratic decisionmaking was put forward by Maija Setälä of Turku University, who revisited the concepts of deliberative democracy and presented evidence from her studies of deliberative mini-publics in Finnish local politics. Marc Debus (University of Mannheim) focuses on the coalition-forming behavior of regional governments. Comparing eight European countries, he uncovered new patterns of interdependence between coalition-building on the subnational and national level.

In the area of conflict research, Cullen Hendrix of the University of North Texas took a new approach to the relationship between climate change and the emergence of conflicts. Focusing on smaller-scale realizations of both variables, he demonstrated empirically that in sub-Saharan Africa, there is a connection between extremely low and high levels of rainfall and the occurrence of low-level political violence such as street riots and communal conflicts. Returning to the political economy of voting, Catherine de Vries (University of Amsterdam) explored what makes parties act as issue entrepreneurs in a multiparty environment. Her analysis confirms that the main determinants of issue entrepreneurship are proximity to the mean voter, party cohesion, and a losing position on the dominant issue dimension.

Jude Hays of the University of Pittsburgh presented a spatial model of competition for foreign direct investment and results from a cross-country study on the effectiveness of policy changes in attracting FDI. Jan Lorenz (University of Oldenburg) delivered the semester's last talk by outlining a dynamic agent-based model of voter opinion and applying it to party formation processes.

Program Spring 2011; Thursdays, 12.30 - 14.00 at Haldeneggsteig 4, IFW-E-42

24.02.: Stefan Klasen (University of Göttingen), Endogenous Institutional Change and Economic Development: A Microlevel Analysis of Transmission Channels

03.03.: Leonardo Baccini (IMT Lucca), New Leaders, Democratization, and International Institutions: Can Preferential Trading Agreements Enable a Credible Commitment to Economic Reform?

10.3.: Mark Manger (LSE), By BITs and Pieces: The Evolution of the Int. Investment Regime

15.03. (Tuesday!): John Huber (Columbia University), Measuring Ethnic Voting: The Political Context and the Politicization of Ethnicity

17.03.: Dennis Chong (Northwestern), tba

31.03.: Covadonga Meseguer (CIDE Mexico City), The Political Economy of Collective Remittances: The 3x1 Program for Migrants in Mexican Municipalities

07.04.: Katajun Amirpur (UZH), Making Iran Democratic: The Role of the New Media

14.04.: Ole Wæver (Copenhagen), tba

05.05.: Amie Kreppel (University of Florida), Autonomy and Influence: A Comparative Theory of Legislative Power

12.05.: Pablo Beramendi (Oxford University), Tax Structures and Income Inequality

19.05.: Steven Wilkinson (Yale University), Veterans, organizational skill and ethnic cleansing: evidence from the partition of India

26.05.: Jörg Rössel, Julia Schroedter (UZH), The Transnationalization of Societies: Binational Marriages in Switzerland and Germany

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Voices & Faces

WHERE TO FORGE AN ELECTION: LESSONS FROM AFGHANISTAN

By **Nils B. Weidmann**

Imagine for a moment that you are the president of a fragile state. With the help of external allies, you barely manage to stay in power. Unfortunately, you are expected to hold elections regularly because your external allies care about something that you actually find quite scary: democracy. The next election is coming up soon, and this time you are facing a contender with real chances of winning. Afraid of losing power, what do you do? Manipulating the election looks like an attractive way out of the dilemma. What counts in your favor is that large parts of your country are plagued by political violence and turmoil, and are thus unlikely to be scrutinized by pesky election observers. Why not tweak some numbers in these regions and hope that nobody will find out?

The question of how violence and election fraud go together was at the core of a project I have been working on during my time at Princeton and now at Yale. With Michael Callen from the University of California in San Diego, we explored results from the 2009 presidential election in Afghanistan. While existing research could tell us much about the conditions putting particular elections at risk of manipulation, we knew a lot less about the mechanics of fraud on the ground. Why is it that fraud occurred in some places during the election, but not others? By exploiting regional variation in the degree of fraud and its co-occurrence with (Taliban) violence, we hoped to learn something about how fraud is actually carried out.

The sub-national study of electoral manipulation is fraught with data problems. Oftentimes, all we get are anecdotal reports on violations of electoral procedures, which convey only an incomplete perspective on the extent and the degree of fraud. In the case of Afghanistan, the availability of election results at the level of polling stations made it possible for us to apply a new method of measuring electoral manipulation. This method works by examining the pattern of the last digits in elections results: Imagine that you have collected the vote totals of all polling stations in a district and are looking at the distribution of the last digit. In a fair election, the last digit should be uniformly distributed. For example, there should be roughly the same proportion of 0s as of 1s and 2s, and so on. It turns out that when people make up numbers - as they do when forging election results - they tend to violate this uniform distribution. In Afghanistan, some districts show a suspiciously high proportion of zeros in the last-digit distribution, as shown in Figure 1. A chi-square test can then be used to test whether the digit distribution is significantly different from what we would expect under a fair election.

What adds to our confidence in this measure in the Afghanistan case is a comparison with a vote recount of a random sample of ballot boxes carried out by the Independent Election Commission, where boxes were systematically examined for signs of fraud. Fraud as established by this recount correlated highly with the positive cases identified by the last-digit test. This suggested that our extremely simple fraud indicator was indeed
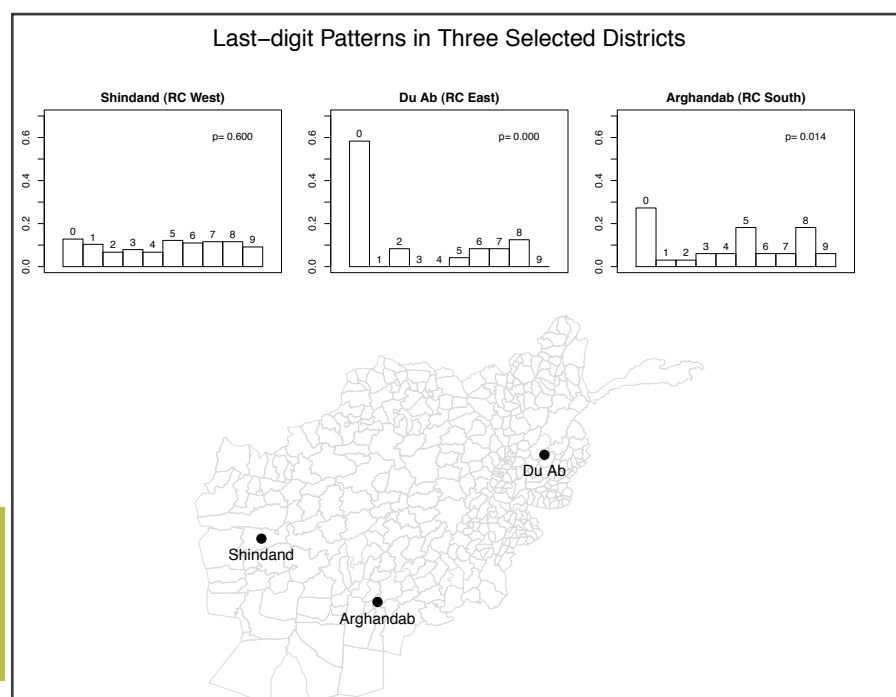

Figure 1: Measuring fraud using the Beber-Scacco last-digit test in three Afghan districts. The panels show the distribution of last digits across the vote totals reported by the stations in the respective district. Du Ab and Arghandab show suspicious deviations from the uniform (an inflation of zeros), which are picked up by the chi-square test.

able to pick up instances of manipulation, even though it is obviously limited to those occurring after a ballot has been cast (which excludes, for example, voter registration fraud or voter intimidation on election day). Next, we used a regression analysis to test how (among other factors) the occurrence of violence affects the implementation of electoral manipulation. Note that unlike in other countries, violence perpetrated by the Taliban in Afghanistan around election day was meant to disturb the election in general, rather than affecting one candidate's constituency in particular. Our findings are counter-intuitive. As suggested above, we would expect manipulation to be highest in areas of high violence and thus low oversight. However, we found that the relationship between violence and fraud has an inverse-U shape; fraud increases as we move from peaceful areas to those of low-intensity violence, but decreases again in high-violence areas. What is the reason for this?

Existing explanations for election fraud focus on political competition: fraud should be highest in districts that a candidate expects to win or lose only by a narrow margin. However, this explanation does not apply to Afghanistan, where the president is elected by an absolute majority in a single (nation-wide) constituency. This essentially means that a single rigged vote is of equal value regardless of which district it comes from. Our explanation for the patterns we observed in Afghanistan emphasizes the role of the candidates' loyalty networks as perpetrators of fraud. Fraud was implemented where these networks were able to operate effectively.

In peaceful regions with a lot of election oversight, chances of detection were high. In high-violence areas, the candidate's agents themselves incurred high personal risks, thus limiting the extent of manipulation they could perpetrate.

Afghan voters showing their fingers marked with indelible ink to prevent double voting. Photo: Abdulhadi Hairan

A further test is consistent with this explanation. Measuring fraud separately for each of the two main candidates, we found that the respective networks of the incumbent and the contender reacted differently to the occurrence of election-day violence. Fraud for the main contender, Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, was displaced by violence. A Taliban attack in a particular district reduced fraud locally, but increased the risk of fraud in neighboring districts. In essence, it seems that Abdullah's agents simply committed election fraud in nearby locations if the security situation did not permit operation at a particular place. Fraud for the incumbent, President Hamid Karzai, did not exhibit this pattern of spatial displacement. With many members of the Election Commission being loyal to the president (because he appointed them in the first place), he enjoyed a great advantage in carrying out election manipulation. However, since election officials were typically assigned to particular polling stations and districts, they were less flexible in reacting to the security situation, and therefore less able to simply shift their fraudulent activities.

Post-conflict democratization is frequently seen to be a promising cure for violence-ridden countries around the world. Our study illustrates the difficulties that arise when trying to implement the most important democratic mechanism -free and fair elections - in these places. It sheds light on the mechanics of electoral manipulation on the ground, emphasizing the role of loyalty networks as agents of fraud. If we want elections to gauge the will of the people rather than "legitimize" power-hungry elites, measures will be required that address the operation of these fraud networks and eventually make them impossible.

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NEW STRUCTURES OF CONFLICT IN WEST EUROPEAN PARTY SYSTEMS

By **Simon Bornschier**

When new leaders such as Christoph Blocher, Jörg Haider, and Jean-Marie Le Pen appeared on the political stage in the late 1980s and early 1990s, this first appeared as a populist outbreak of diffuse disenchantment with the political establishment. After all, the populist right hardly seemed to offer viable solutions to the pressing problems resulting from economic globalization and market integration in the EU. The dominant perception among political scientists was similar to that of the general public: The age of politics firmly rooted in societal cleavages was over, electorates were increasingly volatile, and the personal characteristics of politicians were becoming all-decisive in shaping citizens' voting choices. A research project entitled "National Political Change in a Globalizing World", launched by Hanspeter Kriesi, set out to challenge the dominant view. Uniting a group of scholars at the Universities of Zurich and Munich, the project started in 2002, and has recently entered the third phase of funding by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

The basic idea of the project is that immigration, European integration, and globalization more generally have led to new social structural antagonisms that offered new prospects to parties offering a program for those that lost out as a consequence of these processes. In other words, "de-nationalization", i.e., the lowering of boundaries, was not just de-structuring national party systems due to the increasing irrelevance of decisions taken at that level, leaving the political stage to demagogues and populists. Rather, the rise of new par-

Front National campaign add

ties of the extreme populist right was an indication that de-nationalization and immigration were quite predictably re-structuring politics along a new antagonism throughout the continent.

Two research teams in Zurich (Hanspeter Kriesi, Romain Lachat, Simon Bornschier and Tim Frey) and Munich (Edgar Grande and Martin Dolezal) jointly set out in 2002 to code the newspaper coverage of election campaigns in six countries from the mid-1970s to the first years of the new millennium in order to map out exactly how the content of political conflict was changing and whether the postulated new structure of conflicts between political parties was detectable. A few years later, we were able to show not only that the party political space had transformed in predictable ways across our six countries, but also that social groups defined by education and social class were situated in this political space in positions that

supported the hypothesis that the new antagonisms were firmly rooted in social structure. Thus, citizens with higher education hold universalistic values, have multicultural outlooks, and prove open for supranational integration. Those with low levels of education, as well as what remains of the working class, on the other hand, have developed world-views close to those defended by parties such as the Front National, the Swiss People's Party, or the Austrian People's Party. In other words, while religion and the old class conflict had waned, the anchoring of political conflict in social structure had merely evolved, but not disappeared.

In my own reading, this division is best labeled with reference to the political key issues that have shaped partisan conflict since the 1990s. In fact, with few exceptions, such as the Front National's recent campaign advertisement that is reprinted here, the extreme populist right rarely addresses the issues of globalization or even European integration explicitly. Rather, inspired by communitarian political philosophy, it has mobilized the losers of societal modernization and de-nationalization in terms of a counter-revolution against the universalistic norms and principles defended by the New Left in the 1970s and 1980s. In the process, the libertarian-authoritarian divide characteristic of that era has given way to a conflict between libertarian-universalistic and traditionalist-communitarian norms or conceptions of community.

In the European context, the process of unification has always constituted the prime incident of de-nationalization. Thus, after the second

phase of the project (involving new team members Marc Helbling, Bruno Wüest, Dominic Höglinger, and Swen Hutter) had expanded the analysis to actors other than political parties, a third phase of the project has recently been initiated that focuses on European integration exclusively. Simon Maag as a Ph.D. student in Zurich, and Johan Hellström, assistant professor from University of Umea in Sweden, have newly joined the team. The new phase focuses on the timing, issue content, and framing of the politicization of the European integration process, as well as the associated structural conflicts and actor constellations. At present, the project is in its data collection stage. Similar to the previous phases, this involves the quantita-

Election campaign add Swiss People's Party

tive coding of newspapers' reporting on European integration. However, in order to study the specific way in which European integration is politicized in the Scandinavian context, the

analysis now also incorporates Sweden.

Some of my own work also focuses on the mobilization of opposition to European integration, and in particular on the difference between left-wing and right-wing Euroscepticism, using public opinion surveys as evidence. This difference is particularly relevant because of the distinct nature of this opposition against the EU: While the extreme left's resistance against economic liberalization is amenable to compromise similarly to what has been the case concerning the class cleavage at the national level in the postwar era, the extreme populist right mobilizes an opposition of principle against supranational governance.

Recently, I have become interested in the marked country differences in the political manifestation of the traditionalist-communitarian potential. In the 1990s, political conflicts appeared to be very similar in all Western European countries, because even the parties of the mainstream right had seized the zeitgeist, invoking restrictive stances on immigration and defending traditionalist values. An analysis based on the most recent campaigns covered by the project, however, reveals marked differences between countries that feature strong right-wing populist parties and those where parties of this kind have failed to achieve an electoral breakthrough. Despite temporary losses in some cases, there is little reason to believe that the extreme populist right is likely to vanish in countries such as Switzerland, France, and Austria, since these parties have the capacity to keep issues of community on

the political agenda. As a result, the mainstream left is inclined to adopt more clearly libertarian-universalistic positions than in countries without strong extreme right parties, resulting in a powerful and enduring polarization of the cultural divide.

Where the joint strategies of the mainstream left and right succeeded in averting the entry of a party of this kind in the 1990s, on the other hand, the new cultural divide has lost much of its polarizing force. Thus, in a "Rokkanian" perspective, the 1990s, where the immigration issue was there for the taking by whichever political actor dared to do so, constitutes a critical juncture with long-term implications for the type of conflicts prevalent in party systems. Where extreme right parties asserted themselves in this crucial phase, politics continues to center on cultural issues. The rise of extreme left parties in the other contexts, on the other hand, suggests that the pendulum has swung back to economic issues. Paradoxically, then, economic globalization is now likely to play a more important role in precisely those contexts where the extreme right failed to establish itself.

Selected publications:

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S., & Frey, T. (2008). Western European Politics in the Age of Globalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Bornschier, S. (2010). The New Cultural Divide and the Two-Dimensional Political Space in Western Europe. West European Politics, 33(3), 419-444.

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Events

Political Scientists Meet at CIS for Conference on Politics, Markets, and Conflict

By **Michael M. Bechtel and Bianca Oehl**
Conflicting interests lie at the heart of political phenomena and characterize many of the relations between states and markets. While in democracies, people tend to articulate their opposing interests through peaceful

Stefan Handke (University of Hannover) talks about the politics of financial market supervision

means, conflict often becomes violent in developing and autocratic countries. At the international level, countries frequently hold conflicting objectives in fields such as trade or environmental policy, leading to fierce bargaining that includes threats and bluffs. This year's annual meeting of the German Political Science Association's Political Economy Section was based on the premise that political science can provide important insights into the political causes and consequences of tensions in national and international relations as well as economic crises. "Therefore, the executive committee of the DVPW Political Economy Section quickly agreed that this year's annual meeting of the section should

focus on the political economy of conflict, with conflict defined as broadly as possible".
The Political Economy Section's conference, which took place at ETH Zurich with the financial support of the CIS and the D-GESS, offered about 30 political scientists from various European universities the opportunity to present and discuss their current research. The conference papers tackled a large variety of questions relating to trade, environment, economic and social policy, as well as international mediation and armed conflict. Several presentations focused on the relationships between politics and the economy. Julia Becker (University of Göttingen) presented a comparative perspective on national reactions to the economic crisis. Andreas Hetzer (University of Siegen) provided a case study that explored the economic and political causes for diverging interests in

Bolivia. Wiebke Bartsch (University of Konstanz) reported on the results of an empirical study in which she evaluated whether states' trading decisions actually depend on whether their prospective trading partner protects human rights. CIS Professor Thomas Bernauer argued that social capital can function as a safety net that reduces individuals' fear of the potentially negative effects of increased economic openness.
A second major focus of the conference was on conflict and the environment. Tobias Böhmelt (postdoctoral researcher at CIS) offered fresh evidence on the determinants of multi-party mediation using a research design that addresses the methodological weaknesses of previous studies in the field. According to resource curse theory, the gains to be won from exploiting natural resources in a country increase political tensions over their distribution, making violent conflict more likely. Thomas Richter (GIGA Hamburg) refined this perspec-

Thomas Eimer and Verena Schüren analyze cooperation in the international patent system

tive. Empirically, a country's oil dependence and abundance appear to be important drivers of conflict. Armed conflict also typically increases the demand for weapons, which benefits the armament sector. Tahmina Sadat Hadhers (University of Konstanz) took this argument one step further by pointing out that private military and security companies may also benefit from long-lasting domestic insecurity in conflict regions, although this is a development in which neither governments involved in peace-keeping missions nor countries' citizens have an interest.

The last panel of day brought together three papers on different aspects of trade policy: Holger Janusch (University of Wuppertal) examined bilateral trade agreements that countries often seem to prefer over multilateral treaties. Achim Kemmerling (CEU Budapest) took a closer look at Latin America and argued that the party system leads to an alternation of populist and neoliberal policies that aim at remo-ving trade barriers and a closer integration into the world economy. Countries that are members in the World Trade Organization (WTO), an international institution that promotes market liberalism and non-discrimination in international economic relations, can apply a dispute settlement mechanism to solve trade conflicts. Thomas Sattler (University College Dublin) and Michael Bechtel (ETH Zurich) presented work that evaluates the economic effects of various stages of the WTO's dispute settlement mechanism.

The second day of the conference opened with research on environmental policy: Thomas Bernauer (CIS) reexamined the relationship between climate change, economic growth, and armed conflict. Katharina Michaelowa (CIS) explored whether climate aid projects reported by countries actually are climate aid

CIS Professor Thomas Bernauer reports on the relationships between climate change and conflict

Conference participants exchanging ideas in the coffee break

projects, and found that (mis-) reporting seems to be driven by political factors such as the general ecological preferences of the donor country's population. Ulrich Brand (University of Vienna) applied a historical materialist perspective to look into global governance efforts of biological diversity. Subsequent panels offered a platform for current research on tensions in international relations and domestic politics, the effects of polarized party platforms on financial markets, and the importance of institutions in accounting for differences in public opinion over liberalization decisions. After two days of intense discussion, conference participants headed back to their home institutions with a fresh overview of current research in political economy.

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Events

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MINORITY PROTECTION RULES IN NEW EU MEMBER STATES

By **Guido Schwellnus**

On 18-19 September, the CIS hosted an international workshop on the implementation of minority protection rules in new EU member states in the fields of language and education. The workshop was organized as part of the SNF-funded research 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", conducted within the European Politics Group of the CIS by Dr. Guido Schwellnus, Lilla Balázs, and Liudmila Mikalayeva.

or do they suffer implementation failure? In order to gather systematic evidence on the state of implementation, the workshop brought together 16 country specialists from ten new EU member states.

The workshop set off with a presentation by the organizers introducing an exploratory register of external, domestic, institutional, statutory, political, and administrative factors that may influence how formally adopted legislation in minority education and language use is put into practice. Encouraged to reflect on the relative importance of the suggested individual factors in their respective

Dr. Klopcic from Slovenia and Dr. Lauristin from Estonia exchange views on the suggested model

special respect to the situation of the Russian minorities in the Baltic countries and the Roma communities in Central Eastern Europe. Regarding the former, the workshop participants addressed the fact that in many cases, specific policies promoting the official language have detrimental effects for minority language policies. In education, some participants stressed the importance of bilingual, minority, and majority language education, while others underlined the desirability of majority language education tailored to the specific needs of minorities. As for the Roma, the main observation of the experts was their treatment as one unified community, a simplistic official view that ignores various internal group differences and hinders the elaboration and implementation of relevant and effective protection policies.

As a follow-up, further collaboration among the participants is planned in order to enhance the link between the theoretical framework and the empirical evidence.

First day of the workshop in the Pallmannzimmer

The main puzzle addressed in the project is that the EU has demanded minority protection as a precondition for accession, although it is not part of the acquis communautaire. This raises questions regarding the implementation and sustainability of minority protection measures after accession, when conditionality has ceased and compliance is not enforced by EU sanctioning mechanisms: Are formally upheld laws and policies undermined,

countries, the workshop participants drew attention to the importance of culture, identities, and societal attitudes for the success of minority protection rule implementation. In addition to the external influences of EU conditionality and kin-states, the role of the Council of Europe associated with the process of learning was emphasized.

A further important aspect that came up in the discussions was the existence of regional dynamics, with

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Events

THE 21ST PH.D. WORKSHOP ON INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE POLICY

By **Paula Castro**

The 21st Ph.D. Workshop on International Climate Policy (ICP Workshop) took place last October in Zurich, organized by the CIS with financial support from the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS). This workshop – organized by Ph.D. students for Ph.D. students, usually twice per year – has the aim of offering the participants the opportunity to present their research ideas and/or results, receive feedback, and exchange information and assistance with other peers, all in an informal setting. Ph.D. students from all disciplines working on topics relevant to climate policy are encouraged to participate.

After attending several of these workshops in the last few years, Paula Castro, Florens Flues, and Martin Stadelmann of the University of Zurich's Chair of Political Economy and Development decided to organize the next edition, with help from Florian Weiler and Moritz Rohling of the ETH.

After screening about 60 applications, 20 presentations were chosen, and another nine applicants were invited to participate as discussants. Thirteen participants came from different Swiss universities, eight from Germany, seven from other EU countries, and one from South Africa.

The workshop included sessions on adaptation to climate change, carbon markets and the Clean Development Mechanism, the international climate negotiations, theoretical economic models, and national climate-related policies. We also had two keynote presentations, by Axel Michaelowa on recent developments in climate policy, and by Thomas Bernauer on new areas of research on climate policy.

Despite the intensity of full two days of presentations, all participants were very satisfied with the workshop. They appreciated the high quality of the comments and feedback received, the open and friendly atmosphere, and the Swiss-style time management. Even the participants that did not present their research felt that the workshop had motivated them for their future work.

The workshop also opened the doors

Group picture of the workshop participants

for some research cooperation possibilities, for example through data-sharing and bilateral exchange on methodological issues. It also provided a forum for presenting and discussing first results of our SNIS-funded project "Negotiating Climate Change", and for contacting people conducting research on similar topics. A final achievement of the workshop was to bring together researchers working on similar topics across different disciplines: economics, political

science, law, and environmental sciences. This allowed the participants to gain a broader view of other research methods and approaches that might be complementary to their own.

Organizing the workshop was definitely worth the effort. It was a great opportunity to see familiar faces and meet new ones and to increase the visibility of Zurich as a hub for climate policy research. Thanks once again for the great institutional support from

all parties involved within the CIS, and to the SNIS for its kind financial contribution.

For those interested in attending a future climate policy workshop, the next one will take place in Cologne, Germany, on 28-29 April 2011, and will be organized by Ecofys.

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Events

BEHIND-THE-SCENES OF UN GENEVA

By **Krzysztof Wojtaniec**

It is 12 September 2010, and 14 students of the MA CIS class of 2011 are boarding a train calling at Geneva. The group, led by the program director, Prof. Thomas Bernauer, will soon arrive in the French-speaking part of Switzerland in order to begin their field trip on international organizations. The main goal is to talk to the people that shape global politics and to find out how the UN system works in practice.

On the following day, not yet accustomed to the rigorous and tight schedule of the trip, the still half-asleep MA CIS students are reaching their first stop: the Swiss Mission to the United Nations. A presentation led by one of the interns clarifies the role of Switzerland as a host country to the international organizations. After this, the group is on its way to the International Committee of the Red Cross headquarters. There, none else that ICRC President Jakob Kellenberger himself gives a presentation on humanitarian activities and the countries that benefit from them, and shares his own experiences from the work at the Red Cross. A lecture on international humanitarian law completes the ICRC seminar. The day concludes with a faculty-sponsored Italian dinner.

Tuesday, 9 a.m. The field trip participants are standing outside the World Health Organisation building and are being briefed on the organization's history, structure, and activities. The meeting with Thomas Teuscher from the Roll Back Malaria Program is about to start. Participants are about to learn how to spot a malaria mosquito by seeing whether the insect's behind is above the head level while it is sitting. But this is just a glimpse of the variety of issues brought up during the discussion at the WHO.

Same day, 3 p.m. The MA CIS students and their director are cleared by the security officers to enter the premises of the World Trade Organisation. Inside, they are being awaited by Victor do Prado (picture), a counsellor at the WTO Director-General's office. Among other things, he reveals the dynamics of the international trade negotiations, which take place in a room like the one the group is occupying at the moment. His experiences are, however, not the only ones that will give everyone a glimpse behind the scenes of global diplomacy. Two hours later, Jozef Goldblat will recount how he witnessed Nikita Khrushchev banging his shoe on the speaker's rostrum back in 1960 and will speak about the past, present, and future of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Wednesday – the final day of the excursion. After an early breakfast and an hour-long briefing on today's institutions, the MA CIS students are on their way to the last two institutions. The tour starts off with Adam Rogers, the Senior Strategic Communications Advisor at the UN Development Programme. He shares his observations from numerous travels to Africa and Asia, and describes the difficulty of cooperation with nondemocra-

Prof. Thomas Bernauer with several MA CIS students

tic governments in order to channel funds for various kinds of development-related undertakings in such states. Subsequently, the group moves on to the office of the United Nations Environment Programme. After providing an account of the activities of his department, Dennis Hamro-Drotz, a representative of the Post-Conflict & Disasters Management Branch at UNEP, demonstrates the outcomes of the latest research project on climate change, conflict, and migration and receives the participants' feedback on the maps illustrating the issue. This concludes the third and last day of the MA CIS Field Trip on International Organizations.

On the way back, the students discuss the intensity, but also the instructive experience of this three-day expedition. The participants will bring back to Zürich not only ECTS points, but also a new perspective and understanding of what they have been learning over the last year in the theoretical lectures that constitute the MA CIS program.

Victor do Prado – a counsellor at the WTO Director-General's office

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GRADUATION PARTY BY IPZ AND VZP

By **Pia Guggenbühl**

Each term, the Department for Political Science of the University of Zurich (IPZ) and the Association of Political Science Zurich (VZP) jointly organize a party for the newly graduated M.A. students. Last November's fine celebration was once again held at the tower restaurant of the University of Zurich. Professor Ruloff welcomed the graduates warmly, and VZP President Pia G. Guggenbühl handed out the traditional prize for an outstanding Master's thesis. The winner of

A fully packed room with a lively party crowd on top of the University of Zurich and an opportunity to mingle and cherish the "good old study moments" of a teamwork session

VZP prize winner Lineo U. Devecchi (center) receives flowers from President Pia G. Guggenbühl (left) and listens to the laudatio by Prof. Daniel Kübler (right).

spring term 2010 was nominated by the assembly of the professors of IPZ: Graduate student Lineo U. Devecchi had written on "Governing Zurich 1973-2007. Urban regime and city development politics" at the chair of Prof. Daniel Kübler. He was congratu-

lated and presented with prize money and flowers by the VZP. All students received a one-year-free membership in the Association. They all celebrated their newly achieved degrees with a glass of wine while enjoying the city of Zurich from its most prominent academic heights.

They also joined the party to congratulate the graduate students: Katharina Poiger, Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi, and Senior Research Fellow Dr. des. Nenad Stojanovic.

Are you interested in joining?

The association VZP (Verein Zürcher Politikwissenschaft) always welcomes new members to its group. All current and former students and employees of the CIS, of the Department for Political Science of the University of Zurich, and of ETH Zurich can join the VZP. All other people and institutions with strong ties to Political Sciences in Zurich are welcome to join and thereby support the association's aims. The annual fee is CHF 60 for natural persons and CHF 300 for institutions per year.

Please contact:
Pia G. Guggenbühl (President)
pia@guggenbuehl.info or
Urs Grob (Secretary) *grob@farner.ch*

Upcoming events

Tuesday, 11 January, 6 p.m., ***New Year's Apéro***, Helvetia Bar, Stauffacherquai 1, 8004 Zürich. Subscriptions welcome, but not obligatory. If you spontaneously feel the need for a drink or two, feel free to come by!

Thursday, 20 January, 7 p.m., ***Dinner and Roundtable Discussion with Hans Hess***, new President of Swissmem, the Swiss Association of Machinery Manufacturers and the Metal Industry. Seats are limited, reservation obligatory (via grob@farner.ch)!

ZDA - Zentrum für Demokratie, Aarau

By **Daniel Kübler & Andreas Auer**

The Centre for Democracy Aarau (Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau; ZDA) was formally established on 16 January 2009. It involves four partners: The City of Aarau, the Canton of Aargau, the University of Zurich, and the University of Applied Sciences of North-West Switzerland. It has three departments: The Centre for Research on Direct Democracy (c2d), General Research on Democracy (ADF), and Civic and History Education (PBGD), led by three professors: Andreas Auer, Daniel Kübler, and Béatrice Ziegler. It is located in the historical Villa Blumenhalde in Aarau. Currently, it hosts 41 scientific collaborators including educational, social, and political scientists and lawyers.

Discussing research results

How it came about

One of the trademarks of the ZDA is that its creation is due to democracy, to the will of the people. Particularly worth mentioning are the memorable municipal referendum vote on the ZDA of 17 June 2007, and the credit decree of the Cantonal Parliament of 23 September 2008, which was opposed neither by popular nor by legislative referendum. The interaction of necessity and chance should also not be underestimated. This includes the assignment of the national research program (NCCR) "Democracy in the 21st century" to the CIS at the UZH, the desire of the City of Aarau and the Canton of Aargau to position themselves anew on the Swiss university scene, but also the background of the Heinrich Zschokke Society and the municipal working group "Uni Institut Aarau". The quite unique construction of the ZDA was supported by an ambitious city, an open-minded canton, and two outstanding universities, integrated into a national center of competence in research of the Swiss National Science Foundation.

What it is

The ZDA is a research center primarily devoted to fundamental research. We strive freely to ask any questions and to suggest answers to them, to establish connections and make distinctions, to formulate and examine hypotheses, to compare conditions and highlight different perspectives. But we also accept, carry out, and, if necessary, implement specified mandates.

The ZDA is an academic research center that has close ties with both the University of Zurich (UZH), via the faculties of Philosophy and Law, and the Pädagogische Hochschule (College of Teacher Education) at the University of Applied Sciences of North-Western Switzerland (FHNW).

As an academic center, science is at the very heart of the ZDA. Science stands apart from politics – from day-

ZDA from outside

to-day politics, from party politics, from big-time and small-time politics – although it can and sometimes must exercise an indirect political function. Science does not mean retreating into an ivory tower, undertaking research for the sake of research, refusing to take sides, or denying responsibility, although these positions might be quite attractive. Science means becoming involved, taking an interest, acknowledging and critically evaluating socio-political relations on the basis of solid research results, accepting different opinions; in short: trading and negotiating in the marketplace of scientific ideas.

For the ZDA, three scientific disciplines or fields of activity are central: political science, in particular Swiss politics, methodology, and research on elections and democracy; law, in particular constitutional law, institutions and procedures of direct democracy and e-voting; and education, in particular teaching methods for civic education and history and strategies for training politically responsible citizens. As a research center, the ZDA not only seeks out new findings, but is also intensely devoted to knowledge

transfer. Knowledge is only useful when it can be passed on to others, when it reaches people. Transferring knowledge must be taken seriously, through lectures, publications, conferences, training and further education.

Additionally, the ZDA actively promotes young researchers, in the sense that its collaborators not only engage in joint research projects, but pursue their personal scientific careers by means of dissertations, publications, teaching courses, and holding lectures.

Breaks are used for further talks

Location in Aarau

The ZDA has its seat in Aarau, in the Villa Blumenhalde, the former home of Heinrich Zschokke (1771-1848), a reformer and mentor of liberal political thought. The ZDA is located in Aarau because both the City of Aarau and the Canton of Aargau contributed substantially to its financing. More than half of our budget is paid by the taxpayers of the city and the canton, and in fact, they have committed to doing so for a period of at least ten

years. This must be quite a unique situation not only in Switzerland, but probably worldwide.

Being located in Aarau also means doing justice to this exceptional commitment, and we must give something back to the people, or at least to those interested in our activities. This is why the ZDA has launched the Aarau Democracy Days (Aarauer Demokratietage), an annual event that takes place in spring. Every year, the Aarau Democracy Days focus on a topic relevant to democracy with public, scientific, and cultural events.

Research activities

Research is the principal scientific activity of the ZDA. Five themes of research on democracy have been defined as priorities for the next four years:

- Comparing democracies and measuring democratic quality
- Institutions and practice of direct democracy
- Democratic innovations
- Civic education in democratic societies
- History and theory of democracy

These five research themes involve collaborators conducting research in the areas of political science, law, and educational studies on democracy. The goal within these themes is to build up an internationally renowned capacity for research that has an influence on the work of academic teaching and further education and can also be used for public events. Various measures ensure that collaborators communicate with one another both within and across the research themes. To this end, regular internal seminars and workshops are organized. In addition,

cross-departmental scientific publications and/or research proposals are encouraged. Last but not least, the scientific conference as part of the Aarau Democracy Days represents a further

ZDA group at work

annual opportunity for cross-departmental discussion. The goal of these measures is the promotion of an overview that goes beyond the individual themes and disciplines, and in turn produces questions and ideas for the development of new research projects and services. With this, the ZDA strives to become a generator of innovations in the area of research on democracy.

Don't miss the 3rd Aarau Democracy Days on 7–8 April 2011 (Topic: "Wahlprobleme der Demokratie").
See: www.demokratietage-zda.ch

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News

NEWSFLASH

Publications

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

Rebecca Welge wins NCCR Democracy Knowledge Transfer Award
Rebecca Welge has won the NCCR Democracy Knowledge Transfer Award 2010 for her civic education course that dealt with European integration and democratic life in the EU and was held at the European Youth Conference.

Tina Freyburg wins Best Graduate Student Paper Award at ECPR Conference and International Studies Association's Carl Beck Award
Tina Freyburg has received the Best Graduate Student Paper Award at the Pan-European Conference of the ECPR Standing Group on International Relations for her paper "Planting the Seeds of Change Inside? Functional Cooperation with Authoritarian Regimes and Socialization into Democratic Governance". Her paper was also awarded the International Studies Association's Carl Beck Award for the best graduate student paper.

Sophia Limpach-Hänny receives the 2010 Schaffhauser award for development cooperation
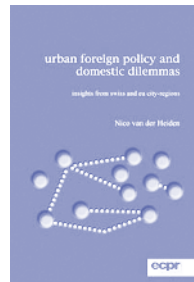The project "Kick for Your Future" tries to offer engaged youths living in the slums of Monrovia (Liberia) a perspective in giving them the chance to do a six-month apprenticeship. Sophia Limpach-Hänny has developed and is currently leading the project, which is supported by the Cooperaxion foundation.

Leaving CIS
Dr. Dirk Leuffen has left CIS to take up the position of Professor of International Relations at the University of Konstanz from 1 January 2011.
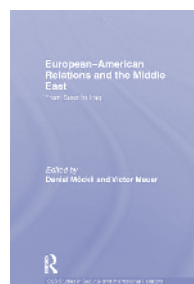
Van der Heiden, Nico (2010): Urban Foreign Policy and Domestic Dilemmas: Insights from Swiss and EU City-regions, Essex: ECPR Press. **ISBN: 978-1-9073-0107-0**
This book investigates a recent trend of city-regions all over the world: They develop their own international activities, thereby bypassing the nation-state. The book investigates the reasons for and consequences of such international activities. With seven in-depth case studies of Swiss and EU city-regions, the book identifies the reasons behind city-regions' international activities and their impact on urban, metropolitan, and multi-level governance.
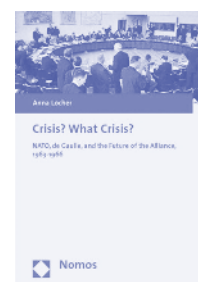
Mauer, Victor and Daniel Möckli (eds.) (2010): European-American Relations and the Middle East. From Suez to Iraq, London: Routledge. **ISBN: 978-0-415-47664-5**
This book examines the evolution of European-American relations with the Middle East since 1945. Placing the current transatlantic debates on the Middle East into a broader context, this work analyses how, why, and to what extent European and US roles, interests, threat perceptions, and policy attitudes in the region have changed, relating to both the region as a whole and the two main issues analyzed: Gulf Security and the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Nuenlist, Christian, Anna Locher and Garret Martin (2010): "Globalizing de Gaulle: International Perspectives on French Foreign Policies, 1958-1969", Lexington Books. **ISBN: 978-0739142509**
French President Charles de Gaulle (1958–1969) has consistently fascinated contemporaries and historians. His vision of uniting Europe under French leadership and overcoming the Cold War still remains relevant and appealing. This book serves to rediscover de Gaulle's policies by offering truly global perspectives on France's approach to the world. The 13 well-matched essays tap into newly available sources drawn from US, European, Asian, African, and Latin American archives.

Locher, Anna (2010): "Crisis? What Crisis? NATO, de Gaulle, and the Future of the Alliance, 1963-1966", Nomos. **ISBN: 978-3-832-95207-5**
Drawing on recently declassified European and North American sources, the volume examines the crisis of the Western alliance that evolved in view of the Gaullist challenge, decreasing East-West tension, and increasing attention to outer-European theaters. It addresses the different alliance policies of selected NATO states and investigates the influence wielded by both member states and institutional actors.

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IMPRINT

About CIS:
The Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) was founded in 1997 and is based in Zurich, Switzerland. The CIS is a joint venture of two universities: the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH Zurich) and the University of Zurich. It includes around a dozen faculty members (political scientists, economists, historians) and about 150 PhD students, postdoctoral researchers and other scientific and administrative staff from the ETH Zurich's Department of Social Sciences and Humanities, and the University of Zurich's Institute of Political Science. The purpose of the CIS is to create synergies and foster cooperation in research and education.