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EDITORIAL

Energy and climate change issues have emerged separately, spanning national to global political agendas over the past four to five decades, but are increasingly connected since the 1990s. Climate change mitigation will require an unprecedented restructuring of the global energy supply system. Should the world shift towards a much larger share of renewable, this would also help mitigate some international conflicts concerning fossil fuels and related resources.

Energy and climate change issues are obviously crucial from a practical policy perspective. They also raise a large range of questions that are of great interest to academic researchers. Many researchers at the CIS do in fact have a keen interest in understanding the obstacles and potential pathways to solving energy and climate-related problems. This newsletter reports in brief snapshots on the most important pieces of work currently undertaken at the CIS on these issues.

As you will see in this issue, many of our CIS researchers' strive at a better understanding of climate change questions in international relations. Aspects such as strategic negotiations, the role and performance of market mechanisms in climate change policy, the implications of climate change in terms of increased conflict risk, concepts and methods for assessing the performance of international climate and related policies, and energy security issues across Europe, Russia, and the Middle East, are therefore studied.

Enjoy the reading!

Thomas Bernauer *

*Thomas Bernauer is Professor of Political Science at ETH Zurich, and a founding member of CIS.

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Focus

CIS RESEARCH ON ENERGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Ever since the UN Conference on Environment and Development (Rio, 1992) there has been a growing recognition of the severe consequences of anthropogenic climate change. Due to the pervasiveness of greenhouse gas emissions in today's economy, especially in the energy sector, climate policy relates to a broad list of issues CIS researchers are currently working on. The negotiation process related to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) has led to an international policy regime with a wide array of policy instruments and financial flows from North to South, in order to finance emissions mitigation and adaptation to climate change impacts. In this context, our research assesses the design of market mechanisms for emissions mitigation, negotiation strategies used by governments and civil society, climate related development aid, technology transfer and the potential impact of climate change on migration, water resources and human security. Climate policy also influences the political economy of new energy resources as well as the interpretation of energy security, and can learn from the experiences of previous multilateral environmental agreements such as the Convention on Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution. Finally, even domestic energy policies now evolve under the long shadow of climate change.

International climate policy – negotiations, market mechanisms and financial flows

Over the last two decades, an international climate policy regime has

emerged based on the UNFCCC. The Kyoto Protocol which entered into force in 2005 has led to emission targets for industrialized countries and a set of highly innovative market mechanisms mobilizing mitigation projects in developing countries. However, since the high-profile failure of the Copenhagen conference in 2009, negotiation dynamics have slowed down, and the long-term climate policy regime remains contested. The “Negotiating Climate Change” project funded by the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS) investigates the power resources and choice of bargaining strategies of governments in these recent negotiations. A systematic collection of negotiation positions and interviews sheds light on how power resources and strategies interact. In light of the strong salience of climate change for many developing countries, the project team led by **Stephanie Bailer** and **Katharina**

Michaelowa (with contributions by **Carola Betzold, Paula Castro, Lena Hörnlein, Axel Michaelowa, Florian Weiler**, and further project partners outside CIS, notably from the Graduate Institute, Geneva) aim at deriving the determinants of successful negotiation strategies. While developing country governments are traditionally looked at as weaker players in international negotiations given their limited power resources, this is not generally the case in the climate change field, as illustrated by Tuvalu and India. Tuvalu is a very small country, but its very existence is threatened by sea-level rise, and thus Tuvalu is generally recognized as an unusually relevant player as compared to its size. India is one of the two major emerging economies strongly under pressure to accept targets due to its increasingly large emissions (along with China). Being a poor country in terms of per capita income, it strongly opposed any role in emissions mitigation, but its position has started to shift with an increasing awareness of India's vulnerability to climate impacts, as well as shortages of fossil energy resources. Analyzing regularities behind successful bargaining strategies of governments allows the project team to derive some more general policy advice for developing country negotiators.

A further CIS project specifically analyzes the role of non-state actors. Such non-state actors (like WWF, Greenpeace, but also the International Chamber of Commerce, faith-based groups, or trade union groups) increasingly participate in climate negotiations. But when do



Non-state actors become active at climate change negotiations. (Photo by Sparkie / Pixelio)

such organizations become active at the international level? How do they seek to exert influence? How successful are they in pushing forward their goals? Seen from another perspective: why do governments open up decision making to non-governmental organizations? And, no less important, what do voters think of these developments? To answer these and similar questions, **Carola Betzold** looks more closely at various aspects of the trend toward more civil society participation, and does so through different perspectives. She is particularly interested in the motivations and the behavior of non-state actors, the attitudes of governments toward civil society, and lastly, voters' evaluations of the effectiveness and legitimacy of international politics relying on civil society participation. Empirically, this work uses a broad array of methods, including interviews, surveys, large-N analysis and lab experiments. It is embedded in the larger research program, Challenges to Democracy in the 21st century, of the Swiss National Center for Competence in Research (NCCR).

Further CIS projects consider the role of climate policy-related market mechanisms and other climate finance, notably for developing countries. Developing countries are already playing a key role in the international greenhouse gas market, as projects under the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) are developed in surprisingly high numbers. **Paula Castro, Daisuke Hayashi, Axel and Katharina Michaelowa, and Martin Stadelmann** assess the performance of the current portfolio of CDM projects and CDM transaction costs and discuss the role of stakeholder consultation. The issue of whether the CDM uses up all cheap reduction potential in developing countries is assessed by analyzing the abatement costs of typical CDM projects. Furthermore, attention is drawn to the political economy of the CDM, showing that decisions of the CDM Executive Board are at least partially influenced by political considera-

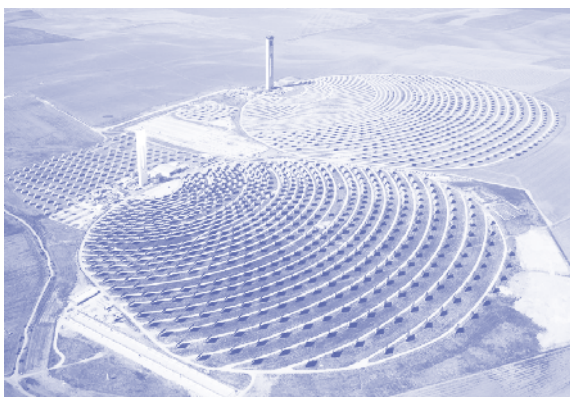
tions. Determinants of supply and demand for CDM projects are also evaluated. Moreover, CDM reform options such as discounting of Certified Emission Reductions (CERs) for advanced developing countries, standardizing baselines, strengthening of the additionality test and improvements of the rules for programmatic CDM were specified. Triggered by the CDM's shortcomings, and by the mounting pressure on rapidly developing countries to accept emission reduction commitments in the period after 2012, the transition from being a host of CDM projects to engaging in sectoral mechanisms or, eventually, own emission reduction targets could nevertheless become problematic. Measures need to be taken to keep incentives for private sector players intact, deal with increased data collection needs, and eventually mobilize the emission reduction potential fully.

Beyond market mechanisms, financial flows for mitigation of greenhouse gases have become highly politicized since Copenhagen. But already before Copenhagen, develop-



Plenary session at the UN Climate Change Conference held in Durban, South Africa, December 2011. (Photo by A. Michaelowa)

Advanced clean energy technologies can be used as an alternative to reduce high-carbon emissions. (Photos by Wikipedia -left-, and M. Oetjen / Pixelio -right.)



ment assistance for climate change mitigation and adaptation has been contentious - **Katharina** and **Axel Michaelowa's** work discusses whether climate aid can effectively contribute to reaching the Millennium Development Goals and how it could be allocated efficiently. Development and Cooperation Aid (DAC) donors tend to stress that development assistance has increasingly been oriented towards climate friendly interventions supporting climate change mitigation (i.e., renewable energy and energy efficiency) and adaptation to climate change. Michaelowa and Michaelowa use a new project-level aid database (Aid-Data) of over 750,000 aid activities for 21 OECD DAC donor countries to assess whether such a reorientation has indeed taken place. Based on extensive keyword search and hand-coding on the basis of individual project descriptions, they generated a specific coding system for the relevant categories of aid activities. After aggregation to a donor-year panel, they obtained a dataset that allows for empirical testing of the effect of the international climate negotiation process, and of variables related to the political economy in individual donor countries (on aid allocated to adaptation and mitigation respectively). Through analysis of the data, they found that aid allocation to climate change mitigation is quite independent from the global climate negotiation process, from related public awareness in donor countries, and from changed environmental preferences within donor countries. The single most important driver of aid projects in renew-

able energy and energy efficiency is (and has always been) the oil price. This is different from what donors officially pretend. In fact, according to previous calculations, only about 25% of all projects reported to the DAC as relevant for climate change mitigation, meet the corresponding coding criteria. Moreover, as opposed to donors' actual mitigation aid, their reporting is influenced systematically by political factors. When people's awareness of climate change related issues or the strength of environmental preferences increases, aid agencies tend to react in words (and adjusted statistics), rather than in deeds. In contrast to mitigation assistance, adaptation aid is significantly influenced by these political factors, and has increased over time, along with recent international policy trends. Despite a remarkable word-deeds gap, the overall outcome appears well in line with a development-oriented focus of bilateral aid. It leaves the provision of global public goods such as mitigation to other areas of public



Deforestation and water scarcity are not only altering the landscapes, but can also increase the risk of human conflict. (Photo by Og /Pixelio)

policy making, and concentrates aid flows on activities such as adaptation, which are directly relevant for specific recipient countries.

In the quickly growing discussion about climate finance, **Martin Stadelmann** assess whether reporting of public climate flows is accurate or driven by political interests, and how private sector investments can be mobilized. In this context, international technology transfer to developing countries plays a critical role. Climate policies in developing countries could facilitate this process by enhancing market demand and technological capabilities for climate-friendly technologies in these countries. However, empirical evidence on linkages between international technology transfer and developing countries' climate policies remains scant. Looking at the wind energy industry, **Daisuke Hayashi's** research project within CIS empirically analyzes key renewable energy policies and their design features for successful transfer of wind energy technologies to developing countries. A better understanding on these issues helps developing countries formulate strategies for acquiring advanced clean energy technologies and pursue more sustainable, low-carbon development paths.

Climate change impacts – water scarcity and human conflict

With accelerating climate change and a growing world population, an increased competition for water resources seems likely. During the last years, extensive discussions on water as a cause of conflict evolved

among policymakers and scholars alike. Consequently, the question whether water scarcity will cause violent conflicts in the future has also turned into a crucial research topic. The CLICO project (Climate Change, Hydro-Conflicts, and Human Security) is a larger collaborative project funded under the 7th Framework Programme of the European Union that examines questions around this topic. There are 14 research teams involved in CLICO who investigate 11 case studies, a quantitative study among 35 Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and Sahel countries. They are establishing an international institutional framework for the reaction to hydro-climatic hazards in terms of human security. **Thomas Bernauer, Tobias Böhmelt, and Theresa Tribaldos** from the ETH Zurich in collaboration with a group from the Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO) work on the quantitative part of CLICO. In a first step, a new dataset on domestic water-related conflict and cooperation is established. In a second step, this dataset is being analysed overlooking the links between environmental, political, as well as economic factors and domestic water-related conflict and cooperation at the national and the local level. In a third step, outliers of the quantitative analysis are investigated in more detail with two to three smaller case studies.

More generally, a number of scientists claim that environmental change, and climate change in particular, breeds violent conflict. A systematic literature review by **Thomas Bernauer, Tobias Böhmelt and Vally Koubi** concludes that environmental change may, under specific circumstances, increase the risk of violent conflict. But the effects of environmental change on violent conflict is likely to be contingent on a set of economic and

political conditions that determine adaptation capacity. In the authors' view, the most important indirect effects should lead from environmental changes via economic performance and migration to violent conflict. Further investigations by **V. Koubi, T. Bernauer, A. Kalbhenn and G. Spilker** examine the causal pathway linking climatic conditions to economic growth and conflict within countries, and argue that the growth-conflict part of this pathway is contingent on the political system. The authors empirically tested their argument using a global dataset for 1980–2004 and employing a measure of climatic variability that has advantages over those used in the existing literature because it can presumably take into account the adaptation of production to persistent climatic change. The empirical analysis indicates that non-democratic countries are more likely to experience civil conflict when economic conditions deteriorate.

Transboundary Air Pollution – a precursor of climate policy

More than a decade older than the UNFCCC and already featuring eight distinct protocols, the Convention on Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution (LRTAP) is seen by many scholars and pundits as a particularly prominent and important example of international environmental cooperation in the area of clean air policy. The empirical evidence on the effectiveness of the LRTAP regime that is currently available is mixed and to a significant extent even contradictory. The research project of **Jürg Vollenweider** studies the

effectiveness of the LRTAP regime in terms of observed SO₂ and NO_x emission reductions using new causal inference techniques and will also illuminate the implications of regime design characteristics for regime effectiveness. He also adds to existing research by using improved and expanded emissions data and studying the effectiveness of four key LRTAP protocols simultaneously.

Energy security – Europe, Russia and the Middle East

Andreas Wenger and colleagues at the Center for Security Studies (CSS) have an extensive research program underway examining the role that energy plays in international conflict. The first series of investigations examined the evolving relations between the key producers (Middle East, Russia, Latin America, and Africa) and traditional consumers such as the US and Europe, and new consumers such as China and India as they adjust to the changing marketplace and political realities. At the center of these studies is the key question of how dynamics in the global energy market affect the nature of inter-



Oil-plant in Saudi Arabia. (Photo courtesy of INEWP)

national relations. While conflict over resources is possible, there are many opportunities for international cooperation over energy resources. Although coal, oil, and gas will define energy usage for the foreseeable future, greater efficiency and alternative sources of energy will play an important role in shaping the new producer-consumer framework. Russia's new assertiveness and the role of energy as a key factor in shaping the country's behavior in international relations, and in building political and economic power domestically, since the 1990s was focused upon. The wealth generated from energy exports sparked economic recovery and political stabilization. Energy has been a key factor in shaping Russia's foreign relations in both the Eurasian and global context. This development raises a host of questions for both Russia and the West about the stability of the Russian economy, how Russia will use the power it gains from its energy wealth, and how the West should react to Russia's newfound political weight. In the same vein, the PhD work of **Jonas Grätz** (CSS) assesses Russia's commercial and political goals, the rules that decide upon the relative weight of these goals, as well as the instruments used to realize them. Via an in-depth study of the internationalization strategies of Russian oil and gas companies, the dissertation takes a closer look at the relationship between the goals of state actors and companies and the origin of the instruments used by the companies in differing international and market contexts. This research

«I'd put my money on the sun and solar energy. What a source of power! I hope we don't have to wait until oil and coal run out before we tackle that»

(Thomas Edison, in conversation with Henry Ford and Harvey Firestone, 1931)

focus does not only shed light on the instruments used by Europe's most important energy supplier, but also on the relationship between state, economic, and private interests in Russia and their bearing on energy market structures.

Beyond Russia, PhD student **Bianca Sarbu** (CSS) looks into the energy policies pursued by the MENA petroleum-exporting countries in their exploration and production sector (also known as upstream) since the era of nationalizations. More technically, the research examines the motivations behind producer states' decision to grant upstream control rights to international oil companies in the most petroleum-endowed region in the world. To this end, a theoretical framework, which reunites technological, economic, and politico-institutional explanations, is proposed to account for the variation in the MENA upstream sector policies over the past four to five decades. Empirically, the framework is tested on two different datasets which feature both regional and global data on oil producer states. Additionally, two in-depth case studies on Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (with divergent upstream sector policies) are conducted based on interviews with industry, government and think-tank experts in Washington D.C. and New York City.

Another project by CIS/CSS researchers **Daisuke Hayashi**, **Mark Daniel Jäger** and **Katharina Michaelowa** analyzes EU cooperation in energy policy with the four emerging economies Brazil, China, India, and South Africa. This is part of the larger international, interdisciplinary research project "Challenges of European External Energy Governance with Emerging Powers: Meeting Tiger, Dragon, Lion and Jaguar" funded by the Volkswagen Foundation and led by researchers at the TU Darmstadt (see <http://www.politikwissenschaft.tu-darmstadt.de/index.php?id=3129>). At CIS, the focus is primarily on India, on cooperation for sustainable energy policy, and on the interests of private actors with regard to external energy governance.



Europe and the four emerging economies cooperating in energy policy research...

Beyond the country-specific studies, **Andreas Wenger** and **Robert Ortung** (visiting fellow at the CSS) intend to gain a better understanding of the causal mechanisms linking energy to international conflict. While there are plenty of works addressing energy security issues from a variety of policy perspectives, there is still little academic work that seeks to grapple with these issues from a theoretical perspective. This scholarly failure to engage with the issues around resource development and trade is unfortunate because many policy analysts tend to be overly alarmist in their predictions that potential future

resource shortages will inevitably lead to conflict. Wenger and Orttung examine how resources affect domestic political systems and encourage civil wars. Similarly, at the international level asymmetric markets, where one side has more power than the other, can lead to conflict. Finally, to complement this broad overview of the field, they are conducting a very narrow study that examines cases where energy deposits are located in areas where two or more states are disputing their borders. The research question is to explain why some states are able to resolve these disputes while others are not. For example, Russia and Norway recently signed a border delimitation treaty dividing up resources in the Barents Sea. At the same time, there are on-going disputes between China and its neighbors in the South China Sea, the Caspian Sea littoral states, the countries surrounding Cyprus and parts of the Persian Gulf.

Energy efficiency in Swiss buildings – the role of cantons

One consequence of greenhouse gas mitigation policies is an increased focus on energy efficiency policies. **Thomas Widmer and Felix Strebel** look at determinants of the implementation of energy policy measures related to buildings efficiency on a cantonal level. Funded by the Swiss Federal Office of Energy, this study was set on the factors influencing the patterns of energy policy-making in the Swiss cantons. Many elements of Swiss energy policy are shaped by the principle of subsidiarity common to the federalist political system in Switzerland. The project investigated the determinants of cantonal behavior related to energetic measures in the building sector. Whereas the first part of the project is designed as a complete census of quantitative macro data of all 26 cantons, the

second part applies a comparative case study design. The analyses support the proposition that cantons introduce legal measures interdependently. With the quantitative analysis they were able to show that different channels (mainly regional and national conferences) foster the diffusion of selected measures. The case studies confirm these findings and shed light on the transfer processes. Platforms such as regional conferences of cantonal energy ministers generally contribute to the diffusion of innovative energy policy measures and increased the regulative standards in many cantons. However, a feeling of obligation also led some cantons to adopt measures more symbolically without any effective change in practice.

At the heart of UN Climate Change Conference /Durban - 2011

«Institutions saved, but ambition remains insufficient»

by **Axel Michaelowa**

Due to the economic, fiscal and political crises gripping large parts of the industrialized world, the political salience of climate policy has fallen since 2007. The failure of Copenhagen led to a simple bottom-up system where countries pledge emissions reductions without any check of compliance and thus a lack of ambition. Researchers have repeatedly stressed that we are on the way to a temperature increase of 3-4° C instead of the 2°C agreed in Cancun 2010. The Durban conference of December 2011 has provided a silver lining at the horizon – agreeing that all countries should take up emission commitments from 2020. Moreover, it managed to salvage the institutions of the Kyoto Protocol which had been proclaimed dead by many observers. Now policymakers need to achieve real emission reductions in the next decade. The Swiss Federal Council could pave the way by setting an ambitious reduction target – at least -30% – for 2020.



Research & Education

RECENTLY COMPLETED PH.D.



The Clean Development Mechanism and incentives for climate change mitigation in developing countries

Supervisor: Katharina Michaelowa

By Paula Castro

To reduce the cost of meeting their emission reduction commitments under the Kyoto Protocol, industrialized countries may rely on the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), which allows them to count reductions from projects in developing countries as their own. My dissertation analyses whether and how the CDM – and some reform proposals – creates (dis)incentives for developing country action towards reducing emissions. After presenting a typology of (dis)incentives the CDM may generate in theory, the empirical chapters analyse whether some of them are occurring in practice. The main conclusions are that two proposed reforms of the CDM – preferential access and discounting – have a limited ability to improve the geographical distribution of CDM projects; that the CDM is not yet exhausting the cheap emission reduction opportunities in advanced developing countries and hence not generating related disincentives; and that domestic policies supporting renewable energies may contribute to making such expensive projects possible in the CDM, but that such contribution differs by technologies.



Energy in the Swiss federalism: Policy diffusion in the case of cantonal energy policy

Supervisor: Thomas Widmer

By Felix Strebel

Typically for Swiss federalism, cantons enjoy a large degree of freedom in energy policy making. This dissertation tackles the question whether and why policy measures diffuse among the Swiss cantons. An event-history-analysis demonstrates that diffusion explains the adoption behavior more systematically than economic or political factors. Crucial are horizontal institutions (such as inter-cantonal conferences). They can explain different diffusion patterns of the measures under observation. The 'case study' of eighteen concrete transfer-processes verify these findings. However, looking at the cantonal behavior in more depth, one can recognize that diffusion is slightly overestimated. Although some cantons followed the trend of adopting modern energy regulations, they never had the intention to change practice. The reason for such a symbolic transfer grounds in the feeling of obligation towards the ideas discussed and prioritized in the inter-cantonal conferences. These findings deliver new insight on cantonal policy making in Swiss federalism and challenge some of the standard procedures of policy diffusion studies.



Discursive Dynamics of Compliance: International Involvement in National Minority Protection

Supervisor: Frank Schimmelfennig

By Liudmila Mikalayeva

The thesis focuses on the international involvement in national minority protection. It looks at monitoring as a critical aspect of compliance, since it is through the evaluation of state policies by an external body in light of a certain standard of behavior that compliance becomes tangible. Judgments on compliance are seen as part of political process, subject to the dynamics of group interests and power struggle, and as instances of policy discourse, inscribed in larger ideational and discursive processes. The thesis focuses on cases where concerns about instable or indeterminate legitimacy call for important discursive adjustments and negotiations. It investigates communicative processes taking place within monitoring exchanges and leading to the establishment of intersubjective understandings of norms and states' behavior on the example of the EU enlargement conditionality and the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.



Fighting for Change: Onset, Duration, and Recurrence of Ethnic Conflict

Supervisor: Lars-Erik Cederman

By Julian Wucherpfnig

Why do ethnic conflicts start, why are they so difficult to end, and why do they recur so frequently? The thesis takes as its starting point the particularities of ethno-politics in the nation state, which shape the collective nature of identities, motivations and competition for state power. Going beyond simplistic mechanisms of individual level rent-seeking championed by the current literature, the dissertation thus shifts the focus to the strategic nature of the interaction between rivaling ethnic groups. This rationalist bargaining perspective allows for an integrated framework that analyzes onset, duration and recurrence as part of an overarching processes, rather than as separate phenomena. Empirical implications of (formal) theoretical models are seamlessly tested using actor-specific data and quantitative methods. The results strongly suggest that collective motivations and strategic interaction are central to understanding sub-national conflict processes.



Power to prey: obstacles to democratization in Southeastern Europe

Supervisor: Frank Schimmelfennig

By Danijela Dolonec

The thesis poses the question of why democratization in Southeastern Europe fails to reach levels comparable to Central Eastern Europe and argues that the dominance of illiberal parties over regime change produced a mode of rule that continues to obstruct the establishment of rule of law. The theoretical framework is tested through a mixed-method research design, encompassing 14 post-communist countries. Fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis findings (fsQCA) suggest illiberal party dominance as the central part of the causal recipe for stalled democratization. In some cases it is combined with inhibiting historical legacies, while in others the causal recipe includes the occurrence of a violent conflict that postponed EU integration. Process tracing in case studies of Croatia and Serbia reconstructs ways in which the mode of rule that evolved in the early 1990s reproduced itself after 2000 despite the strengthening of formal democratic institutions, offering further evidence for the main argument advanced in the thesis.

“Ethnic Politics and Electoral Democracy”

The Center for the Study of Democracy (UC Irvine), the NCCR Democracy and CIS are jointly organizing a Conference on “Ethnic Politics and Electoral Democracy” in June 2012.

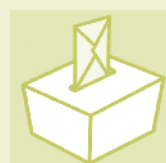
This three-day workshop will discuss the results of actual and leading research in the field of ethnic politics, which deals with questions related (among others) to institutional engineering, political radicalization or multi-ethnic parties.

14-16 June 2012

Alumni (GEP) Pavillon,
Leonhardstrasse 34,
8092 Zurich

Conference convenors:
Daniel Bochsler (CIS/IPZ),
Bernard Grofman (UC Irvine)

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Research & Education

MACIS OPEN DAY

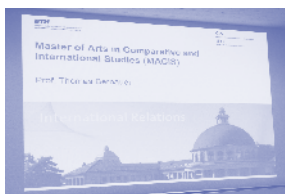
By **Leoni Studer**

On the 7th October 2011, MACIS invited prospective students to attend an OPEN DAY event at CIS. The goal of our Open Day was to give prospective students the opportunity to learn more about the Comparative and International Studies Master program, to familiarize them with our location and facilities, as well as to meet professors, current students and administrative staff. The day started with a small tour led by the head of MACIS, Prof. Thomas

Bernauer through our IFW building to give them an impression of what it would be like to study here. Prof. Bernauer then gave a presentation about MACIS on a range of topics, including general information about the program, the admissions process, the structure and semester schedule, the variety of course work and the respective job prospects of students following graduation. After the presentation, we invited prospective students, current students, professors and administrative staff to join us for lunch. The lunch break provided a perfect opportunity to meet, mingle and exchange information with regards to MACIS.

Prof. Bernauer's presentation, interviews with MACIS professors as well as interviews with current students and graduates were recorded by colleagues of the ETH filming department throughout the event. Thanks to this new advertising tool we can now inform an even wider community of potential students for MACIS around the world.

You can have a look at this video here:
<http://www.cis.ethz.ch/education/macis>.



Leoni Studer

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MASTER-INFO EVENT AT THE IPZ

By **Mascha Heck**

The IPZ (Institute for Political Science) started the first pilot of the new series « Master-Info über Mittag » in December 2011. The series has been developed to give students the opportunity to obtain information about different Master programs in Switzerland and Germany. Together with the "Fachverein Politico" we support our students to take the right decisions concerning their studies and career perspectives. The "Masterinfo" can ease

the decision which Master program to engage in according to personal preferences. In December 2011 the Universities of Basel and Konstanz and our partner the CIS successfully

presented their Master-programs to about 30 students. After the short presentations the students had the opportunity to go into dialogue with the presenters who welcomed them with more information, cookies and chocolate. On **February 28th** 2012 another afternoon of information and dialogue will follow with new partner universities and programs. We believe that broadening our students' horizon by informing about opportunities is also a gain for us at the IPZ.



Mascha Heck

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POLINET: LOOKING BACK AT THREE YEARS OF PEER MENTORING

By **Jessica Crivelli**

PoliNet was founded in 2008 as a peer mentoring group by female PhD students at the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS). The overall motivation of PoliNet consisted in supporting the involved PhD students to complete their PhDs and to take the next steps in their career successfully. The generous financial support of the University of Zurich allowed us to organize a wide range of activities that helped us to acquire and strengthen the skills needed for a career in academia and other professions. The main focus of our activities lay on workshops aimed at training specific hard and soft skills, and on informal meetings with advanced researchers and professionals regarding questions of career planning.

One could argue that a peer mentoring group is redundant considering the numerous courses in the field of academic skills offered by the University of Zurich or the ETH. However, to be part of an institutionalized peer group clearly has advantages. We could organize tailor-made activities

that otherwise would have been financially out of reach for the peers and the familiar atmosphere made the workshops more efficient and effective. Furthermore, PoliNet provides us with an additional academic network apart from the network in our respective disciplines or chairs. One important advantage of this additional network was the opportunity to exchange ideas in an uncompetitive setting. In this way, each peer had the possibility to examine her skills time after time and gather constructive inputs on how to improve them.

In the meantime three of us have successfully completed their PhD and the rest of us are now in the final phase of her dissertation. During the funded period of PoliNet six members applied successfully for competitive research grants of the SNF or of the University of Zurich. A part of this success certainly resides in the high degree of trust that we were able to achieve in our peer group and which facilitated the exchange of best practices among the peers. At present, the skills we acquired while organizing and participating in workshops as well as the continuous cross-checks with members of the group make us feel prepared and confident about taking our next career steps: having successfully completed their PhD five of us have already started or will soon start with post-doctoral studies, while one peer group member took up a position in the federal public administration.



Sailing together, on the same boat... to a journey full of success !

While the financial support of PoliNet run out at the end of 2011, our group shall persist. Regular lunches and an annual retreat where a specific topic of academic/professional life shall be elaborated are planned.

More information on Polinet and on the peers can be obtained from our homepage:

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

The PoliNet Peer Group:

Paula Castro Pareja
Anna Christmann
Jessica Crivelli
Sophia Limpach
Aliya Khawari
Lena Schaffer
Anita Manatschal
Sophie Perrin
Katayoun Safi
Livia Schubiger
Hanna Schwander
Edina Szöcsik

Jessica Crivelli
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The mentoring experience allows peers to individually adapt and discover new career paths.

Voices and Faces

NEW FACES AT CIS

Research Fellows

Wojciech Gagatek obtained his master's degrees in Political Sciences and Law from Warsaw University, specializing in European studies. Subsequently he moved to the European University Institute in Florence, where in 2008 he defended his thesis entitled "Political Parties at the European Level: Their Organization and Activities". Since 2010, he is Assistant Professor in the Centre for Europe at Warsaw University. He has published articles and books on the role of political parties at EU-level and the European Parliament elections, including the edited volume 'The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament – Country Reports' (Florence 2010), and 'European Political Parties as Campaign Organizations. Toward a further politicization of the European Parliament elections' (Brussels 2009).



Regina Betz is Joint Director (Economics) at the Centre for Energy and Environmental Markets (CEEM) and a Senior Lecturer at the School of Economics at UNSW (Australia). She holds a PhD from the German University of Administrative Sciences Speyer. Her work focuses on climate change policies and their associated instruments, such as Emissions Trading. For more than 8 years she was a consultant to the German Environmental Ministry regarding the Kyoto Mechanisms and Emissions Trading. She has also worked on institutional capacity building for CDM projects in Eastern Europe and was part of the International Standardisation Group which developed ISO14064, the international standard on monitoring, reporting and verification of greenhouse gas emissions and sinks. Today her research focuses mainly on emissions trading design applying experimental economics. She has also worked as a consultant to the Australian government.



Post-Doctoral Researchers

Jørgen Bølstad started as a post-doc in European Politics at CIS in October 2011. Before coming to Zurich, he was a Fulbright Fellow at Harvard University, and received his PhD from the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, Italy. Growing up in Norway, he did his undergraduate work at the University of Oslo, and then moved on to do an MSc in International Political Economy at the London School of Economics (LSE). Having finally found a place with proper mountains within reach, he is now hoping to settle down in Zurich for a while, and explore the Alps. His research interests are broad, but mainly revolve around political behavior and democratic representation. Some of his work is concerned with properly addressing causal questions related to voting behavior. Other parts of his work are related to dynamic representation: the study of how public opinion influences public policy over time, and how the public reacts to new policies. The theories in question are mainly of American origin, and Jørgen will increasingly be focusing on whether and how they can be applied to various aspects of European politics.



James Cross joined CIS as a post-doctoral researcher in the European Politics research group in September 2011. Before arriving at CIS, he completed his PhD at Trinity College Dublin. His current research considers decision-making processes and negotiator agency in legislative negotiations in the EU. It examines member state interactions within the Council of Ministers during the legislative process, and examines how the Council interacts with other legislative bodies over the course of negotiations to reach decisions at the EU level. The research seeks to account for the influence that the institutional environment has on the decision-making process, by detailing how negotiators respond to different institutional contexts in which legislation is discussed. He also considers the role of transparency in the legislative process, and how this affects negotiator behavior during negotiations.



THREE QUESTIONS FOR LARS-ERIK CEDERMAN, NEW CIS DIRECTOR

You have been at CIS for 8 years now. What goals do you have as new CIS Director?

My main goal is to build on the past successes of CIS by strengthening it as a major political science hub in Europe. There may be room for improvement in terms of raising the visibility of CIS, especially as regards our research activities and common MA program.

Is there a new research orientation or any potential area of study that you plan to promote?

CIS has been successful as leading house of an NCCR focusing on democracy. As this project hopefully enters its third phase of funding, it will be essential to institutionalize these research activities. Beyond that, we will continue the exploration of future collaborative themes that could optimize research synergies among CIS' members. A lot will hinge on who will fill the new vacant professorships at University of Zurich.

As the director of a joint ETH-UZH center, how do you perceive the relationship between both institutions?

Bridging the administrative differences between the two institutions will continue to pose challenges and I will do whatever I can to prevent such problems from getting in the way of CIS core activities.



Lars-Erik Cederman received an M.Sc. in Engineering Physics from the University of Uppsala in 1988 and an M.A. in International Relations from the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva in 1990, before obtaining his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Michigan in 1994. Using computational modeling, he wrote his dissertation on how states and nations develop and dissolve. He has since taught at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Oxford,

UCLA, and Harvard. His main research interests include computational modeling, international relations theory, nationalism, integration and disintegration processes, and historical sociology.

RESEARCH COLLOQUIUM - SPRING 2012

Thursdays, 12.30h-14.00h, Haldeneggsteig 4, IFW, room E 42

*22.02: Christopher Green-Pedersen (Aarhus Uni.), «Old conflicts, new issues. Change in West European Party Competition»

23.02: Mansoob Murshed (International Inst. of Social Studies-ISS), «The Interaction between Fear and Hatred and Civilizational Conflict»

01.03: Matthias Busse (Ruhr Universität Bochum), «Governance in developing countries»

08.03: Wojciech Gagatka (Uni. of Warsaw / CIS), «Shaping Democracy: The Promise and Reality of Political Parties at European Level»

15.03: Atsushi Tago (Kobe University), «Election Cycle and Military Coalition Participation»

22.03: Thomas Sattler (University College Dublin), «Explaining Public Support for International Integration: How Do National Conditions and Treaty Characteristics Interact with Individual Beliefs?»

29.03: Patricia Funk (Pompeu Fabra Uni.), «Citizen Preferences in Private and Public: Evidence from a Large Number of Votes»

**17.04: Jonas Pontusson (University of Geneva), «The Structure of Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution»

19.04: Walter Mattli (Oxford University) «The New Global Rulers - The Privatization of Regulation in the World Economy»

26.04: Jan van Deth (Universität Mannheim), «Learning citizenship through social participation outside and inside school: an international, multilevel study of young people's learning of citizenship»

03.05: P.-Guillaume Méon (Uni. Libre de Bruxelles), «Mark my Words: Information and the Fear of Declaring one's Exchange Rate Regime»

10.05: Jens Steffek (Technische Universität Darmstadt), «Re-considering the Output Legitimacy of International Governance»

24.05: Christopher Kam (University of British Columbia), «The Compensation and Careerism of Parliamentarians»

31.05: Carles Boix (Princeton University), «A Theory of State Formation and the Origins of Inequality»

14.06: Bernard Grofman (UC Irvine), «Is Turnout the Paradox that Ate Rational Choice Theory: Fallacies and Fancies about Turnout»

* Wednesday, starting at 13.00 / ** Tuesday

Information and contact: maya.sela@gess.ethz.ch

Alumni

TESTIMONIALS FROM ALUMNI

Stefanie Walter

University of Heidelberg (Germany)

I am working as Junior Professor for International and Comparative Political Economy at the Institute of Political Science at the University of Heidelberg since June 2009. In my research, I concentrate on the fields of international and comparative political economy, with a particular focus on how distributional conflicts, policy preferences and institutions affect economic policy outcomes. Current projects examine the political economy of balance-of-payments crises, the effect of exposure to international competition on individuals' policy preferences, and the effects of international financial crises on electoral behavior.



My experience at CIS – as a doctoral student at ETH and a postdoc at IPZ – was a great foundation for my academic career. Working in a friendly, stimulating and yet competitive environment pushed me to conduct substantively important, methodologically sound, and internationally recognized research. Moreover, I experienced the value of a lively

exchange between researchers both at your home institution and at international conferences and workshops. My new department in Heidelberg, which holds a prominent place in the history of German political science, is more traditionally oriented than CIS. Nonetheless, the institute has wholeheartedly embraced the new concept of autonomous Junior-professorships and is open to new ideas. This has allowed me to draw on my positive experience at CIS by organizing a research seminar for the institute's doctoral students and postdoctoral researchers and trying to give my doctoral students a stimulating research experience.

Stefanie Walter
s.walter@uni-heidelberg.de

Patrick Nkengne

UNESCO-BREDA (Dakar, Senegal)

I joined CIS in 2006 where I worked on a PhD thesis on education policy making in Africa. Upon completion of my PhD in March 2011, I returned to Africa where I was soon recruited at the UNESCO Regional Office in Dakar (Senegal). Today I work within the UNESCO/Pôle de Dakar Unit as Education Policy Analyst. My work focuses on two aspects: first, the monitoring and assessment of education quality, and second, the analysis of teacher related policies (budget/salary/recruitment policy) in sub-Saharan Africa. This second activity largely corresponds to my doctoral research,



and it is great to bring in the knowledge gathered in academia into the political debate. Moreover, studying policy making was an advantage because I now meet decision makers regularly and feel more prepared to interact with them. In fact, my present position is located midway between policy making and policy advice, what also provides me with a great opportunity for further learning. However, one difficulty of moving from research at CIS into policy advice at UNESCO (and probably most other international organizations) is to adjust to a situation where you have much less opportunity and time for in-depth analysis. There is a lot of political pressure to come up fast with reports and studies (for project meetings, international conferences, etc.). It is really the privilege of a researcher to be able to investigate



deeply into the issues at hand. I appreciate this more strongly now that I do not have this chance anymore. And of course, more generally, the African working environment is different from the Swiss in many ways!

Patrick Nkengne
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Tim Frey

Secretary general of the Swiss Christian Democratic People's Party (Switzerland)

On the one hand, the political system of Switzerland is a very stable, responsive and dynamic system, on the other hand, it has some patterns which blur the public picture of what happens behind the scene: a strong federalism, a semi-professional parliament with an overrepresentation of some particular interests, and decision-making processes which are shaped by many informal rules. Furthermore, a Swiss party is more like a grassroots organization than a highly organized campaign machine: lots of volunteers, weak internal coordination, and few professional staff. Since early 2009 this is my working environment as secretary general of the Swiss Christian



Democratic People's Party. The party's secretary general's main task is to coordinate the politics of the party on federal level and between the cantons, to ensure the operation of the board and the presidency of the party, to organize party congresses, to provide a solid organizational framework to cantonal parties, to keep and develop the relationships with christian democratic sister parties all around

Europe, and to manage the party's office. In other words, there's no better place to study the gap between theory and the 'real world' in Swiss Politics! Often, this gap is not so huge as some might expect. My background as a political scientist not only helps me in understanding the positioning of parties or in fostering bargaining strategies but in understanding the whole political process as well. As author of a thesis about success and failure of christian democratic parties in western Europe, I have a broad knowledge about ideological roots of christian democracy, about the mechanics of elections and about particular challenges for christian democratic parties as well. So, until today, I still benefit strongly from my academic work.

Tim Frey
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Silja Häusermann

University of Konstanz (Germany)

I have been a Junior Professor in political science at the University of Konstanz since June 2011. My position was newly created by the University to support and complement the Konstanz Cluster of Excellence «Cultural Foundations of Social Integration», which means that I belong both to the Political Science Department and to the Excellence Cluster, within which I develop the new research field «Economic Cultures». Its aim is to integrate - from a comparative political economy perspective - the study of economic, labor market and welfare state (dis)integration in the wider, more culturalistically oriented, research agenda of the Excellence Cluster.

In addition, I teach classes on comparative political economy and comparative politics and I continue conducting my SNF-research projects between Konstanz and Zurich. Scientifically and socially, I find both CIS and Konstanz equally stimulating and inspiring places to work. As the Konstanz department is quite big compared to a Swiss political science department (12 professors), I have found a range of new colleagues to launch projects with, on the basis of and related to the projects that I have started to work on at CIS. Due to the German Excellence Initiative, there are plenty of opportunities to apply for the funding of projects, conferences, workshops etc. On the (so far narrow) downside, university bureaucracy in Germany is defini-



tely more rigid and time-consuming than in Zurich. Whoever asks for deregulation and de-bureaucratization in Switzerland has probably never worked abroad.

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Events

UETLIBERG COLLOQUIUM 2012

By **Pepa Echanove**

One further example that climate change affects our landscapes could be that, surprisingly, we hardly had any snow at the Uetliberg's heights during the annual CIS Colloquium, held on January 10th! What was not so unusual was the fact that the event was very well attended, bringing together nearly sixty participants from both parts of CIS-ETH and the University of Zurich. This year's program was established around three main axes: the presentations given by the three new CIS professors; the panel of talks related to the topic 'Environment and Climate Change'; and the official transfer of directorship from Katja Michaelowa to Lars-Erik Cederman.



professors to present a topic of their field of research. Marco Steenbergen (Chair of Methodology) talked about the cross-lines between identification and evaluation by partisans towards their political parties in the US. Under the title "Ambi-

continued to point out that ambivalent partisans behave more in line with normative ideals of good citizenship, since they are in a better position to hold politicians accountable and send policy signals.

"The fallacy of assumed homogeneous group preferences. Minority politics in ethnically divided places", was the title of Daniel Bochsler's (Assistant Professor in Democratization) presentation. He has been studying representation in ethnically divided societies, and gave us an in-depth overview on the way in which minorities are configuring the political landscape in the Balkans. He pointed out that – in contrast to conventional wisdom - these ethnic minority groups are anything but homogeneous; quite the opposite; while some are radicalized, others are not at all. For instance, not all Serbs in Kosovo are claiming for the same degree of autonomy in the region. Therefore, also party choice also varies, as a consequence of ethnic radicalisation and of the context of the local population structure (concentrated or dispersed minorities).

Francis Cheneval (Professor of Political Philosophy) chose to speak about "Natu-

The day started with a warm-up morning coffee, followed by the introduction to the Colloquium by Katja Michaelowa. She recalled the recent professorship recruitments at CIS, and mentioned the scope of new and on-going activities which are contributing to consolidate our reputation at CIS in terms of participation and academic excellence. It was then time for the newly appointed pro-

valent Partisans: The virtues of critical loyalty", he explained that the ambivalent partisans represent a group that brings volatility and defection to elections, caught between the attachment to 'their' party and a critical assessment of the policy issue at hand. Professor Steenbergen



ral Cosmopolitanism”, which in a few words - nevertheless plenty of significance - stands for ‘cooperation under the law’. He explained that philosophy and science use very similar methods. He concluded with some examples supporting the idea that the notion of natural cosmopolitanism can be explained by the Theory of Evolution, cooperation being the basic principle of evolution of humankind besides mutation and natural selection.

Shortly before the lunch break, participants gathered around a glass of wine to welcome the new CIS Director Lars-Erik Cederman and to thank Katja Michaelowa for her contribution and achievements during the past three years as the head of the Center. Marco Steenbergen will be replacing Lars-Erik Cederman in his previous role as the vice-Director.



Well in line with the topic of this newsletter, the Uetliberg’s main topic this year was “Environment and Climate Change”. Katja Michaelowa presented some interesting research on ‘Development aid and climate change’, concluding that the advent of international climate policy in the 1990s has not been able to structurally boost renewable energy and energy efficient projects in bilateral development cooperation, while it has had lead to some shift towards adaptation, and to



a significant shift in donors’ rhetoric. To arrive at these findings, together with her team, Katja analyzed more than 750,000 aid activities from 21 OECD DAC countries, taking into account variables such as oil price, the enforcement of international treaties (Rio, Kyoto, Copenhagen) and the number of Green seats in national parliaments.

Stefanie Bailer brought us into the heart of the international negotiations with her presentation about ‘Bargaining Strategies in Climate Negotiations’. She explained how different actors position themselves during UNFCCC meetings, having studied several countries’ delegations at eleven key negotiation rounds (from Bali in 2007 to Copenhagen in 2009). The use of either soft (value-creating) or hard (value-claiming) strategies is primarily determined by the economic power and the vulnerability of the countries. Moreover, well-established democracies and domestic stakeholders (NGOs, media, etc. use more soft bargain strategies than hard strategies. Studying the composition of countries’ delegations also helps to understand and anticipate the range of strategies and arguments that they might give at these important international meetings.

Finally, Thomas Bernauer discussed the role of non-state actors in environmental governance. ‘Can civil society involvement make global environmental governance more legitimate?’. Throughout his presentation he explained how civil involvement has contributed to more transparency, know-how and participation of under-representative groups. For climate change negotiations, the participation of non-state actors represent around 15 to 20 %, which is quite strong as compared to other key international negotiations. To conclude this exciting day, some participants took the time to further discuss and exchange views over a beer or two at the top of Zurich Uetliberg.



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Events

NEGOTIATING CLIMATE CHANGE WORKSHOP AT CIS

By **Paula Castro**

The project “Negotiating Climate Change”, funded by the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS), investigates the power resources and the choice of bargaining strategies by member states in the current UN-level climate change negotiations. Over the 2-year period of the project, the core project team, with members from the CIS and the Graduate Institute Geneva, has collected detailed information on negotiation positions and on the choice of negotiation strategies by member parties, and looked at questions such as: Can external power resources such as economic size be compensated by the use of better bargaining strategies? What are the factors explaining the choice of negotiation positions and strategies? How have the negotiation strategies and positions of certain countries and coalitions evolved over time, and why?

With the goal of discussing our preliminary research results with the academic community, and particularly with scholars specialising on negotiation research and on the climate change negotiations, on 28th September we held the Workshop Negotiating Climate Change at the ETH. With 45 participants from universities in 10 countries, but also from government, international organizations, NGOs and the private sector, the workshop was very successful and we managed to engage in lively discussions on the results and implications of our research.

Joyeeta Gupta, Professor of Climate Change Law and Policy at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, held a motivating keynote talk in which she shared with us the insights she has gained by

following the climate change negotiations since their beginning. In her talk, she brought us to think about the deep challenges arising from the need to move both developing and industrialized countries from defensive to constructive negotiation strategies.

We also had the privilege of having among us John Odell, Director of the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California and a renowned specialist in the field of negotiation research. We are really glad that he took the time to read thoroughly through our articles and provide us with helpful theoretical and empirical remarks.



Prof Joyeeta Gupta (Vrije University of Amsterdam) and Prof John Odell (USC) with CIS Prof Katja Michaelowa

In the morning session of the workshop, the focus was on our general findings regarding bargaining strategies and negotiation success obtained through statistical analysis. Stefanie Bailer (CIS-ETH) introduced her quantitative analysis of the choice of bargaining strategies, in which she found that both economic power and pressure from domestic stakeholders, in particular in democracies, explain the use of hard bargaining strategies. Looking at the determinants of success in the negotiations, Florian Weiler

(CIS-ETH) discussed that both external power sources and vulnerability to climate change are important variables explaining a country’s success in achieving its preferred negotiation outcome, but also that the use of hard bargaining strategies may be counterproductive for the most powerful countries.

The next session included results from three qualitative studies that looked at the evolving roles of India (Katja and Axel Michaelowa, CIS-UZH), Russia (Liliana Andonova and Assia Alexieva, Graduate Institute) and the Alliance of Small Island States (Carola Betzold, Paula Castro, Florian Weiler, CIS) in the climate negotiations. These case

studies provided detailed qualitative evidence that enriched the results of the statistical analyses, describing for example changes in strategies that have brought about changes in the status of countries in the negotiations. The fact that we used complementary quantitative and qualitative methods was generally considered to be particularly fruitful. At the

end of the day, a lively discussion between the audience, the project team and the invited discussants emerged on how our research findings could be improved and how they are relevant for practitioners. We are happy to say that the workshop fulfilled its task, enriching our understanding of the climate change negotiations and providing new ideas for research.

Paula Castro

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Events

BROWN-BAG SEMINARS SPONSORED BY CIS

CIS supports social and scientific interaction and exchange between its researchers in time- and resource-efficient ways. To this end, the CIS Board finances so-called brown-bag events. The idea is that a number of CIS researchers can come together around a research theme of shared interest and meet on a regular basis over a brown-bag lunch sponsored by CIS.

REQUIREMENTS

At least 5 CIS researchers (including PhD students and advanced MACIS students) from two or more different research groups may form a group and submit a funding application to the CIS. The group should meet regularly over the course of at least one semester. To ensure that the group reaches its goal of jointly addressing a specific research theme, group membership obliges members to prepare properly for each meeting (i.e., reading the texts to be discussed, preparing feedback on the work of others, etc). Group membership implies a high degree of commitment and regular attendance.

APPLICATION

Those wishing to form a brown-bag group are advised to follow these steps:

1. Get together and define your topic of interest, which should also be of interest for other students across CIS.
2. Times, dates, locations. Once the theme and the membership have been settled, define a semester-long schedule. Issues to consider:
 - a. How often does the group want to meet (at least five times in a semester)?
 - b. What dates will the events take place; at what time and where?
 - c. What will the group do (discuss the public work of others? Discuss group members' work? Or a mixture of both?)

- d. What lunch arrangements will you make (get take-out sandwiches and drinks?)
3. Write & submit application. Outlining the following:
 - a. Theme & goal. What is the group's focus, what is its goal?
 - b. Membership. Who is part of the group?
 - c. Schedule. When and where will they meet? What will it do during each event?
 - d. Submission. Submit your application of maximum one A4 sheet to the CIS director (currently Lars Erik Cederman).
 - e. Consideration of application. Once submitted, an application will be considered by the CIS director, who will inform the CIS board.
 4. ECTS points and form of assessment ('Leistungsnachweise'). MACIS and PhD students may obtain a maximum of 2 ECTS points for being part of a brown

bag group. The relevant student and his/her professor must agree on the modalities for the acquisition of the points.

This includes: The number of points to be acquired, the task that must be accomplished for those points (a presentation; a paper, etc), and the form of assessment of that task ('Leistungsnachweis').

5. Funding. A maximum of 14 CHF per group member per session may be claimed. For reimbursement please contact Maya Sela (maya.sela@gess.ethz.ch).



CIS Brown-bag seminar on Methods

by **Rebecca Welge**

The CIS brown bag seminar on 'Methods' was held last semester. It provided interested researchers a platform for exchange and mutual learning on the topic of research methods in political science. While admission to a PhD programme requires an adequate foundation in social science methodology and methods, many PhD students and post-docs are trained in a particular methodological domain, with only superficial knowledge of other approaches. The main purpose of the brown bag seminar we organized was to make all interested PhD students and post-docs working at the CIS familiar with relevant empirical methods of social science with which they do not (yet) engage in their everyday work. Each participant had to shortly present a method with which they are familiar, and discuss possibilities and limits of its application. The seminar thus gained from the expertise of several CIS students and provided a

valuable opportunity for networking and exchange in an informal setting. The presentations covered methods of data collection such as expert surveys and questionnaire design, as well as methods of data processing and data analysis such as geographic information system (GIS), Impact Evaluation, or Quantitative Text Analysis. The members of the group (from ETH Zurich and the University of Zurich) shared the strong interest in a broad range of subjects. The very interesting discussions of a broad range of methodological approaches made the seven lunch sessions a great success.

Participants of the 'Methods' seminar:

Carola Betzold, Anna Christmann, Teresa Tribaldos, Florian Weiler, Rebecca Welge, Martin Stadelmann

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Events

TRANSFORMATION OF THE ARAB WORLD

By **Petra Holtrup**

On October 27-28, 2011, the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) together with the NCCR Democracy organized an international conference on the Arab revolutions. The goal of the conference was to give insights on the various factors that triggered the transformations in the Arab region as well as the different pathways and dynamics of each country's revolution. Political scientists from various countries and backgrounds discussed the driving forces and the role of key actors within the process and gave a tentative forecast as to where the Arab Spring might be headed. The Arab revolution that has swept the region since December 2010 took many by surprise, and the consequences of this sweeping social change remain unclear.



The Auditorium Maximum at the ETH main building hosted the MENA conference

Expectations diverge: some observers are optimistic, anticipating a democratization process that brings stability to their respective countries; while others are pessimistic, fearing political chaos that will threaten to destabilize the whole region for a long time coming. The on-going developments on the ground give substance to both perspectives and make clear that the revolution is not homogenous in the Arab world.

To provide perspectives on these urgent issues, renowned political scientists from the Middle East, North Africa, Israel, Europe and the US were invited to give their view on the processes taking place. During two days of intense debate, the conference offered a platform for more than 130 participants—including academics, practitioners, students and the public—to inform themselves on recent developments.

The conference dealt with three major topics. The first day started with an inventory of the historical and political context and then moved on to specific analysis of underlying factors and driving forces of the revolutions, such as the role of traditional political relations, the relative strength of political elites and the importance of the Islam as a political factor in the establishment of democratic regimes. The second part of the day highlighted the interests of international and regional actors, namely the US, Israel, the EU, Saudi

Arabia and Iran. In the evening the day ended with a public panel discussion, supported by the German weekly *Die Zeit*. Participants were Arnold Hottinger (former Middle East-correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*), former Swiss ambassador Josef Bucher and Swiss-based Egyptian journalist Tamer Aboalenin.

The second day put the focus on the question of how sustainable the political upheavals will be. At the end the participants of the conference delivered a rather cautious conclusion of what could be expected in the near future.



Prof Steven Heydemann (US Institute of Peace) and Prof Mark Tessler (University of Michigan) discussing regime changes in the Arab world

All agreed that there is no way back to the old regime type in any of the transformation states, but opinions diverged about the time it will take as well as the regime type that will result at the end of the process.



Opening of the first session by Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi, NCCR Democracy

The recordings of the final discussion round in English and the public panel discussion in German are available on the NCCR website at www.nccr-democracy.uzh.ch/news_events/news/menaconference.

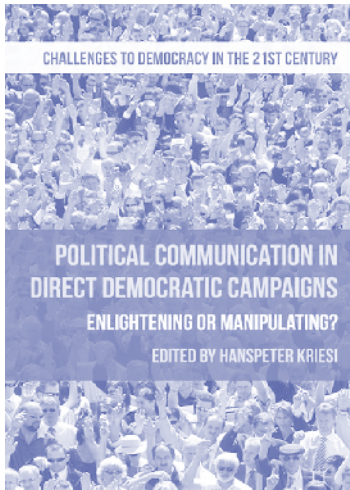
Petra Holtrup
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Publications

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

Hanspeter Kriesi

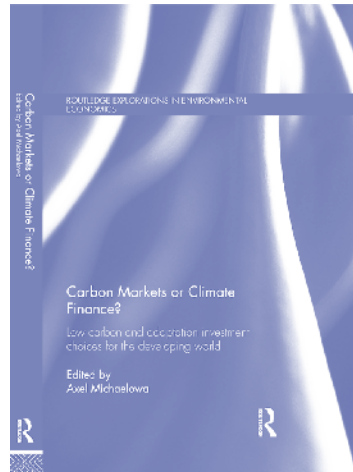
Political Communication in Direct Democratic Campaigns: Enlightening or Manipulating? (2011) Palgrave Macmillan | 288 pages
ISBN: 978-0-230304895



This book analyzes the interactions between elite strategies, media coverage, and public opinion in the context of three Swiss direct-democratic campaigns. It aims at answering the question of whether these campaigns take an enlightening or a manipulative form. As opposed to two issues related to immigration (the asylum law of 2006 and the 2008 naturalization initiative) the corporate tax campaign held in 2008 stands for an unfamiliar and complex issue. It is precisely in this campaign that the authors detect several indications of a manipulative outcome. This contest proved extraordinarily imbalanced, as the business community invested large sums of money. In addition, campaign dialogue was much lower. Regarding the mass media, this campaign gave rise to both less intense and less prominent coverage. Finally, the citizens' opinions turned out to be much more malleable, since conversion rates were twice as numerous and emotions had a stronger impact on voting decisions.

Axel Michaelowa

Carbon Markets or Climate Finance? (2012) Routledge | 272 pages
ISBN: 978-1-849714747



After the failure of the Copenhagen conference, climate finance has become the buzzword of international climate negotiations. Written by climate finance experts from academia and carbon finance businesses, the book provides background, first-hand insights, case studies and analysis. It discusses the challenges of climate finance in the context of the post-Copenhagen negotiations and provides a long-term outlook of how climate finance issues in developing countries. Looking into the past decade of climate policy, market mechanisms have shown to be a surprisingly attractive and transparent way to promote emissions mitigation in the South. In contrast, the performance of development assistance spent as climate finance to date is mixed. Surprisingly, several advanced developing countries have been able to mobilise domestic finance for large-scale mitigation activities. Learning from these lessons, the book shows how the Copenhagen fast track finance should be governed to achieve a satisfactory outcome. New market mechanisms and innovative incentives are therefore explained.

News

NEWSFLASH

Teaching Award

Frank Schimmelfennig is the winner of the Golden Owl teaching award for the ETH Department of Humanities and Social Sciences in 2011. The Golden Owl is an annual prize “awarded by the students to distinguish lecturers whose classes in the past academic year at ETH Zurich stood out for their quality”. Congratulations!

Editorial Board

Jessica Crivelli has been appointed member of the Editorial and Communication Team at the Journal International Political Sociology, edited by Didier Bigo and R.B.J. Walker. This publication is especially concerned with challenges arising from contemporary transformations of social, political, and global orders given the statist forms of traditional sociologies and the marginalization of social processes in many approaches to international relations.

Publications

CIS RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

Bailer, S. (2011): «Structural, Domestic, and Strategic Interests in the European Union», *Negotiation Journal*, (October): pp. 447-475

Bernauer, J. and D. Bochsler (2011): «Electoral Entry and Success of Ethnic Minority Parties in Central and Eastern Europe: A Hierarchical Selection Model», *Electoral Studies* 30 (4): pp. 738-55

Bochsler, D. (2011): «It is not how many votes you get, but also where you get them. Territorial determinants and institutional hurdles for the success of ethnic minority parties in post-communist countries», *Acta Politica* 46 (3): pp. 217-38

Bochsler, D. (2011): «Let the people decide? Learning from Swiss direct democracy in a comparative perspective», *Transitions* (special issue, 51) (1-2): pp. 115-20

Cederman, L.-E., Warren, T. C., and D. Sornette (2011): «Testing Clausewitz: Nationalism, Mass Mobilization, and the Severity of War», *International Organization*, 65(4): pp. 605-38

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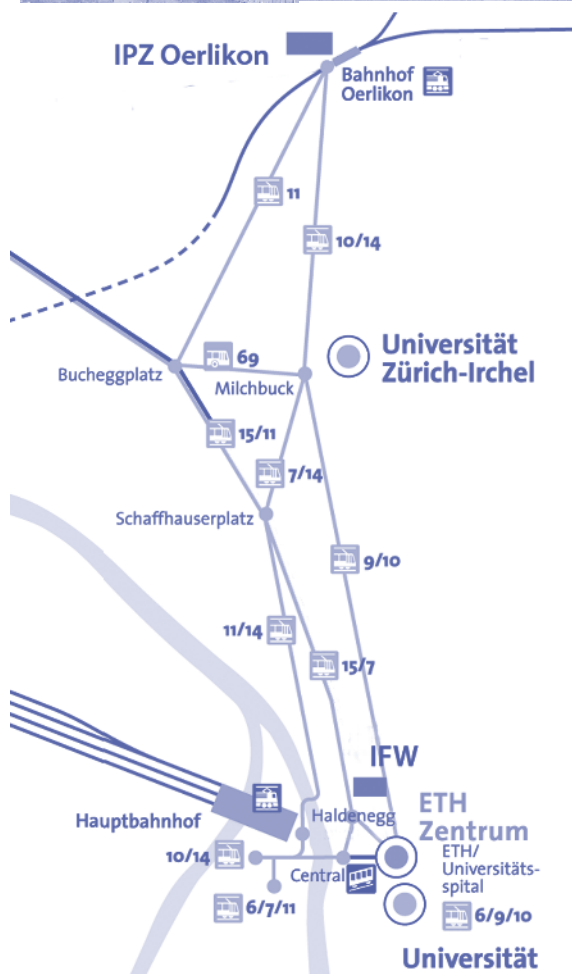
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