

# CIS News

**Journal Issue**

**Publication date:**

2000

**Permanent link:**

<https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-a-003931213>

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**Originally published in:**

CIS News



## EDITORIAL

National parliamentary elections will be held on October 23, 2011 in Switzerland. These elections, along with elections at the sub-national level as well as in other political systems, are key objects of CIS research. Elections are also a core element in the various courses of study CIS members supervise. Various research groups, using divergent perspectives, ask questions about electoral behavior and the significance of elections for political development in differing political systems. The upcoming Swiss national elections provide an occasion for some of the research projects currently running at the CIS to present their work in this CIS News.

Two distinctive features of Swiss elections are worth noting, particularly in an international context. One is that elections to the national parliament in Switzerland carry less weight than in other political systems. This is connected to two key institutional characteristics of Switzerland: federalism and direct democracy. Switzerland's distinctively federalist governmental structure means that numerous, and significant, political decisions are not taken at the national but rather at the cantonal and community level. Direct democracy, through popular initiatives and referenda over substantive issues, also means parliamentary elections have less substantive relevance (and thus have lower voter

participation rates) than in representative systems. One can say, loosely, that national elections as such don't even really exist in Switzerland: they are at heart only the sum of 26 cantonal elections. In the case of elections to the lower house (Nationalrat), these follow uniformity rules and take place on the same date; in the case of elections to the upper house (Ständerat), the cantons themselves set the rules. Even today, elections to both houses are decided in cantonal political arenas.

The outcome of the elections can nevertheless be eagerly awaited. In my view, two questions are key, both of which pose challenges for the future of the Swiss party system. This fall will decide whether the unprecedented success of the Swiss People's Party (SVP), which has been on the rise since 1991, will continue. The recent electoral success of more recent parties, notably the Green Liberals (GLP) and the Conservative Democrats (BDP), will be of particular interest, not least because they will exert a decisive influence on the (re-) election of the Federal Council, slated for December of 2011.

Enjoy the reading !

Thomas Widmer \*

\*Thomas Widmer is Visiting Professor at the University of Zurich (IPZ), where he currently holds the Chair of Swiss Politics.

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## Focus

# ELECTIONS RESEARCH AT CIS

Electoral behavior has received considerable attention over the past years. Aspects such as how the electoral system is organized in the growing number of young democracies issued from old dictatorial states; the use of surveys and other measurement tools; the role of the media to shape tendencies, parties, political programs and even the candidates themselves; or the socio-economic and geographical distribution of the electoral participation are just a few of the topics that several of our CIS members study. Here we present an overview of some of the research projects related to this theme.

## Voters, parties, and the rules of the game

Elections and electoral rules matter. It matters whether people vote or not and it matters how they vote. It also matters what the electoral rules of the game are. 'Making Electoral Democracy Work: Voters, Parties and the Rules of the Game' is the title of one of Professor Hanspeter Kriesi's projects. It brings together an exceptional team of political scientists, economists, and psychologists from Canada, Europe, and the United States to undertake a study of the impact of electoral rules on the functioning of democracy. There are three inter-related components. The first involves an intensive analysis of party strategies in twenty elections in five different countries. This innovative approach combines qualitative and quantitative methods to shed new light on how electoral rules influence party strategies and, hence, the options that are available to voters at election time. Canada, France, Germany, Spain, and Switzerland have been chosen in order to maximize variation in electoral arrangements. The second compo-

nent is a panel survey of voters in the same five countries. The same people will be interviewed in different elections at the national, sub-national, and supranational level. This will make it possible to determine how individual preferences interact with the salience and competitiveness of elections and electoral rules to shape electoral behavior. The final component is a coordinated series of innovative experiments designed to complement the analyses of party strategies and the voter survey by explicating the underlying causal mechanisms. This ambitious research design can only be realized by combining the skills and expertise of scholars from different backgrounds and disciplines. It requires extensive experience in both large scale surveys and experiments, as well as skills in qualitative research. It calls for a deep understanding of the role played by utility-maximizing incentives and psychological motivations in human decision-making, as well as a profound knowledge of the functioning of electoral democracies.

## Ethnonationalism and parties radicalization

Many semi-democracies and democratizing states – from Kyrgyzstan over Syria to former Yugoslavia – have a rich and diverse ethnic structure. At times of political transition, ethnonationalist mobilization is a constant in many of those countries, and elections often resemble ethnic censuses. Sadly, this is often also associated with hatred, and cases where this erupts in violence are not rare. 'Can institutions stop ethno-nationalist radicalization in divided societies?' is a question investigated by Daniel Bochsler (see interview page 15). He studies the electoral spiral that leads to ethnic radicalization, and the smart institutional engineering that might

prevent such process. This requires a deeper understanding of ethnic radicalization. Studies of elections and party politics in divided societies often rely on the simple picture that ethnic differences determine voting behavior and political organizations, neglecting the plurality of preferences within ethnic groups. Differently, he studies competition of opinions and party positions on a continuous dimension. Interesting enough, spatial models of electoral choice which are the standard in many applications to electoral competition have only very rudimentary been applied to ethnic politics, even though they might substantially contribute to our understanding of ethnic radicalization. Within this framework, Daniel Bochsler is interested in distinguishing radicalization that occurs due to initially radicalized voter preferences from radicalization that is constructed through the set-up of elections. Relying on spatial models, we can explain that citizens vote for radical nationalist parties because they anticipate that the other ethnic groups might do the same. Such a vicious circle was going ahead in the multi-party elections before the outbreak of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Daniel Bochsler is looking for evidence for this model from several countries. He also focuses on the mechanisms, which might break such ethnic out-



*"It wasn't me who voted for Milosevic, you did." (Ratko Mladic, 29 May 2011, about the Serbian voters). Photo: Associated Press*

bidding, either through institutional engineering, or through external political conditionality. Electoral rules, which prevent intra-group party competition, along with the influence of international actors, can convert the typical ethnic zero-sum game into a situation where mutual moderation gets rewarded. Most intriguing are cases where despite very deep ethnic tensions, political actors manage to bridge the gap between the opposed ethnic groups. In exemplary cases, political actors manage to appeal to unite moderate voices of different ethnic groups, and this way, they manage to chase ethnic hardliners from office. The aim of the project is therefore to understand to what extent political institutions can contribute to such processes – which would enable a veritable institutional engineering for divided countries – or whether institutions that were well-intended to build bridges between ethnic groups rather throw oil into the ethnic fire.

#### An innovative dataset

Edina Szöcsik is running a Joint Data Project on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition in collaboration with the University of Cologne. According to the ethnic outbidding model parties organize along exclusive ethnic categories and try to mobilize their voters with ever more radical demands. The model predicts that radicalization within each ethnic group fosters conflict between groups and thereby eventually undermines the basis for multi-national democracy itself. Recently, the ethnic outbidding model has come under criticism both for its underlying assumptions on ethnic identity and for the mechanism of radicalization it predicts. A number of qualitative case studies show that ethnic outbidding appears to be much more contingent upon a number of



factors than was originally theorized. However, up to now, cross-national datasets in the fields of ethnic conflict studies and party politics do not allow a quantitative test of the hypothesis of ethnic outbidding. Existing datasets in the field of ethnic conflicts treat ethno-national groups as unified actors with one single position. Datasets in the field of party politics provide only very shallow information on the position of political parties that represent the interests of ethno-national groups. They thereby fail to cover intra-ethnic competition within groups. As part of her Ph.D. project, Edina Szöcsik aims to fill this gap through the joint compilation of an innovative dataset that allows testing the hypothesis of ethnic outbidding for all ethnically divided European democracies. The “Expert Survey on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition” focuses on the positions of both mainstream and ethnic parties on a range of ethno-national issues. The dataset also provides a starting point to connect research on ethno-regionalist parties in Western Europe with research on ethnic minority parties in Eastern Europe. The latter aim also lies at the heart of a workshop that

will direct at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops in Antwerp in April 2012.

#### How lasting is the voter gratitude?

Michael Bechtel has conducted a study together with Jens Hainmueller (MIT) focussing on voter’s behavior following a natural disaster. They used the case of the 2002 Elbe flooding in Germany to estimate the short and long term electoral returns to disaster relief. The 2002 Elbe flooding provides an ideal case to establish an upper bound for the longevity of voter gratitude, as the incumbent’s policy response to the flood was both “peak” and “end” — it was massive and occurred immediately prior to a federal election. The 2002 Elbe flooding affected large parts of East Germany. From a hydrological perspective, floods with such severity occur only once every 500 to 1,000 years. The German government reacted swiftly. 45,000 soldiers were sent to the affected regions to stabilize dams, evacuate people in danger, and coordinate the disaster response. In addition, Chancellor Schröder quickly announced an emergency program that provided €385 million disaster relief aid. Moreover, the incumbent SPD-Greens coalition introduced a “Flood victims solidarity” bill backed up by a €7.1 billion disaster relief fund, the largest amount ever spent in the context of a natural disaster in German history. They find that the flood response resulted in an immediate electoral gain for the Social Democrats (SPD), the major incumbent party, of about 7 percentage points in affected areas in the 2002 election. It appeared that about 25 percent of this short-term return carried over to the 2005 election and that the electoral gains vanished entirely by 2009. The estimates imply that the SPD government paid about €63,000 per addi-

tional vote in the affected regions in the 2002 election. The price per vote drops to about €49,000 if the long-term electoral return to disaster relief is taken into account.

Overall the results suggest that even though electoral returns to beneficial policy decay over time, policymakers can, at least given very favorable circumstances, generate voter gratitude that persists several years — perhaps longer than scholarship has acknowledged so far. At the same time policymakers should not expect to earn much credit among voters for policies that date back more than a few years. Electoral accountability alone may therefore be ill-suited to properly incentivize policymakers to seek appropriate long-term policy solutions to fundamental economic, financial, and environmental problems, because voter gratitude is too short-lived.

#### **Extreme left-right mobilization**

‘The Mobilization of Preferences over Europe by the Extreme Left and Right’ is a research project conducted by Simon Bornschier. The premise of this project is that, due to the central role of the council of ministers in policy-making in the European Union, for citizens to have an effective say on European integration, parties at the national level need to offer differing choices regarding the integration process. The strategy of most mainstream parties, however, has been to de-politicize Europe. At the same time, the growth of parties that present an alternative to the mainstream left and right in Western Europe means that more and more systems now feature parties that can assimilate Euroscepticism into their core ideology. Complementing the focus on the politicization of Europe by political parties and other actors, which is stu-



*Candidate Obama during a meeting in 2010  
Photo: Reuters*

died by various projects in Professor Hanspeter Kriesi’s group, this project focuses on the role Europe plays in the individual vote decision process. It turns out that Europe significantly structures voting choices between the established right and the extreme populist right throughout Europe. The economic discomfort stemming from European integration, on the other hand, determines the vote for parties off the left mainstream in some countries, but not in others. This suggests that parties’ mobilization efforts play a central role in determining whether Europe becomes a salient issue for voting choices.

#### **From Elections to Output**

In the project ‘From Elections to Output’ Dominik Geering and Silja Häusermann investigate the links between voters, parties and socio-economic policy output. Ideally, elections link voters’ policy preferences to political parties and policy output. In the realm of social and economic politics this link has suffered from three developments: First, post-industrialization has made the population more heterogeneous and therefore more difficult to represent. Second, the rise of new issues such as immigration has pushed socio-economic issue to the back. Third, representation is weakened by a declining trust in parties. In a first step the study investigates the congruence of voter and

party positions in the electoral arena. Second, it establishes a link between the electoral and the parliamentary arena, by comparing the party positions on selected socio-economic policy reforms in these two arenas. Finally, policy-making processes on these reforms in the parliamentary arena and their distributive outputs are analyzed. So far both researchers are in the process of data gathering and will be able to present their first results on the voter-party congruence in electoral arenas this autumn.

#### **Swiss Voting Decision Process**

Reto Wattenhofer’s contribution to the Swiss national elections study is a roll-crossing survey to analyze the dynamics of the voting decision process in the campaign of the 2011 Swiss National Council elections. The focal research questions are how party strategies, media content, and campaign events influence the way in which citizens evaluate parties and form their voting intention. The main hypotheses relate to the joint impact of individual predispositions and context on the vote. The analysis will combine data from different sources. At the individual level, the project will rely on the rolling cross-section data, including citizens’ voting intentions, party sympathies, most important problems, as well as perceptions of parties’ competence at solving these problems and standard variables of voting choice models. As far as context characteristics are concerned, a media content analysis of the main newspapers and online media will be performed to provide detailed information on party strategies and issue salience.

# REVOLUTION THE SWISS WAY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SWISS PARTY SYSTEM OVER THE LAST 20 YEARS

By Hanspeter Kriesi

The Swiss party system has changed dramatically over the last twenty years. The greatest change came in the rise of the SVP (which took approximately 11% of the electoral "pie" towards the end of the 1980s), and which has now reached approximately 29 percent of the votes, making it the largest political party in Switzerland. All other larger political parties seem to have lost electoral votes. The only other party to be basking in votes have been the Greens (die "Grünen"), though at a lower level. With the rise of the SVP, the party system has become 'nationalized', extending far beyond the cantonal borders. The SVP, which was previously located in Protestant Swiss-German cantons has been spreading to the Catholic and French-speaking areas. The rise of the SVP and the consequent transformation of the party-system in Switzerland is not a unique case, however, the same phenomenon can be observed in a large number of West-European countries. The transformation in turn, is based on a profound change within the social structure as a whole: as a result of economic, cultural, and political globalization, national borders dissolve, and communities of national solidarity are undermined.

## A new line of conflict

Small European countries like Switzerland have always been open to world markets. Resulting disadvantages for individual groups have traditionally been compensated by domestic concessions: this was the case with the small and medium sized Swiss businesses, which were offered protection from the competition by way of cartels. The trade unions were integrated in social partnerships and free professions (such as attorney or doctor) were

protected by a number of tight professional regulations.

With the onset of international liberalization, however, these once heavily-protected groups were increasingly exposed to international economic competition. At the same time, the cultural competition has also been growing: through the immigration of people from distant cultures, our societies have become increasingly multicultural. As a result of this, many people no longer feel at home. Finally, political competition also increases, in the sense that the competence of the nation state is increasingly constrained by European and supranational organisms (WTO, OECD, UN). In consequence, democratic rights became hollow, a fact which many citizens do not wish to accept. As a result of these developments, I would like to suggest the question of the opening or closing of national borders has become the most important political issue not only to Switzerland, but in most western-European countries. In Switzerland, this conflict focused primarily on the question of the relationship between this country and European integration; later immigration became another focal point which, most recently, culminated in opposition to immigration of groups from Islamic nations.

The SVP owes its increasing success to its opposition against the participation of Switzerland in the European integration process – in particular, the opposition against the ES contract of 1992 marks the beginning of its rise in popularity. The more general conflict between national integration and demarcation of economical borders has been more exclusively focused on the question of European integration in Switzerland than in other European countries; problems of immigration

as a whole are central throughout Europe.

Everywhere the mobilization of the so-called «globalization losers», has lent voice to this conflict. «Globalization losers» refers to those who feel threatened by the dissolution of the economic, political or cultural borders of the nation-states. It is the «globalization losers» who are mobilized by the SVP at the expense of the other parties. It is interesting to note that the success of the SVP and similar parties can be attributed primarily to political and cultural fears, as opposed to economical ones. In other words, the mobilization of the «losers» means that the cultural dimension of party competition becomes increasingly important in Western Europe in general and in Switzerland in particular, at the expense of the economic dimension (see separate text and graphics). At the same time, the cultural dimension is reinterpreted in terms of the between «opening» vs. «closing», which opposes culturally liberal modernists to nationalistic and conservative traditionalists.

## A nationalistic turn

Previously, in a country such as Switzerland, this dimension of the party competition was dominated by religious conflicts (conflicts between the denominations as well as conflicts between secularized and religious groups). Confessional tensions were only eased with the onset of the movement towards secularization. Under the influence of the «cultural revolution» of the 60's and early 70's, the cultural dimension was largely reinterpreted in terms of a conflict between liberals and traditionalists, or conservatives. Today the integration/demarcation conflict is superimposed on this conflict of the 60's and 70's.

The nationalistic turn in Swiss politics is therefore not only a current trend. Instead, the conflict between national-conservative and cosmopolitan-liberal population groups has been around for more than twenty years. The mobilization of the national-conservative and cosmopolitan-liberal population groups – as a reaction to the progression of worldwide economic, cultural and political integration – constitutes the structural building block of the transformation of the Swiss party system. In this respect, Switzerland is not a unique but rather a typical case, where the new conditions have emerged more clearly than in other Western European countries – presumably a consequence of direct democracy.

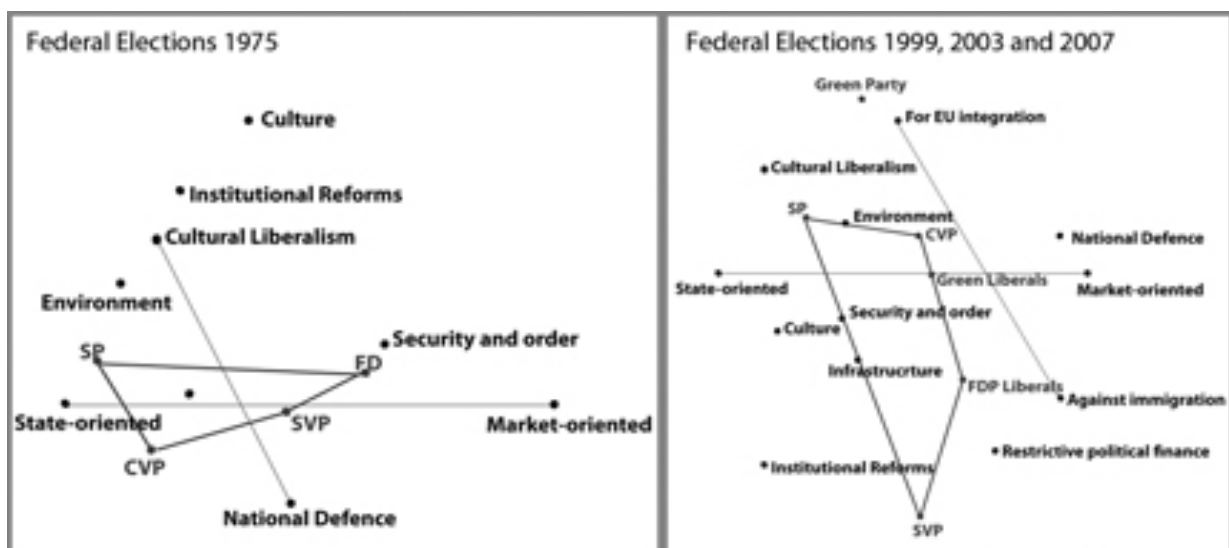
### The political map of Switzerland

A research group in the Department of Political Science at the University of Zurich has been examining the national election campaigns of the 1970's, the 1990's and 2000's in the media. The analysis is based mainly on the presentation of the election campaigns in the

«Neuer Zürcher Zeitung» and «Blick», and includes the electoral coverage in the editorial part of the papers as well as election advertisements. The comparative project was supported by the National Science Foundation. The researchers primarily identified the issues on which the parties focus in the election campaigns, as well as the positions which they take in relation to these issues. On the basis of this information they drew maps of the party configurations. The maps are illustrated for the 1970's and the 2000's. They show how the parties relate to one another, but also their positions in relation to the most important issues of the campaign. The horizontal axis corresponds to the classical economic contrast between state (welfare) and market (economic liberalism). The vertical axis is the so-called “cultural axis”. In the 1970's it was characterized by the contrast between cultural liberalism and the national defense (which stands, in general, for traditional positions). Beginning in the 90's, the contrast between support towards European integration and opposition against immigration becomes more

significant. Both axes are not quite independent of each other; in Switzerland, the state-oriented left is simultaneously more cultural-liberal and pro-European than the market-oriented right. In the map, the four major governing parties are linked to each other in a trapezoid formation. The orientation of this trapezoid is instructive: while oriented horizontally throughout the 1970's, it points upwards in a more vertical direction in the 2000's. This means that the contrasts in the party system were primarily of an economic kind (SP and CVP rather oriented towards the state, and FDP and SVP rather more oriented towards the market). In the course of the 90's and 2000's, these contrasts have intensified, primarily on the cultural axis. Today we have the culturally rather open SP and CVP compared with the very nationalistically-oriented SVP. The FDP is in an intermediary position, though it leans strongly towards the SVP. In comparison to the very strong polarization on the cultural dimension, the differences are much smaller between the parties on the economic dimension. Today, CVP, FDP and SVP barely differ in this regard, while the SP is still clearly state-oriented.

*Evolution of the party-system landscape in Switzerland (From: NZZ am Sonntag, 13/03/2011)*



## Focus Special: SWISS ELECTIONS

# URBAN DEVELOPMENT & ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR: THE METROPOLITANIZATION OF POLITICS

By Daniel Kübler

To explain regional differences in voting behavior, the contrast between city and countryside is an important reference in Switzerland. The urban-rural change has been a main characteristic of Swiss politics. As far back as 1848, the tensions between liberal (Protestant) city cantons and conservative (Catholic) country cantons escalated into civil war. The urban-rural change in the party system also left its mark. City based capitalists mobilized to form the liberal party, whilst the rural interests were represented by the Catholic-Conservatives, today's CVP. With the SVP, rural interests gained popularity in the Protestant cantons of German speaking Switzerland. Today the urban-rural dichotomy has nevertheless become less relevant for explaining electoral and voting behavior. According to Federal Office for Statistics (BFS), nearly three-quarters of the Swiss population live in urban areas, a trend which continues to rise. Still, thanks to federal protective mechanisms, the rural areas carry some weight in decision-making processes. Urban areas, however, continue to pack the decisive punch as far as the voting power of the different political parties is concerned.

## Social and political segregation

With the onset of industrialization, Switzerland embarked on a yet-unbroken process of urbanization. Swiss cities, however, are growing less in height than in breadth. Cities have become agglomerations: functional areas, which extend over a number of political districts, and often exceeding not only the cantonal boundaries, but extending into neighboring countries. In this respect, the agglomeration belt often spans a larger physical area than the central town or city it is centered around. On



*Traditional Appenzeller voting. Photo: Keystone*

average, the population of a Swiss agglomeration spreads to 61% in the outlying districts, and 39% into the central city. In larger metropolitan areas, the population of the core city is proportionately smaller. The majority of the urban population in Switzerland resides in the suburbs. Functional specialization and social segregation have led to increasing socio-spatial segregation within the agglomerations.

## Community types

One can divide the communities in the agglomeration belt into three types. The so-called suburban communities are relatively close to the city core. These are characterized by dense development, relatively low-wage jobs in many industries and a population with a high proportion of foreigners (examples include: Schlieren, Rheinfelden, Kriens or Renens-VD). Outside, one finds former rural communities, ones which ended up a conurbation due to new transport links. These are the so-called peri-urban communities. Containing a number of family housing, these are by nature residential communities, often-times complemented by a handful of farms (examples include: Feusisberg Schmittlen, Grandvaux and Chancy). Typically, Swiss agglomerations also include the wealthy community archetype. These distinguish themselves through preferential environments -with the corresponding property and real estate prices, as well as good public transport infrastructure to the core city. A large number (above-average)

of high-income families live in such luxurious residential neighborhoods (i.e.: Küsnacht-ZH, Muri near Bern, Céligny, Saint Sulpice and Gentilino). As a research group within the NCCR Democracy at the UZH has shown, the agglomeration communities differ not only according to geographical conditions, economic and population structure, but are also positioned differently on the political map. Based on the results of national elections and election surveys relating to each municipality, the average position of their voters were calculated: the left-right axis shows the contrast between the (welfare) state and market (economic liberalism), whereas the cultural axis points towards the polarization between international opening (e.g. advocacy of joining the EU) and national delimitation (e.g. opposition to immigration). The results of these calculations are shown in Fig.1. The largest contrast occurs between core cities and the communities of the conurbation belt. The electoral population of the core cities leans more poignantly towards the left and inclines to a worldlier outlook. As a result, one notices a distinct core city vs. suburban polarization. Differences also occur amongst the suburbs themselves however. The electorate of rich municipalities is more liberally oriented with regards to the economy (on the right), though maintains a more open international mindset. The sub- and peri-urban communities differ less significantly from one another.



*Küsnacht (ZH), a wealthy residential community*



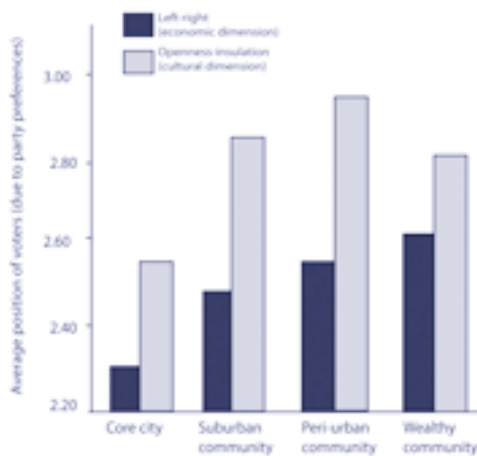


Fig.1 : Political positioning of Communities in the seven major Swiss agglomerations (Federal Elections, 2007)

### Political consequences of sprawl

How can these differences be explained? The supposition is obvious that they go back to the social structure of the municipalities. The material prosperity of the population accounts the more economic-liberal preferences of the peri-urban and especially of the rich municipalities. Such social-structural effects aside however, the influence can be also proven by spatial context factors on the political orientation. With regard to the left right axis, high population figures and growth in population, high number of rental apartments, deep proportion of foreigners and proximity to the core city is favored by a left orientation of the electorate. Steep population figures however, restricted construction rights and high-share of residential property lead to the fact that the electorate of a municipality votes for national boundaries on the cultural axis. The political orientation of the electorate is thus also linked to the spatial characteristics of the respective residential community in question. In other words, how someone votes is determined not only by

personal circumstance, but also by the geographical location in which he or she lives. More specifically, the suburban and peri-urban communities constitute an environment which produces economic-liberal, as well as national-conservative positions simultaneously. The parties which enable a combination of the two positions are thereby favored- a current example of this is the SVP. In fact, the SVP especially attracts voters from the suburban and peri-urban communities, while the FDP score highly in higher-income communities. Central (main) cities remain strongholds of the left.

### Historical context

Beginning in the Second World War, the Swiss conurbations have been growing in width rather than height, a tendency which has been taking on momentum since the 1980s. Today, the majority of the Swiss conurbation population live in sub- and periurban municipalities, while the share of the rich municipalities and above-all the nuclear towns has been in decline. The spatial development of the conurbations clearly favors the right-winged national parties. The rise of the SVP since the 1990s therefore appears to

be a political consequence of the increasing suburbanization of Switzerland.

### Spatial effects on the turnout

With regard to the turnout within the Swiss conurbations, one notices obvious differences. In core cities and suburban communities, voter turnout is considerably lower than in the peri-urban and higher-income municipalities (Fig.2). Electoral participation tends to be higher in municipalities which boast high-income individuals, lower number of social problems, as well as a larger number of families and elderly citizens. Spatial context also matters when considering population size, proximity to the nuclear town and number of daily commuters, which lower the election turnout in a municipality. These spatial effects are not «policy-neutral». In the strongholds of the left (core cities), the electorate is less mobilized. Suburban communities aside, the conservative agglomerations tend to mobilize more voters. Due to such differences, the electoral weight of the core cities (which lean towards the left) decreases when juxtaposed against the conservative votes, as represented by the peri-urban electorate as well as the higher-income communities.

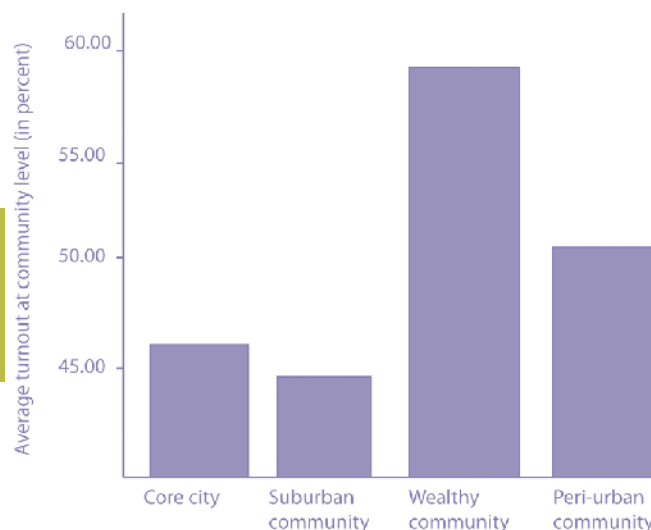


Fig.2: Turnout in Communities of the seven major Swiss agglomerations (Federal Elections, 2007)

Research & Education

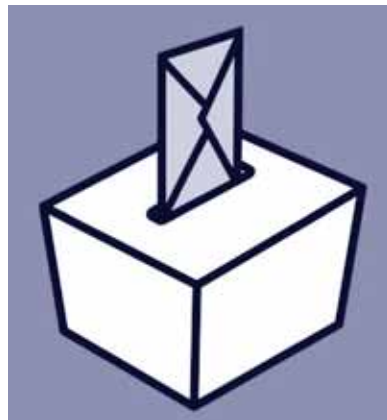
# PARTY STRATEGIES IN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS

By **Marian Bohl**

With the Swiss national elections on the horizon, election scholars, pundits, the media, and the voters are preparing for the competition over votes, legislative seats and also the possible compositions of the Bundesrat. This competition, however, is not only fought in material battles and isolated old-school campaigning of the single parties, but also characterized by a variety of strategic interaction between the running competitors, especially in the diverse institutional environment of Swiss politics. The parties are negotiating possible appointments, forge Council of States-tickets and try to credibly signal support for or disapproval of current and future members of the Bundesrat, all to raise their chances of being elected by as many voters as possible. They communicate via press releases, newspaper ads, billboards, and present their views in manifestos and debates. Therefore, the voters face a wide menu of possible choices to make their voice heard, but also have to cope with the dilemma of not knowing exactly, which government composition they will be supporting with their vote.

So not only the parties and candidates on the supply side of the electoral market use strategic means to promote their policy packages, also the voters on the demand side are not ignorant towards the institutional circumstances and competition patterns of the electoral arena described above. Rational voters form expectations on how likely e.g. the success of their favored party or candidate is and adapt their behavior accordingly in order to reach their preferred goals. Behaving stra-

telegically can be relatively easy, e.g. in elections for the cantonal executive, where members are directly elected as persons, but on the federal level influencing the composition of the Bundesrat, is much harder and dependent on the elected parties' behavior after the election.



Investigating this complex interplay between party strategies, pre electoral alliances and voter behavior is one of the goals of the project "Making Electoral Democracy Work". This internationally comparative research effort, funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, compares national, regional, and European elections in five countries with diverse electoral institutions: Switzerland, Germany, France, Canada and Spain. At CIS, Hanspeter Kriesi, Romain Lachat and Marian Bohl are responsible for data collection and analysis of the 2011 Swiss cantonal and national elections in Zurich and Lucerne, as well as providing expert knowledge for a cross-national online survey of voters in these elections. Interviewing the organizers and managers of cantonal parties' electoral campaigns already provided first

insights into parties' strategic repertoire, for example a much more nationalized campaign advertisement strategy of the SP and SVP than the CVP. The FDP showed different patterns in Zurich (nationalized) and Lucerne (less nationalized). However, all parties, regardless of the national party's influence reported in the interviews, negotiated their pre-electoral alliances at the cantonal level. Additional unmediated sources of party communication such as manifestos, newspaper ads, press releases etc. will be collected and analyzed to be able to get further insight into the driving forces of these differences in electoral alliances and campaign strategies under different institutional circumstances and levels of government.

Investigating whether these observations are also recognized outside academia and the voters respond to pre-electoral alliances of parties or their choices in campaign strategies will be the next step in the analysis. As soon as the cantonal voter survey data (the most detailed cantonal survey ever conducted) is readily available, the voters' response and the success of the parties' strategies can be tracked to broaden and deepen our understanding of efficiency and effectiveness of strategic campaign activity.

**Marian Bohl**  
marian.bohl@ipz.uzh.ch

## Research &amp; Education

## RECENTLY COMPLETED PH.D.



The political economy of the Clean Development Mechanism – Econometric evidence on Executive Board decisions, project supply, and political support for carbon credit imports

Supervisor: Katharina Michaelowa

By **Florens Flues**

Carbon emission trading almost seems to be a buzz word these days. But what is it, how does it work, and how can the current carbon emission trading system be explained? Efficiency properties of carbon emission trading have been studied by many researchers and cumulated into a massive amount of recommendations for an optimal regime to protect the earth against global warming. Yet, we do not see this optimal regime in place. In my dissertation I asked how instead the current carbon emission trading system can be explained by the interests of voters, business, and governments. I focused on the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), which allows developing countries to receive money from industrialized countries for undertaking carbon emission reduction projects. The econometric analysis confirms that special interests play an important role in explaining decisions by the CDM Executive Board, the location of CDM projects, and the demand for certified emission reductions.



Voluntary Climate Change Initiatives in the U.S.: Analyzing Participation in Space and Time

Supervisor: Thomas Bernauer

By **Lena Schaffer**

Given that effective cooperation between nation-states in climate politics is very difficult, this dissertation evaluates whether cooperation at lower political levels can offer a useful complement for global efforts. The largest subnational effort of this kind is the U.S. Mayors Climate Protection Agreement (MCPA). To understand the conditions that motivate cities to join such voluntary efforts, I develop arguments on how community-specific (e.g., income, partisanship) and interdependency factors influence local governments' decisions to voluntarily contribute to climate change mitigation efforts. I find some evidence for interdependent decision-making in local climate change policymaking. While the influence of neighboring communities is not found to be significant, the importance of informal social networks for the diffusion of innovation is backed by both the quantitative and qualitative analysis. Overall, even if the actual mitigation impact from these recent local climate change initiatives turn out to be negligible, my research has found that voluntary agreements can act as good complements and raise awareness for the issue.



Ethnofederalism. A Slippery Slope Towards Secessionist Conflict?

Supervisor: Lars-Erik Cederman

By **Christa Deiwiks**

The dissertation tackles the question whether and how ethnofederalism promotes violent secessionist conflict. By geographically analyzing substate boundaries in federal countries, the thesis shows that regional risk for secessionist conflict increases if the match between substate boundaries and ethnic group settlements reaches a medium degree. The risk decreases again if the boundaries approach a state of perfect congruence. Several case studies on conflicts in Nigeria, Myanmar, Ethiopia, Russia, and Yugoslavia illustrate that resources and ethnic homogeneity in ethnofederal regions facilitate ethnonational mobilization and violence, but also that peaceful partition is likely if boundary overlap is high. Further, both quantitative and qualitative analyses demonstrate that grievances induced by the loss of existing autonomy, exclusion from political power in the central government, and economic inequality play a central role in the outbreak of violent conflict.

Research & Education

# MACIS - REFLECTING BACK ON A SUCCESSFUL YEAR

By **Diana Bruni**

Exactly a year ago, I started my position as the coordinator of our Master Program in Comparative and International Studies, MACIS. I am taking this opportunity to reflect back on a successful, positive and eventful year for the students at MACIS.

At the moment we have about 44 MACIS students that have either completed their first year, are working on their Master Thesis or are getting ready to start their Master Thesis. As the coordinator, my role is to accompany the students on their MACIS study path from either starting the program to completing their Master Thesis and to support them along the way with any administrative concerns and information they might need. In total, 23 extremely motivated new first-year students from across the globe started their first semester last September. Many of them just arrived a few days prior from their country and were still trying to find a longer-term living arrangement for the extent of their studies. The first semester started off intensive and challenging for some of them but soon after, they were getting used to the pace, the IFW building and its facilities, their peer students and professors, and more. By the time spring semester 2011 came around, they were all very well adjusted.

First year student Omar Kassab writes: "During my first year in the MACIS program, I learned to appreciate the positive synergy between students and faculty members. Professors and their teams could be easily contacted at any time and were always ready to give me advice regarding my research, help me out with literature, or suggest solutions for academic challenges I was facing. I found this collegial atmosphere very delightful. I am particularly grateful for the insights I gained into the cutting-edge research that I got

involved with during my work as a research assistant."

Reflecting back on her first year as a MACIS student, Mirjam Hirzel says: "The program has been a very rewarding experience. Not being from a political science background, studying International and Comparative Studies here at the CIS has of course been quite a challenge in terms of the scope and volume of the material we have covered so far, but in turn, it has been equally intensive in terms of the understanding and knowledge I have gained of the various topics and themes examined during the lectures and seminars. The student-friendly and highly professional environment has been an inspiration, and I look forward to the year ahead!".

Many of the second year students – and a couple of third year students – were working on their Master Thesis during the last 12 months. We held a very intensive and inspiring Master Thesis Workshop in early April this year, where students were able to present their Master Thesis work. Phillipp Hunziker sums up his experience: "After several months of reading, writing, testing, starting over, and even more reading, the Workshop finally allowed us to present our first results to our fellow students and the faculty members. What I enjoyed particularly about the Workshop was not necessarily the academic input we got from the professors, but more the act of presenting itself, which forced me to take a step back from my work and have a look at what I have actually achieved - and, of course, what I did not. And, not least, it was great to see the stunning variety of topics which my fellow students and friends were working on".

**Diana Bruni**

diana.bruni@gess.ethz.ch

## MACIS OPEN DAY

**Friday, 7 October 2011**

(IFW / ETH Zurich Room E.42)

10.00 - 12.00

Introduction and presentation of the program by Thomas Bernauer

12.00 - 13.00

Lunch and 'getting together'

13.00 - 15.00

Informal meetings and discussion with MACIS students and professors

You can confirm your participation in the Open Day, by 25th September to:

diana.bruni@gess.ethz.ch

## About MACIS

MACIS is a research-oriented 3-semester graduate program in political science. The curriculum concentrates on questions of democracy, political violence, political economy, and sustainable development. Students are recruited on a competitive basis and benefit from small seminar sizes, close student-faculty interaction, and an stimulating work environment. All courses are taught in English. With its strong emphasis on methods, theory and research, the program serves as preparation for subsequent research leading to a PhD degree, or research-oriented employment in the private or public sector.



## Voices &amp; Faces

## THREE CHEERS FOR DIETER RULOFF !

*The pursuit of truth is accountable to nothing  
and to no one not a part of that pursuit itself*

Abraham Kaplan

By **Alrik Thiem, Carola Betzold** and  
**Sebastian Schutte (\*)**

Seldom are pieces of advice from the old stagers not water off the duck's back with the young Turks. But on occasion, you witness exceptions. The opening editorial in the last edition of the CIS Newsletter was one of these moments. Dieter Ruloff caught our attention with a eulogy to methodological pluralism, packaged as a snapshot from his early career. These words found an echo in our academic minds, and we young researchers as their addressees felt compelled to reply ... with three cheers for Dieter Ruloff!

**Cheer 1: Methods are subject to fashions, so let your research guide the choice of methods.** Science relies on formal logic, and logic is above the vagaries of time. Think twice. The axiom of Bayes "has certainly been fully apprehended by a good many rational minds, including that of its author, without carrying this conviction of necessary truth. This, alone, shows that it cannot be accepted as the axiomatic basis of a rigorous argument" (Fisher 1937, 7f.). An outcast on the fringe of methodological society under Fisher's reign, only the development of cheap computing power in the 1990s has allowed the rule of inverse probability to return with a vengeance. The statistical fashion tsar had long confined it to the dustbin of methodology, but if you do Bayesian statistics these days, you won't back the wrong horse!

Witness also the signs of incipient modelling fatigue in International Political Economy. Research has matured in that it can now almost hold a

candle to the "dismal science", but despite "the most rigorous and up-to-date methodologies [...] It's just not very interesting" (Cohen 2010, 887). After all this hard slog to draw level with the economists should *démodé* prose à la Ruggie and Katzenstein really become modish again?! We don't know. The best strategy for the moment is thus the same as it was in the past is the same as it will be in the future: let your research question inform the choice of method!

**Cheer 2: There is no such thing as the best method, so methodological pluralism should be cherished.** At conferences, summer schools, but, alas, also in our own department we've seen colleagues fulminating about "this case study bullshit again". We've heard them proclaiming that "QCA is not a method", and we've seen them declaring "positivism dead". The finger of accusation can't be pointed at any single camp. Quants and quals have jumped down each other's throat. But one thing is clear. This is academic bigotry, far removed from open debate being the lifeline of scientific progress! These rants should produce an unpleasant scratch in the ears of every researcher who sees the *raison d'être* of science in generating knowledge, and not an all-out war for methodological domination.

As scientists, we shouldn't conceive of ourselves as votaries of a religion. If you really need to pin your faith on something, at least do not just practice what they preach because they themselves question whether they preach what they practice (Bennett, Aharon, and Rutherford 2003)! Nor should we let our minds become implanted in distinct methodological cultures. To borrow from two luminaries of our field: the clash of methodization is what scholars make of it. Don't get us wrong and misconstrue tolerance as inertia! Methodological domination is not methodological progress, something we should all encourage, but through the disparagement of other techniques, we risk seeing nails everywhere simply because the only tool available to us is a hammer.



*«They fight, and bite, and fight and bite, and fight. Fight, fight, fight. Bite, bite, bite. The Qualy & Quanty Show...»*

**Cheer 3: Pluralism doesn't imply indifference, so researchers should always justify their choice of method.**

Justification of choice is linked to research question, data structure and researchers' competence. Let's focus on the third point as it is causing most trouble. Perusing articles in some prestigious journals, one sometimes can't escape the impression that the model with the awe-inspiring acronym isn't the upshot of a tedious search, but has instead proven to be an effective way to "stupefy the innocent" (Achen 2005, 28). Granted, the use of cutting-edge methodology is often a prerequisite for academic success. Using the most recent fancy estimator impresses colleagues. This isn't the crux of the matter. Cutting a dash and having nice results, what else could you wish for?! But methodological rigour is unrelated to the sophistication of the method. Instead, it is a function of the fastidiousness with which methods are applied. And here starts the trouble.

Multiplicative interaction terms are handy gadgetry, but when only 10% of political scientists publishing in the apex of our journals and, lo and behold, 0% of economists (1) get their interpretation right (Brambor, Clark, and Golder 2006; Ai and Norton 2003), we sometimes wonder whether some statistical bling should not be sacrificed for a more solid understanding of a tool's elementary functions. The interpretation of conditional effects is elementary calculus and the variance of linear combinations of variables pops up in textbooks miles before the "Simple Regression" chapter. On the other "side of the divide", the inflationary use of "process-tracing" has

led to a number of low-quality applications spoiling the reputation of a technique which can let star-studded regression tables look foolish. In essence then, the rule is simple. Know your stuff, and then justify its use. If you do not justify its use, we doubt you know your stuff.

If there is room for methodological pluralism, we ask ourselves in conclusion, where if not in the social sciences?! Call yourself an agent-based modeller, a Bayesian, fuzzy-set analyst, game theorist or process-tracer, but why slight each other when the real spice of social science lies in its methodological variety?! Debates about a best method will forever be fruitless. Recall these words next time you hang up a picture at home. You know a hammer is better here, not a hydraulic torque wrench. Purpose dictates choice. We often seem to ignore this common sense once we enter our workplace. Let's turn our offices a little more into a home from home.

(1) Isn't that great news of sorts?! After all, political scientists do not quite seem to be the "poor man's economist" long purported to be!

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(\*) **Alrik Thiem** is a PhD candidate at the Chair for Security Studies, **Carola Betzold** is a PhD candidate at the Chair for International Political Economy, and **Sebastian Schutte** is a PhD candidate at the Chair for International Conflict Research.

## Voices &amp; Faces

# FIVE QUESTIONS FOR MARCO STEENBERGEN, NEW CIS MEMBER

## 1. Why did you decide to join the CIS ? What are your expectations ?

In my view, CIS provides the best place for political science in Switzerland and one of the best in Europe. I wanted to be part of this because I believe I can help to make it even better and because it provides the kind of intellectually stimulating environment that energizes me as a scholar. CIS is the only program in Switzerland, and one of only a handful of programs in Europe, that has a dedicated methods chair. This recognizes the importance of solid methodological training of students and my hope and expectation is that we will be placing some of the best trained students on the market.

## 2. Do you have specific ideas you wish to implement at the Chair of Methodology ?

Methods training is complicated by the fact that one could teach so many different methodologies. There is always a flavor of the month that students want to learn but that may not help them much in the long run because it has been replaced by the next fad. My vision is to teach students how to think about research and give them the tools to learn new methods on their own. This is a much more fruitful strategy than teaching them one method after the next, without ever getting to a deeper level of understanding. Laying these foundations means that one goes beyond a cookbook approach to research and into epistemology, philosophy of science, and statistical theory. This is very demanding of students but in the end gives them a much better understanding of how to do research. In terms of specific courses, this means that I will be teaching probability theory, maximum likelihood, and Bayesian infe-

rence both at a theoretical level and in applications. The qualitative side will also receive a lot of attention, however, as I strongly believe that a well-rounded methodologist understands things like case study design. After all, the dividing line between quantitative and qualitative research is a thin one.

## 3. How do you perceive the relationship between Swiss politics and EU politics in the years to come ?

I see persistent tensions in the relationship. Take for example, the issue of *'Personenfreizügigkeit'*. Here I perceive strong opposition within Swiss society, which has received a political voice through the SVP. The issue may not go very far but it signals the fact that Switzerland is a reluctant partner of the EU. Certainly, in the current climate the notion of Switzerland joining the EU seems dead and even the bilateral agreements that exist cannot be taken for granted. Of course, all of this is happening at a time that European unification is becoming a big theme even within certain EU member states. In the Netherlands, for example, a majority is against helping out Greece. There, too, the concerns are being voiced by a political party, the PVV. The rise of Euro-skepticism that we see around Europe indicates that Switzerland is not unique. I think we are currently experiencing one of the toughest tests the EU has faced since the Maastricht Treaty.

## 4. You lead a project on deliberation, how is it affected by the media and particularly by the publication of polls?

In our study, we were aware of the fact that mass media and polls can alter the dynamic of a campaign, but we wanted to establish the effect of deliberation without contamination by these factors. From a scholarly perspective, this was the right thing to do. On the

other hand, it prevented us from considering the interaction between deliberation and media. Personally, I believe that deliberation can help to offset some of the effects of the media and polls. I do not have any direct proof for this, but it seems to me that deliberation has the potential of balancing campaigns, especially when they are lobbied. In the case of the *'Ausschaffungsinitiative'*, which we studied, most of the campaigning was done by advocates like the SVP. This means that citizens received a pretty one-sided stream of arguments. Deliberations are designed to let people scrutinize arguments and evidence. Thus, it would seem that new perspectives, ones not emphasized by the campaign, become available. This may cause citizens to frame the issue differently than the campaign does. It may also prevent misconceptions and false beliefs. We did find in our study that the combination of information and deliberation led to a transformation of people's positions on the issue.

## 5. You have been Professor in Bern, how do you feel inside the Zurich environment ?

I have been positively impressed so far. Things seem a bit more bureaucratic in Zurich but they also run remarkably smoothly. The most important part of a work environment, however, is one's colleagues. Here, I could not be happier.

# FIVE QUESTIONS FOR DANIEL BOCHSLER, NEW CIS MEMBER

## 1. Why did you decide to join the CIS? What are your expectations?

There is lots of very interesting research in our field going on at the ETH and the University of Zurich and at the Centre for Democracy Aarau. Academic cooperation and exchange enriches our perspectives, and opens new doors. The CIS allows us to cooperate between those institutions.

## 2. As Assistant Professor in Democratization, what are the major challenges of your discipline in today's politics?

In the end of the 1980s, the discipline did not predict the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the political transition. Now, we were surprised by the uprisings and the current transformation of countries in the Middle East and in Northern Africa. We do not know where this will lead. It is only certain that reasons and consequences of these changes will be one of the dominating questions in our discipline in the upcoming decade.

## 3. What should young democracies learn from old democracies, and what should they avoid?

The old, Western societies lack of common standards on democracy and its pillars. Many lawmakers in young democracies therefore have a wide range of solutions that they can imitate, and it makes it easy for them also to learn from bad examples. The consequence is not very promising. For instance, because there are no Western standards in minority protection, young democracies can refer to the cases of worst practice, such as Greece or France. The most recent example can be found, however, in the field of media regulation, where the

new Hungarian government tries to silence oppositional voices, and therefore, they partly refer to models of media legislation of other EU member states.



## 4. "The best argument against democracy is a five minute conversation with the average voter..." (W. Churchill), what does this quote inspire you...?

In many countries, the average politician might be an even more compelling argument. After all, voters only chose from within the proposals and options they are presented. As political scientists, we can not fill the institutions with content of our likes, but we can give advice on institutions that might hopefully help to provide a better choice of options to voters.

## 5. How would you describe the advantages and disadvantages of the Swiss federal system compared to other democratic systems?

I can difficultly judge. For my three-year-old godson, the advantages seem to overwhelm. He was keen to earn all the cantonal coats of arms. For our profession, too: thanks to its small-scaled federal structure, a tiny country such as Switzerland counts roughly 10 Universities with own departments of Political Science or International Relations. This presumably creates slightly more jobs for us compared to a few universities in a centralised country. For a more universal view, I am impatiently awaiting the results of Fabio Wasserfallen's PhD dissertation on tax competition.

## INAUGURAL LECTURES

"Wirken politische Institutionen Wunder? Politische Radikalisierung in multiethnischen Gesellschaften"

by Daniel Bochsler

28. November 2011

17h00, Aula of the University of Zurich

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"Die Souveränität der Völker. Eine kleine politische Philosophie der Schweiz"

by Francis Cheneval

5. December 2011

18h15, Aula of the University of Zurich

\*

Save the dates in your agenda...

20. September 2011

Workshop on "Elections and Representation in Divided Societies", at the ZDA (Aarau)

www.zdaarau.ch  
contact: miriam.haenni@zda.uzh.ch

\*

4-5 November 2011

"The other sides of Afghanistan: a regional perspective on security issues"

Center for Security Studies  
www.css.ethz.ch

\*

14-16 June 2012

Conference on "Ethnic Politics and Electoral Democracy", at the NCCR Democracy (Zurich)



## Voices &amp; Faces

# FIVE QUESTIONS FOR FRANCIS CHENEVAL, NEW CIS MEMBER

## 1. Why did you decide to join CIS? What are your expectations?

In the NCCR-democracy, I have been collaborating with members of CIS for quite some time in a very successful manner. The decision to accept CIS' invitation did certainly not cost me any sleep. Besides democracy, I hope to engage in cooperation on socio-economic development, environment, and security. Besides numerous prospective research activities, I see my membership in CIS also as an opportunity to integrate some of my doctoral students into an attractive network of expertise. In the near future, I also hope to offer seminars as electives in the CIS-Master course.

## 2. As Professor of Political Philosophy, which are the major challenges of your discipline ?

The reflection on problems of government and justice on a global scale is not new. Cosmopolitanism has been a topic in philosophy for over 2000 years. However, in the past cosmopolitan philosophy was an idealistic endeavor. There was little need for philosophers to link their thought to political realization. The result was a comfortable division of intellectual labor between moral cosmopolitanism and political particularism. Seneca said that humans live in two cities at the same time, the universal city of moral laws and the particular city of birth, upbringing and legal coercion. Today, philosophy has come under pressure because this division of labor no longer suffices to manage human affairs. While it is not new that the ideal of universal morality is under pressure, it is a new challenge that the justificatory framework of the polity is being substanti-

ally undermined. For millennia, political philosophy "only" had to justify good government within the polity. It now has to face the "border problem" as well. That is to say, philosophy has to come up with criteria to justify rules of recognition of government beyond and among polities. I am particularly interested in this challenge. Second, modern political philosophers were able to focus on the realization and protection of individual rights as the polity's main function. The protection of personal property, be it of personal integrity or of personal resources, represented the normative foundation upon which philosophers construed their justification of bounded coercive government. Today, mutually assured destruction by nuclear arms and the accelerated overuse of global common pool resources have to be factored into a new reasoning of political justice. Hobbes worried about individuals threatening each other. This threat remains a reality and the state is by no way obsolete in this regard. But in our time the threat to life is aggravated by transnational threats. Not only are individual polities not sufficiently part of the solution, their all too well organized protection of particular national interests and their collective inaction problems are a structural part of the problem.

## 3. Does philosophy still play a role in political decision-making?

Should it play a role? Sometimes it plays a bad role. Philosophy can offer conceptual clarifications and justification of criteria for political action. It should not directly prescribe political decision-making. Where it does, important empirical information and

other pertinent theory might be disregarded. Conceptual clarification and normative theory is as necessary

today as in the past. In order to stay positively influential, philosophy must work within its disciplinary possibilities and seek integration in interdisciplinary endeavors. In the public sphere, philosophy is powerless against destructive passions and collective pathologies. When they pass a tipping point, the philosophical discourse is definitely marginalized. I think we are at a critical moment where a destructive form of nationalism could again start to dominate.

## 4. Should the curriculum be extended with new topics, and also in order to attract research funding ?

I don't know the curriculum that well yet. From what I see, courses on justice and sustainability, dealing with general conceptual issues and then broken down on concrete topics such as migration, climate change, property rights (including land rights, natural resources) etc. could be a welcome extension to the CIS curriculum. I also see a possibility to attract funding for research projects in these areas. One of my plans is also to revive the "legal empowerment of the poor" agenda. I will be looking for partners to design research projects in the areas of property rights, access to justice, business rights and finance for the poor. Maybe some members of the CIS will be interested.



Voices & Faces

# NEW FACES AT CIS

## 5. Being an expert in migration and human rights, what is your opinion regarding recent events in Libya?

My position on the intervention in Libya is that it is legitimate to prevent a massacre. The intervention has attained its objective in this respect. But I would also point to some notorious problems with humanitarian interventions: previous complicity, incoherent application of criteria, paradox of mandate and exit. First, one has to question the circumstances that make interventions necessary. Why do democratic nations do business with the world's most extreme dictators and put them in a position where they can suppress their own people? Second, are not the conditions that make the intervention in Libya legitimate and necessary also given elsewhere, e.g. in Syria and Yemen etc.? The logic of intervention has no clear cut-off point and overburdens potential interveners. The result is that they select their target of intervention on the basis of criteria that are mostly external to the concept of humanitarian intervention. Third, the intervention in Libya is exemplary in another respect. NATO cannot simply go on protecting civilians from a massacre by Gadhafi troops. It needs to exit, sooner or later. In order to exit without leaving civilians unprotected, it has to decide the conflict, i.e. force out the regime. This implies going beyond the mandate. The conditions of legitimate exit contradict the mandate in many cases of humanitarian intervention.



**Maya Sela Mozafar** joined CIS in April 2011 as event coordinator and administrator. Her primary focus will be to provide step-by-step guidance in all areas of event management throughout CIS, from smaller, informal gatherings to large-scale workshops. Having lived in Israel, Belgium, the US and the UK alongside Switzerland, Maya feels quite at home in the international environment at CIS. In 2001 she obtained her BA in English Literature from UCL in London, and recently rounded this off with an MAS in Arts Management from the ZHAW. These degrees, coupled with over seven years of work experience in the financial sector finds Maya well-versed in high-end event management, as well as in areas of writing, editing and proof-reading - skills which she hopes to lend to the CIS Newsletter, together with Pepa Echanove. Further to English, Maya speaks French, German, Swiss-German and Hebrew. In her free time, when not chasing after her 9-month old son, she happily organises art theory courses and wine-tasting events for a small and select crowd of business executives.



Since Spring this year **Pepa Echanove** has joined CIS as Communications Manager. She is responsible for the production of internal publications, particularly the CIS Newsletter and the Working Papers. She is also working to improve the CIS website and to increase awareness of the MACIS degree at an international level. She has a background in Journalism and has previous professional experience from the academic world, since she worked for 3 years as publications and PR manager at King's College London Dental Institute (UK) and, before that, as information officer at the Université de la Méditerranée (France) for 4 years. Pepa comes from Spain, where she studied Journalism at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid. Besides her activities within CIS, she is a contributing editorialist for a Spanish on-line newspaper. She is also involved with an independent 'concept-media-communication' agency ([www.thinktandem.com](http://www.thinktandem.com)), that she founded with a partner in Zurich two years ago. She has a good experience of living abroad, learning languages, and \_last but not least...\_ bringing up twins!.

**Maya Sela**

[maya.sela@gess.ethz.ch](mailto:maya.sela@gess.ethz.ch)

**Pepa Echanove**

[echanove@gess.ethz.ch](mailto:echanove@gess.ethz.ch)

## Events

# THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM: CONFERENCE HOSTED AT CIS, (JUNE 16-18)

By **Silja Häusermann**

Last June CIS welcomed about 25 leading scholars in comparative and international political economy for three days of great presentations and stimulating discussions. The conference was hosted by Hanspeter Kriesi and Silja Häusermann, who – together with Herbert Kitschelt and Pablo Beramendi from Duke University – will co-edit a volume to analyze the dynamics of contemporary democratic capitalism, in the footsteps of the two earlier volumes: *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism* (CUP 1999), itself a follow-up on the earlier *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism* (OUP 1984).

At the Zurich conference (which is the first of two conferences, the next one taking place at Duke in the fall 2012), presentations were grouped thematically: with regard to structural trends, Daniel Oesch (Lausanne) presented evidence on changing labor market structures, Stefanie Walter (Heidelberg University) mapped the challenges to politics stemming from increasing trade and capital mobility, and Martin Höpner and Armin Schäfer (Max Planck Institute Cologne) argued that democratic capitalism is increasingly undermined by the judicial regulations of the EU. A second set of contributions focused on the implication of these structural trends on the politics of change, with Silja Häusermann and Hanspeter Kriesi analyzing dynamics of voter preference formation, Herbert Kitschelt (Duke) and Philipp Rehm (Ohio State University) presenting new patterns of voter-party alignment, and Anke Hassel (LSE) reflecting on the continuing decline of trade union power.



*The conference convenors during a preparatory retreat in the Grisons mountains (from left): Pablo Beramendi, Silja Häusermann, Hanspeter Kriesi, Herbert Kitschelt*

Also in this section, Kathleen Thelen (MIT) observed a differential disintegration of the European coordinated capitalism model, and Swen Hutter (LMU Munich) and Hanspeter Kriesi demonstrated that social movements have by and large disappeared from the scene of economic protest. We then asked what the implications of these changes were for particular policy outputs. In this respect, John D. Stephens and Evelyne Huber (UNC Chapel Hill) as well as Ben Ansell and Jane Gingrich (Minnesota) showed how clearly the social policy agenda has moved from income protection to activation and social investment. Torben Iversen (Harvard) and David Soskice (Duke) contributed a study on the development of new dualistic labor market policies in continental Europe, and Pepper Culpepper (EUI Florence) showed the extent to which corporate governance reforms reshape contemporary capitalism almost enti-

rely outside the public focus. Finally, Erik Wibbels (Duke) widened our perspective beyond advanced capitalism, by showing the polarizing effects of social insurance in developing countries. The final section related to the outcomes of capitalist politics and policies: Pablo Beramendi (Duke) traced patterns of wage and income inequality, Carles Boix (Princeton) demonstrated that current capitalist regimes have to deal with a decline of productivity levels as a result of structural change, Jonas Pontusson and Damian Raess (Geneva) reflected on the responses of democratic governments to various economic crises and – last but not least – Chris Anderson and Jason Hecht (Cornell) analyzed determinants of life satisfaction, presenting – among others – the quite worrisome finding that life satisfaction is U-shaped: we tend to be happier at younger and older ages, but pretty unhappy in the busy mid-life period.

Many thanks go to CIS collaborators Dominik Geering, Hanna Schwander, Bruno Wüest and Nadja Mosimann, and especially to our CIS event coordinator Maya Sela Mozafar who contributed in making the conference a wonderful experience. Funding for the conference was generously provided by the CIS, NCCR Democracy, the Swiss National Science Foundation, the Hochschulstiftung at the University of Zurich, and the Cornell Institute for European Studies.

**Silja Häusermann**

[silja.haeusermann@ipz.uzh.ch](mailto:silja.haeusermann@ipz.uzh.ch)

## Events

# THE CIS AT THE UNFCCC NEGOTIATIONS IN BONN

By **Carola Betzold, Paula Castro, Martin Stadelmann, Katja Michaelowa**

Amid the hustle and bustle of the mid-year climate change conference that takes place in Bonn every June, we used the negotiations to disseminate CIS research to a wider public as well as gather input for new research. One opportunity was a side event organised jointly with a UK organisation, Climate & Development Knowledge Network (CDKN; represented by Timothy Ash-Vie). Under the heading «Building Capacity of developing country leaders and negotiators to influence international talks», we presented on-going research on negotiation strategies and success in the climate change regime (first results of a project financed by the Swiss Network for International Studies, SNIS). CDKN introduced a new initiative to improve negotiation capacity of least developed countries' representatives. This was followed by a panel discussion led by Christoph Bals from Germanwatch; participants included Cuban delegate Orlando Rey, Zambian delegate Ephraim Mwepya Shitima, climate negotiations expert Farhana Yamin (the Children's Investment Fund) as well as Benito Müller (University of Oxford and European Capacity Building Initiative). The very lively debate highlighted in particular the role of trust in building capacity and moving the negotiations forward, and provided us with valuable comments on our ongoing work. Moreover, with the topic, CIS and CDKN proved to touch a fundamental concern in the UNFCCC process. Not only did the comments from the audience indicate interest in the topic; the high attendance rate also spoke for itself. In spite



of the side event closing a long day of negotiations, the room was packed and many attendants stayed on to ask more questions and discuss the issues raised by the panel. The report of the side event from CDKN's point of view can be read here: <http://cdkn.org/2011/06/capacity-building-for-ldc-negotiators-in-un-climate-talks/>. At a second side-event "Smart climate finance: How to boost private investment in developing countries" – an official side event by Switzerland and Germany – we presented our recent research conducted for the British research network Climate Strategies and the Swiss State Secretariat of Economic Affairs. The focus of this research is on tools to leverage private investments for low-carbon development, a hot topic in the current negotiations. It was noted that more private investment (in relation to public funding) does not necessarily equal more CO<sub>2</sub> emission reductions. The results were discussed by a panel, including Armin Sandhoevel (Allianz Climate Solutions), Alexa Kleysteuber

(Delegation of Chile) and again Benito Müller (Oxford Climate Policy).

Throughout both weeks of negotiations, Carola Betzold talked to representatives from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and thereby collected information for her dissertation that looks at the activities and the role of NGOs in the UNFCCC process.

Finally, during the second week, we managed to get an exhibition booth where we disseminated CIS working papers and publications related to climate change policy and politics in a compilation CD. In conclusion, the Bonn climate conference was a valuable opportunity not only to discuss on-going CIS research but also to gain further insights into a process that we have already been reading and writing about a lot (some of us more than others, and for the freshmen, it was even more interesting). In sum, experiencing one's object of research in practice is not only very helpful, it is also fun.



## Events

# ASCONA-GENEVA-GEORGETOWN -ZURICH-VILLANOVA: PEIO GROWS AND MOVES ON...

By **Katharina Michaelowa**

The annual series of conferences on the Political Economy of International Organizations (PEIO) started by CIS and KOF in 2008, and co-organized by CIS in all subsequent years, took place in Zurich itself in 2011 and again led to a lively exchange between the different participants that, otherwise, do not often have this opportunity to enjoy intensive discussions across disciplines and continents, with a relatively even balance of people from both sides of the big pond.



*After attending the conference, last year's participants took the time of a ski outing in Laax*

Lively discussions have become typical for PEIO not just in the context of the individual presentations, but also for the poster sessions that include many first class papers and assigned discussants to complement the discussions with other interested participants.

The topics cover work on all types of international organizations (like the UN, the IMF, the World Bank, other multilateral development banks, the WTO or the EU) and is theoretical and/or empirical in nature. Admittedly, there is typically a certain bias towards econometric analysis, but



*Especially, our American colleagues enjoyed the setting of the ETH-Semper Aula for most of the discussions*

certainly not in the sense of an ideological prior as illustrated on pp.12-13 of this issue (article on qualis vs. quants «Three Cheers for Dieter Ruloff»). Moreover, be aware, theoretical work does not necessarily imply that it is qualitative, notably with economists around! At the same time, in fact, authors' main disciplines are not always easy to make out, even when it comes to quantitative modeling...

From Zurich, the conference now moves on to Villanova (Philadelphia) where PEIO V will be held on January 26-28, 2012. Special features will be a keynote by Jagdish N. Bhagwati, Professor of Economics and Law, Columbia University, and a special issue of the Review of International Organizations (RIO) edited by Randall Stone (Rochester) with a focus on 'Informal Governance'. If you want to submit a paper, note that the call is already out (deadline for submissions: 30 September – full papers only, see [www.peio.me](http://www.peio.me)).

But be aware, places are in high demand. For PEIO IV in Zurich we

could accept only about 15% of paper submissions for presentations, and another 15% for posters. And yet, the program committee decided to further reduce the number of accepted papers for Villanova to avoid the extremely tough program we had in Zurich.

Indeed, after 3 full conference days with relatively short breaks and an enormous amount of information to digest, people were pretty exhausted. Fortunately, we had a nice skiing trip to Laax, organized by Martin Gassebner (KOF) that allowed many of the conference participants to develop some complementary skills in the snow of the Swiss mountains.



*Participants of the ,after conference skiing' enjoying the free program at the Swiss mountains*

**Katharina Michaelowa**  
katja.michaelowa@pw.uzh.ch

Events

# PANEL DISCUSSION ON CLIMATE FINANCE FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

By **Martin Stadelmann**

On the 21th of February, CIS co-organized a panel discussion on international climate finance at ETH Zurich, together with the think tank «foraus - Forum Aussenpolitik». Anton Hilber from the Swiss Agency for Development (DEZA) gave an introduction

to international climate finance and explained that developing countries face a double finance challenge related to climate change: they are substantially affected by global warming and need to pursue a low-carbon development path. In order to assist the South, industrialized countries pledged

30 billion \$ for climate change mitigation and adaptation between 2010 and 2012, while stepping up this effort to 100 billion \$ a year by 2020. Hilber mentioned that Switzerland will contribute around 140 million Swiss Francs to the 30 billion \$ announced in Copenhagen.

The following panel discussion was moderated by CIS director Katja Michaelowa, who mentioned that the public debate does often not clearly separate between development as a local-regional good and a stable climate as a global good. Peter Niggli, managing director of Alliance Sud, called for stepping up Swiss efforts and not counting climate finance as part of Official Development Assistance (ODA). Anton Hilber replied that past attempts to separate cli-

mate and development funding have not achieved enough support at the international level, and Switzerland just follows the rules of the OECD. Bastien Girod, Member of Parliament for the Green Party, criticized the low-level of Swiss efforts and that other European governments had pledged



*Photos by »SECO / Photopress». Activities of the Swiss development cooperation with climate change benefits: energy efficient production, sustainable forest management and low-carbon transport systems*

much more funding (in relation to their GDP) after the Copenhagen climate summit. This view was challenged by Dominique Reber, responsible for Environment at Economiesuisse, who warned that expansion of public spending for climate change will also mean higher levies and taxes. Reber also mentioned that payments for low-carbon investments and adaptation are certainly needed but efficiency is to be enhanced. The further discussion circled around effectiveness of climate finance and how to incentivize emerging economies to take their own steps.

At the end, the audience was invited to ask questions and provide comments. One person from developing countries pointed to the fact that developing countries already have



advanced technologies and capacities, and that the debate is too much focused on North-South technology transfer. A representative from the private sector said that public funding is much less efficient than funds channelled through the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), a market mechanism under the Kyoto Protocol. This claim was challenged by several panel members, who questioned whether CDM funding always leads to additional CO<sub>2</sub> reductions. The event ended with an apero, sponsored by the CIS, where researchers discussed with NGOs, policy makers and the private sector.

## Events

# BEYOND SECURITY POLITICS? THREATS, FEARS AND RISKS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By **Jonas Hagmann**

Political sociology has become a central pillar of International Relations scholarship in the last ten years. Concepts such as culture, social practice, discourse-setting, or structural power have successively been introduced to the discipline, and variously drawn upon for the development of reflexive accounts of international affairs. The subfield of security studies has been particularly strongly exposed to this sociological turn. Under the loose heading of 'critical security studies', reflexive security studies today explore how and by whom threats, risks, and fears are formulated and enacted, and how the adoption and popularization of angst narratives, risk logics, and the securitization of issues such as health, religion, migration, or climate change empowers distinct practices of identity construction, political exclusion, executive decisions, or surveillance and policing. In the course of these processes, criti-

cal security studies have become one of the most influential new contributions to the discipline of International Relations in recent years.

The 4th Swiss Critical IR Conference (19–20 May 2011, ETH Zurich-IFW) gathered 45 scholars from Europe and North America gathered to present and discuss their latest work, to expand professional networks, and to debate further research avenues. In the first block, for example, Holger Stritzel (St. Andrews) questioned how notions of national insecurity are formulated in international politics, and Lucile Maertens (Sciences Po) analyzed how security logics have recently been expanded to environmental issues. In the second block on identity politics, Imène Ayala (IHEID Geneva) traced how Muslims have been associated with notions of criminality and treason in French political discourse, and Wilhelm Mirow (ETH Zurich) showed how 'strategic culture' helps to explain what is often understood

as an antiquated Swiss approach to international security. In the remaining sessions, several researchers discussed how security has served to create objects and subjects of political action, for instance by projecting narratives of what is held to be African or Russian. For example, David Lanz (Basel) explained how Darfur -but not other conflicts- was framed by policymakers and journalists to become a veritable cause célèbre for international intervention, and Stephen Aris (ETH Zurich) showed how the Western notion of 'BRIC countries' has been creating and empowering an international alliance of governments that would not otherwise have existed.

The selection of contributions covered substantial conceptual and empirical ground, providing rich material for one-and-a-half days of intense discussion. Thanks to financial support by the SNSF, ETH Center for Security Studies, and the Université de Lausanne, leading experts -Luis Lobo-Guerrero (Keele), Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørsv (Tromsø), Anna Leander (CBS), and Andrew W. Neal (Edinburgh)- were invited for a keynote speech. The combination of conventional conference panels with such stimulating talks gave rise to lively debates and created an extraordinarily constructive atmosphere of scientific exchange. Considering the steady success of this conference, the organizing team plans to repeat the event for the fifth time in spring 2012. Anyone interested in debating or presenting such work will be cordially invited to join.

## CIS Workshop: Negotiating Climate Change

In the context of a two-year research program funded by the Swiss Network for International Studies, in collaboration with the Graduate Institute (Geneva), this full-day workshop will discuss the results of this project and explore suggestions for future research. External prominent contributors such as **John Odell** and **Joyeeta Gupta** will be attending.

**Wednesday, 28 September 2011**

ETH Zurich Main Building, Room F33.1  
Rämistrasse 101, 8092 Zurich

## Public debate: 50 Years of Development and Cooperation

**Luísa Días Diogo**, member of the Council of Women World Leaders, as well as former Prime Minister of Mozambique and **James Shikwati**, Kenyan libertarian economist and Director of the Inter Region Economic Network (IREN), will be participating in a public debate organized by the **Centre for Development and Cooperation (NADEL)** of the ETH Zurich.

**Friday, 14 October 2011**

Auditorium Maximum of the ETH Zurich,  
Rämistrasse 101, 8092 Zurich

**Jonas Hagmann**  
hagmann@sipo.gess.ethz.ch

Events

# WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (WIIS) SWITZERLAND

By **Patricia Moser**

In early May 2011, a national affiliate of Women in International Security (WIIS) was created in Switzerland and officially launched at the International Security Forum (ISF) 2011 in Zurich.

WIIS Switzerland is the national affiliate of The global WIIS network, which was established in 1987 in Washington, DC. and The global network seeks to actively advance women's leadership, at all stages of their careers, in the international peace and security field. The global leadership council of WIIS International includes women

## Why WIIS Switzerland?

The number of female security experts in Switzerland is steadily growing. Switzerland, however, is a small country with a very established and tight security expert network. The main goal of WIIS Switzerland is to connect future leaders and security experts, give them more visibility, and facilitate their entry into this established network. It seeks to enable networking with other experts and the exchange of contacts and ideas among its members.

The non-profit association does not

specialize in gender and security but defines security broadly, including both national and global issues, across a wide range of topics and disciplines. The association is targeted at both female and male experts sharing the association's

values and mission and does not promote exclusionary practices. To achieve its aims, WIIS Switzerland holds regular networking events in Bern, Geneva and Zurich, professional development workshops, public events such as podium discussions and an annual conference. It runs a blog on its website ([www.wiis.ch](http://www.wiis.ch)) and sends out a regular newsletter to its members, featuring job openings, events, new publications and other news. Additionally, it is setting up an expert database for Switzerland, in which female experts can be identified by area of expertise. The essence



of WIIS Switzerland is shaped by its members. Members of the CIS community are invited to join the WIIS network to be connected with like-minded people and share their expertise within and beyond the network.

Established CIS members would be listed in the WIIS expert database while more junior members would gain from former's experience and contacts. The networking events and upcoming panel discussions serve as a platform for deliberation and professional exchange. The members of the board of WIIS Switzerland connect the Swiss regions that are home to the main security institutes: Patricia Moser, Deputy Project Manager at the International Relations and Security Network (ISN), is WIIS President and responsible for communication and marketing; Christina Schori Liang, Research Fellow at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), acts as Vice President and is responsible for PR and fundraising; Corinne Bara, Researcher at the Center for Security Studies (CSS), is responsible for memberships and the administration; and Aglaya Snetkov, Senior Researcher at the CSS, is the treasurer and responsible for WIIS events. The main Swiss institutions working in the peace and security fields, i.e. CSS / ISN, GCSP and the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF), support WIIS Switzerland.



*The board of WIIS Switzerland together with the launch event panelists: Ambassador Heidi Tagliavini, Former Head of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission for the Conflict in Georgia, Professor Elisabeth Prügl, Graduate Institute Deputy Director, and Dr Antti Kaski, GCSP Faculty Member*

like Madeleine Albright, Christine Amanpour, Mary Robison and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Internationally, WIIS has got 5,000 members -women and men- in 47 countries from academia, think tanks, government, NGOs, international organizations, the media and the private sector. WIIS chapter is the result of a joint initiative of women in Geneva and Zurich. The association can also count on the support and patronage of the president of the Swiss Confederation and Swiss Foreign Minister, Federal Councilor Micheline Calmy-Rey.

**Patricia Moser**

[moser@sipo.gess.ethz.ch](mailto:moser@sipo.gess.ethz.ch)



## Events

# MEGACITIES: UNDERSTANDING GOVERNANCE ISSUES

The year 2008 has marked a turning point in the history of mankind. For the first time ever, the number of humans living in cities exceeded those living in rural areas. All over the planet, the urbanization process has accelerated and cities have grown. In parallel, the spatial form of cities has changed profoundly.



*Housing tower in Hong Kong, by photographer Michael Wolf's series 'Architecture of Density'*

The city in the classic sense of a territorially integrated socio-economic entity has ceased to exist. Large urban regions will be the context of social, economic and political life for a growing majority of the world's citizens in the 21st century. Some of these urban regions have grown to a considerable size. Worldwide, there are twenty two urban regions that have a population above 10 million, three of which are located in China. Effective governance of these megacities will be crucial in the 21st century. Questions related to the governance of urban regions are a classic topic of political science and public administration and have been extensively studied. However, most of the literature on this topic is based on experiences in Western countries and has not particularly focused on urban regions of very large size - the megacities.

Recently in the beginning of this semester, CIS professor Daniel Kübler (IPZ University of Zurich) and Professor Lisheng Dong (Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing) hosted the workshop 'Governance issues in megacities: understanding Chinese and European examples' (22 - 24 August 2011, UZH, GEP Pavillon). The purpose of this workshop was to discuss state-of-the-art concepts and models for the study of governance issues in megacities, mainly in the European and Chinese contexts, but also beyond (e.g. the Americas, India, etc.). More precisely, the objectives were; to assess whether existing concepts and models are suitable to assess issues of governance in megacities as compared to metropolitan areas of lesser size; to better understand the extent these concepts and models are applicable and relevant to analyze issues of megacity governance particularly in the Chinese context. This workshop was the kick-off event for an institutional partnership between the Department of Political Science of UZH and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. This partnership is funded by the Sino-Swiss Science and Technology Cooperation scheme of the Swiss government. It will involve further activities and exchange between the two partners over the next two years.



*A panoramic view of Shanghai, one of the world's megacities (Source: 'Business Week')*

# CIS RESEARCH COLLOQUIUM

## Program Fall 2011

Thursdays, 12.30 - 14.00

IPZ Oerlikon

(Affolternstrasse 56, AFL-E-009)

22.09.: Charles Shipan (University of Michigan), «Agency Policymaking in a Separation of Powers System»

29.09.: John Odell (USC), «Negotiation and Bargaining»

13.10.: Gary Marks (UNC/VU Amsterdam), «Europe and its Empires: from Rome to the European Union»

20.10.: Regina Betz (NSW), «Copenhagen Prediction Market»

27.10.: Ken Scheve (Yale University), «The Political Economy of War Finance»

10.11.\*: Jack Goldstone (GMU), «Not 1848, not 1989. Theories of Revolution and the Arab Revolutions of 2011». \*CIS Haldeneggsteig/ IFW, E.42

17.11. Jonas Pontusson (Princeton), «The Structure of Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution»

24.11.: Martial Foucault (University of Montreal), «Obesity and Turnout»

02.12.\*Friday: Thomas Risse (Frei University Berlin), «Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood»

08.12.: Tobias Böhmelt (ETH Zurich), «Political Leadership Changes & Withdrawal from Military Coalition Operations, 1946-2001»

15.12.: Wojciech Gagattek (Warsaw / ETH), *title TBC*

Information and contact:

**Maya Sela**

[maya.sela@gess.ethz.ch](mailto:maya.sela@gess.ethz.ch)

Publications

# RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

**Nkenge, Alain Patrick** (2011):  
Analyse du Processus de Politique Publique  
En Afrique Francophone. Ed. Universitaires  
Européennes. ISBN: 978-6-131579066



The analysis of African public policies issued from recent democratic reforms is an increasingly interesting field of discussion and research. This book examines the reform of the teacher recruitment process in the francophone regions of Africa. The author Patrick Alain Nkenge Nkenge, has completed his PhD at the Center for Comparative and International Studies in Zurich and is now working as an analyst of educational policies at the Dakar Pôle (UNESCO-Breda).

**Center of Security Studies**, (2011):  
Strategic Trends. ISBN: 3-905696-31-2



The CSS publication series Strategic Trends offers a concise annual analysis of major developments in world affairs, with a primary focus on international security. The present issue contains a brief overview as well as chapters on emerging markets and fractured geopolitics, changing regional dynamics in the Middle East, terrorism and counterterrorism ten years after 9/11, and narcotics as a growing security concern. This publication can be downloaded at the Strategic Trends Analysis website ([www.sta.ethz.ch](http://www.sta.ethz.ch)), which also features CSS policy briefs, graphics, and podcasts.

### Upcoming CIS Workshops...

“Transformation of the Arab World - Where is it heading to?”  
27-28 October 2011, (ETHZ - Rämistrasse 101)

“Exploring Civil War: Old Questions and New Data”  
10-12 November 2011, (CIS - IFW E.42)

### Uetliberg Colloquium... save the date !: 10 January 2012

Detailed information will be posted on our website:  
[www.cis.ethz.ch](http://www.cis.ethz.ch)

News

# NEWSFLASH

### University of Konstanz

**Silja Häusermann** has been appointed with a tenure track junior professor position at the University of Konstanz on June 1st 2011. She will be working both within the Department of Politics and Public Administration and within the Konstanz Excellence Cluster «Cultural Foundations of Integration». She will stay affiliated with the CIS through two ongoing research projects \_the responsiveness of political parties and the dualization of labor markets\_ ,funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

### German Economic Association

**Professor Katharina Michaelowa** has been elected president of the Development Economics Committee of the **German Economic Association**.

### International Geneva Award 2011

**Tina Freyburg, Sandra Lavenex, Frank Schimmelfennig, Tatiana Skripka, and Anne Wetzel** were awarded the International Geneva Award 2011 by the Swiss Network of International Studies for their paper «Democracy promotion through functional cooperation? The case of the European Neighbourhood Policy». The jury found that the article “was original and strong methodologically. Its findings are very relevant to IOs as they mention concrete ways in which IOs can promote democratic governance principles more effectively.”

*Our warm congratulations to all of them for their success !*

## Publications

## CIS RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

**Bailer, S.** (2011): "Parliamentary Play-ground or the People's Voice? On the Reasons for Parliamentary Questions in the Swiss National Parliament", *Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol.17, (3): pp. 302-314.

**Bailer, S.** (2011): "What factors determine bargaining power and success in EU Negotiations?", in Dür, Andreas, Gemma Mateo und Daniel C. Thomas (Hrsg.): *Negotiation Theory and the EU. The State of the Art*, Routledge, pp. 131-45.

**Beck, L. and T. Bernauer** (2011): "How Will Combined Changes in Water Demand and Climate Affect Water Availability in the Zambezi River Basin?", *Global Environmental Change*, (21): pp. 1061-1072

**Beck L., T. Bernauer and A. Kalbhenn** (2010): "Environmental, Political, and Economic Determinants of Water Quality Monitoring in Europe", *Water Resources Research*, Vol. 46, W11543, doi:10.1029/2009WR009065

**Bernauer, T., T. Tribaldos, C. Luginbuehl and M. Winzeler** (2011): "Government Regulation and Public Opposition Create High Additional Costs for Field Trials With GM Crops in Switzerland", *Transgenic Research*, Vol.20. DOI: 10.1007/s11248-011-9486-x

**Bühlmann, M. and R. Kunz** (2011): "Confidence in the judiciary. A cross country comparison of independence and legitimacy of judicial systems", *West European Politics* 34(2), pp. 317-345.

**Castro, P. and A. Michaelowa** (2011): "Would preferential access measures be sufficient to overcome current barriers to CDM projects in least developed countries?", *Climate and Development* 3(2): pp. 123-142.

**Dunn Cavelty, M.** (2011): "Cyber-Allies: Strengths and weaknesses of NATO's cyberdefense posture", *IP Global Edition*, 3 (12): pp. 11-15.

**Dunn Cavelty, M.** (2011): "The Dark Side of the Net: Past, Present and Future of the Cyberthreat Story", *Australian Institute of International Affairs Policy*, Vol.10: pp. 51-62.

**Frey, K. and S. Ledermann** (2010): "Introduction: Evidence-Based Policy: A Concept in Geographical and Substantive Expansion", *German Policy Studies* 6(2): pp. 1-15.

**Freyburg, T.** (2011): "Transgovernmental Networks as Catalysts for Democratic Change? EU Functional Cooperation with Arab Authoritarian Regimes and Socialization of Involved State Officials into Democratic Governance", *Democratization* 18(4): pp. 1001-1025.

**Freyburg, T.** (2011) "Demokratisierung durch Zusammenarbeit? Funktionale Kooperation mit autoritären Regimen und Sozialisation in demokratischem Regieren", *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 18(1): 5-46.

**Freyburg, T., S. Lavenex, F. Schimmelfennig, T. Skripka, A. Wetzel** (2011): "Democracy Promotion through Functional Cooperation? The Case of the European Neighbourhood Policy", *Democratization* 18(4): pp. 1026-1054.

**Frölich, M. and K. Michaelowa** (2011): "Peer Effects and Textbooks in African Primary Education", *Labour Economics*, Vol. 18: pp. 474-486

**Johnston, R. B., M. Berg, A. Johnson, E. Tilley and J. G. Hering** (2011): "Water and Sanitation in Developing Countries: Geochemical Aspects of Quality & Treatment", *Elements* (7): pp. 163-168

**Kriesi, H.** (2011): "Personalization of national election campaigns". *Party Politics*, pp. 1-20

**Lavenex, S. and F. Schimmelfennig** (2011): "EU Democracy Promotion in the Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance?", *Democratization* 18(4): pp. 885-909.

**Maggetti, M. und F. Gilardi** (2011):, "Regulierungsbehörden, Regulierungsnetzwerke und die Diffusion von 'best practices'", in Kübler, D. und P.Koch (Hrsg.), *Finanzkrise und Demokratie. Herausforderungen für Politik, Recht und Bildung*, Zürich, Schulthess, pp. 13-30.

**Maggetti, M., A. Afonso and M.C. Fontana** (2011): "Liberalization and economic regulatory reforms", in Trampusch, Christine and André Mach (eds), *Switzerland in Europe, Europe in Switzerland*. Routledge.

**Merkel, W.** (2011): "Systemtransformation: Konsolidierung und Qualität der Demokratie". In Grotz, F. and F. Müller-Rommel (eds.), *Regierungssysteme in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Die neuen EU-Staaten im Vergleich*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 27-46.

**Michaelowa, A. and K. Michaelowa** (2011): "Old Wine in New Bottles? Does Climate Policy Determine Bilateral Development Aid for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency?", *International Development Policy* 2: pp. 60-86 (also published in French).

**Milic, T. and T. Widmer** (2011): "Analyse der eidgenössischen Volksabstimmung vom 26. September 2010. Bern / Zürich": gfs.bern / Institut für Politikwissenschaft, UZH

- Okubo, Y., D. Hayashi, A. Michaelowa** (2011): "INAMA crediting: how to assess offsets from and additionality of policy-based mitigation actions in developing countries", *Greenhouse Gas Measurement & Management*, (1): pp. 37-46
- Sager, F. and C. Zollinger** (2011): "The Swiss political system in comparative perspective". In: Trampusch, Christine and Mach, André (eds.): *Switzerland in Europe. Continuity and change in the Swiss political economy*. London: Routledge, pp. 27-42.
- Sattler T. and T. Bernauer** (2011): "Gravitation or Discrimination? Determinants of Litigation in the World Trade Organization", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 50,(2): pp. 143-167.
- Schimmelfennig, F. and G. Schweltnus** (2011): "Die supranationale Ebene: innenpolitische Konsequenzen des EU-Beitritts", in: Florian Grotz and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (eds.): *Regierungssysteme in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Die neuen EU-Staaten im Vergleich*, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag, pp. 281-299.
- Skelcher, C, H.E. Klijn, D. Kübler, E. Sorensen and H. Sullivan** (2011): "Explaining the democratic anchorage of governance networks". *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 33(1), pp. 7-38.
- Strebel, F.** (2011): "Inter-governmental institutions as promoters of energy policy diffusion in a federal setting", *Energy Policy* 39(1): pp. 467-476.
- Thiem, A.** (2011): "Conditions of Intergovernmental Armaments Cooperation in Western Europe, 1996-2006", *European Political Science Review*, 3(1): pp. 1-33.
- Vatter, A., T. Milic and H. Hirter** (2011): 8. "Das Stimmverhalten bei der Minarettverbots-Initiative unter der Lupe". In: Vatter, A. (Hrsg.): *Vom Schächt- zum Minarettverbot: Religiöse Minderheiten in der direkten Demokratie*. Zürich, Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung.
- Wilner, A.** (2011): "Deterring the Undeterrable: Coercion, Denial, and Delegation in Counterterrorism", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 34(1): pp. 3-37.
- Wilner, A. and CJ Dubouloz** (2011): "Transformative Radicalization: Applying Learning Theory to Islamist Radicalization", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 34(5): pp. 418-438.
- Winzen, T.** (2011): "Technical or Political? An Exploration of the Work of Officials in the Committees of the European Parliament", *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 17(1): pp. 27 - 44.
- Wyss, M.** (2011): "Military Transformation in Europe's Neutral and Non-Allied States", *RUSI Journal*, 156(2), 2011: pp. 44-51.
- Wyss, M.** (2011): "Abhängigkeit wider Willen oder Drang zum Westen? Die einseitigen Rüstungsbeschaffungen und -lieferungen der Schweiz im frühen Kalten Krieg", in S. Bott, J. Marina Schaufelbuehl, S. Zala (eds.), *Die Internationale Schweiz in der Zeit des Kalten Krieges – Relations internationales de la Suisse durant la Guerre froide*, Itinera, 30: pp. 31-45.
- Wyss, M.** (2011) : "Guillaume Tell, du sujet de dispute à l'objet de recherche", in : JD. Morerod, A. Näf (eds.), *Guillaume Tell et la Libération des Suisses*, Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande: pp. 209-238.
- Wyss, M. et al.** (2011) : "Les plus anciens textes", in : JD. Morerod, A. Näf (eds.), *Guillaume Tell et la Libération des Suisses*, Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande: pp. 15-116.

### Recent CIS Working Papers (No. 66 to 69)

66. Keeping a big promise: options for baselines to assess "new and additional" climate finance / by Martin Stadelmann, J. Timmons Roberts, Axel Michaelowa, UZH
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## Publisher

Center for Comparative and International Studies  
(CIS)

Director: Prof. Katharina Michaelowa

ETH Zurich, IFW

8092 Zurich

Switzerland

**E-mail:** [cispostmaster@gess.ethz.ch](mailto:cispostmaster@gess.ethz.ch)

**Website:** [www.cis.ethz.ch](http://www.cis.ethz.ch)

ISSN: 1662-470x

## Editor and Layout

Pepa Echanove

## Printing

Arbeitszentrum. Wädenswil

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