

# CIS News

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CIS News

# CIS NEWS

Nr. 23, January 2013

Annual Report - Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS Zurich)



## EDITORIAL

The year 2012 was a very productive one at CIS. The members of the Center continue to produce research that appeared in high-quality outlets. To name a few prominent examples, Marco Steenbergen co-authored a book entitled *The Ambivalent Partisan: How Critical Loyalty Promotes Democracy* (Oxford University Press 2012), and Francis Cheneval a singly authored book on *The Government of the Peoples: On the Idea and Principles of Multilateral Democracy* (Palgrave Macmillan 2012). Moreover, Andreas Wenger and Alex Wilner co-edited a volume on *Detering Terrorism: Theory and Practice* (Stanford University Press 2012) and Alrik Thiem and Adrian Dusa co-authored *Qualitative Comparative Analysis with R: A User's Guide* (Springer 2012). In addition, CIS research generated a large number of article publications in prominent journals, including the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Electoral Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *European Political Science Review*, *International Political Science Review*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Nature Climate Change*, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, *Public Choice*, and *World Politics*. A section of this newsletter provides a complete listing of these publications.

During the past year, CIS said goodbye to one of its most trusted and productive members, Hanspeter Kriesi, who moved to the European University Institute. Otherwise, however, the past year has also meant major progress in terms of personnel. Professor Silja Häusermann joined CIS by taking up the Chair of Swiss Politics and Comparative Political Economy at University of Zürich (see the interview in this issue). Furthermore, Professor Stefanie Walter accepted an offer to serve as Professor of International Relations and International Political Economy at University of Zürich. We are looking forward to her joining the CIS faculty. Other personnel decisions at the University of Zürich are pending but look very promising as well. We are also proud of the newly completed PhD theses that you can read more about in this newsletter.

CIS activities included a long list of prominent speakers in the CIS colloquium as well as several successful workshops. In May, Stefanie Bailer hosted a workshop on "Parliaments and Parliamentarians" together with Chris Kam. Daniel Bochsler and Bernhard Grofman co-organized a conference on "Ethnic Politics and Electoral Democracy" in June. In September, a conference on "Climate Impact Research and Uncertainties" organized by Katja Michaelowa was held, followed by the 25th International Climate Policy Workshop in October, and a workshop on "Democracy in the European Union" in November.

We congratulate Thomas Bernauer who was awarded the prestigious ERC Advanced Grant in 2012. Furthermore, CIS gained visibility thanks to Julian Wucherpfennig's being awarded the Jean Blondel Prize for the best PhD dissertation in 2011, and Tina Freyburg having won the SIAF Award, also for the best dissertation during the past year (see details in this issue).

All these achievements demonstrate that CIS continues to be a major focal point for internationally visible research in political science. Future challenges include securing enough resources to support our future activities and long-term planning of common research projects and educational programs building on, and further developing, our strengths.

Lars-Erik Cederman \*

\* Lars -Erik Cederman is CIS Director and Professor of International Conflict Research (ETH)

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Silja Häusermann

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Universität  
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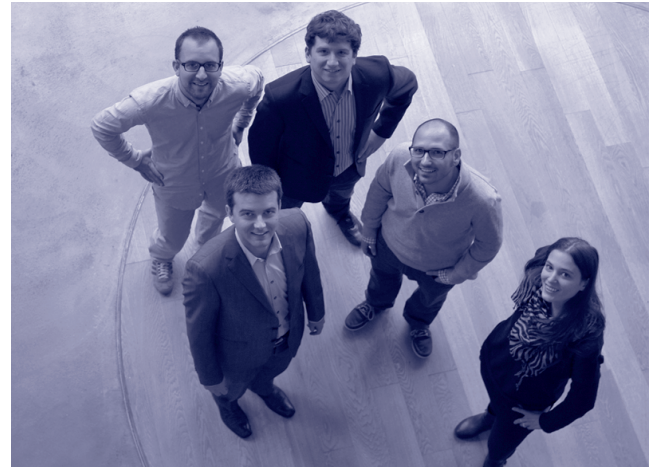
Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich  
Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich

## FOCUS

## RESEARCH GROUPS

## Public Policy (UZH)

The term «public policy» denotes the output of a political system. Public policies are one of the most concrete ways in which we experience politics in our everyday life, even though we do not always notice them. When we are ill and need medical attention, we are affected by health policy, which determines how we can access health care services; when we use electronic devices, we rely on regulatory policy for their safety and on energy policy for the electricity that powers them; as professors or students, our activities within a university are shaped by education policy; the list of examples is virtually endless. As a sub-discipline of political science, public policy seeks to understand and explain the origins, nature, implementation, and consequences of policies in all areas and at all political levels (subnational, national, and international). The Chair of Public Policy pursues these goals with an emphasis on the rigorous empirical analysis of theoretical research questions with practical relevance, with the primary aim of advancing scientific knowledge on public policy. Furthermore, the Chair strives to combine insights from, and contribute to, other political

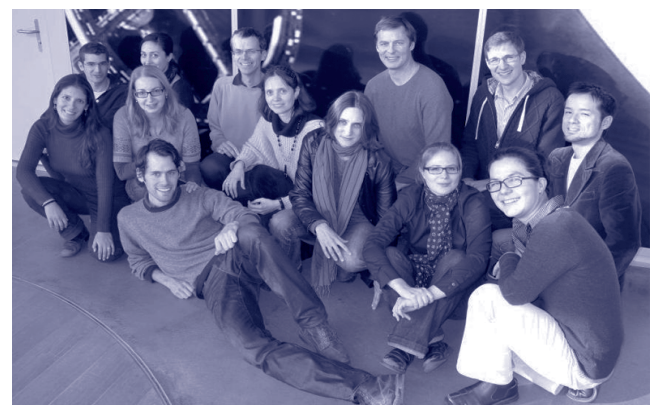


science subfields such as comparative politics, political economy, and international relations.

Prof. Fabrizio Gilardi  
[www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/pa\\_en.html](http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/pa_en.html)

## Political Economy and Development (UZH)

The Chair “Political Economy of Developing and Transition Countries”, established in 2006, is headed by Prof. Katharina Michaelowa. Our research is structured along three broad thematic areas: (i) Policies and politics in developing countries, (ii) international development cooperation, and (iii) international climate policy. We mainly work empirically, using international panel data, household and student surveys, or experiments. In the first area, we analyze how political actors, institutions, societal structures, social movements and international donors and NGOs affect policy-making in e.g. education, microfinance provision and welfare state development. We also look at the effectiveness of public policies, especially in the education sector. Within development cooperation, we analyze aid effectiveness at the sector level and within different types and modalities of aid, and examine aid-related decision making processes by donors and recipient countries. Providing insight into channels of influence and deriving conditions conducive to effective aid may help to allocate aid more efficiently. Our research in climate policy covers issues related to mitigation of and adaptation to climate change in deve-



loping countries, international climate finance, the inter-linkages between climate and energy policy, and the negotiation process under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. Our teaching focuses on basic economic theory and methods of economic analysis (basic microeconomics, macroeconomics, game theory, and public choice theory), and on specialized courses related to our research.

Prof. Katharina Michaelowa  
[www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/ep\\_en.html](http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/ep_en.html)

FOCUS

## European Politics (ETH)

The European Politics group does research on fundamental problems of regional political integration in Europe. Its work rests on the assumption that the EU does not follow patterns of state-building, but is developing into a system of differen-



tiated internal and external integration. The group is currently looking at three main questions: First, how does European integration develop over time and across sub-regions and policies? Specifically, we are establishing a database of EU law to study why European integration is developing along increasingly differentiated lines. The second research focus is on enlargement and external governance. What drives and conditions EU rule transfer beyond the member states? In particular, we try to understand how the EU can promote democracy and contribute to good governance in its Eastern European neighborhood and the Mediterranean region. Finally, we study “democracy” as a model of democracy that is suitable for a multinational entity with weak identity and weak political structuring. We are interested in how democratic institutions are established, interact, and work in the EU system. In addition to individual projects, the group participates in collaborative research in the context of the National Center for Competence in Research “Challenges to Democracy in the 21st century” and an EU FP7 project on “Maximizing the Integration Capacity of the European Union”.

Prof. Frank Schimmelfennig  
[www.eup.ethz.ch/](http://www.eup.ethz.ch/)

## Democracy and Public Governance (UZH)

The Chair of Research on Democracy and Public Governance is endowed by the city of Aarau. Since the 1st of April 2009, it is held by Professor Daniel Kübler who, at the same time, is the head of the Democracy Research Group at the Centre for Democracy Studies in Aarau. The Chair investigates characteristics, functioning and performance of democratic institutions in a comparative perspective. The research activities of Professor Kübler and his collaborators cover five main thematic areas. The research group on the de-nationalisation of democracy investigates the consequences of the shift of political decision-making processes away from the national level as a result of globalisation. A second research area focuses on democracy in multicultural societies and is involved with the challenges that traditional and newer forms of multiculturalism face in democratic societies. The work of the research group on new forms of participation in established democracies analyzes alternative forms of participation that are recently emerging in Switzerland. As a fourth exploratory focus, Professor Kübler and his team investigate issues of urban politics and demo-



cracy from an international perspective. Finally, the research area on public governance is concerned with the analysis and evaluation of public policies, primarily in Switzerland.

Prof. Daniel Kübler  
[www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/df\\_en.html](http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/df_en.html)



## FOCUS

## Global Governance (ETH)

In the Global Governance Group we investigate decision-making processes and negotiations at the international, European and national level. In the research project “Negotiating Climate Change” (funded by the Swiss Network of International Studies, (in cooperation with Prof. Katja Michaelowa, University of Zurich)) we analyse the question with which bargaining resources and



strategies governments want to achieve their aims in the UNFCCC climate change negotiations. Furthermore, we want to explain which variables explain their choice of negotiation positions and strategies. Decision-making of parliamentarians is analysed in the project «Voting Behaviour in the Bundestag» (funded by the Fritz-Thyssen Foundation, in co-operation with Prof. Thomas Saalfeld (Universität Bamberg) and Dr. Ulrich Sieberer (Universität Konstanz)). In this project we gather all the existing roll call votes from the German Bundestag from 1949 - 2013 in order to analyse the influencing factors on party unity over time. How decision-making is influenced by the career paths of parliamentarians is in the center of attention in the project «Recruitment and Career Paths of German Parliamentarians» (funded by the BMW Foundation, in co-operation with Prof. Peter Selb (Universität Konstanz)). In this project we investigate the typical career paths of German parliamentarians and whether these career tracks lead to different voting behavior, attitudes and success in the Bundestag.

Prof. Stefanie Bailer  
[www.gg.ethz.ch/about/index](http://www.gg.ethz.ch/about/index)

## Policy Analysis Evaluation (UZH)

The research area “Policy-Analysis & Evaluation” within the Department of Political Science, University of Zurich, is concerned with the analysis of public policies primarily in Switzerland. The members of the research group conduct research and evaluation projects in the framework of research funding and contract research in different policy fields (such as public health, education, energy policy, environmental policy, gender and age policy). Specifically, we focus on the analysis of policy making and institutional change, and on conceptual and methodological issues regarding the evaluation of public policies. Furthermore, various research projects address questions regarding the political behavior of citizens in public votes and elections and of parliamentarians in Switzerland at national and cantonal levels. The research area “Policy-Analysis

& Evaluation” serves as the leading house of the nationwide research network “Policy Evaluation in the Swiss Political System” funded as a Sinergia project by the Swiss National Science Foundation. In addition to the project-oriented research activities, the members are involved in academic and non-academic training and education, and also act as consultants in their area of expertise.



PD Dr. Thomas Widmer  
[www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/fbpa\\_en.html](http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/fbpa_en.html)

FOCUS

### Center for Security Studies (ETH)

At the heart of the Center for Security Studies (CSS) research activities are key questions of contemporary security and strategy. Unlike traditional, pre-1989 security threats, most of today's challenges do not respect national borders, nor do they easily respond to traditional state-centric security approaches. We are particularly interested in the changing landscape of threats that states and their societies face (with a main

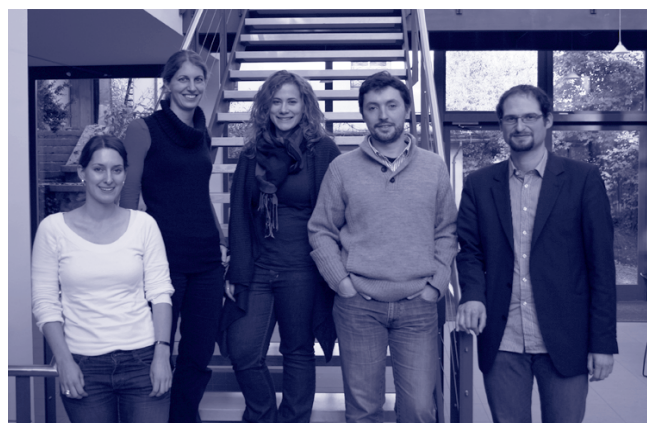


focus on the issues of (non-)proliferation, energy and supply security, cyber security, and terrorism), the methodologies, concepts, and tools used to gain knowledge about these threats (with a main focus on risk assessment, horizon scanning, and the use of social media) and the way states organise themselves to confront these threats (internally, regionally, globally, with a particular focus on strategies, security institutions and regimes). Theoretically informed, but empirically-grounded engagement with threat perceptions, but also actual methodologies, strategies and policies used to manage the threats help us to study the relationship between conceptual shifts in security-thinking and the resulting modes of security governance. By asking for causes and implications of these changes for the state and society, we tackle the key issues of authority and legitimacy in security affairs, and how the relationship between politics and security is re-arranged.

Prof. Andreas Wenger  
[www.css.ethz.ch/about/index\\_EN](http://www.css.ethz.ch/about/index_EN)

### Democratization and Quality of Democracy (UZH)

The research group Democratization and Quality of Democracy examines the development of democracy in a comparative perspective. Based on five main research projects, we approach this topic from different angles. On the one hand, we focus on processes of democratization and on young democracies. This aspect covers questions of regional diffusion of democracy, of the establishment and functioning of representative democracy in ethnically divided or post-conflict societies, and of the role and functioning of political institutions in young democracies. For example, the research project on political representation in Bosnia-Herzegovina analyses the consequences of violence for political behaviour and local democracy in multi-ethnic municipalities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the other hand, we work on the quality of democracy. With the Democracy Barometer, we aim at developing a measurement to assess the differences in the quality of democracy among established democracies. Currently, the empirical focus lies on social inequality of political participation in democracies, and on the integration of ethnic minorities into the political process. Analysing mixed electoral systems, we



are interested in the consequence of such hybrid institutions on the quality of democracy, political behaviour and the (non-) consolidation of party systems.

Prof. Daniel Bochsler  
[www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/demokratisierungunddemokratiequalitaet\\_en.html](http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/demokratisierungunddemokratiequalitaet_en.html)

## FOCUS

## Swiss Politics & Comparative Political Economy (UZH)

In both research and teaching, our team focuses on two subfields of Comparative Politics: Swiss Politics and Comparative Political Economy. In a comparative perspective, Switzerland is an intriguing case in many respects. On the one hand, its political system bears resemblance to other continental and Northern European consensus democracies. On the other hand, however, it displays distinct and peculiar institutions like direct democracy, the collegial government or an unusually liberal form of capitalism. Our goal is to contribute to the understanding of Swiss politics by means of rigorous empirical research. Doing so, we investigate a variety of research questions from Comparative Politics, Policy Analysis and Comparative Political Economy with regard to the Swiss case. Specifically, we are interested in the institutional



regime, voting and electoral behavior, changing party and interest group systems and policy-making. Comparative Political Economy is a subfield of Comparative Politics, which investigates the interrelations of the State and the Economy by means of political science theories and methods. It asks why and how States intervene in the economy, as well as how economic interests and institutions shape politics. In our research, we have a particularly strong focus on social and labor market policy regimes and geographically on Western Europe. Methodologically, our focus is on quantitative comparative research both at the micro- and macro-levels, but depending on the research question we also use qualitative and mixed methods.

Prof. Silja Häusermann  
[www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/sp\\_en.html](http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/sp_en.html)

## Political Sociology (UZH)

Political sociology is concerned with the way social structure impinges on and shapes politics. Social structure denotes the commonalities and antagonisms of individuals that are rooted in shared experiences at the workplace, in religion, gender, and their membership in various other social groups. Quite naturally, political sociology is interested primarily in social differences that entail power and privilege. These differences are sometimes perceived and politicized, but just as often, they are kept outside the realm of politics due to the prevalence of traditional social norms, clientelist exchanges, or narratives that act to de-politicize social differences. The questions that can be asked from such a perspective are varied: Social location impinges not only on voting behavior, but also on the preference for democracy or autocratic forms of government, and is relevant to a myriad of other research questions. Political sociology is characterized by methodological pluralism. While a current project studies party system formation in Latin America using comparative history, explaining the ability of right-wing populist parties to break into some, but not into

other West European party systems requires the use of quantitative data on party positions and voter preferences. Most importantly, the research conducted in this group aims to overcome the social structural determinism inherent in some applications of political sociology by marrying a structural approach with a focus on agency.



Dr. Simon Borschnier  
[www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/politischesoziologie\\_en.html](http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/politischesoziologie_en.html)



FOCUS

### International Conflict Research (ETH)

The International Conflict Research (ICR) Group under the direction of Lars-Erik Cederman conducts research on armed international and domestic conflict. The main focus is on macro-historical processes such as nationalism, democratization and state-formation, as well as associated micro-theoretical mechanisms. In particular, the group investigates the role of ethnic groups in conflict processes, addressing pertinent debates, such as the one on the role of collective grievances or the effectiveness of power-sharing institutions, or the role of transborder ethnic kin relations and refugee flows. To investigate such processes and mechanisms, the research relies on empirical methods, such as statistics and Geographical Information Systems (GIS), and computational methods, notably agent-based modeling. The group has invested heavily in large-scale data collection on ethnic groups, domestic power constellations between them, their relations to non-state actors, transnational linkages and flows, as well as group defining identity markers. The most recent version of the Ethnic Power Relations dataset, EPR-ETH, offers information about ethnic groups' access to state power from 1946 through 2009. Findings have been published in the leading Journals of the discipline, including the American Political Science Review, World Politics and International Organization, and will appear in a forthcoming book with the title Inequality, Grievances and Civil War (Cambridge University Press 2013). A new data portal called GROWup offers a user-friendly interface to view and download empirical data on ethnic groups and intrastate



conflict, and of datasets generously provided by our partners. The ICR Group relies on external funding from several sources, including the Swiss National Science Foundation. It is the leading house of an EU-funded initiative called ENCoRe, European Network for Conflict Research that coordinates research conducted in 17 European countries. Moreover, the ICR Group contributes to the activities of the ETH Risk Center, of which Cederman is a member.

Prof. Lars-Erik Cederman  
[www.icr.ethz.ch](http://www.icr.ethz.ch)

### International & Comparative Political Economy (ETH)

Our group focuses on political and other conditions under which international environmental and economic problems can be solved. We are particularly interested in the following issues: Why do some countries perform better than others in terms of environmental quality and sustainable development?; Why are some countries more cooperative than others in international efforts to solve international environmental and economic problems; Why are some international trade disputes easier/harder to resolve than others?; Under what conditions do interactions between civil society and governments in global governance produce more effective policies?; To what extent and how does climate change and resource scarcity cause societal problems, such as migration, reduced economic growth, and political violence?; How do indivi

dual citizens perceive and evaluate international policy-making in areas such as environmental protection and trade liberalization?



Prof. Thomas Bernauer  
[www.ib.ethz.ch](http://www.ib.ethz.ch)



## Focus

## Political Methodology (UZH)

The Methods Chair focuses on both fundamental and applied methodological research. The key methodological foci are causal inference, Bayesian inference, and measurement. In terms of applications we cover a wide range of fields, including political behavior/political psychology, ethnic conflict, deliberative democracy, and public policy. Recent projects include, among others, the **determinants** and consequences of immigration policy in **Switzerland**, the effects of ethnic violence in Peru, the nature of deliberation in the European public sphere, and the nature of partisanship in the American electorate. Members: Prof. Dr. Marco Steenbergen, Dr. Dominik Hangartner, Seraina Pedrini, Giuseppe Pietrantuono, Livio Raccuia, Livia Schuberger, and Kushtrim Veseli.



Prof. Marco Steenbergen  
[www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/mp\\_en.html](http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/lehrstuehle/mp_en.html)

## GUEST SPEAKERS AT THE CIS COLLOQUIUM 2012 (Fall semester)

- 4-Oct-2012 **Dave Armstrong** (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) - "Causal Mechanisms and the Democracy-Repression Nexus"
- 11-Oct-2012 **Hans-Werner Sinn** (Ifo Institute for Economic Research, Munich) - "The Green Paradox"
- 18-Oct-2012 **Fabrizio Gilardi** (University of Zurich / CIS) - "The diffusion of women's political representation"
- 22-Oct-2012 **Robert J. Weiner** (George Washington University) - "Energy Security and Foreign Investment: Are Chinese (and other Asian) Companies Buying up the World's Oil?"
- 25-Oct-2012 **Indridi Indridason** (University of California, Riverside) - "Live for Today, Hope for Tomorrow? Rethinking Gamson's Law"
- 1-Nov-2012 **Lars-Erik Cederman, Philipp Hunziker & Julian Wucherpfennig** (ETH Zurich / CIS) - "Who inherits the state? Colonial rule and postcolonial conflict"
- 29 - Nov-2012 **Michael Herrmann** (University of Zurich) - "Multilevel Analysis of Party Elites and their Voters in Switzerland"
- 6-Dec-2012 **Milan Svolik** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) - "Third-Party Institutions and the Success of Democracy"
- 13-Dec-2012 **Craig Parsons** (University of Oregon) - "How the 'Democratic Deficit' Is a Problem with Democracy, Not With the EU"

## News

## NEWSFLASH

## Jean Blondel Prize

The Jean Blondel PhD Prize 2012 was jointly awarded to **Julian Wucherpfennig** (CIS Zürich) for his PhD entitled "Fighting for Change: Onset, Duration, and Recurrence of Ethnic Conflict" and to Didier Caluwaerts (Vrije Universiteit Brussels) for his PhD "Confrontation and Communication: Experiments on Deliberative Democracy in Linguistically Divided Belgium".

## SIAF Award

We congratulate our CIS student **Tina Freyburg**, who is the winner of this year's SIAF Award (Schweizerisches Institut für Auslandsforschung) for her dissertation on «Transnational Influences and Democratic Socialization in Authoritarian Contexts».

## American Political Science Association

The Best Paper Award of the American Political Science Association (European Politics and Society Section) was awarded in 2012 to Christilla Roederer-Rynning and **Frank Schimelfennig** for their article 'Bringing codecision to agriculture: a hard case of parliamentarization' published in the Journal of European Public Policy (Volume 19, Issue 7, 2012).

**Thomas Bernauer** won the prestigious ERC Advanced Award in 2012.

**Lars-Erik Cederman, Nils Weidmann** and **Kristian Skrede Gleditsch** won APSA's Heinz Eulau Award for the best article in the American Political Science Review in 2011.

**Lars-Erik Cederman** is the Chair of the new COST Action ENCoRe: European Network for Conflict Research. See: <http://www.encore.ethz.ch>.

Research & Education

## RECENTLY COMPLETED PH.D.S



Minority Protection Beyond EU Conditionality: Legislative Developments and Implementation

Supervisor: Frank Schimmelfennig

By **Lilla Balázs**

The dissertation focuses on the depth and long-term sustainability of minority protection rules adopted under EU conditionality in the region of East Central Europe. As conditionality has been found instrumental for positive legislative changes in the protection of minorities, expectations have predicted their large-scale revocation or patchy implementation. A fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) of minority protection legislation before and after EU accession in ten new EU member states finds few cases of revocation. Nevertheless, the actual implementation of these laws is found to be highly contingent. This is shown by comparative analysis of the implementation of minority language use provisions in Romanian public institutions. Testing the effect of statute determinacy, implementing agency affiliation and commitment, superior intervention and minority size, the analysis reveals that implementation hinges mainly on individual implementing agency commitment.



Ethnic Minority Parties in Party Competition

Supervisor: Frank Schimmelfennig

By **Edina Szöcsik**

Do ethnic parties constitute a threat to democratic stability? The thesis questions the assumed “uniqueness” and the hostility toward sustaining democratic stability of ethnic parties in ethnically divided societies. To explain the flexibility of ethnic parties to choose between radical and moderate strategies, theoretical arguments and empirical methods used to study non-ethnic parties in the literature on party politics are applied. The core of thesis focuses on the cases of the Hungarian minority parties in Romania and Slovakia providing a most similar case design. On the hand, the results show that the causes and consequences of political party competition within ethnic groups can be widely explained by conventional explanations from the party politics literature. On the other hand, the findings of quantitative within-case studies highlight the influence of the local ethnic context on the electoral entry of new ethnic parties and the formation of inter-ethnic coalitions in elections.



Patterns of media performance: comparing the contribution of mass media to established democracies worldwide

Supervisor: Hanspeter Kriesi

By **Lisa Müller**

The notion that mass media are an integral element of modern democracies is widely accepted, but there is a great deal of controversy regarding the question of how well media play their democratic role. However, neither of the positions within this debate rests on solid empirical and especially comparative evidence. Thus, this thesis aims to contribute to the cross-national research on democratic media performance. It argues that mass media have two normative functions in a democracy: vertically, they need to disseminate politically relevant information to as many citizens as possible; and horizontally, they need to provide a public forum that reflects the diversity of the society. The degree to which these two functions are fulfilled is analyzed on the level of media structures and media content, comparing ten to 47 countries. The results reveal that media performance on both levels varies considerably across countries. While the media in the younger democracies within the sample generally lag behind, different patterns of media performance can be observed with respect to the more mature democracies. In short, the vertical function seems to be better guaranteed in Anglo-Saxon countries, whereas central Western and Northern European countries are found to perform better with regard to the horizontal function.

## Research &amp; Education

## RECENTLY COMPLETED PH.D.S



The Governance of Cybersecurity: An Analysis of Public-Private Partnerships in a New Field of Security Policy

Supervisor: Andreas Wenger

By **Manuel Suter**

Over the last decade cybersecurity emerged as new central topic in security policy. The increasing importance of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) for modern societies has created new dependencies and entails serious risks. Governments are challenged by this new development as they can hardly mitigate such new risks without the help of the private sector. Confronted with this situation, governments started to establish Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) for cybersecurity. The dissertation aims to increase the knowledge on PPPs for cybersecurity. In particular, it examines the role of public actors in these partnerships. Building on the theory on network governance it analyzes which management strategies public actors apply in order to coordinate and steer the PPPs in the field of cybersecurity. By comparing and analyzing the activities of public actors in different partnerships, the dissertation contributes to a better understanding of the role of governments in the governance of cybersecurity.

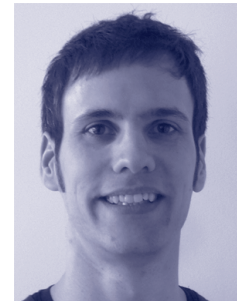


Cantons as Policy Laboratories of the Federal State? The Diffusion of Health Insurance Subsidy Policies among the Swiss Cantons

Supervisor: Fabrizio Gilardi

By **Katharina Füglistner**

An often-stated advantage of federalist over unitarian states is that decentralized states serve as policy laboratories in which new policies are tested and -if successful- spread to the entire country. It implicitly assumes that federalism promotes policy learning. However, how do policies diffuse? Through which channels are policy relevant information disseminated? To address these questions, empirically, this thesis analyzes how interdependencies between policy-makers in the federal state of Switzerland influence health policy choices. More precisely, it focuses on governmental subsidies for health insurance premiums, the main social corrective to the otherwise strongly liberal system. Adapting a diffusion framework and using an innovative method, this thesis provides evidence that policy-makers learn from the experiences of others. However, successful policies do not just spread - rather, they need to be channeled. By facilitating the exchange among policy-makers, institutionalized intergovernmental cooperation is identified as one possible channel for policy diffusion and policy learning. Such institutions are therefore crucial for the states-as-laboratories metaphor to work.



Struggling with the Intricate Giant - The Politicization of European Integration in Western Europe

Supervisor: Hanspeter Kriesi

By **Dominic Höglinger**

What role does European integration play in domestic politics in Western Europe? While many scholars believe this political issue is about to fundamentally reshape domestic politics, others argue that the “sleeping giant” is, and will remain, fast asleep. Fusing two separate research strands – political communication and European integration politics – the thesis engages in this ongoing debate by arguing that the question of how best to deal with the multifaceted nature of the European integration issue poses a tough challenge for the political elite. Most politicians struggle constantly, sometimes desperately, with this intricate giant that is difficult to both domesticate and unleash for very long. Substantiated by fresh data from a quantitative media-content analysis, the thesis shows that the complex nature of this issue results in multiple, changing, and contradicting linkages with traditional lines of conflict and that the meaning of the issue is difficult to control. This leads to an enduring politicization of Europe which, at the same time, only has a limited magnitude.

Research & Education

# RECENTLY COMPLETED PH.D.S



Mapping economic liberalization debates: How institutions and discursive coalitions reinforce economic orthodoxy in Western Europe

Supervisor: Hanspeter Kriesi

**By Bruno Wueest**

The thesis consists of a study of the public debate on economic liberalization in Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, the U.K., and Switzerland at the beginning of the new millennium. Following a discursive institutionalist perspective, the study integrates political-economic varieties among countries, media system characteristics, as well as actor-specific preferences and discursive strategies into a single research design. The findings point to the prevalence of discursive coalitions that advocate economic orthodoxy. Yet, the strength of these coalitions depends on the institutional context. Most notably in France and in the arenas of the input side of politics in all countries, the debate is heavily polarized. Here, oppositional coalitions of traditional leftists and protectionists have a rather strong influence.



Explaining the Dynamics of International Legal Commitment in the Area of Air Pollution

Supervisor: Thomas Bernauer

**By Sophie Perrin**

In order to better understand the ratification behaviour of states in the field of international environmental cooperation, this dissertation combines current explanations of international commitment behaviour with insights from diffusion studies. Empirically, it focuses on the nine agreements of the regime on long-range transboundary air pollution (LRTAP). Overall the results confirm that interdependencies matter. This thesis provides qualitative as well as quantitative evidence for the effects of diffusion processes on ratification dynamics. It demonstrates that not only domestic factors such as capacity and costs associated with cooperation but international factors - in particular learning and emulation mechanisms - have an effect on the ratification behaviour of states. In contrast, competition and coercion mechanisms do not seem to have a similar impact. These findings show that it is important to take into account temporal dynamics and diffusion mechanisms in order to better understand the drivers of international cooperation.



Negotiating Climate Change - Positioning Behavior, Cooperations, and Bargaining Success

Supervisor: Stefanie Bailer

**By Florian Weiler**

The recurring climate change negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) represent the most important diplomatic platform to solve the global climate crisis. However, despite the now widely recognized need to act swiftly to prevent dangerous levels of global warming, the progress of the negotiations is slow and cumbersome at best. My dissertation, part of the researcher project 'Negotiating Climate Change' funded by the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS), sets out to explain why this is the case and investigates various elements of the bargaining process. More specifically, I analyze countries' positioning behavior, coalition formation and position coordination, as well as the determinants of successful bargaining tactics. The synopsis of the dissertations draws a picture of how a better understanding of these different components can help to overcome the deadlock of the negotiations.



## Research &amp; Education

# MASTER PROGRAMS IN POLITICAL SCIENCES & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN ZURICH (ETH AND UZH)

	<b>Title</b>	<b>MA in Comparative and International Studies (MA-CIS)</b> Leading house: ETH Zurich, jointly with UZH	<b>MA in Political Science (MA-IPZ)</b> Leading house: UZH
<b>General Profile</b>		International Politics	Covers whole thematic spectrum of Political Science
<b>Focus</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conflict Research / Security Studies</li> <li>- Democracy</li> <li>- International Political Economy</li> <li>- Sustainable Development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Classic Master's program with specialization (with or without a Minor subject)</li> <li>- Further specialization in four main areas:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Democracy, Development and International Relations</li> <li>• Political Philosophy and Political Economy</li> <li>• Swiss Politics</li> <li>• Political Data-Driven Journalism</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Duration</b>		3 Semesters (90 ECTS)	4 Semesters (120 ECTS)
<b>Language</b>		English	German and English
<b>Admission</b>		Pre-selection prior to admission; MACIS seeks excellent students, completion of the GRE, as well as good TOEFL results. Approx. 1/3 students have completed a BA in a similar field; approx. 2/3 hold a BA in Political Science	Consecutive Master's program with a Bachelor's degree in Political Science; Admission for all other applicants requires 60 ECTS points in field of Political Science and Methods
<b>No. of students</b>		Approx. 15 - 20 (circa 40% - 60% international students)	Approx. 50
<b>Teaching staff</b>		ETH Zurich and University Zurich	University of Zurich and professional external lecturers
<b>Structure</b>		Thematic concentration in four areas; approx. 2/3 of courses offered are compulsory for all students entering in the same year	Modular structure with various combinations available; specialization encouraged; approx. 20 electives available each semester
<b>Degree awarded</b>		Internationally recognized Masters degree from ETH Zurich and UZH	Internationally recognized Masters degree from UZH
<b>Internships</b>		Available on a voluntary basis, but does not amount to ECTS accreditation	Available at the Institution within the framework of a research project or external; ECTS accreditation possible, replaces one seminar
<b>Student fees</b>		CHF 644 (per semester) *2012	CHF 769 (per semester) * 2012
<b>Location</b>		Central Zurich (IFW) & Zurich-Oerlikon (IPZ)	Zurich- Oerlikon (IPZ)
<b>Extras</b>		Small & intimate class sizes; employment options within respective research groups; yearly excursions to Geneva to visit international organizations	One-on-one coaching for first-semester students; optional mentoring program with alumni professionals (working in relevant Political Science fields)
		More information: <a href="http://www.cis.ethz.ch/education/macis">www.cis.ethz.ch/education/macis</a>	More information: <a href="http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/studium">www.ipz.uzh.ch/studium</a>

Voices and Faces

## FOUR QUESTIONS FOR SILJA HÄUSERMANN

This year Silja Häusermann joined CIS Zurich as Professor of Swiss Politics and Comparative Political Economy (see page 6.) She kindly replied to some questions for the Newsletter.

### *Why did you decide to join CIS?*

This is nothing less than a dream job for me. The conditions for research and teaching are excellent at CIS and I knew I was going to join colleagues whom it would be delightful to work with. A very important aspect in my decision was the fact that CIS is expanding and developing so dynamically, which provides plenty of opportunities to participate in the institutional and also substantial future orientation of CIS. The new orientation of our Master Programs, including specializations in Swiss Politics and in Philosophy and Political Economy, a new research network on Comparative and International Political Economy that Stefanie Walter (who will join CIS in the fall 2013) and I will be developing, and the ongoing searches for new colleagues in Comparative Politics and Political Theory are just three examples of this.

### *The Chair of Swiss Politics was created in 1980, are you giving it a new orientation today?*

In our profession, a new nomination always shapes the way a specific field is defined, analyzed and taught. In my case, this will be the case in two regards. First, I am a comparativist, and this is how I approach the study of Swiss Politics. I am convinced that you can only understand a country by comparing it explicitly or implicitly,

and I prefer the explicit, systematic comparison. My lecture on Swiss Politics, for instance, asks how well the Swiss political system performs, both democratically and also with regard to specific policies, a question you can only answer by means of a comparative approach. The student evaluation we just had shows that the students appreciate this approach very much, because they develop a more contextualized and also critical appreciation of the Swiss case.

The second reorientation of the Chair is very obvious. The Chair has been renamed into “Swiss Politics and Comparative Political Economy”. CPE is a flourishing subfield of Political Science, which analyzes the determinants, forms and outcomes of the manifold interactions of politics and markets. I am very happy to develop and strengthen this field within CIS in both research and teaching.

### *In which particular aspects of politics are you most interested ?*

My main interest always lies in explaining the distribution of resources and opportunities in a society. My current research agenda centers around political parties, labor markets and welfare states. With my team and further colleagues, we study for instance the question to which part of their heterogeneous constituencies political parties respond, i.e. whose distributive preferences they actually represent. Or we analyze whether job flexibility and employment vulnerability have created a political divide between labor market insiders and outsiders in Western Europe, and to what extent and in which countries such a divide is mobilized and articulated



politically. Both projects deal with the question whose interests are actually heard and taken into account in today's capitalist democracies.

### *How would you describe the specificity of Swiss politics compared to other European democracies ?*

Switzerland is a very typical, almost prototypical consensus democracy, similar to most of the other small West European democracies. The particularly strong development of direct democracy reinforces its consensus democratic features, such as corporatist decision-making or the grand coalition. However, Switzerland is also a very intriguing country in many respects. For instance, Switzerland combines a rather liberal, almost anglo-saxon type of market regulation with a quite generous, typically continental European welfare state. Such hybrid features make the country both analytically and empirically interesting.

silja.haeusermann@ipz.uzh.ch

## Voices and Faces

## A YEAR AT CIS...

**Leoni Studer**

In August 2011 I started my third year as an apprentice at CIS. I was the first apprentice here, so I came not knowing what to expect, what might happen or what was needed of me. The spread of the different exercises was amazing. With Maya Sela I had a wonderful entrance to the world of event management. Pepa Echanove showed me how ambitious it is to create a newsletter. Most of my time, I spent with Diana Bruni and Susanne Böhm. Diana was training me to become someone who knows, above all, the different processes in the coordination of a Master's program. I was involved in the application process, the scheduling process and so on. With Susanne I worked on all the financial and human resources matters. I benefited from her experience and learned much. All in all it was a great time at CIS. The contact with all the different people was very interesting and pleasant. I would like to take the opportunity to thank you all again for the instructive and exciting time at CIS.



*\* On behalf of CIS we wish Leoni a great start in her new position at the Finances Department of ETH Zurich !*

**Selina Oggier**

Mein Name ist Selina Oggier und ich bin 16 Jahre alt. Seit dem 15. August 2012 bin ich die neue KV-Lernende in der CIS Abteilung. Vor meiner Lehre, ging ich in die Sekundarschule A. Zur Schule ging ich eigentlich immer sehr gerne, aber dennoch freute ich mich sehr auf den Schritt in die Arbeitswelt, denn ich wollte nun auch endlich mein eigenes Geld verdienen und neue Erfahrungen sammeln. An der ETH gefällt es mir sehr gut. Es ist ziemlich abwechslungsreich und die Mitarbeiter sind sehr nett. An meinem neuen Arbeitsplatz habe ich mich schnell eingelebt und ich weiss was meine täglich wiederkehrenden Aufgaben sind. Dazu gehört unter anderem Post austeilern, Rechnungen kontieren und vieles mehr. Viele neue Eindrücke habe ich schon gesammelt und ich bin gespannt wie meine weiteren Jahre hier an der ETH ZH aussehen. Über meine Zukunft mache ich mir eigentlich noch nicht sehr viele Gedanken. Als erstes möchte ich natürlich meine Lehre erfolgreich abschliessen. Was ich sicher einmal machen möchte/werde, ist ein Sprachaufenthalt im Ausland. Es hat mich schon immer interessiert wie andere Kulturen und Menschen leben und lernen.



## MACIS UPDATE

While the new students were arriving for the MACIS program in the first half of September, those approaching the end of their studies visited international organizations in Geneva with Professor Thomas Bernauer. They held discussions with various high-ranking officials at institutions such as the World Trade Organizations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, and the International Telecommunications Union, as well as diplomats, such as the ambassador of Costa Rica. After having immersed themselves deeply for two semesters in the theoretical debates in compara-

tive and international politics, and research methods for collecting and analyzing data, this was a welcome opportunity for students to «clear their heads» and take a look at how international political problems are handled in the «real world». For some students, particularly those who prefer to pursue a professional career rather than PhD research, the Geneva visit, which takes place every year in September, is also an opportunity to explore possibilities for internships or future employment.

Events

# ETHNIC POLITICS AND ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY (CONFERENCE, 14-16 JUNE 2012)

By **Miriam Hänni**

In June, Daniel Bochsler and Bernhard Grofman (University of California at Irvine) welcomed 32 scholars in the field of ethnic politics for three days of presentations and discussions. A follow-up conference took place on 17 November at the NYU Law School. The two conferences linked the research fields of electoral democracy and ethnic politics and brought together scholars with different theoretical perspectives and knowledge from different world regions to gain new insights and work towards a synthesis. In particular, the conferences were addressing the following questions.

- Which models of institutional engineering are best for multi-ethnic or post-conflict societies? Are there new models of electoral engineering for multi-ethnic societies, and which goals do they aim at?
- What are the consequences of bans on ethnically defined political parties?
- What drives political unity or internal splits of ethnic groups? How do intra-group divides affect intra-ethnic electoral competition, radicalisation and/or prospects of inter-ethnic cooperation?
- How do institutional arrangements and the electoral competition between parties relate to ethnic favouritism and ethnic conflict?
- How do courts interfere in power-sharing agreements?

At the conference in Zurich these questions were discussed in eight thematically structured panels analysing the politization of identities (Kanchan Chandra, Anaïd Flesken, Taeku Lee), political parties and the representation of ethnic minorities (Didier Ruedin, Paul Mitchell, Christina Zuber/Edina Szöcsik), policy



quium and a mini-workshop with Donald Horowitz in spring 2013. The conference convenors, together with Kanchan Chandra, also prepare an edited volume on ethnic politics and electoral democracy which will be partly based on contributions from the conferences.

Many thanks go to all the people who made the conference a great success and especially to our CIS event coordinator Maya Sela Mozafar who contributed in making the conference a great experience. Funding for the conference was generously provided by the NCCR Democracy, CIS Zurich, the ZDA, the Swiss National Science Foundation, the Hochschulstiftung at University of Zurich, and UC Irvine.

and distributional issues (John Huber, Daniel Posner, Aida Just), institutional innovations (Jennifer Murtaashvili, John Coakley/Jon Fraenkel, Wolfgang Wagner/Sofie Dreef), ethnicity and power-sharing (Karin Dyrstad/Helga Malmin Binningsbø, Brendan O'Leary, Matthijs Bogaards), ethnic parties and candidates (Mary Stegmaier, Ekaterina Rashkova/Maria Spirova, Manuel Vogt), regionalism (Emanuele Massetti, Sherill Stroschein, David Lublin), and ethnic conflict and protest (Julian Wucherpfennig, Julian Bernauer, Johanna Birnir).

The conferences shall not become an isolated event: they were anticipated by a regional PhD workshop at the Centre for Democracy Studies Aarau (ZDA) in September 2011, and they will be followed by a CIS collo-

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## Events

## CLIMATE IMPACT RESEARCH AND UNCERTAINTIES

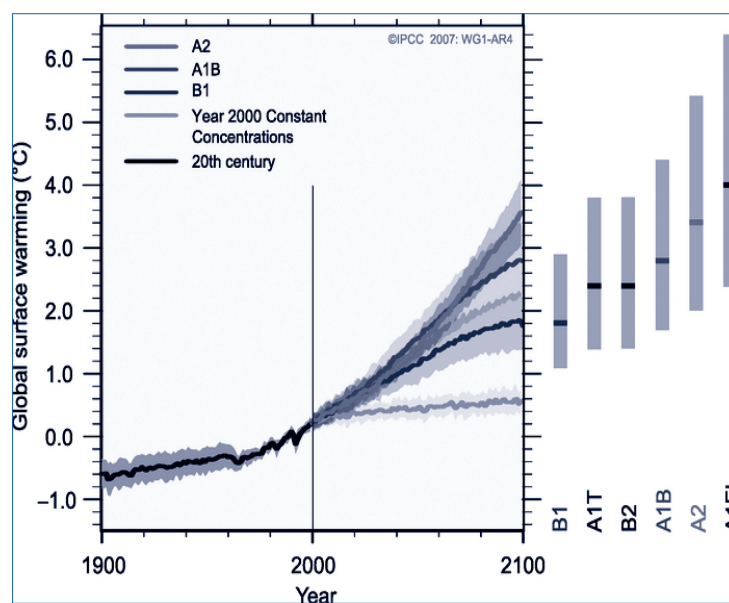
By Katharina Michaelowa

The first general conference of the UZH/ETH Network Interdisciplinary Climate Research «Climate Impact Research and Uncertainties» was held on the 14 September, 2012.

The topic of uncertainty has recently gained a lot of attention in the climate policy community. Therefore, the large conference room at ETH was packed as attendance of the first conference of our new UZH/ETH network was much higher than initially expected. Many of the participants already knew the figure from the IPCC's 4th assessment report showing the broad range of surface warming to be expected under different scenarios (see below). It also reappeared several times at our conference. Erich Fischer (Atmospheric and Climate Science, ETH Zurich) showed that on a location-specific level, uncertainty of future climate change is even higher than on the global level.

As a political scientist, who used to include simple measures of "vulnerability to climate change" into my models, this is sobering news. With such uncertainties about climate change at the local level, how will we be able to measure the countries preferences with respect to mitigation and adaptation? How will they know themselves what they (should) want? While Jan Seibert (Department of Geography/UZH) demonstrated that there are clear methodological improvements in modeling the future, these questions remained obviously unanswered. And when economists and political scientists

took over the floor from the colleagues in the natural sciences, things even gained a further layer of complexity, adding human behavior. A panel with Thomas Lontzek (Business Administration, UZH) and Helga Fehr (IED, ETH Zurich) showed the relevance of a correct specification of uncertainties in people's preferences in order to derive optimal policy interventions (e.g. with respect to the introduction of a carbon tax).



Multi-Model Averages and Assessed Ranges for Surface Warming.  
Source: [http://www.ipcc.ch/publications\\_and\\_data/ar4/wg1/en/spmssp-projections-of.html](http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/ar4/wg1/en/spmssp-projections-of.html)

Gertrude Hirsch (Philosophy, ETH Zurich) further showed that values and appropriate framing condition the choice set, and must therefore be considered simultaneously. As highlighted by Paula Castro (CIS/UZH), when all of this feeds into regime building at the international level, we have to further consider uncertainty in cooperation between countries. And how to make all that research with so much uncertainty relevant for policy

makers? How to be transparent about uncertainty without providing the impression that there is no scientific knowledge? How to show that it is in fact the increasing knowledge that allows us to specify uncertainty? Will short-term oriented politicians find such things relevant at all?

While Katharina Michaelowa (UZH/CIS) had posed such questions already at the opening of the meeting, Andreas Fischlin (Terrestrial Systems Ecology, ETH Zurich), Markus Ohndorf (IED, ETH Zurich), David Bresch (Swiss Re) and Oliver Stebler (Atmospheric and Climate Science, ETH Zurich) provided examples of how such things can be dealt with, and concrete advice on the transfer of scientific results. Andreas' work in IPCC Working Group II and David's exposure regarding private sector treatment of uncertainty were also complemented in the discussions by the experience of other participants who are equally participating in the IPCC work, or members of UNFCCC country delegations, such as long-term Swiss delegate Jose Romero.

Note that the network also organizes other activities, notably for Ph.D. students (e.g. the Ph.D. workshop on **5 und 12 February, 2013**, on the interaction of science with the public and private sector).

For further information on the network: [www.climate-network.uzh.ch/aboutus.html](http://www.climate-network.uzh.ch/aboutus.html)

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(CIS, coordinator of the network together with Christian Huggel, UZH/Department of Geography)

Events

# 25TH INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE POLICY WORKSHOP

By **Robert Gampfer**

On October 25th and 26th, the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) and the Institute for Environmental Decisions (IED) at ETH Zurich hosted the 25th International Climate Policy (ICP) Workshop. The workshop is organized twice a year at changing locations all across Europe by and for doctoral students working on topics related to climate policy. It provides a platform to present and discuss work-in-progress as well as publishable manuscripts. With participants' backgrounds in fields such as political science, economics, sociology, law, and engineering, the event opened up an interdisciplinary perspective on climate policy. More than thirty doctoral students from all over Europe as well as from Australia attended.

José Romero, head of the Rio Conventions Section at the Swiss Federal Office for the Environment and Switzerland's focal point in the UNFCCC negotiations, opened the workshop with a keynote speech on the current state of international climate negotiations. Fresh off the plane from Seoul, where he attended the ministerial meeting to prepare the next round of climate negotiations in Doha, he gave an interesting and inspiring overview of the pressing issues. He concluded by sketching potential areas for future research where more knowledge is urgently required by policy makers. Romero prepared the ground for the presentations and discussions over the next two days.

The young researchers discussed new mitigation technologies, the impact of climate change on migration, the economics of environmental regulati-



on, as well as climate change adaptation in several country case studies, carbon trading, and numerous other issues related to climate policy. The interdisciplinarity of the workshop was also reflected in the second and third keynote speeches. Tuomas Rautanen, head of regulatory affairs and consulting at First Climate (a carbon asset management company), gave a fascinating presentation on the history, current state, and future of the European emissions trading scheme. Stefanie Bailer, assistant professor for global governance at ETH Zurich, presented some of her recent research on the motives and strategic instruments that drive behavior of countries in international climate negotiations. After two days of academically rich presentations, fruitful discussions, and just before the first snow fall, the participants of the 25th ICP workshop left Zurich with long lists of feedback and new research ideas. The 26th workshop in the series will be held next spring in Paris, where certainly some researchers from IED and CIS will again take the opportunity to present their work.

The organizing team of the 25th ICP workshop included: Julia Blasch, Joschka Gerigk (Economics - IED), Robert Gampfer and Bianca Oehl (CIS).

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Events

# INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON «DEMOI-CRACY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION»

By **Thomas Winzen**

On 1-2 November 2012, members of CIS participated in an international workshop on “Demoi-cracy in the European Union: The Design and Functioning of Multilevel Democracy” at ETH Zurich. The workshop took place in the context of the NCCR Democracy. 19 participants came together to discuss what democratic institutions are, how and why they evolve and how they operate. The concept of demoi-cracy starts from

as well as the interests of individual European citizens.

In the introductory presentation, Francis Cheneval, Sandra Lavenex and Frank Schimmelfennig argued that demoi-cracy is relevant in situations of tension between national autonomy and European cooperation. Such tensions emerge, first, when EU member states lose their veto power in supranational decision-making and, second,

such as mutual recognition in criminal law or fiscal transfer schemes, and the links of national and European institutions. Amongst others, the presentations highlight that citizens find it difficult to evaluate how their interests as individuals and nationals are represented in European decisions. Furthermore, while a system of fiscal transfers works in Switzerland, it relies on a large contribution from the federal level that the EU budget cannot deliver. Finally, national parliaments have gradually created stronger institutions to control EU decision-making, particularly if they are sceptical of the desirability of a European Parliament.

Workshop contributors included: Jan-Pieter Beetz, Michael Buess, Aron Buzogany, Francis Cheneval, Mette Christensen, Achim Hurrelmann, Soeren Keil, Sandra Lavenex, Sean Mueller, Christilla Roederer-Rynning, Frank Schimmelfennig, Andrea Schlenker, Susanne Schmidt, Julia Sievers, Matthias Vileyn, Rebecca Welge, and Thomas Winzen.



the view that a consolidated European demos is unlikely to emerge in the near future. For the time being, the EU lacks a strong European identity and sense of solidarity, an integrated public sphere and system-wide intermediary political organisations such as political parties. From a demoi-cratic perspective, the EU is best seen as an association of liberal democracies. In this association different national demoi agree on common decision-making procedures that represent their interests as collectives

when EU competences extend beyond uncontroversial, technical regulation to redistributive, identity and security relevant policy areas. The authors raise questions such as when and why “demoi-cratization” in the EU happens and whether it contributes to the EU’s legitimacy in the eyes of citizens and demoi.

The contributions to the workshop studied how citizens and the media perceive the EU, the promises and pitfalls of innovative policy instruments

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## Books

## RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

Marco Steenbergen

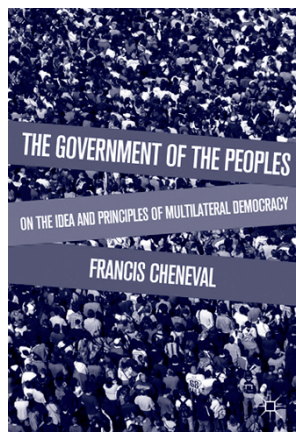
***The Ambivalent Partisan: How Critical Loyalty Promotes Democracy.*** By Howard G. Lavine, Christopher D. Johnston, Marco R. Steenbergen. Oxford University Press (Series in Political Psychology), 2012 ISBN-10: 0199772754 / ISBN-13: 978-0199772759, 320 pages

This book analyzes the differences between ambivalent partisanship (which is a critical form of partisan loyalty), and univalent partisanship (which is uncritical), in American democracy and their implications for voting behavior. Both groups feel attached to either the Democrats or Republicans, but they differ in their current party evaluations. For ambivalent partisans, these evaluations run counter to their partisan attachment, for univalent partisans they do not. The political behavior of ambivalent partisans is much more volatile and more in line with the democratic ideal. Univalent partisans pretty much vote for the party they feel attached to, but ambivalent partisans often switch sides.



Francis Cheneval

***The Government of the Peoples. On the Idea and Principles of Multilateral Democracy.*** By Francis Cheneval, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. ISBN-10: 0-230-11699-X / ISBN: 978-0-230-11699-3, 240 pages



This book explores the idea of government of peoples who freely accept liberal democracy and try to realize democracy in their common institutions. The author proposes an integrated «original position» consisting in a hypothetical agreement of liberal democratic peoples and potentially mobile citizens. Following this modified Rawlsian method, he formulates basic principles of multilateral democracy regarding institutional design, transnational rights, linguistic as well as distributive justice. The book presents a theory of intermediary and incremental spheres of justice. It thus overcomes two false dichotomies haunting the debates on justice: one allowing for a rigidly national or global scope of theory and the other for exclusively people-based or person-based justifications.

## Recent CIS Working Papers (No. 73 to 78)

*The Working Papers series allows CIS researchers to publish interim results of their ongoing research.*

78 / 2012: ***Policy congruence and distributive politics: matching voter preferences and party positions on distributive issues***, by Dominik Geering and Silja Häusermann

77 / 2012: ***Transnational Influences and Socialization into Democratic Administrative Governance in Authoritarian Contexts***, by Tina Freyburg

76 / 2012: ***The effect of military political power on economic development in de jure democracies***, by Cassandra Birchler

75/2012: ***Framing Employment Relations in Western Europe***, by Bruno Wueest & Flavia Fossati

74/2012: ***Multinational Investment, Trade and the Right to Physical Integrity: Context Matters***, by Micha Germann

73/2012: ***Equity and cost-effectiveness of multilateral adaptation finance - are they friends or foes ?***, by Martin Stadelmann, Asa Persson, Izabela Ratajczak-Juszkó and Axel Michaelowa

To download the Working Papers: [www.cis.ethz.ch/publications](http://www.cis.ethz.ch/publications)



## Books

**Möckli, Daniel (ed.): *Strategic Trends 2012: Key Developments in Global Affairs***, Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich

Strategic Trends 2012 is the third issue of the Strategic Trends series. It contains a brief overview as well as chapters on China's uncertain peaceful rise, the strategic weakening of debt-ridden Europe, the persistence of armed conflict in sub-Saharan Africa, the geopolitical significance of unconventional oil and gas resources, and the militarization of cyber security.

**Trachsler, Daniel (ed.): *Bulletin 2012 zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik***, Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich

Das Bulletin 2012 zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik deckt ein breites Themenspektrum ab. Der erste Beitrag evaluiert die internationalen Peacekeeping-Bemühungen in Afrika und argumentiert, dass die neutrale Schweiz als Staat ohne Kolonialvergangenheit und macht- oder regionalpolitische Ambitionen gut geeignet wäre, vermehrt an der militärischen Friedensförderung in dieser Region mitzuwirken. Der zweite Artikel geht der Frage nach, wie und bei wem sich Schweizer Politiker über sicherheitspolitische Themen informieren und über welche Formate Experten im Gegenzug ihr Fachwissen einbringen. Der dritte Beitrag analysiert die Bedeutung der staatlichen Imageförderung für die Wahrung der ausserpolitischen Interessen der Schweiz. Der vierte Artikel evaluiert das sicherheitspolitische Trendkonzept der Resilienz und weist auf die Probleme hin, die mit der Messung der Resilienz verbunden sind. Weiter zeigt er, dass die Entwicklung einer Resilienzpolitik neben methodischen auch zahlreiche politische Fragen aufwirft.

**Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Andreas Wenger (eds.) (2012): *Sicherheit 2012: Aussen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitische Meinungsbildung im Trend***, Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zürich; Militärakademie an der ETH Zürich

Die Jahresstudie Sicherheit dient der Ermittlung langfristiger Trends in der aussen-, sicherheits- und verteidigungspolitischen Meinungsbildung in der Schweiz; sie basiert auf im Jahresrhythmus durchgeführten repräsentativen Befragungen. Neben den Standardfragen wurden 2012 folgende Themen untersucht: die Zustimmung zu möglichen Massnahmen zur Wahrung der inneren Sicherheit, die Unterstützung der strategischen Kultur der Schweiz, die Wahrnehmung der Vereinbarkeit von Militärdienst und Arbeitsleben sowie die Einstellung zum Wehrdienst eingebürgerter Schweizer. Im langjährigen Vergleich fühlten sich 2012 ausgesprochen viele Befragte sicher (90%), die Entwicklung der weltpolitischen Lage wird von überdurchschnittlich vielen dagegen als düster eingeschätzt (53%); auch die Wahrnehmung einer optimistischen Zukunftsentwicklung der Schweiz verbleibt trotz eines signifikanten Rückgangs auf einem hohen Niveau (78%, -6%).

**Thiem, Alrik; Dusa, Adrian (2012): *Qualitative Comparative Analysis with R: A User's Guide***, Springer

Social science theory often builds on sets and their relations. Correlation-based methods of scientific enquiry, however, use linear algebra and are unsuited to analyzing set relations. The development of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) by Charles Ragin has given social scientists a formal tool for identifying set-theoretic connections based on Boolean algebra. As a result, interest in this method has markedly risen among social scientists in recent years. This book offers the first complete introduction on how to perform QCA in the R software environment for statistical computing and graphics with the QCA package. Developed as a comprehensive solution, QCA provides an unprecedented scope of functionality for analyzing crisp, multi-value and fuzzy sets.

**Wenger, Andreas; Wilner, Alex (eds.) (2012): *Detering Terrorism: Theory and Practice***, Stanford University Press

During the Cold War, deterrence theory was the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, however, popular wisdom dictated that terrorist organizations and radical fanatics could not be deterred—and governments shifted their attention to combating terrorism rather than deterring it. This book challenges that prevailing assumption and offers insight as to when and where terrorism can be deterred. It first identifies how and where theories of deterrence apply to counterterrorism, highlighting how traditional and less-traditional notions of deterrence can be applied to evolving terrorist threats. It then applies these theoretical propositions to real-world threats to establish the role deterrence has within a dynamic counterterrorism strategy—and to identify how metrics can be created for measuring the success of terrorism deterrence strategies. In sum, it provides a foundation for developing effective counterterrorism policies to help states contain or curtail the terrorism challenges they face.

**Wyss, Marco (2012): *Arms Transfers, Neutrality and Britain's Role in the Cold War: Anglo-Swiss Relations 1945–1958***, Brill

Great Britain was neutral Switzerland's main supplier of heavy weaponry during the early Cold War. The author analyzes this armaments relationship against the background of Anglo-Swiss relations between 1945 and 1958, and thereby assesses the role of arms transfers, neutrality and Britain, as well as the two countries' political, economic and military relations. By using multi-archival research, the author discovers «traits of specialness» in the Anglo-Swiss relationship, analyzes the incentives for Berne's weapons purchases and London's arms sales, sheds new light on the Cold War arms transfer system and the motivations of the participating states, and questions the sustainability of neutrality during the East-West conflict, as well as Britain's role from a western neutral and small power perspective.

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## AGENDA

### «The Diffusion of Democracy»

The Plenary Session of the **Annual Congress of the Swiss Political Science Association** will be held on

**Thursday, January 31 2013  
at 17:15**

(UZH Main Building, Rämistrasse 71)

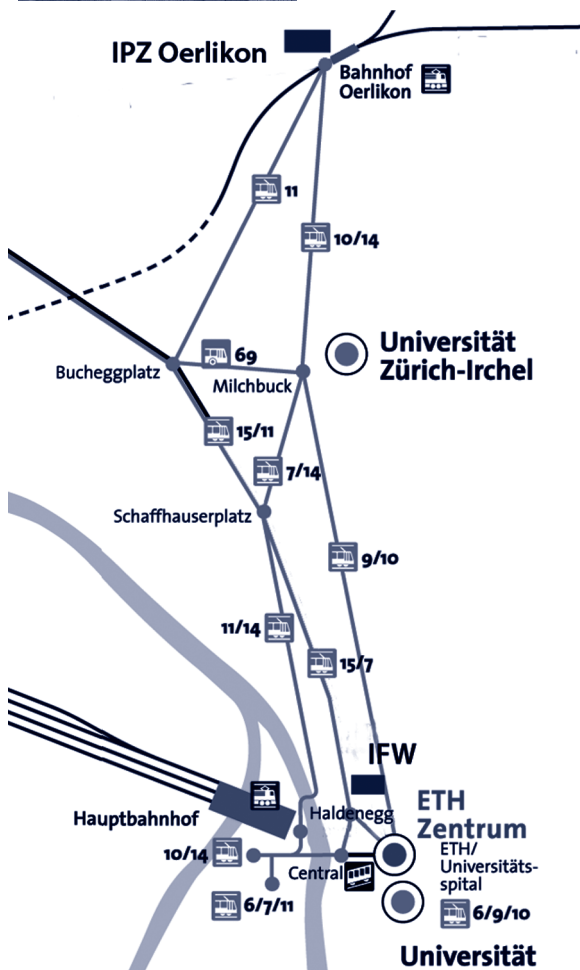
Dedicated to the topic 'Diffusion of Democracy', the program includes keynote speeches by **Beth Simmons** (Harvard University), **Valerie Bunce** (Cornell University) and **Kurt Weyland** (University of Texas-Austin). A roundtable discussion open to the public and the grant of the Young Scholar Award 2012 will follow. The day will end with an apero and the possibility to meet participants and colleagues from the SVPW, NCCR Democracy, ZDA Aarau, CIS and IPZ.

Everyone is welcome to attend!





# IMPRINT



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