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Migration and Multiculturalism

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Editorial

CIS Director Marco Steenbergen



If I had to name a political issue that put its stamp on 2014, migration would be high on my list. Conflicts in Syria and elsewhere have set in motion a continuing stream of asylum seekers, which in turn have contributed to an increasingly heated debate about the question of who should take care of them. In the United States, immigration has been an important topic, one that is likely to carry over into the next presidential elections. In Europe we have seen the rise of populist parties who question not only the influx of migrants from outside the EU but also internal migration. The success of parties like UKIP and the FN in the elections for the European parliament has shown the potency of anti-immigrant sentiments alongside Euroskeptic tendencies. Still closer to home, the *Masseneinwanderungsinitiative* was passed in Switzerland on February 9, 2014.

At CIS Zurich, the importance of the theme has not gone unnoticed. Hence, I am proud to present this Newsletter, which is dedicated to the topics of migration and multiculturalism. In five essays, colleagues speak to some of the most central questions of the migration debate. Daniel Bochsler, assistant professor of comparative politics with an emphasis on democratization, probes the question of whether the Swiss model, often hailed for its power to include minorities, is really capable of serving multiculturalism. Summarizing research from his current research project, he dispenses with four myths about the power of Swiss political institutions to provide a multi-cultural solution. Also taking a Swiss perspective, Simon Bornschier, head of the research area of political sociology, analyzes how the conflict between multiculturalism and the traditional community evolved between 1975 and 2007. He argues that we need to view this conflict as one between universalistic values and

“principles of justice that intuitively resonate with a majority of the population.”

The essay by Nenad Stojanovic focuses on the descriptive representation of migrants and minorities. It is well known that minorities are often underrepresented in legislative institutions. Stojanovic explores whether this is also true in Switzerland and to what extent this can be considered a function of “racism.”

The remaining essays take up the question of citizenship. Rebecca Welge and Antoinette Scherz explore the topic of European citizenship, which is held by all EU citizens in addition to their respective nationalities. They ask to what extent European citizenship, which is guaranteed by the EU treaties, actually works? Finally, Johan Rochel approaches the question of citizenship from a philosophical perspective. He explores the position, taken by some prominent philosophers, that anyone who is being subjected to the coercion of the state should also have the right to influence this coercion. When we accept this position, any migrant who pays taxes could claim the political rights associated with citizenship. But it may be important to distinguish coercion from being affected by laws. After all, most of us are affected by U.S. policies but it is not clear that this should give us American citizenship rights.

The essays in this Newsletter show that CIS Zurich is a vibrant intellectual and scholarly community. Equally open to normative arguments and empirical evidence, we tackle important questions in novel ways. As the current CIS director, it is my great pleasure to be a part of this community and to lead its way in 2015.

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Multiculturalism: the Swiss Trap

Why Swiss democracy is not for export

Daniel Bochler (CIS)

The Swiss identity is based on a two-layered system of myths: As ZDA researcher Anja Giudici analyses, in the Swiss identity construction, Wilhelm Tell was thought to serve the masses. Meanwhile, the educated classes have built the Swiss identity on the premise of a peaceful co-existence between linguistic and confessional groups. The picture of Switzerland as the ideal model of multiculturalism has persisted in the heads of notable politicians, academics, and media elites.

When analysed in a cross-country comparative perspective, many of the institutions praised by the Swiss as the magical solution to the challenges of multicultural democracy seem not to hold. By discussing four frequently-heard myths, this essay gives a succinct and very selective glimpse of several comparative research projects on the effect of political institutions in multicultural democracies, currently being conducted at CIS.

FIRST MYTH:

The Swiss model, where political parties are inclusive across language borders, rather than segmented by cultural groups, provides for better policy outcomes.



Wilhelm Tell memorial, Altdorf © Fotolia/Waldteufel

In her study on political representation, Miriam Hänni, doctoral student at the NCCR Democracy, finds that the election of minority MPs from separate ethnic parties is related to a stronger impact on policies. Certainly, the presence of MPs representing ethnic minorities generally has a positive impact on their substantial representation. MPs elected through separate ethnic parties, however, push particularly towards the rights of ethnic minorities, such as language rights or economic inclusion. Separate ethnic parties seem to be better suited to providing for the consideration of minority rights in multicultural

democracies, which in turn increase the satisfaction of ethnic minorities with their political system.

SECOND MYTH:

Veto rights provide for compromise. With the double majority rule ('Ständemehr') and the second chamber, Switzerland provides for rules which benefit the Catholic-conservative cantons, and such veto rights contribute to a culture of compromise.

Elsewhere, veto rights also provide for reform blockages. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the domestic institutions constantly fail to pass important laws.

The veto rights given to the three constitutional groups leave the political system virtually paralysed. As Adis Merdžanović shows in his dissertation (recently defended at CIS), the political elites, rather than engaging in negotiations, shift the burden of passing laws to the international body with prerogative powers, the Office of the High Representative (OHR).

THIRD MYTH:

Swiss peasants have fought a heroic and crucial fight against foreign rule; democracies work better if they are not ruled from Habsburg.

Analysing the reform blockage in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Daniel Bochsler, Adis Merdžanović and Davor Petrić argue that foreign intervention can resolve domestic blockages. We have analysed the use of the OHR's prerogatives from 1997 to 2013, and show how different models of foreign interventions have led to very different results. According to this analysis, the most successful period in this respect was when Wolfgang Petritsch held the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He closely followed a model of rule, one which



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“When analysed in a cross-country comparative perspective, many of the institutions praised by the Swiss as the **magical solution** to the challenges of multi-cultural democracy seem not to hold.”

we characterise as an arbiter mandate. Unlike other High Representatives, Petritsch did not only pursue the policy agenda of the international community, but his main goal was to facilitate the negotiations between domestic veto players. By offering his prerogative powers as a means to push through compromises of the domestic elites in cases when they would otherwise have been blocked in the parliamentary procedure, he effectively chose to intervene in the political process. This model, we show, was the only one which has at least partially helped in resolving the political deadlock from which Bosnia and Herzegovina has suffered during the last 20 years. Good to know: As far as his function goes, Petritsch is the contemporary incarnation of the Habsburg baliff Albrecht Gessler, albeit in the clothes of an Austrian diplomat.

FOURTH MYTH:

Governing coalitions including representatives of all groups provide for political moderation.

In several Eastern European countries, such as Serbia, Romania, Slovakia, and the Baltic States, the European Union has pushed for the inclusion of ethnic minority parties into governing coalitions. No doubt, in many countries, this went along with a reduction of tensions between

the ethnic communities and higher standards of minority protection in a first instance. The comparative case study which I conducted together with Edina Szöcsik, shows that in a second instance, minority parties included in governmental coalitions face the risk of being challenged from within their own community. Rivals accuse them of establishing and maintaining clientelistic relations in government while selling out the demands of their group. As a result, we observe a spiral of radicalisation, driven by the competition between the ethnic minority party in power and its intra-group challengers, also discussed as ethnic outbidding.

Whether the first Swiss myth might resolve the dilemma of outbidding might be subject to further investigation.

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Daniel Bochsler is Assistant Professor at NCCR Democracy at the University of Zurich. He studies democratisation, with a focus on political institutions

and the ways with which they deal with cultural diversity. He received his PhD from the University of Geneva, and has been for research stays at the Universities of Tartu, Belgrade, at the University of California at Irvine as well as the Central European University in Budapest.

Multiculturalism and its Discontents

Cultural conflicts in the Swiss party system, 1975–2007

Simon Bornschier (CIS)

The rejection of multiculturalism embodied in the politicization of immigration cannot fully be understood unless it is conceived as part of a broader cultural divide that is at the center of political conflict in many advanced industrial democracies. The first harbinger of an emerging antagonism between universalistic values on the one hand, and at the defense of traditional values and communities on the other, was the mobilization of the New Social Movements of the left in the 1960s. By putting issues such as the recognition of difference and equal rights for women, gays, minorities, and alternative life-styles on the political agenda, these movements advocated a strong equality principle. Social Democrat and Green parties took up

these issues, marking the birth of the so-called New Left, which came to form a universalistic pole, or center of gravity, in party systems across Western Europe. Contrary to what was often assumed at the time, these new issues proved less disruptive for the state-market divide than for the religious cleavage, which still strongly shaped party systems and voter alignments in the 1970s.

A slow transformation

The right was slow to respond to the transformation of cultural conflicts. A dimensional analysis of party positions derived from reports in the news media in the mid-1970s reveals that while the state-market cleavage had remained intact, a second dimension was structured around the antagonism between universalistic values and calls

for law and order. These analyses are based on data from the project “National Political Change in a Globalizing World”, which involved various former and current members of CIS, including Hanspeter Kriesi, Romain Lachat, Timotheos Frey, Dominic Höglinger, Bruno Wueest, Marc Helbling, Simon Maag, and myself. **Figure 1** shows the Social Democrats located close to the universalistic pole of this divide, with the Christian Democrats surprisingly close. A strong opposition against the New Left has not yet crystallized. Relying on evidence from a post-election survey, we can see that the line-up of electorates and parties correspond rather well to one another. Electorates of the major parties, however, did not take strongly divergent positions, and preferences within electorates are quite heterogeneous, as mirrored in the bars below the mean positions that

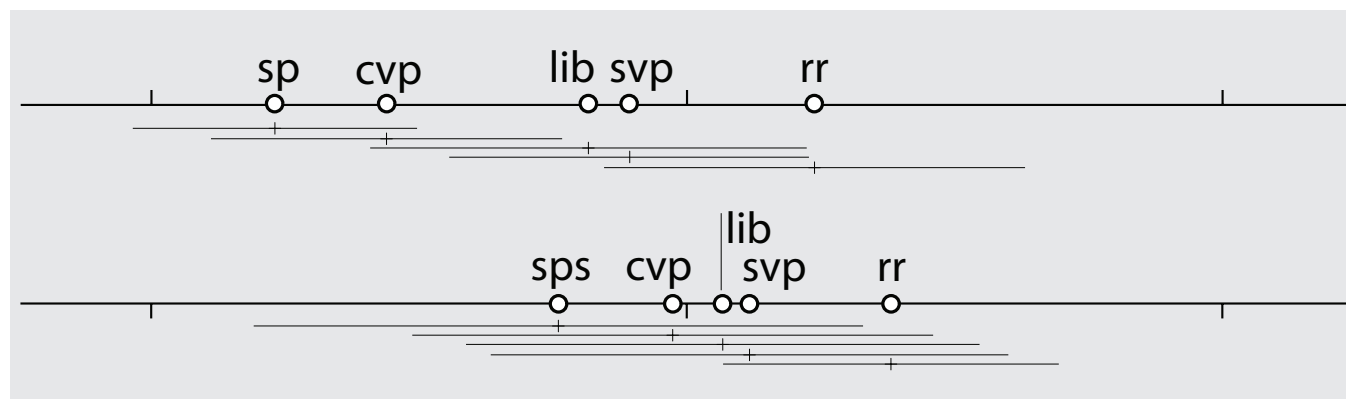


Figure 1: Parties (upper dimension) and voters (lower dimension) on the cultural divide opposing universalistic values and law and order in Switzerland, 1975: Positions and standard deviations. Key: **cvp**, Christian Democratic People’s Party, various small Christian Democratic parties, Alliance of Independents; **rr**, various radical right parties; **lib**, Free Democratic Party, Liberal Party; **sp**, Social Democratic Party; **svp**: Swiss People’s Party

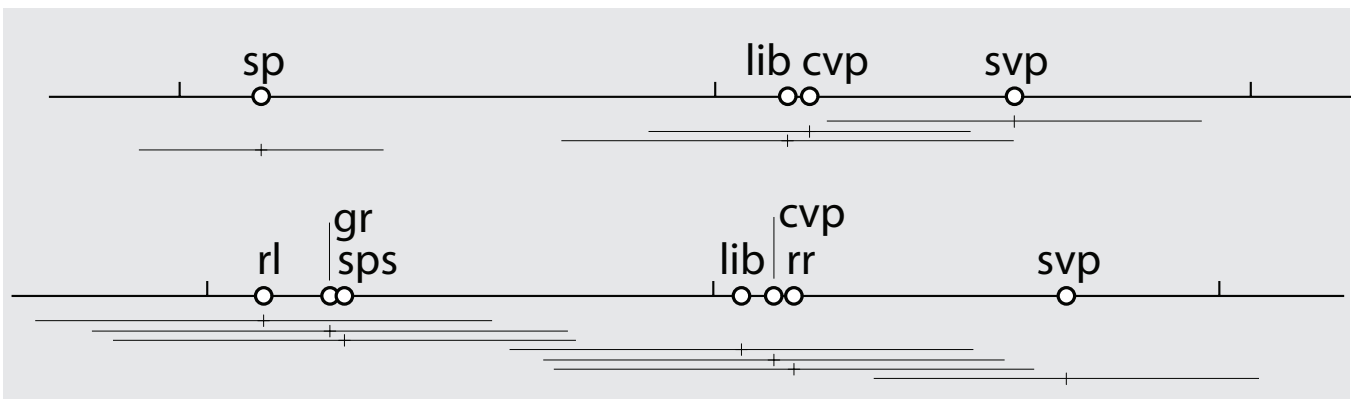


Figure 2: Parties (upper dimension) and voters (lower dimension) on the cultural divide opposing universalistic values and anti-immigration stances in Switzerland, 1995: Positions and standard deviations. Key: **rl**, radical left; **gr**, greens. For all other abbreviations, see **Figure 1**.

indicate the spread of preferences. This suggests that this dimension did not yet strongly shape partisan alignments. The rightist pole is constituted by the “old” radical right parties and their voters. Yet individual-level evidence shows that discomfort with the political changes brought about by the New Left was much broader than that represented by the old radical right. Any actor wishing to grasp this broader anti-universalistic potential and construct a collective identity around it, however, would have to succeed in tying it to issues of his own.

A strong challenger

The Swiss People’s Party (SVP) is a particularly successful exponent of the right-wing populist party family that rose to prominence by countering the New Left. Contrarily to the entire political elite, the SVP convinced majorities of the population to oppose membership in the UN and the European Economic Area. The election campaign data, however, reveals that the SVP also shared the other convictions of the successful members of the new right-wing

populist party family: **Figure 2** shows that by combining opposition against universalistic values and tough immigration stances, the SVP forms one pole of the divide. The populist right is thus clearly distinct from the center-right, while the Social Democrats are located at the opposing pole of the cultural divide.

A comparison of **Figures 1 and 2** shows that competition along the cultural dimension became much more segmented in the two decades between 1975 and 1995 as a result of the mobilization of the SVP and the transformation of the meaning of the cultural conflict. In developing a counter-ideology to the universalism of the New Left, the New Right successfully adopted arguments from communitarian political thought, arguing that multiculturalism destroys

“individual-level evidence shows that discomfort with the political changes brought about by the New Left was much broader than that represented by the old radical right”

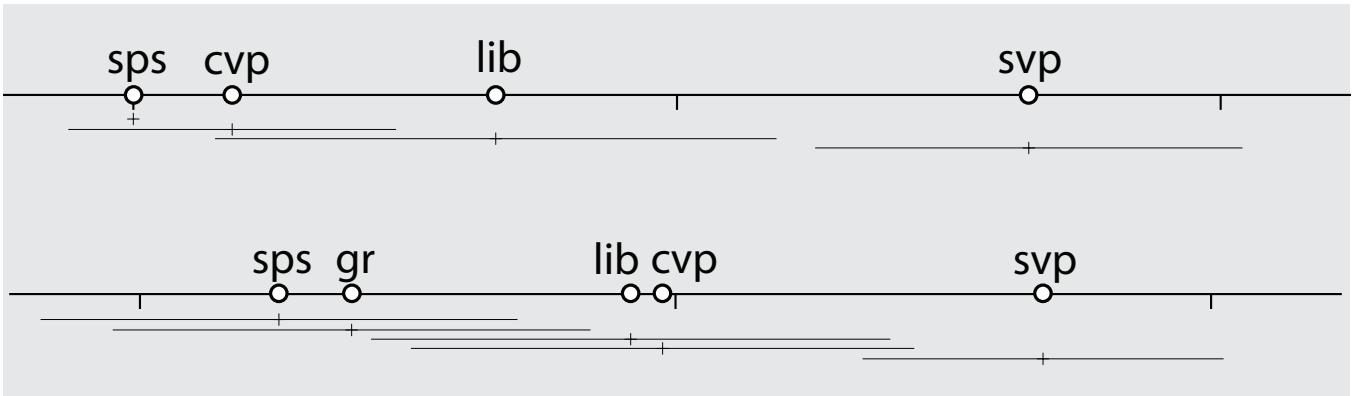


Figure 3: Parties (upper dimension) and voters (lower dimension) on the European integration divide, 2007: Positions and standard deviations. Key: see **Figure 1**.

entrenched traditions and social norms, and that no limits should be imposed on popular sovereignty by supra-national bodies, constitutional courts, or human rights conventions. Both at the party and the voter level, the New Left and the SVP are situated close to the poles of the new cultural divide. There is virtually no overlap between the electorates of the New Left and the New Right, while the center-left is caught in-between these two blocks. This configuration did not undergo major changes until 2007, the most recent election covered by the data.

That said, the European integration issue, which is more prominent in Switzerland than elsewhere in Europe, has galvanized support for the SVP, and enhances the potential for the populist right. The results of an analysis of the 2007 campaign and the ensuing post-election voter survey

shown in **Figure 3** suggest that oppositions are even more segmented in the domain of European integration, but with a twist: While the New Left and the New Right represent their voters' preferences well, the Liberals and the Christian Democrats still stand to lose from the European integration issue – despite all the realignments that have already occurred between the “old” and New Right.

Growing polarization and improved representation

The polarization brought about by the transformation of cultural conflicts and the rise of the European integration issue has proven difficult to handle by the long-entrenched consociational practices characteristic of the Swiss political system. Ironically, then, the SVP's defense of tradition is undermining a central and highly symbolic feature of the

country's political system. But what does polarization mean for democracy? On one dimension, the quality of democracy has improved: The congruence between voter preferences and party positions has risen concomitant to polarization. **Figure 4** plots party-system polarization against party-voter congruence for all those points in time where we have both information on party positions from the media data and suitable post-election surveys. The results show that representation in the cultural



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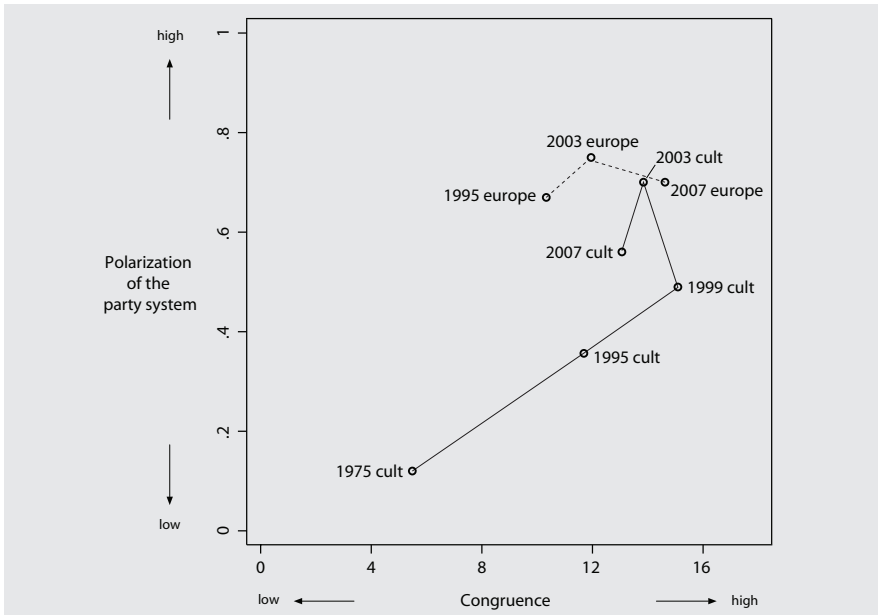


Figure 4: Polarization and congruence along the cultural dimension and the European integration divide, 1975-2007. N.B. Polarization is calculated as the standard deviation of party positions along a divide, weighted by party size. Congruence is measured in terms of the z-value of ordered logit regressions using individual-level preferences along a divide to predict the positions of respondents' chosen party, correcting for differences in sample size.

domain has improved a great deal in parallel to the transformation of the divide's substantive meaning, and its growing polarization. In terms of voter preferences over European integration, too, a segmented electorate is well represented by parties. One of the fundamental antagonisms in West European party systems thus runs between universalistic values and the defense of those principles of justice that intuitively resonate with a majority of the population. Parties are well placed to represent the preferences of their voters along this divide in Switzerland. A strong tension has emerged, however, between good representation – a key aspect of the quality of democracy – and the liberal democratic institutions serving to protect fundamental rights and minorities. These institutions have come under attack by the SVP. The New Left and the center are on the defensive: The New Left has exhausted its own issues, while the center oscillates between approaching the position of the New Right in order to

avoid electoral losses, and then moving to more universalistic convictions. The lesson to be drawn from the mobilization of the anti-universalistic potential is that without new (cultural) issues of its own, the New Left and the center are unlikely to be up for the challenge posed by the Swiss People's Party.



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Conflict in Western Europe (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010). His current research focuses on party systems and democratization in Latin America and Western Europe.

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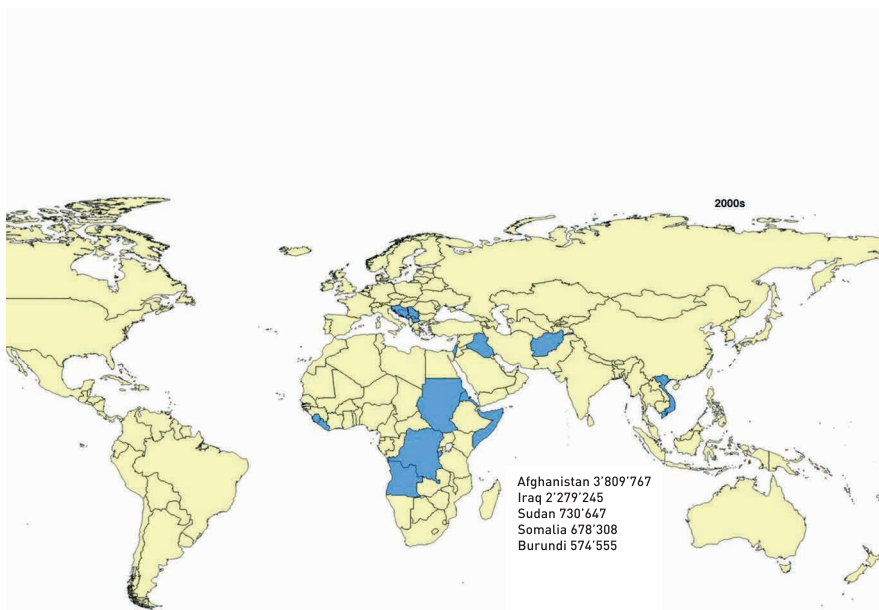
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Explaining the Need for Sub-National Refugee Data

Seraina Rüegger (CIS) &
Heidrun Bohnet (University of Geneva)

At the end of 2013, more than 16 million people registered as refugees, of whom more than 80 percent resided in countries neighboring their country of origin (UNHCR, 2014). **Figure 1** depicts the countries that produced most refugees between 2000 and 2010.



In the quantitative literature, refugees have often been regarded as a homogenous mass (Lischer, 2005). It is frequently forgotten that they are composed of different identity groups. In 2009, for instance, Kenya hosted refugees from Ethiopia belonging to the Oromo, Amhara and Tigre ethnic groups, as well as refugees with different ethnic backgrounds from

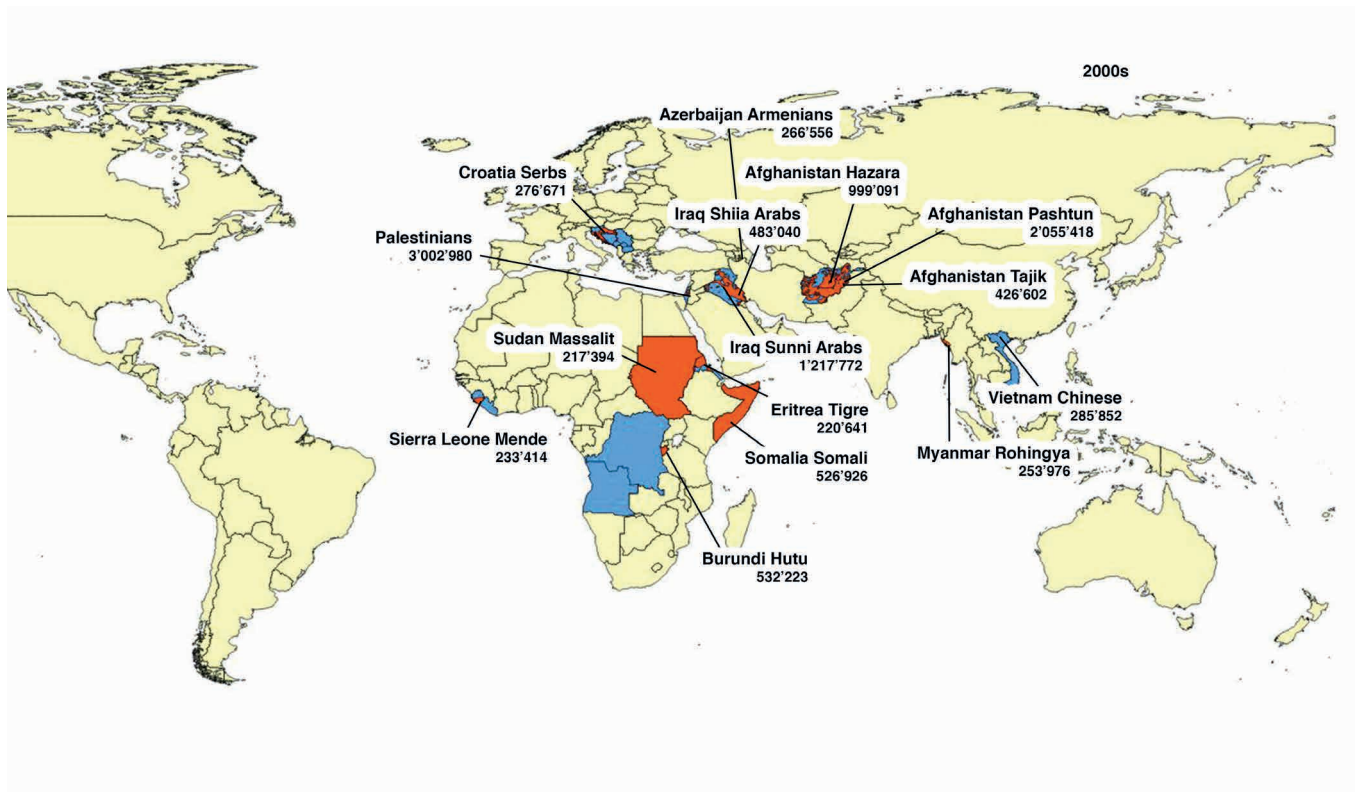
those of Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Depending on the political scenario in a refugee-sending country, ethnic identity refers to a common religion, language or somatic features (Cederman, Wimmer, Min 2010). The refugees' ethnicity matters for

various reasons: Firstly, ethnic group membership might determine whether a person becomes a forced migrant. This particularly applies to conflicts and wars where a certain ethnic group is targeted, and when the risk of victimization is not uniform across the population of a country (Moore and Shellman, 2006, 619). Consequently, refugees are strongly aware of

their ethnic group membership, especially when fleeing from ethnic discrimination or systematic persecution. Secondly, the direction of refugee flows is affected by their ethnic group membership, due to the fact that refugees, like other migrants, tend to follow existing networks, such as cross-border linkages to groups with cultural or ethnic similarities. Thirdly, ethnicity determines how a refugee is received in the asylum state, as cultural similarities with the host population facilitate integration. Fourthly, the ethnic group membership of forced migrants impacts the asylum application, as refugee status is often provided to people on a group basis rather than as individuals (UNHCR 1992). Finally, ethnic identities affect the planning of refugee settlements because cultural similarities among refugees themselves, or with the local population, can prevent ethnic rivalries and decrease security issues.

We thus argue that refugee movements should not only be analyzed on the country-level, but also on a more disaggregated, sub-national ethnic group-level. For instance, the composition of ethnic Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats among the refugees fleeing from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s was crucial for conflict dynamics. However, no attempt has yet been made to systematically collect data on the ethnicity of refugees. To fill this gap, we introduce a new global quantitative dataset on the Ethnic Composition Of Refugee Flows (ECORF). Quantitative



data on the ethnic identity of refugees improves the understanding of refugee movements and is useful for assessing trends and risks in refugee crises. Forced displacement occurs in almost all regions of the world and is a global phenomenon. Quantitative data with global coverage therefore helps to both address and analyze the causes and consequences of refugee movements in a comparative manner, and to draw general conclusions. Furthermore, Crisp (1999) states that “it is almost impossible to [...] write about refugee-related issues without some reference to statistics” because the first question asked is often: “How many people have

been displaced?” The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in this regard is the main organization offering a broad range of refugee data, such as annual data on refugee numbers in hosting or sending countries, as well as dyadic data on refugee movements between two countries with almost global coverage (UNHCR, 2014). Information on Palestinian refugees can be obtained from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA, 2010).

Although information on the ethnicity of refugees is not provided directly by the

UNHCR, it was nevertheless possible to collect information on the ethnic group membership of refugee groups, relying on reports and qualitative country assessments from the UNHCR, USCRI, several NGOs, conflict narratives and news articles. Building on the data obtained from the UNHCR (2014) and the UNRWA (2010), we systematically tried to identify up to three of the largest ethnic groups within each country-dyadic refugee movement and indicated their share of the total refugee flow. We used the group list of the Ethnic Power Relations (EPR-ETH) dataset (Cederman, Wimmer and Min, 2010) as a source to identify ethnic

groups living in a refugee-sending country. We collected the ethnicity data for refugee flows that consist of at least 2,000 refugees per year between neighboring countries and countries with a maximal distance of 950 km between their borders. Our dataset thus particularly covers first refugee movements but not secondary flows to third states. Within this framework, we are able to provide worldwide information on the ethnic background of refugees covering the years 1975 through 2009. The number of refugees, as well as the ethnic composition of refugee flows between country-dyads, can change over years. Our dataset therefore records annual shifts. This temporal variance is important, as in the case, for example, of Rwandan refugee outflows; one which alternated between Hutus and Tutsis.

Since precise numbers of refugees from each ethnic group are seldom available, we indicated whether a certain ethnic group within a refugee flow was dominant, a majority, or a minority. Reports on refugees often give approximate evidence such as: "more than 31,000 [people] from Afghanistan, mostly Hindus, fled to India during the rise of the Taliban in the 1990s" (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). The categorical coding is based on descriptions such as "many refugees" or "few refugees". These terms and descriptions may have different meanings in different contexts. It is unlikely, however, that very large ethnic refugee groups are not mentioned in any report or described as small ones. Thus, although the three-point scale is rough and the numbers are approximate estimates, the dataset still permits cross-national comparison of ethnic refugee group shares and estimates the absolute size of each ethnic refugee group.

Using the ECORF dataset, **Figure 2** shows the largest ethnically identified refugee groups of the last decade.

With this newly collected global dataset on the ethnic background of refugees, we contribute to the knowledge of sub-state refugee characteristics.

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When Racist Voters Discriminate Against Minority Candidates

Nenad Stojanovic (UZH/ZDA)

Imagine that you are a small fish and the pool owner tells you that you have the freedom to swim in his pool. And then he adds: "But notice that the pool is full of white sharks." Does the notion of freedom have any meaningful value in such a situation?

Now imagine that, in a democracy, voters belonging to a given identity group (e.g., white people), that happens to be in a numerical majority, systematically vote only for candidates from that group and not for candidates of a minority group (e.g., black people). Imagine, moreover, that this decision is based on morally objectionable forms of prejudice (such as racism, xenophobia, or sexism). We could call such a voting behavior "electoral discrimination". It may result in a massive statistical underrepresentation of citizens from the minority group in democratic institutions (parliament, government). Apparently, no democratic rule has been broken: voters were free to choose whomever they wanted and their votes were counted equally, candidates were free to run for office and no legal provisions restricted their equal chance to run for office. And yet we intuitively realize that something is wrong here, that the voters' freedom of choice has caused harm to minority candidates. In other words, the freedom

to run for office becomes an empty shell if it is constantly undermined by voters' choices. Just like the freedom to swim in a pool full of white sharks. Indeed, in many countries of the world there has been evidence that majority voters tend to discriminate against minority candidates. African-Americans have been traditionally underrepresented in the U.S. Congress; about 5 million people of Maghrebian origin live in France but very few got elected to the National Assembly; Catholics used to be poorly represented in Northern Ireland, etc. Increasingly, politicians and scholars consider the underrepresentation of minority groups a major problem for the legitimacy and stability of democratic institutions. Indeed, what if not the (real or perceived) existence of electoral discrimination can explain the growing use of specific tools such as quotas on party lists, reserved seats in parliament, or the redrawing of electoral districts?

In the project "Racist voters and minority candidates", supported by the SNFS (the Ambizione grant), I will first explore the theoretical aspects of electoral discrimination in order to come up with a normative and conceptual roadmap for tackling this phenomenon. As a matter of fact, it is far from obvious that we can use the concept of discrimination

"[...] politicians and scholars consider the **underrepresentation of minority groups** as a major problem for the legitimacy and stability of democratic institutions".

in the electoral sphere. Secondly, I will try to measure the existence of electoral discrimination in Switzerland empirically, taking into consideration the fact that we can hardly find any empirical studies that have explored representation of minority groups in this country, whereas many such studies have been conducted in other Western democracies (e.g., Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, the United States).



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Geneva and Lausanne. He is also a member of the Swiss Federal Commission against Racism. As of Spring 2015 he will move to the University of Lucerne as a SNFS-Ambizione grantee.

Democracy and Immigration: Shifting Towards Inclusion

Excerpt from a book by Johan Rohel (*forthcoming, 2015*)

Johan Rohel (Ethics Center, UZH)

Switzerland – even the canton of Appenzell – has come to grant voting rights to women. Specific cantons and communes have even enfranchised foreign residents. These choices reflect democratic common sense: people who are subjected to common rules, pay tax and take part in the local and regional life of their community should have a say in the way this community is organised. Going one step further, Switzerland, a self-proclaimed world champion of democracy, might have found a challenge worthy of it: the integration of would-be migrants, i.e. migrants who are not (yet) on the national territory, into its decision-making procedures. Let us imagine asylum seekers taking part in polls on reforms of the Swiss asylum law, EU citizens participating in the 9th February polling on the free movement of persons agreement with the EU and would-be migrants from all over the world having a say in how Switzerland should frame its immigration policy. The Canadian political philosopher Arash Abizadeh has formulated this insight in the form of a democratic challenge to the way we deal with our immigration policy.¹ His argument

¹ Arash Abizadeh, "Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Borders", *Political Theory*, 2008



Sitting Helvetia statue on the river Rhine © Fotalia / lucazzitto

is as simple as it is disturbing: every individual who is subjected to State's coercion should be able to take part in the procedure of legitimation of this coercion. As citizens have a right to democratically co-decide upon the rules which regulate their life in society, would-be migrants should have a right to co-decide upon rules which will have a crucial influence on their future destiny. They should become active participants of our immigration policy choices. It is time to widely open our Sunday polling offices.

The argument proposed by Abizadeh presupposes a discussion on the criteria of democratic inclusion. Who should be enfranchised in a democratic decision-making procedure? Political philosophers usually distinguish between subjection to "coercion" and the fact of being "affected" by a decision. In light of the former, the democratic enfranchisement of citizens does not only draw upon their being affected by common rules of society; it stems more from their subjection to these rules, if necessary, by force. The

“The argument proposed by Abizadeh presupposes a discussion on the criteria of democratic inclusion. Who should be enfranchised in a democratic decision-making procedure?”

level of control under which citizens organise their life is thus clearly high. According to the latter, the simple fact of being affected by a decision might already justify democratic enfranchisement. In the scientific literature, this criterion is usually criticised for having too low of a threshold. An almost infinite number of individuals across the world will potentially be affected by the decision of a State, especially in immigration matters. But are all these individuals affected in a way that justifies a democratic participation right?

Taking into account these two criteria, how should we assess our migration-related choices? Are would-be migrants only affected or are they coerced? Abizadeh tries to make the case for coercion. Would-be migrants are coerced by a State's decision to control immigration and, in most cases, to close its borders. The argument is nevertheless difficult to make. It is challenging to argue that would-be migrants are coerced by an immigration policy in a way similar to the coercion of citizens by their State enforcing democratically chosen rules. Clearly, the control of borders is a symbolically highly-loaded element in the perception of the State as political community. As political philosopher Joe Carens put it in his widely-quoted article on the ethics of immigration: *Aliens and Citizens:*

the Case for Open Borders (1987), “borders have guards and the guards have guns.” Moreover, States have developed means to control borders that go far beyond the passive protection of their territory. The borders are moving and controls have become proactive. Nevertheless, leaving aside the crucial issue of whether coercion always justifies enfranchisement, it seems difficult to argue that the threshold of control exercised over would-be migrants and citizens is of the same intensity. The modus of interactions between a State and its citizens seems to be of a distinct kind.

If Abizadeh's argument fails to justify the enfranchisement of all would-be migrants, it nevertheless underscores an essential challenge in the ethical debate around our immigration choices. In addition to arguments formulated against, or for a liberal immigration policy (the so-called “open-closed borders” debate which has been attracting the attention of political philosophers for almost 30 years), this new challenge might be qualified as “procedural”. It does not focus upon a specific immigration policy, but rather upon how citizens debate and decide on such a policy. In this regard, it is undisputable that our immigration choices clearly affect would-be migrants and some of their

fundamental interests. When the Swiss Parliament decides to revise asylum law, when citizens demand a return to quota for EU-migrants or when family reunification is complicated by additional selection criteria, it is above all the interests of would-be migrants that are affected. The relevance of these choices to this group is in stark contrast with their missing opportunity to have a say in these discussions.

If not enough to justify a right of democratic participation, the fact of being affected in a relevant way should guarantee a right to be heard. For Switzerland, this right should be understood as a responsibility to include the voices of would-be migrants into its migration-related decision-making procedures. The responsibility at stake reflects a deep mechanism of inclusiveness of the individuals whose interests are being affected. This responsibility to include is all but new for Switzerland. The Swiss political system works on a daily basis with the ambition to consider, take into account and include the interests and opinions of groups affected by a certain legislative choice, as exemplified by the procedure of consultation.

As to its practical realisation, this responsibility to include could take distinct institutional forms. Firstly, the capacity of



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would-be migrants to make their interests known should be substantially improved. In this respect, the challenge consists in putting into place mechanisms of representation which could be part of the legislative procedure. The various possible implementations of this idea are functions of the power we want to give to these mechanisms. To one extreme, we could think of a group of immigrants residing in Switzerland who would take part in the legislative work with the explicit objective of representing the interests of would-be migrants. Some NGOs working on migration do already (partially) play this role in acting “in the name” of would-be migrants when they take a position on a legislative proposition. At the other extreme, why not consider a profound reform of the Federal Commission on Migration? It would be possible to transform an experts’ commission advising the authorities into a representative commission advocating the interests of would-be migrants. By fixing the importance of taking into account migrants’ interests at the heart of the legislative procedure, Switzerland would be in a position to strengthen the legitimacy of its interactions with future immigrants. Secondly, Switzerland should commit itself to improving international coordination on global migration. A global migration regime would allow a vast number of interests directly at stake to be integrated into political decision-making procedures. In an ideal setting, countries of origin, of transit and of destination, as well as migrants’ representative groups should all have the opportunity to make their interests heard. By taking a distance with a

“[...] why not consider a
profound reform of the Federal
Commission on Migration?”

strictly national dealing with migration – or a regional one at the EU level – a stronger international regime would shift the focus from a unilateral policy to global mechanisms able to take into account the different interests at stake. Like the Berne Initiative for a global dealing with migration launched by Switzerland in 2001, substantial efforts were already invested in this direction. We need to support our authorities in strengthening international coordination. This should be sectorially promoted, for instance by reinforcing the European and global asylum regime or by fully exploiting the potentialities of the GATS in matters of temporary labour migration.

The challenge to take into account and integrate the interests of would-be migrants is an essential test put to Switzerland and its European neighbours. In light of the democratic tradition which Switzerland likes to claim, could we imagine a country with better resources, experiences and political composure to seize this opportunity? The path towards inclusiveness is no easy one to take. But far from being no more than a moral obligation of a wealthy country, Swiss experience teaches us that including others’ interests is a guarantee for efficiency and stability: two essential features which are cruelly missing in our migration policies.



Johan Rochel is Vice-President of the think-tank *foraus* on Swiss foreign policy, member of the Ethics Center of the University of Zurich and researcher specialized in migration and European law in the ProDoc “Foundations of European and International Law”. In addition to several academic articles on immigration, he completed a book on how to improve the Swiss immigration policy (*forthcoming 2015*). Johan founded the project “Ethics in Action” with the objective to foster ethical competences for members of political parties, NGOs and companies (www.ethiqueenaction.com). Johan is a regular commentator in various national media, and columnist for the periodical “L’Hebdo” with his blog: “La Suisse en mouvement”.

Union Citizenship Revisited

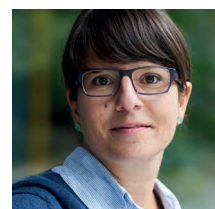
Multilateral democracy as normative standard for European citizenship

Rebecca Welge (CIS) & Antoinette Scherz
(Goethe University Frankfurt am Main)

European Citizenship is of unique importance for migration in Europe, because it transcends national boundaries and guarantees the right to free movement to all EU citizens. Due to its multilevel structure, European Citizenship has a distinct form composed of national and EU Citizenship. It mirrors the multi-layered legal system and the complex relationship between national and EU law. According to the Treaties, 25 every citizen of EU Member States holds EU Citizenship, which is 'additional' to national citizenship and does not replace it (Art. 20.1 TFEU). The supranationally enshrined status of EU Citizenship creates distinct features of citizenship: such a multilevel citizenship stretches into supranational and transnational realms, which are additional to the national level as it embeds multiple national communities. The framework of EU Citizenship has fundamentally changed the conditions of migration in Europe and could serve as a model of how to deal with challenges of citizenship and migration in the 21st century.

“We propose three criteria by which to assess multilevel citizenship: equal individual rights, equal sovereignty of peoples, and the balancing of individuals’ and peoples’ interests.”

The objective of our paper is to assess EU Citizenship against the theoretical background of multilateral democracy. This approach is specifically suited to this task, as it does not rely on a nation-state paradigm or the presumption of a further transformation into a federation or union. We propose three criteria by which to assess multilevel citizenship: equal individual rights, equal sovereignty of peoples, and the balancing of individuals’ and peoples’ interests. We argue that the current practice of Union Citizenship does not fully meet the proposed standards regarding equal rights within, and equal access to, the political system. Based on our assessment, we propose reform options of access to national and supranational citizenship and argue for supranational participation rights and equal transnational rights to gradually re-establish full membership for individuals.



Antoinette Scherz is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre for Advanced Studies “Justitia Amplificata” at the Goethe University Frankfurt am Main

as well as an Assistant Lecturer in the Advanced Studies in Applied Ethics program at the University of Zurich. Antoinette’s research interests include international political theory, legitimacy, democratic theory, institutional design, and the concept of peoples.

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Rebecca Welge is a senior research and teaching associate at the Department of Political Sciences, University of Zurich. Rebecca received her

PhD from ETH Zurich in 2013. Her primary research interests include citizenship, democracy beyond the state, citizens’ political perceptions, multi-level governance.

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Right-Wing Populist Parties and Welfare-State Chauvinism

Dominik Geering (CIS)

When linking migration to the politics of Western European countries, it is hard not to address the role of right-wing populist parties (RWPPs). These parties have arrived at center stage both in public discourse and scientific research. Two decades ago, Kitschelt and McGann¹ argued that their success is based on a “winning formula”: authoritarian positions on socio-cultural issues (e.g., anti-immigration) in order to attract the working class, combined with market-liberalism regarding socio-economic issues in order to attract small business owners’ votes. However, the rise of the working class as RWPPs’ main constituency in the late 1990s led some scholars to argue that RWPPs would – in their new role as working class parties – no longer demand market liberalism, but welfare chauvinism, i.e., a generous welfare state for native workers while excluding immigrants. For a working-class party with a strong emphasis on anti-immigration issues, this would seem like a straightforward policy position. Based on the idea that a party develops policy positions on its voters’ preferences, RWPPs’ support

for welfare state chauvinism sounds plausible. However, I argue in my PhD thesis that the party elite’s perspective limits the welfare state chauvinist profile of RWPPs: RWPPs are only able to support welfare-state chauvinism – preferred by their working-class constituency – when they decide to stay in opposition.

RWPPs which chose to cooperate with mainstream parties face a different situation for two reasons. Firstly, RWPPs’ focus on immigration -and socio-cultural issues more generally- gives them the opportunity to adopt flexible positions on socio-economic policies, as long as they do not actively emphasize these issues during election campaigns. Secondly, since RWPPs form the opposite pole to left-wing parties, moderate right parties are the only partners available for cooperation. This provides RWPPs with an incentive to adopt market liberalism to facilitate cooperation with the moderate right. Combined RWPPs have the opportunity and incentive to adopt market liberalism, instead of welfare-state chauvinism, if they choose to cooperate with the moderate right. My research on RWPPs’ labor- market

policies in Austria, Denmark, and Switzerland shows this to be the case: When in opposition, RWPPs openly support welfare-state chauvinism; when cooperating with moderate right parties, RWPPs support market liberalism – although in a somewhat more clandestine fashion so as not to alienate their working class constituency.

I do not mean to negate RWPPs’ anti-immigration or chauvinist profile. Rather, I would like to emphasize that RWPP’s support for a generous (yet exclusive) welfare state is conditioned by their relationship with the moderate right. As long as RWPPs are in opposition they support welfare-state chauvinism. Yet, once they join forces with the moderate right they support market-liberalism. By doing so, these working-class parties change the game in political economy which can no longer be theorized as left-wing working-class parties against middle- and upper-class parties of the right.

About the author:

http://www.ipz.uzh.ch/institut/mitarbeitende/staff/geering_en.html

¹ Kitschelt, Herbert and Anthony J. McGann. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

CIS Colloquium 2014

Looking back at a year of great talks

SPRING SEMESTER 2014

27.02.14	<i>Teppei Yamamoto, MIT</i>	Identification and Estimation of Causal Mediation Effects with Treatment Noncompliance
06.03.14	<i>Mitchell A. Seligson, Vanderbilt University</i>	The Americas Upside-Down: The Breakdown of Legitimacy in the US
13.03.14	<i>Luke Keele, Penn State University</i>	Stronger Instruments by Design
20.03.14	<i>Susan Hyde, Yale University</i>	The Individual-Level Consequences of Democracy Promotion: A Field Experiment in Rural Cambodia
27.03.14	<i>Raphael Parchet, Universita della Svizzera Italiana</i>	Are Local Tax Rates Strategic Complements or Strategic Substitutes?
03.04.14	<i>Patrick Emmenegger, University of St. Gallen</i>	Political Alienation and Varieties of Outsiderness: A Panel Data Approach
10.04.14	<i>Sara Hobolt, London School of Economics</i>	Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union
29.04.14	<i>Mark Copelovitch, University of Wisconsin</i>	Financial Levees: Capital Inflows, Financial Market Structure, and Banking Crises
08.05.14	<i>Jenna Bednar, University of Michigan</i>	Resilience in Federal Systems
15.05.14	<i>Maik Schneider, ETH Zurich</i>	Who Writes the Bill? The Role of the Agenda-Setter in Legislative Lobbying
22.05.14	<i>Elisabeth Wood, Yale University</i>	Explaining Variation in Sexual Violence during War
05.06.14	<i>Christopher Kilby, Villanova University</i>	Assessing the Contribution of Donor Agencies to Aid Effectiveness: The Impact of World Bank Preparation on Project Outcomes

FALL SEMESTER 2014

12.09.14	<i>Peter Rosendorff, New York University</i>	Transparency, Protests and Political (In)Stability in Autocracies and Democracies
18.09.15	<i>Michael Aklin, University of Pittsburgh</i>	Re-Exploring the Trade and Environment Nexus Through the Diffusion of Pollution
09.10.14	<i>Jonas Tallberg, Stockholm University</i>	The Opening Up of International Organizations: Transnational Access in Global Governance
23.10.14	<i>Brian F. Crisp, Washington University in St. Louis</i>	The Impact of Formal Paths to Office on Descriptive, Symbolic, and Substantive Representation: Maori in the New Zealand Parliament
30.10.14	<i>Silvia Marchesi, University of Milano - Bicocca</i>	Information Transmission within Federal Fiscal Architectures: Theory and Evidence
06.11.14	<i>Christoph Knill, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich</i>	On the Road to Permissiveness? Changing Styles of Moral Regulation in Europe
13.11.14	<i>Christian Breunig, University of Konstanz</i>	Policy Trade-Offs in Advanced Democracies
27.11.14	<i>Vivien A. Schmidt, Boston University</i>	Forgotten Legitimacy: Governing by the Rules and Ruling by the Numbers in the Eurozone Crisis
04.12.14	<i>Brian Greenhill, Dartmouth College</i>	Diffusion of Human Rights in Intergovernmental Organizations
11.12.14	<i>Tom Pepinsky, Cornell University</i>	Commodity Shocks and Local Public Goods: A Tale of Two Districts
18.12.14	<i>Richard Bellamy, European University Institute, Florence</i>	Beyond Constraining Dissensus?: The Role of National Parliaments in Politicizing European Integration

My First Year at MACIS

Katherine Woolbright is a MACIS student in her first year. In 2014 she was granted an ETH Excellence Scholarship and Opportunity Program (ESOP) award. *CIS News* asked her to share her experiences.

Was there a particular moment, a life-changing event, that piqued your interest in political science, or could you elaborate on how your interest in the field grew?

I wouldn't say there was a pivotal moment that made me decide to study political science, but I can say that growing up in the Philippines — a country rife with graft, corruption and political conflict — has definitely kept politics at the forefront of my mind at all times.

How did you hear about MACIS, and what forces lay behind your decision to apply to this program in particular?

I initially heard about MACIS from a colleague at Jacobs University who applied a year prior to my entry. As I looked more closely into the program, Prof. Lars-Erik Cederman and Prof. Andreas Wenger's research areas, respectively, in addition to the small class sizes, really convinced me that this was the right choice for me.

How do you feel about your studies at MACIS?

Admittedly, I have only been here for a semester so far, so I don't necessarily have a "complete" picture as to what the entire program is like.

"I can definitely say that the [MACIS] classes are rigorous, thought-provoking and incredibly challenging"

Nevertheless, in the past few months, I can definitely say that the classes are rigorous, thought-provoking and incredibly challenging. Fortunately, both my professors and colleagues alike have been undeniably supportive throughout every step of the way, thus creating a wonderful learning environment for me.

What are some of your plans for the future, with regards to political science?

If everything falls into place, I hope to pursue a PhD in Security Studies.

In 2014 you were awarded the ETH Excellence Scholarship. Can you tell us a little bit more about the award, and its direct implications for you if there were any?

The ETH Excellence Scholarship and Opportunity Program (ESOP) is a special scholarship that consists of a grant covering living and education expenses in Zurich, as well as a tuition fee waiver, for the duration of the Master's program. It also includes specific academic supervision in the field that the recipient of the award is

most interested in. I felt very honored and grateful upon receiving the award, as studying at ETH would not have been an option for me had I not been chosen for it. An unexpected perk of for this award is definitely the community and support structure that the recipients have access to, thanks to the events sponsored and organised by the ETH Foundation, and more specifically, Franziska Juch (Coordinator of the ESOP Foundation).

Any words of wisdom you wish to impart upon new students at MACIS?

Try not to be too hard on yourself, and try to develop and nurture healthy working relationships with your colleagues!



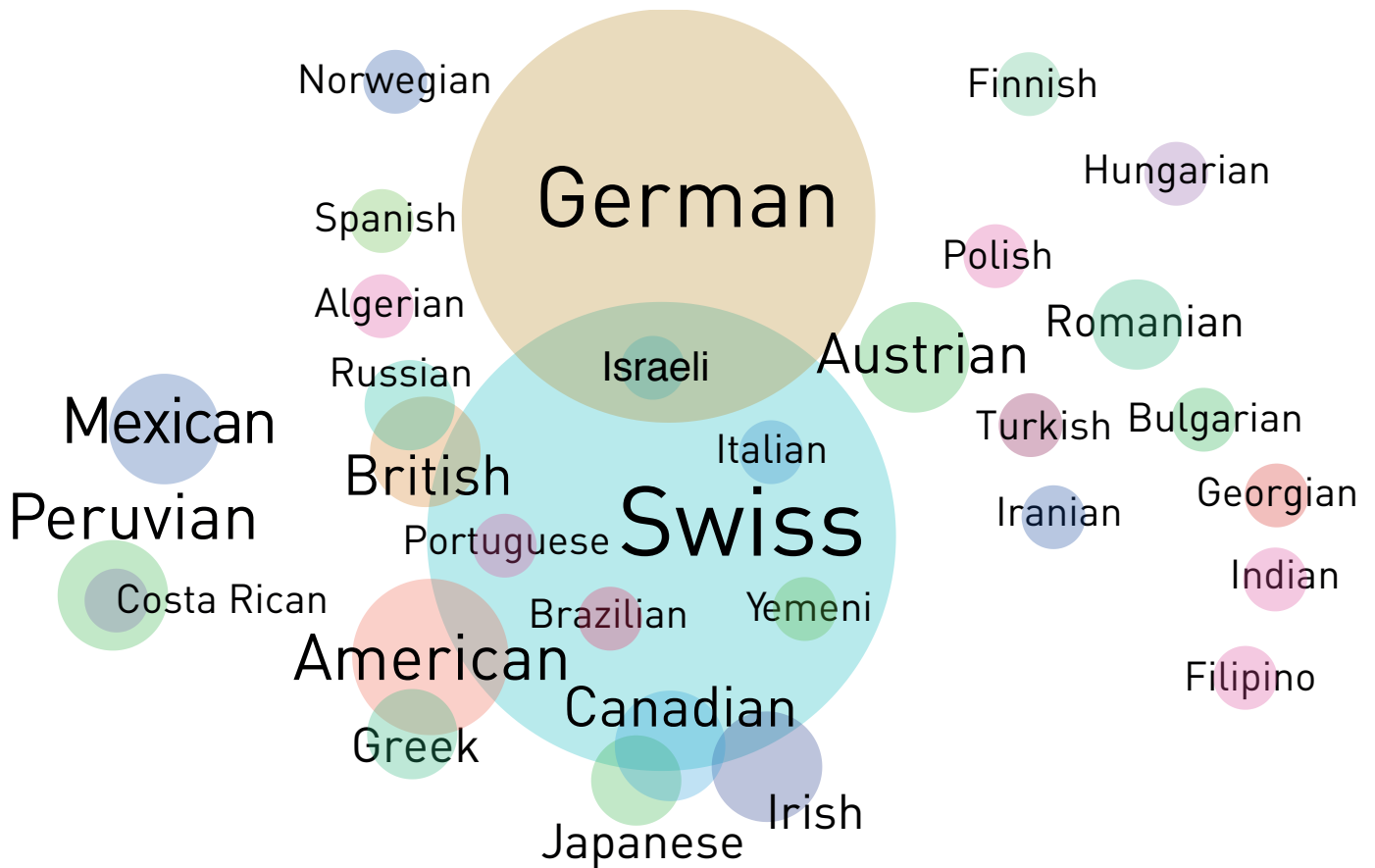
Katherine Woolbright was born and raised in the Philippines. She completed her BA in International Politics and History at Jacobs University Bremen.

Katherine is the recipient of the Mercator Foundation Award for Outstanding Academic Ability and Community Engagement. She is interested in peace, security and development studies.

Where in the World... ?

A visualization of nationalities at CIS

Graphics courtesy of **Luc Girardin (CIS)**



Input based on a voluntary poll / graphics by Macrofocus (www.macrofocus.com)

Of Deadlines and... Lifelines

Working towards a PhD

Mirjam Hirzel graduated from MACIS in 2013, and this year embarks on her first year of the CIS Doctorate program. Her choice in academic studies was driven by a deeply personal dedication to the Sahrawi people.

Was there an event in your life, or a moment, which led you to pursue a Master's in Political Science?

During my BA I spent roughly six months in the Sahrawi refugee camps in southwest Algeria, an experience that very much inspired me to take up Political Science for my MA. Being there really opened my eyes to how far into every aspect of life politics goes – down to the governance and running of the camps on a daily basis. I was studying International Development at the time, but then opted for Political Science for my MA because that particular perspective really began to interest me.



Sahrawi refugee camp © Mirjam Hirzel

“I also came to participate in the **Family Garden Project**, an exciting initiative that seeks to support the self-reliance of the refugee community...”

Can you describe the work you're doing for your PhD?

My PhD explores the mechanisms that underlie the empirically acknowledged association between ethnic inequality and violent collective action, giving particular emphasis also to the circumstances in which grievance-based mobilization produces a non-violent outcome.

Can you say a few words about the Sahrawi refugees and your work in support of their cause?

Living conditions in the refugee camps are extremely hard, and there isn't a family there that is not in some way divided, with some of its members having remained behind in occupied Western Sahara. I spent almost a year – in total – in the camps, where I worked on several projects, initially with the National Union of Saharawi Women. Later I also came to participate in the Family Garden

Project, an exciting initiative that seeks to support the self-reliance of the refugee community, which is otherwise almost entirely dependent on the international community for even its most basic needs. I also attend the UN Human Rights Council in cooperation with Fondation Danielle Mitterrand - France Libertés, supporting the full recognition of the rights of the Saharawi peoples.

Where will you go from here?

I'm a good way into the first year of my PhD. For the moment I have not yet made up my mind whether I would like to stay in academia; that's certainly something I will consider. I can also see myself going back to the development sector, perhaps in a way that will allow me to combine development work with my background in conflict research – there is no doubt an important connection between the two. In the meantime, however, I am happy to concentrate on my PhD.

Africa's Last Colony

Inside the Western Sahara conflict

Mirjam Hirzel (CIS)

'A'dakhli, a'dakhli'. 'Come in, come in' – an invitation offered by the Sahrawis without hesitation, in expression of a hospitality that is deeply embedded within their cultural traditions. Unconditionally willing to share what they have despite their humble circumstances, I was thus welcomed into their tents on countless afternoons, customarily for a glass of bittersweet tea prepared in a ceremony that has a fundamental presence in the myriad of customs that shape the everyday life of the Sahrawis. It is a precise and somehow artistic ceremony, during which a regular movement of the tea, as it is poured from one glass to the next, results in the formation of a thick layer of foam that crowns the golden red infusion. Always three courses are served – the first bitter, as life; the second sweet, as love; and the third soft, as death. It is a ceremony that accompanies quiet conversation into the long hours of the desert afternoons. And when you leave and pass by other tents on your way, the clinking of tea glasses as they are placed back on the tray echoes from within them, breaking the suffocating silence of the summer heat.

The refugee camps, a vast expanse of makeshift sand brick dwellings interspersed with UN-distributed tents, are home to an estimated 165,000 Sahrawis who fled the conflict over the territory of Western Sahara almost four decades ago. They are situated near the Algerian border town of Tindouf, in one of the harshest regions of the Sahara desert. Livelihoods in the camps are strongly

shaped by the refugees' dependence on foreign aid, and although the camps are well organised and maintained by the Sahrawi authorities, every aspect of life is complicated by the 'temporary' nature of their situation.

The Western Sahara conflict between the POLISARIO Front and the Kingdom of Morocco began back in 1975, following the withdrawal of Spain from, and the subsequent Moroccan (and initially Mauritanian) annexation of, the resource-rich territory. Since the UN-brokered ceasefire was established in 1991, a political solution to the conflict has been sought, but given strong political impasse, the conflict parties remain in a deadlock to this date. Pending the outstanding implementation of the decolonisation process through a referendum of self-determination, as affirmed by the International Court of Justice and several UN bodies, Western Sahara's status as the last non-self-governing territory of Africa prevails.

Consequently, the repatriation of the Sahrawi refugees continues to be delayed, while the Sahrawis who had stayed in the territory remain under Moroccan occupation, exposed to what has been described by several human rights organisations as grave and systematic human rights violations, including enforced disappearances and severe restrictions on freedom of expression, assembly and association. The UN peacekeeping mission, MINURSO, deployed in the territory since the ceasefire, remains as the only UN mission in the world that does not have the monitoring of human rights



Sahrawi tea set © Mirjam Hirzel

included in its mandate, this despite the many and serious allegations of human rights violations.

As such, it is not only the silence of the Saharan summer, which the Sahrawis have been facing year to year, but even more so the silence of the international community vis-à-vis this longstanding humanitarian crisis that is making every further countless afternoon increasingly difficult to bear. Calling themselves the 'Forgotten People', the apparent idyll of their cultural traditions, though practiced in great earnest, at the same time very much veils the Sahrawis' growing impatience, and frustration, with their status quo.



Mirjam Hirzel holds a BSc in International Development and Food Policy from University College Cork. She is a MACIS graduate, now working

towards her PhD at the Chair of International Conflict Research under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Lars-Erik Cederman. She is currently involved in the "r4d" project on "Ethnic Power Relations and Conflict". <http://www.r4d.epr.ethz.ch>

1 Exchange Program

3 Perspectives

Three MACIS students: Frederik Hans, Clint Claessen and Michelle Cohen set off for the MACIS exchange program with the Graduate Institute Geneva. *CIS News* welcomed their opinions on the transfer.

Based on an email exchange, Dec. 2014

How has the exchange contributed to your overall MACIS experience? Have you found it enriching, or are there any negative aspects?

Frederic: The courses at the Graduate Institute Geneva nicely broaden the range of electives not available in the MACIS curriculum. I personally enrolled for three electives in the Master's program in International Economics (Natural Resources Economics, Impact Evaluation and Strategic Project Management), which have a slightly more practical and policy-orientated focus than those electives offered at ETH/UZH. These courses allow me to further pursue an economic and econometric focus during my graduate studies, and I've found them to be a good fit with the more theoretical and research-orientated MACIS core seminars.

Clint: The exchange is a very positive addition to the MACIS program. While classes at MACIS are relatively small and contact with professors is therefore much easier, IHEID has larger class sizes and more students to interact with. Especially in terms of diversity, the IHEID and Geneva provide a wonderful opportunity to interact with students from around the world.



Photo courtesy of the Graduate Institute Geneva © 2015

Michelle: The exchange has definitely enriched the MACIS experience. I had the chance to profit from two excellent institutions and the IHEID broadened my perspective, especially due to the many conferences that take place at the Graduate Institute and the various international organizations in proximity.

Can you describe the highlights of the exchange on a personal level?

Frederic: The student body at the IHEID has an extremely diverse cultural and educational background. As the institute's new campus is completely integrated and located directly across the UNHCR headquarters, the level

of interaction among students is very intense, as everyone keeps running into each other! In addition, the Graduate Institute organizes speeches, workshops and high-profile public lectures from the international policy community on a weekly basis. I've so far had the chance to attend talks by Joschka Fischer and José Manuel Barroso in person, sharing their opinions about the future of the European Union.

Clint: The highlights of the exchange were the activities that I took part in outside of class. While the classes overall were very interesting and more practical, I really took the opportunity to become engaged with student

initiatives. I joined the C4SI, a student-run social innovation program of 10 weeks, in which I worked with a group of students on the development of a social solution to a real-world problem. I joined the Junior Diplomat Initiative and had the honor to host an event with the Dutch and the New Zealand Ambassadors. I also joined GIMUN and participated in the 2014 Oxford Model United Nations. These three activities and the diverse student body represent the highlights for me.

Michelle: The highlight of the exchange was the diverse student body that allows for stimulating interactions as well as the diverse course options provided at the Graduate Institute.

Would you recommend this exchange to other MACIS students? Why or why not?

Frederic: I definitely recommend the MACIS-Geneva exchange to other MACIS students, in particular if she/he has an interest in pursuing more policy-orientated electives than those offered by MACIS alone. In addition, the Geneva Institute is extremely well connected with international organizations based in Geneva, which enables you to get an enhanced understanding for potential career tracks following graduation.

Clint: I would certainly recommend this exchange to other MACIS students. Students are given the chance to take classes outside of their specialization, interact with a more diverse crowd and enjoy a more international experience. Additionally, there are many internship opportunities with international organizations.

Michelle: I would definitely recommend this exchange, if a student is willing to extend the Master's degree from 3 to 4 semesters. It is a good opportunity to experience a different MA program and profit from another environment.

About the Students

Frederic Hans

is a MACIS student, currently writing his dissertation on: "The Effects of Childhood Famine Exposure on Long-Term Socioeconomic Outcomes". He holds two BA degrees in International Affairs and Economics, respectively, from the University of St. Gallen (HSG).

Clint Claessen

is a MACIS student, currently writing his dissertation with Prof. S. Bailer on: "Careers after Parliament. The Dutch Tweede Kamer and its Members' Success after Representative Life". He holds a BA degree in Political Science from the University of Amsterdam.

Michelle Cohen

is in her final semester at MACIS. Her main field of interest is Security Studies. She holds a BA in Political Science and Modern History from the University of Zurich.

How to register for the exchange:

MACIS students are entitled to register for the CIS/Graduate Institute Geneva exchange program in their third semester, but no earlier. If you are eligible for the exchange, please be reminded that your participation in this program will inevitably prolong your studies by a fourth semester.

The following conditions apply:

1. You have spent two semesters studying full-time in the MACIS program;
2. You have gained all required credit points/grades to start your MA thesis;
3. You have discussed your plans with the MACIS Coordinator of Studies and the prospective main advisor of your MA thesis.

If you meet the above-mentioned requirements, you can download the application form online, at: www.cis.ethz.ch/education.html

For more information, contact the MACIS Coordinator of Studies Benita Cserépy: macis@gess.ethz.ch

Welcoming New Faces

CIS extends a warm welcome to our ever-growing number of academic advisors and professors.

Professor of Comparative Politics **Daniele Caramani**

Daniele Caramani has been working as Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Zurich since August 2014. He graduated from the University of Geneva and holds a Ph.D. from the European University Institute, Florence, where he was a Jean Monnet fellow. He has held academic positions in Florence, Mannheim, Birmingham and St. Gallen, and is author of "Elections in Western Europe since 1815: Electoral Results by Constituencies" (Palgrave 2000, with CD-ROM) and "The Nationalization of Politics" (CUP 2004). He has authored "Introduction to the Comparative Method with Boolean Algebra" (Sage, "Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences" 2009) and edits: "Comparative Politics" (Oxford University Press 2014, third edition, which has been translated into Italian and Croatian). Prof. Caramani is Co-Director of the Constituency-Level Data Archive which received the APSA "Dataset Award" in 2012.

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Coordinator of Studies **Benita Cserépy**

Benita Cserépy began working as Coordinator of Studies in April this year and is responsible for MACIS student life, from application to graduation. Her work covers the coordination of the study programme, organization of events and meetings, website administration and, most importantly, she provides an extensive advisory service for students. In order to provide the best possible support for current and future students, Benita works closely with the Director of Studies and the ETH Rectorate.

"I appreciate the contact with the students, and it is important to me that the office is run efficiently and professionally. Students may find it hard at times to go through the administrative part and I'm really happy if I can support them. It's my personal aim to contribute towards a good study environment and to make things easier, and possibly better. Life is hard enough!"

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Associate Professor of Political Theory **Scott Desposato**

Scott W. Desposato is Associate Professor of Political Science, and has held positions at the University of Arizona and the University of California, San Diego, as well as fellowships at Princeton's Center for the Study of Democratic Politics and the Harvard Academy. His general research interests include democratic institutions, campaigning, mass behavior, and political methodology. Specific projects have examined redistricting in the United States, electoral rules and federalism in Brazil, party-switching by politicians, and statistical methods for studying legislatures. Published research has appeared in The American Journal of Political Science, The Journal of Politics, Comparative Political Studies, and Political Analysis. His latest project, for which he has received a National Science Foundation award, examines the determinants and impacts of negative campaigning across different institutional settings.

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Ready, Steady, Snow!

Prof. Dr. Frank Schimmelfennig's European Politics PhD group spent a cozy academic retreat in the Swiss resort of Belalp, in the sun-kissed Valais. In the meantime, students at the ETH got their skates on...

Asya Zhelyazkova (CIS)

This year's annual European Politics retreat took place in January, in the sun-bathed Belalp, in Valais. In addition to the spectacular view of the Matterhorn peak in the distance, we could marvel at several other Valaisian four-thousanders as well as the largest Alpine glacier: the impressive Aletsch (a Unesco Heritage site). It was a great location to present and provide feedback on each other's research, interrupted only by invigorating short walks in the snow. In total, twelve of our internal and external members gathered to discuss their research

in a program that combined eleven presentations within two days. The presentations addressed various topics related to current issues in European politics, including the Eurozone crisis, differentiated integration in the EU, the legislative efficiency of the EU and the impact of EU's accession to Central and Eastern Europe on compliance and party competition in Europe. In addition, the new PhD students were encouraged to use the opportunity to present the first versions of their respective PhD proposals. Our retreat ended with a seven-kilometer sledge ride down to Blatten, where we all took off back to Zurich.

ed. / ETH press release

Following last year's success, the ETH was happy to once again invite students, staff, and the general Zurich public to a few weeks of ice skating and general gastronomical enjoyment in the makeshift dinner tent. Thanks to an amazing ETH team boasting Swiss organizational finesse at its best, you could rent your skates on location, zip a few rounds and retire to sip a warm drink in the heated pavilion. The ice rink and tent remained open between **November 15-December 14** and aims to return again next year, laces crossed.



European Politics PhD Group, January 2014. (l-r): Thomas Schäuble, Jofre Rocabert, Reini Schrama, Joergen Boelstad, Thomas Winzen, Prof. Dr. Frank Schimmelfennig, Asya Zhelyazkova, Christoph Elhardt (back), Cansarp Kaya, Sabine Jenni.



(top): Ice skating on the Polyterrasse, ETH; (bottom): Light entertainment & culinary delights in the adjacent tent.

PhDs in 2014

The last Gallic village?
An empirical analysis
of Switzerland's
differentiated
European integration
1990–2010

Sabine Jenni

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. F. Schimmelfennig



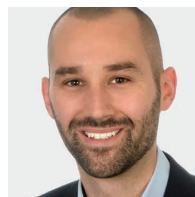
Switzerland has not become a member of the European Union (EU), but the instruments of Swiss European

policies show similarities to the European integration of the EU member states. Is it thus justified to call Switzerland the last Gallic village in Western Europe? The thesis examined this question based on an empirical dataset, which measures the integration quality of Switzerland's European policies between 1990 and 2010. The dataset focuses on legal rules originating in the EU, which are extended to Switzerland by the means of sectoral agreements and the unilateral adaptation of domestic law. The analyses showed that extensions of EU rules to Switzerland appeared throughout the whole research period, but the legal links to the EU became stronger and more frequent in relation to the Bilaterals I and Bilaterals II. The thesis drew on supranationalist and intergovernmentalist theories of European integration and showed that domestic and international negotiations, as well as the institutional quality of the different integration instruments, explain these developments.

Right-wing populist
parties and labor
market policies

Dominik Geering

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. S. Häusermann



How do right-wing populist parties change welfare state politics? In my cumulative dissertation,

I analyze specific aspects of this question in three papers. Starting on the voter-level, paper 1 shows that today economic insecurity leads to increased anti-immigrant attitudes and electoral support for right-wing populist parties. Paper 2 focuses on the party-level, analyzing the labor market policies of right-wing populist parties. The paper shows that as right-wing populist parties cooperate with the moderate right, they support market-liberal policies despite their working class electorate. Finally, paper 3 focuses on policy impact, and shows that right-wing populist parties polarize labor market policy making and facilitate retrenchment by strengthening the political right bloc. By tracing the link from voters to parties to policies, the three papers provide insights into how right-wing populist parties influence welfare state politics.

Reconstructing a cycle
of protest: Protest
and politics in Turkey,
1971–1985

Selin Bengi Gümrükçü

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Hanspeter Kriesi



My thesis analyses the protest events that took place in Turkey in the 1970s, between 1971–1985.

The main argument of the study is the need to consider the 1970s as a cycle of protest and a period of politicization rather than a chaotic period that should be avoided. Based theoretically on the political process approach and the concept of political opportunity structures, the dissertation tested seven hypotheses, of which five were supported. The first main part of the dissertation, based on the data collected for this study, dealt with the components of protest events, respectively the actors, repertoires of actions and the issues raised during the protests, while the second part analyzed the dynamics of institutionalization and radicalization in Turkey, two processes that are argued to emerge hand-in-hand at the end of cycles of protest. The result was that, unlike most of the cases discussed in the literature on social movements, the cycle of protest of the 1970s in Turkey revealed dynamics of radicalization from the very start, but revealed few attempts towards institutionalization. The impacts of the military interventions on street politics are also clearly demonstrated. Methodologically, my dissertation employed protest event analysis based on the archives of Turkish daily Milliyet, by reviewing every issue from March 1971 until 1985, and coding every other article.

The causes and consequences of ethnic power-sharing

Nils-Christian Bormann

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. L. E. Cederman



What are the causes and what are the consequences of ethnic power-sharing?

Existing research

generally agrees that ethnic coalitions decrease the likelihood of civil war. However, most scholars of power-sharing claim that political elites from different ethnic groups rarely form coalitions and that these coalitions are inherently unstable unless so-called power-sharing institutions provide incentives for cooperation. Since most studies of power-sharing do not measure coalitions directly, it remains unclear how accurate these claims are. My thesis complements existing research by adopting a theoretical and empirical approach that explicitly centers on elite behavior. My theoretical argument predicts that ethnic elites frequently form oversized coalitions because they fear future defections by their co-ethnics and violent revolutions by members of excluded ethnic groups. Accordingly, ethnic coalitions are less stable than mono-ethnic governments. Since ethnic coalitions are usually unstable and elites face higher risks when they lose power in dictatorships, large elite coalitions are more likely to embrace democratization in order to lower their personal risks. Finally, ethnic coalitions should mainly reduce the risk of territorial rather than governmental civil war because large coalitions are likely to result in infighting over government power. I find support for my hypotheses using data on the ethnic composition of governments around the world between 1946 and 2009.

Coercion, risk, and danger: The construction of sanctions and securitization of international conflict

Mark Daniel Jaeger

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger



The most notorious question raised on coercive international sanctions is:

“Do sanctions

work?” Unsurprisingly, answers to such a sweeping question remain inconclusive. However, in crucial cases even coercive sanctions’ widely presumed logic of economic impact translating into political pressure is not the primary driver of conflict development. Furthermore, one of the most striking differences across sanctions conflicts is broadly neglected: The increasing occurrence and combination of positive sanctions with negative sanctions. Instead of asking whether sanctions work, this study addresses a more basic question: How do coercive international sanctions work, and more substantially, what are the social conditions within sanctions conflicts that are conducive to either cooperation or non-cooperation? The study argues that coercive sanctions and international conflicts are socially constructed facts; their meaning is not pre-given. It develops a constructivist theory of coercive sanctions, positing them in a dynamically evolving international conflict environment. To this end, it fuses elements of modern systems theory with the notion of securitization as causal mechanism in conflict transformation. The study presents an empirical analysis of the construction of sanctions in the conflict between China and Taiwan.

Strategic culture, securitization and the use of force by liberal democracies – comparing the security policies and practices of Australia, Canada, France, Germany and the UK after 9/11

Wilhelm Mirow

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger



This dissertation analysed whether differences in the extent to which Western liberal democracies resorted to the

use of force within the two-year period after the terrorist events of 11 September 2001 can be explained on the basis of differences in societies’ identity-derived norms on the legitimate use of force by the state against perceived existential threats. It thereby sought to improve our understanding of how a strategic culture has an impact on concrete state actions. To this end, the dissertation proposes a theoretical framework which combines the concept of strategic culture with the concept of securitization within a morphogenetic macro-theoretical framework based on Critical Realism as well as on a pragmatist methodology and conception of causation. The dissertation examines these theoretical assumptions through in-depth case studies involving state decisions concerning domestic anti-terrorism legislation as well as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Civil conflict in petroleum-producing regions

Philipp Hunziker

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. L. E. Cederman



Does oil and gas production cause the outbreak of civil violence? And if so, under what conditions is

oil and gas-extraction particularly risky? Existing research suggests that petroleum-producing states are more likely to witness the outbreak of intrastate conflict than other countries. However, it is unclear whether this relationship represents a causal effect, or reflects the fact that the location and intensity of petroleum production is endogenous to political violence. Current research is unable to identify those areas where petroleum production is most likely to trigger civil conflict. My thesis addresses these gaps in an integrated fashion. The issue of endogeneity is tackled by relying on an instrumental variable design that employs data on the geological determinants of petroleum deposits to predict the occurrence of petroleum production. Further, a collection of newly available spatially disaggregated data is employed to identify the local demographic and political conditions under which the conflict-inducing effect of petroleum production is largest. The conducted empirical analyses yield strong evidence for a local, causal effect of petroleum production on the onset of violent separatist conflict. This thesis shows that petroleum is most likely to trigger separatist violence if it is extracted in the settlement areas of local ethnic communities that lack representation in the central government, and are weakly penetrated by state institutions.

Determinants of individual preferences for global climate politics: Burden sharing, civil society involvement, and governance architecture

Robert Gampfer

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. T. Bernauer



Robert's dissertation investigates how different aspects of global environmental governance

influence individual preferences for international climate politics. In particular it focuses on international burden sharing of climate mitigation costs, involvement of civil society organizations, and institutional architectures such as climate clubs. A theoretical core concept is political legitimacy, which in the case of global environmental governance derives from properties of the governance process and from its effectiveness in solving international environmental problems. Burden sharing, civil society involvement, and governance architecture all impact on the procedural as well as the outcome legitimacy of global climate governance. The thesis concentrates on popular legitimacy, i.e. in how far societal actors, for example citizens, perceive a system of rules or the process of its establishment as justified and appropriate. Popular legitimacy is commonly considered an essential criterion for public policy support. Empirical results suggest that more differentiated burden sharing and effective civil society involvement improve public support and hence political feasibility of international climate agreements. Moreover, provided that they contain the right design elements, climate clubs command sufficient political legitimacy to form an effective component of global climate governance.

The quality of democracy in Africa: The significance of legacies of cleavages and opposition competitiveness

Jonathan van Eerd

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. H.P. Kriesi & Prof. Dr. Dieter Ruloff



The thesis makes two original contributions to the literature on democratization and political parties in sub-

Saharan Africa: First, it shows that democratization in sub-Saharan Africa can be successful, even if the government remains dominated by one major political party: If an institutionalized and relatively strong opposition party – even if it is too weak to take power – challenges the dominant government party, the quality of democracy improves substantially. This finding stands in contrast to the grain of recent literature on democratization in Africa, which generally views dominant government parties as incompatible with democratic consolidation, considers opposition parties in dominant party systems homogeneously weak and champions electoral turnovers as the single most effective route towards democratic consolidation. Second, the thesis shows that contemporary competitive opposition parties in African party systems with a dominant party are rooted in the historical legacy of cleavages that precede the third wave of democratization and have survived the instability of post-independence political developments in Africa to the present day. The book identifies the center-periphery cleavage, i.e., the cleavage between the urban, secular nationalist elites and the traditional, rural ruling elites, as the decisive cleavage.

CIS News

A roundup of developments

Stefanie Bailer, in cooperation with **Prof. Dr. Sonja Puntscher-Riekmann** and **Dr. Fabio Wasserfallen** (University of Salzburg), (Director), has received the *European Union, Horizon 2020* grant for: "The Choice for Europe Since Maastricht. Member States Preferences for Economic and Financial Integration".

Giuliano Bonoli and **Flavia Fossati** are headlining a new project, namely: "Integration through Active Labor Market Policy - nccr on the move".

Zarina Burkadze was awarded the *Excellence Scholarship for Foreign Scholars* in April from the Swiss Government. for her project: "Domestic Actors and External Influences. Transition and Democratic Consolidation in Georgia".

The Constituency-Level Elections Archive (CLEA) of which **Daniele Caramani** is one of the co-directors, has released a new dataset on geo-referenced electoral districts to be used in combination with electoral data in cartographic maps.

The 2013 book *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War* by **Lars-Erik Cederman**, **Kristian Skrede Gleditsch**, **Halvard Buhaug** (Cambridge University Press, 2013) received two more awards in 2014, namely: the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, APSA Conflict Processes *Best Book Award* in 2013 and the Network of European Peace Scientists, NEPS Medal for *Best Publication in Peace Sciences*, 2014.

Fabrizio Gilardi received the green light for a new SNSF Project, namely: "Role models, spillovers, and the supply side of women's political representation" (2015-2017).

Miriam Hänni was awarded the Central University *Best Paper Award* in April 2014 for her work on: "Analysing ethnic minorities' substantive representation. Does the presence of minority MPs matter for policy responsiveness towards minority issues?".

Silja Häusermann and **Denise Traber** received funding from the SNF for their new project: "Crisis of Democracy? Party Politics and Representation in Times of Austerity" (September 2014-)

The ETH-based **International Conflict Research (ICR)** group had a new research project approved by the Swiss National Science Foundation, namely: "The Causes and Consequences of Irredentism".

Katharina Michaelowa and **Chris Humphrey** received a grant from the SNSF to continue their research into the ways multilateral development bank (MDB) lending is evolving in response to global economic change. The new project, entitled: "How is Changing Demand for Multilateral Lending Impacting Development Finance Activity in Africa?" is scheduled to launch in early 2015.

CSS/Tim Prior have received just over €1M to finance "PopAlert: Population Alerting: Linking Emergencies, Resilience and Training" (an FP7 'Coordination and Support Action' project). CIS postdoctoral researcher

Frank Schimmelfennig, **Asya Zhelyazkova**, **Zoran Nechev** and **Ivan Damjanovski** (St. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje) received a research grant from the Swiss Science Foundation (SNF) on 1 April 2014 for their Scientific Cooperation: "Between Eastern Europe and Switzerland (SCOPES)". .

Livia Schubiger obtained three highly-coveted awards, including: the University of Zurich *Annual Award for Outstanding Scholarship*, the *Dissertation Prize for Excellence in Applied Development Research* from the Research Group on Development Economics of the German Economic Association and the KfW Development Bank (Young Researcher Category), as well as the prize for *Best PhD Thesis* from the Department of Political Science, University of Zurich. Livia was shortlisted for the prestigious ECPR *Jean Blondel PhD Prize*.

Stefanie Walter received an SNF grant for "Distributional Conflicts and the Politics of Adjustment in the Eurozone Crisis". Her research will investigate why the euro crisis has turned into the most serious challenge the European Union has ever had to face.

In an SNSF-project to start in early 2015, **Livia Schubiger**, **Marco Steenbergen**, and **Simon Bornschier** (IPZ, respectively), together with **Manuel Vogt** (ETH), will study instances of political protest that have surged concomitantly with the dramatic increase of mining activities in Latin America.

CIS Publications

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Introducing the ISTP

The Institute of Science, Technology, and Policy (ISTP) is set to open its doors in September 2015.

ed. / ISTP

Background

Public policies addressing key challenges of our time rely heavily on scientific knowledge. Such challenges pertain, for instance, to urban development, energy production and use, transformation towards a digital society, and natural resources and the environment. Contributing meaningfully and effectively to policy-making in such areas requires integration of knowledge generated in the natural sciences, engineering, and social sciences.

The ISTP is dedicated to supporting public policy-making processes, both via education of future policy analysts and decision-makers and via exchange of information among scientists, policy-makers, and other members of society.

The Institute will enter a pilot phase of four years, starting in September 2015. The initial membership of the Institute will include around 20 professors from a wide range of ETH departments, including those of Architecture, Mechanical and Process Engineering, Computer Sciences, Environmental Sciences, and Social Sciences. The ISTP will also host, within its own premises, around 30 PhD students and postdocs, as well as guest professors and executives in residence.

Teaching

A new MSc program in Science, Technology and Policy (STP) will start in September 2015. This program will equip students originating from natural sciences and engineering curricula with skills for analyzing complex societal problems at the interface of science, technology, and policy. Recruitment of the first student cohort will begin in February 2015.

Research

The ISTP will support and host research activities at the science-policy nexus at two levels. Seed-level support for projects will allow for a diversity of questions to be explored and innovative and productive research collaborations to be developed (a so-called "research incubator").

Interaction with Society

The ISTP will facilitate continuous dialogue with stakeholders in government, business, and civil society. An international visitors program (ISTP-CONNECT) will bring policy-experts, decision-makers, and academics to ETH.

For more information, please contact:

Prof. Dr. Thomas Bernauer, designated ISTP Director (thbe0520@ethz.ch) or Prof. Dr. Reza Abhari, designated ISTP Deputy Director (rabhari@lec.mavt.ethz.ch)

A Warm Farewell

Prof. Dr. Rolf Kappel, founding member of our institution, retires this year

CIS wishes Prof. Dr. Rolf Kappel all the best in his endeavours following his retirement in 2014. Rolf Kappel was Professor for the Problems of Developing Countries and Director of the Center for Postgraduates, Course for Developing Countries (NADEL) from September 1, 1992 to January 31, 2014. Prof. Dr. Kappel's leaving lecture: "*Institutionen – der heilige Gral wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung?*" took place on April 9, 2014, attended by a number of students and staff.

Multiculturalism: The Swiss Trap, continued from p. 7.

References:

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Giudici, Anja & Sandra Grizelj, 2014. Vom Berufs- und Elitewissen zum Garant des nationalen Zusammenhalts, *Babylonia* 3/14: 60-65.

Hänni, Miriam: Why they lack support: The effect of perceived policy responsiveness on the political support of ethnic minorities in 14 heterogeneous European countries. Paper prepared for presentation at the IPSA Conference in Montréal, 19-24 July 2014.

Hänni, Miriam: Presence, Representation and Impact: How Minority MPs Affect Policy Outcomes. (Under Review)

Merdžanović, Adis. 2014. Why Democracy per Decree Does Not Work, University of Zurich, Zurich.

Impressions

MACIS graduation 2014



Congratulations to our graduates!
(top row, l-r): Yannick Pengl, Maximilian Würfel, Olivier Baumann
(bottom row, l-r): Agata Kazmierczak, Mirjam Rohrbach, Brilé Anderson, Selina Bezzola
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