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Distributive Conflicts Cover Story p6

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Editorial

Lars-Erik Cederman



According to Harold Lasswell's classical formula, "politics is who gets what, when, and how." It is hard to think of a more suitable introduction to the theme of this newsletter. While Lasswell's aphorism covers most aspects of politics, it has become especially topical in recent

years. The great financial crisis of 2008, which still affects politics around the world in myriads of ways, has had major repercussions for distributional politics.

We are delighted to present the readers of this newsletter with living proof that these important developments have not gone unnoticed by the members of CIS. As a case in point, **Stefanie Walter**, who took up her Chair in International Relations and Political Economy at the University of Zurich this Autumn, offers her insights in an article on "The Politics of Macroeconomic Adjustment in the Global Economic Crisis". Building on evidence from her recently published book with Cambridge University Press, she argues that policymakers weigh the political consequences of "external" and "internal" adjustment, that is, of devaluation and structural reforms, when coping with financial crises. While the latter proved to be extremely difficult to implement before the crisis, there have been successful cases of structural reform and austerity, as illustrated by the Baltic states' recent reforms. These examples undermine the conventional wisdom that the only way out of acute balance-of-payment crises is through devaluation.

This edition also features a contribution by one of our external speakers in the CIS Colloquium of this past Autumn, namely **Yotam Margalit** from Columbia University. Relying on a new panel study administered in the US, Margalit offers a much more precise picture of attitudes to welfare spending than has been possible in conventional, cross-sectional research. His findings show that, whereas the support of welfare has dropped among the general public, those directly affected by the crisis through unemployment and economic loss become more favorably disposed. This effect runs counter to established views that highlight the predominance of "sociotropic" rather than "pocket book" voting.

More broadly speaking, the great financial crisis has put the spotlight on growing societal inequality, which is slowly but surely creeping higher and higher on political agendas around the world, even in the United States, a country that has normally been inoculated against "class warfare." Rather than remaining the preoccupation of leftist columnists, it has even shown up on the radar screen of the US President. On December 4, 2013, President Barack Obama held a major policy speech in which he deplored the increasing socioeconomic inequality and the declining social mobility within his country. As evidenced by the recent and successful initiative against excessive executive pay launched by Thomas Minder, this debate has also reached Switzerland and is showing no sign of disappearing anytime soon. As suggested by Stefanie Walter's contribution, the wave of the crisis has also had a major impact on inequality among entire member states within the European Union.

Thus, there can be no doubt about the topicality of distributional politics and its long-term consequences in terms of (mostly rising) inequality around the world. CIS is very well placed to offer analytical insights into these hugely important matters, and to carry these insights into the classroom, as the contribution by two of our CIS members, **Miriam Hänni** and **Saskia Ruth**, in this newsletter, shows. I trust you'll enjoy reading the other thematic articles by CIS scholars enclosed in this edition.

Indeed, Lasswell's formula hints at the central role played by distributional issues in politics in very general terms. While this newsletter focuses on the economic fallout of the crisis, my own research shows that inequality between ethnic groups increases the likelihood of civil war. I cannot resist the temptation of including a self-promotional reference to a book that I just co-authored with Kristian Gleditsch and Halvard Buhaug entitled *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War*.

Unfortunately, the repercussions of the past years' economic troubles will remain with us for a long time, and so too will structural inequality, whether it affects individuals, economic classes, ethnic groups, regions, or entire countries. At CIS we thus have our work cut out for us!

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We congratulate the MACIS Graduates of 2013 (Photo: Balz Murer)

Did you know... ?

This CIS News annual edition newsletter and website have undergone a facelift! Following guidelines rolled out this past year by ETH Corporate Communications, we've undergone some major structural and visual changes.

Our newsletter has evolved into a more sleek, elegant and modern child of its less vibrant parent prototype. Not to be outdone, our website too has matured in its look and feel.

Our 4 core research fields have furthermore grown their own, respective visual representations, or icons, which now adorn our main page. We now present CIS as you've never seen it before...



Democracy



Markets and Politics



Political Violence



Sustainable Development

The Politics of Macroeconomic Adjustment in the Global Economic Crisis

Stefanie Walter (CIS)

Although the global economic crisis has affected countries around the world, national responses to the balance-of-payments problems that emerged in many of these countries have been quite diverse. In some countries, the currency tumbled dramatically; in others, drastic and painful domestic reforms were implemented successfully, whilst other countries experienced significant political difficulties in implementing effective measures against the crisis. How can this variation be explained?

Macroeconomic adjustment becomes necessary when a country's current account exhibits an unsustainable deficit. Such a deficit implies that the country as a whole spends more than it earns, as a result of, for example, a loss in export competitiveness or a large and persistent fiscal deficit. When the private capital inflows that usually finance these deficits dry up or are reversed, countries experience balance-of-payments problems. To address these problems and to return to a more sustainable balance-of-payments situation, relative prices in these countries need to decrease. This can occur in one of two ways (or a combination of both): External adjustment means that relative prices decrease through a depreciation of the exchange rate, making domestic products more competitive internationally. Internal adjustment aims at an "internal

devaluation" of domestic prices and involves contractionary monetary and fiscal policies as well as structural reforms.

Both reform strategies are usually quite painful, but the distribution of these costs varies: while some people are hurt predominantly by policies associated with internal adjustment, others are most vulnerable to external adjustment, and yet others are very vulnerable to both external and internal adjustment. Not surprisingly, the choice of adjustment strategy and the precise design of the necessary policies is often the object of serious distributive conflict. Overall, however, voters' vulnerabilities to different types of reforms influence policymakers' choice of adjustment strategy, as well as the speed of macroeconomic adjustment. When a majority of voters is vulnerable to interest rate and tax increases, cuts in public spending and wages, and structural reforms, and the increases in unemployment and economic downturns that usually accompany internal adjustment in the short run, but less vulnerable to currency movements, a depreciation of the exchange rate is likely to be the preferred adjustment strategy. The opposite holds when a majority of voters is more negatively exposed to depreciation than internal adjustment measures. A politically difficult situation emerges when voters are vulnerable to both types of macroeconomic adjustment. Under these circumstances policymakers face strong

"[...] the choice of adjustment strategy and the precise design of the necessary policies is often the object of serious distributive conflict."

incentives to delay reform, even if this strategy raises the eventual costs of adjustment, and to mix elements of external and internal adjustment.

Given the drastic consequences of internal adjustment, implementing such measures can be a politically suicidal strategy in a democratic setting, as illustrated by the repeated and angry protests in Greece, Portugal, and Spain. As a result, the conventional wisdom has been that it is virtually impossible for democratically elected policymakers to fully implement an internal adjustment strategy. Rather, external adjustment, ultimately, has been argued to be the only politically viable adjustment strategy in democracies (Eichengreen 1992, Simmons 1994).

Surprisingly, the global financial and economic crisis, which gathered speed in 2008 with the collapse of

Lehman Brothers, has demonstrated, however, that democracies can actually successfully implement internal adjustment: the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) and Bulgaria all experienced severe balance-of-payments pressures in the wake of the crisis, to which they responded with painful domestic reforms that induced severe recessions, but allowed the authorities to stabilize their economies without any adjustments in their exchange rates. This success was by no means a foregone conclusion, as the vivid debate shows, which was waged about possible crisis responses in the Baltic countries. For example, well-known economists, such as Kenneth Rogoff, Nouriel Roubini, or Paul Krugman, publicly doubted Latvia's political ability to implement such drastic reforms of the domestic economy, and even senior IMF officials, including IMF Chief Economist Olivier Blanchard, initially harbored serious doubts about the viability of Latvia's strategy of maintaining the peg (Economist Intelligence Unit 2009). This shows that at the outset of the crisis, devaluation was seen as a distinct and realistic policy option.

How can we explain the successful implementation of an unprecedentedly harsh fiscal consolidation that resulted in an equally unprecedented economic contraction in these countries? Even more puzzling, why did these measures enjoy strong popular and political support in all four countries (Aslund 2010:



Athens, Greece 2012 (Photo: Seraina Rüeegg, CIS graduate)

35, Kuokstis and Vilpisauskas 2010)? I argue that the conventional view that external adjustment is less costly for voters than internal adjustment is no longer necessarily true in a world characterized by financial globalization. One of the main reasons for this change is the spread of foreign currency borrowing among firms and private individuals. Holders of foreign currency denominated debt are highly exposed to losses in their currency's value because such depreciations significantly increase their debt burden. This can lead to bankruptcies, economic stagnation, and even full-fledged financial crises. The increasing prevalence of

foreign currency borrowing also has political consequences, because it can be shown that individuals holding such debt evaluate their governments much more negatively in countries in which the currency has depreciated (Walter 2012). As a result, in countries in which the private sector is highly indebted in foreign currencies, the costs of external adjustment can outweigh the costs of internal adjustment, particularly when certain features of the economy – such as flexible labor markets, significant pre-crisis wage increases, and sound fiscal positions – limit the harmful consequences of internal adjustment. As a result, policymakers



The Euro Crisis (Photo: mekcar - Fotolia.com)

can now also face situations where a majority of voters are more vulnerable to external than internal adjustment.

To investigate to what extent this argument can explain variation in policy responses to the global economic crisis, I focus on the eight Eastern European EU member states that had not yet been admitted to the Eurozone by Fall 2008. These economies had been booming in the pre-crisis years and were hit hard by the crisis, partly because all of them exhibited current account deficits when the crisis erupted (Connolly 2012, Myant and Drahokupil 2012). Despite similar macroeconomic problems, however, governments responded quite differently to the crisis.

A closer look at these countries' experiences reveals that this variation corresponds to differences in national electorates' vulnerability profiles. In the Baltic countries and Bulgaria,

voters exhibited a moderate vulnerability to internal adjustment, because high pre-crisis wage growth, sound public finances and flexible labor markets moderated the cost of such an adjustment strategy. At the same time, voters were very vulnerable to a depreciation of the currency, because the majority of bank loans to households and up to 90% of private sector loans were denominated in foreign currency (Tiongson, et al. 2010: 27). To the surprise of many observers – although perhaps less surprising in the light of my argument – the Baltic states and Bulgaria successfully managed the crisis by implementing far-reaching internal adjustment strategies but kept their currencies stable. This decision enjoyed strong popular and political support in all four countries, despite the serious recessions that ensued (Aslund 2010).

“[...] despite its painful nature, internal adjustment is in fact a real option to pursue when the costs of external adjustment are exceedingly high.”

Voters' vulnerability to external adjustment was much smaller in the Czech Republic and Poland, where foreign currency borrowing was rare and vulnerability to internal adjustment was higher. When the crisis hit, these countries followed external adjustment strategies, while leaving domestic policies mostly untouched. This strategy minimized the pain for



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voters in these countries. In fact, its choice was so uncontroversial that it never dominated the national political debate. Finally, Hungary and Romania were in the uncomfortable position with their electorates exhibiting high levels of vulnerability to both external and internal adjustment: foreign currency borrowing was widespread, but the significant need for rebalancing, coupled with relatively high levels of public debt (especially in Hungary) and an overheated economy (especially in Romania) made voters vulnerable to internal adjustment as well. As a result, distributional conflict about how to address the economic problems was severe and policymakers adopted mixed adjustment strategies that were implemented in a piecemeal fashion and included outside support from the IMF. Since any adjustment hurt voters, it is not surprising that the incumbent

governments in these countries faced significant political problems and electoral challenges in the wake of the crisis.

The experience of these countries (and others) shows that in order to successfully respond to balance-of-payments problems, it is helpful to evaluate the vulnerability of voters to different types of reform strategies, and to keep these distributional consequences in mind. It also shows that despite its painful nature, internal adjustment is in fact a real option to pursue when the costs of external adjustment are exceedingly high.

This should bode well for the peripheral EU countries which are currently trying to implement internal adjustment through austerity. There are important differences, however, between those countries and the Eastern European ones which were successful in adjusting internally. Most importantly, the costs of internal adjustment was mitigated in the Baltics and Bulgaria through flexible labor markets, large pre-crisis wage increases, and sound public finances. In comparison with these countries, inflexible labor markets and other structural problems, fiscal deficits and lower pre-crisis wage increases imply that the cost of internal adjustment is much higher to voters in the Eurozone crisis countries, as evidenced by demonstrations and political upheavals in many of these. This suggests that the current strategy pursued to resolve the Eurozone crisis may not be successful in all affected countries. Rather, the scenarios of a continued financing of the deficits through the surplus countries in form of a transfer union or a delayed external adjustment through an eventual breakup/reform of the Eurozone remain distinct possibilities.

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The Dual Structure of Labor Market Inequality in Europe

Silja Häusermann (CIS)

In a photo which made the media rounds last year, you can clearly see: “It’s not a crisis, it’s the system” written on a banner carried by protesters through the streets of Madrid at a march of the Spanish Indignados-movement. Their slogan is extremely meaningful: the tremendous challenges in terms of soaring rates of unemployment and precarious employment that the Spanish society currently confronts are not just a momentary problem of economic downturn. Rather, they are the symptoms of a much more deep-rooted, systemic and institutional pattern of labor market regulation, whose dysfunctionality the current crisis has only brought to glaring light. These regulations entail an unequal, dual distribution of rights, benefits and opportunities between two groups of labor market participants: insiders in stable, well-protected employment, who enjoy the full benefits of the mature welfare state in terms of social insurance, and outsiders in unstable, atypical, and precarious employment or in unemployment.

Dualization as a driver of increasing inequality

The processes of deindustrialization and tertiarization of the European economies have led to a massive increase of the share of atypical employment – such as temporary and involuntary part-time employment – to an average level of about a third of all employment contracts in all countries

of Western Europe. In times of economic stability or growth, the higher level of labor market vulnerability that these contracts entail remains largely obfuscated. But when times get rough, people with such contracts are the first to drop out. And once they need to rely on welfare benefits for reasons of unemployment, sickness, working poverty or old age, they – depending on their country – may even be entitled to significantly lower social rights than the insiders. This is why labor market dualization has strongly contributed to the clear trend of rising inequality that we have been witnessing throughout Europe in the past two decades, and it is also the reason why inequality in the distribution of labor market risk has become an important research focus in Comparative Political Economy. At my Chair, we have been studying the ways institutions and policies structure labor market inequality in Europe, the distribution of labor market risk, as well as the political consequences and implications of dualization for the past years in different projects that are now entering their final phase.

Social policy and insider-outsider inequality

I first became interested in the ways policies treat insiders and outsiders differently while writing my book on pension reforms (Häusermann 2010), because it became clear to me that politicians tended to compensate cut-backs for one group with expansions for the other. I then participated in an

international collaborative research project on the ways in which institutions structure labor market inequality, which produced an edited volume on the topic (Emmenegger et al. 2012). The book shed light on the fact that, and the reasons why, in most European welfare states, the social policy reforms of the last decades have introduced sharper dividing lines between the benefits granted to insiders and outsiders. In other words, the risks of these two groups are less and less pooled. Hanna Schwander and I co-authored a contribution to this book, in which we compared in particular the income divide between insiders and outsiders before and after taxes and transfers (on the basis of LIS data), hypothesizing that some welfare states may perform better at equalizing this divide than others. However, the findings even exceeded our expectations: the social insurance welfare states of continental and southern Europe, in which rights and benefits directly depend on the previous employment record, even exacerbate the income divide between outsiders and insiders, while the Nordic welfare states equalize this divide. Hence, social policy by no means consistently redistributes resources from those who are more privileged to the less privileged, in some cases quite the contrary, actually.

The micro-level: who are the outsiders?

Working on the book on dualization, however, also made it clear that the research on dualization still lacked



(Photo: wellphoto - Fotolia.com)

both a definition and conceptualization of insiders and outsiders at the micro-level, as well as an assessment of the effects of labor market vulnerability on individuals’ preferences and political behavior. Fortunately, the Swiss National Science Foundation decided to support a project that has allowed Hanna Schwander, Thomas Kurer and myself to work on these topics since 2011. In a first step, we developed a new continuous measure of labor market vulnerability on the basis of household survey data, which goes beyond the vulnerability. Our objective is to assess whether dualization is becoming a new cleavage in European politics, i.e. whether a) labor market vulnerability leads to shared preferences and b) outsiders are mobilized politically.

Limits to the mobilization of a new cleavage

So far (and despite the Spanish protesters’ perspicacious slogan), our results cast doubt on the prospects of an open

politicization of insider-outsiders divides. We have two papers in progress, in which we are able to show that while labor market vulnerability does affect individuals’ social policy preferences, several factors also strongly mitigate preference divides between insiders and outsiders. First, the household: living with an insider makes outsiders’ preferences more similar to their partner’s, at least for women who represent the vast majority of outsiders. Second, sophistication: understanding the effects of specific social policies on one’s situation is difficult, and thus outsiders with low levels of education tend to advocate any type of social policy expansion, even if they are unlikely to benefit from it themselves. Finally, the low level of political participation of outsiders reduces the incentives for political parties and labor unions to mobilize them as a risk group. Consequently, we may very well witness an ongoing process of institutional dualization and increasing inequality,

without dualization necessarily being addressed as such in the democratic political process.

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Silja Häusermann is Professor of Swiss Politics and Comparative Political Economy at CIS. Her main research interests are in the fields of welfare state research, social policy and labor market policy, as well as political parties and interest organizations.

The Role of Group-Related Economic Discrimination in Ethnic Conflict

Miriam Hänni (CIS)

Nowadays, internal conflicts between different ethnic groups clearly outnumber classical inter-state wars. One approach names political and economic grievances between ethnic groups as the cause of such conflicts. Groups which are either excluded from political power, or economically worse off than the majority population, may develop grievances which might then translate into violent or non-violent actions against the state.

Recent research has shown that groups which are included in the government or parliament are indeed less likely to engage in violent actions against the state. However, numerical representation in parliament or government does not cover the entire aspect of representation and is often insufficient in guaranteeing peace. A group might be included in the government or the parliament, for example, but still be discriminated against. Or a government may take measures against discrimination, and introduce special minority rights, without granting a group access to the executive. Hence, to explain conflict behaviour of ethnic groups, the question is not

“[...] the question is not only if a minority group is numerically represented, but also whether the government acts responsively towards this group.”

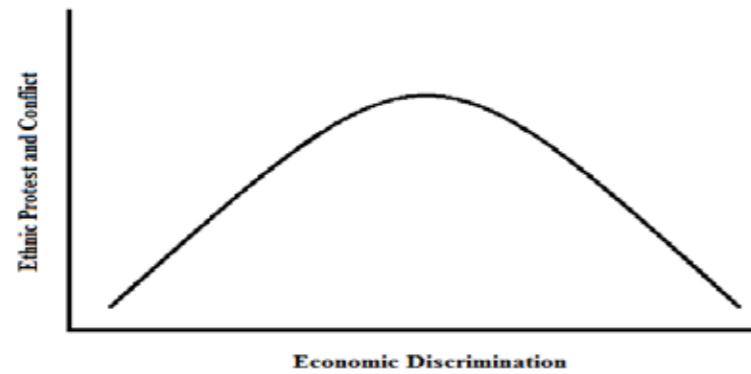


Figure 1: The U-shaped effect of economic discrimination on ethnic conflict and protest

only if a minority group is numerically represented, but also whether the government acts responsively towards this group.

A group whose rights are protected by the government should develop fewer grievances, and, therefore, be less likely to be involved in ethnic conflicts than a group which does not experience any responsiveness from the government. Of course, governments need to be responsive to the overall population, but there are certain policy areas where members of an ethnic minority

group can legitimately claim a group-specific form of responsiveness – for instance in the area of group-related economic inequalities. As economic inequalities directly target a group’s prospects of living, it is very plausible that groups which are economically discriminated against will protest, or even rebel against the central government if it does not take measures to improve the group’s status.

Contrasting the effect of government inclusion against economic discrimination, it can be shown that economic discrimination has a stronger effect on violent and non-violent forms of ethnic conflict than government inclusion. Interestingly, however, the effect of economic discrimination appears to be non-linear. Groups which are strongly discriminated against



Aymara vendor and her booth at the floating reedy island, Lake Titicaca (Photo: pioregur - Fotolia.com)

“A group whose rights are protected by the government should develop fewer grievances, and, therefore, be less likely to be involved in ethnic conflicts.”

are less likely to protest against the government than groups which experience a mid-range level of economic discrimination.

Minority groups which are spared discrimination, by contrast, are of

course least likely to challenge the state government.

Anecdotal evidence of the Aymara and Quechua-speaking indigenous groups of Bolivia illustrates this effect. The indigenous lowland people rebelled violently against the state in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The rebellions only abated when the economic discrimination was reduced (and language rights for indigenous people were improved). This shows that numerical representation alone does not suffice in explaining conflict between ethnic groups. Rather, the focus on aspects of policy responsiveness – such as less economic discrimination – may add to the understanding of why groups might either rebel, or remain peaceful in today’s democracies.



Miriam Hänni obtained a Master’s degree from the University of Zurich in 2011. In Autumn 2011 she started her PhD within the NCCR Democracy project: “Democracy Barometer”. She is currently spending a semester as visiting student at the Central European University in Budapest. Her research interests include political representation, ethnic conflict, policy responsiveness, and empirical democracy research.

The Great Recession and Changing Attitudes on Welfare Spending

Yotam Margalit (Columbia University)

The financial crisis of 2008 has had a harrowing impact on the well-being of citizens worldwide. Job dislocations, long spells of unemployment, drops in income, and deep economic uncertainty are only some of the hardships that afflicted millions of families since the beginning of the Great Recession. As governments struggle with growing claims on social protection programs and with ever-widening budget deficits, the debate about the proper role of government and the desired level of welfare spending has been brought to the fore. What is the overall impact of the financial crisis on the electorate's attitudes toward social spending? Did the personal experience of hardships affect voters' support for increased welfare assistance and, if so, how did right-wing voters reconcile their pre-crisis attitudes of opposition to welfare spending with their changing circumstances?

In starker terms, consider a hypothetical case of two otherwise similar individuals, one positioned ideologically on the left and the other on the right, who lose their jobs at the same time. Would the same personal predicament lead to a convergence in their policy preferences, whereby the right-leaning individual would become significantly more supportive of welfare assistance,

or would their different ideological dispositions yield two distinct responses, in line with their previously held views?

An impressive array of research explored related questions, yet clear-cut answers have been scant for two main reasons: first, the findings themselves are ambiguous. Whereas some analyses find strong correlations between voters' views on social policy and their economic standing (Alesina and La Ferrara 2004; Bean and Papadakis,

1998; Iversen and Soskice 2001; Rehm 2009), other studies that examine different survey data find no clear evidence linking people's personal economic circumstances to their views on the specific policies from which they benefit (Taylor-Gooby 2001; Mughan 2007; Lynch and Myrskylä 2009). Second, previous analyses relied almost exclusively on single-shot cross-sectional data, a limitation that keeps the causal link between economic standing and

policy preferences unclear. While a person's employment situation could shape her attitudes toward welfare policy, unobservable characteristics such as parental influence or the upbringing environment could plausibly account both for her preferences on welfare provision and her position in the labor market. In a recent study, I set out to explore the questions posed above and to address some of the empirical limitations of previous work on the topic. Using an original panel study that I helped administer, which consisted of four waves of surveys tracking the same national sample of American respondents (between July 2007 and March 2011), I investigate the relationship between changing economic circumstances and individuals' preferences on welfare policy. I focus on three types of economic shocks: a substantial drop in household income, a subjective decrease in perceived employment security, and the actual loss of a job. The study takes advantage of the fact that in these repeat interviews detailed information was collected not only on respondents' changing labor market circumstances but also on their political attitudes.

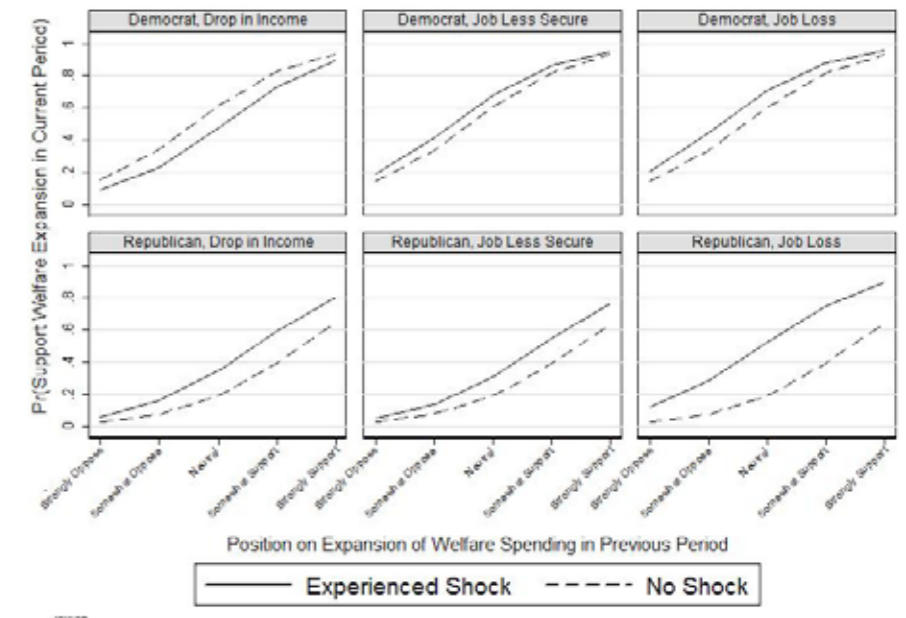
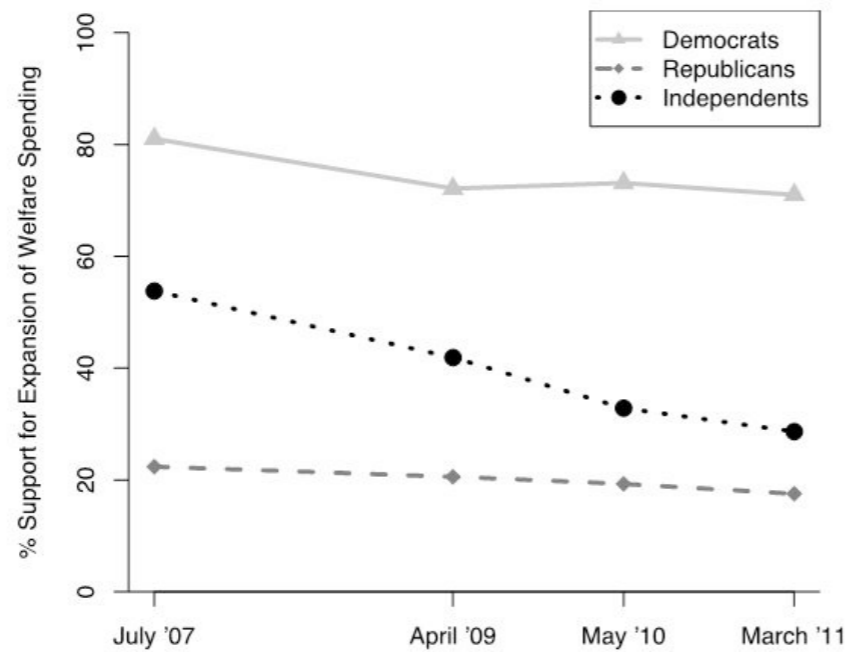
The study provides several notable findings: The data show very clearly that, among voters of all partisan persuasions, the first four years of the Great Recession have brought about a drop in overall support for expanded welfare spending among the general population. As Figure 1 shows, support for government assistance to the needy and the unemployed fell among Democrats, Independents, and, in relative terms, most sharply among Republicans. This pattern is consistent with the notion that the public was more concerned about growing budget deficits and expectations of higher future taxes than about building a tighter safety net for those in need.

Yet the shift in the opinion of the general public does not mean that economic hardships brought about

by the crisis had had no impact on citizens' preferences; on the contrary. I find strong evidence of bifurcated citizenry: those personally affected by the shocks, primarily by the loss of a job, became significantly more supportive of expanded welfare spending, while those relatively unaffected by the hardships became, on average, less supportive of such spending. The magnitude of the effects was substantial: holding all else constant, the loss of a job was associated with an increase in the average probability of support for greater welfare spending by 22-25 percentage points (the effect of a drop in income was substantially smaller). These results are robust to a broad range of empirical specifications and placebo tests (for example, attitudes of those personally affected by job loss changed substantially with respect to welfare policy but not with respect to

largely unrelated policy domains such as global warming or cultural values).

As for the hypothetical case of the two laid-off individuals, I find that the personal experience of a job loss did indeed lead to a convergence in the welfare preferences of left and right-leaning voters. In particular, I find that laid-off Republicans and Independents grew significantly more supportive of welfare assistance, while among Democrats the effect was much smaller. Figure 2 highlights this difference, presenting the probability of a pro-welfare shift as a function of respondents' initial partisan affiliation and whether or not they experienced a shock. The main pattern that the graph illustrates is that the welfare preferences of Republicans harmed by the shocks, particularly the loss of a job, diverged sharply from the preferences of their unaffected Republican counterparts;



Note: The graphs report the probability of support for welfare expansion (on the Y-axis) as a function of the individual's level of support for the policy in the previous period (measured on the X-axis along a five-point scale). Each graph corresponds to a different type of economic shock. Results are reported separately for Democrats and Republicans.

Bad Bargains – Does Vote-Buying Hinder Progressive Social Policy in Latin America?

among Democrats, those who experienced a shock continued to hold similar preferences to those who did not. The analysis indicates that this finding is not fully accounted for by a “ceiling effect” (i.e. all Democrats already supporting welfare expansion), but the data cannot definitively tell us what explains the remaining variation. My best speculation is that partisans who are willing to explicitly depart from a widely shared party stance on a central issue are likely to: (i) hold stronger-than-average views about that issue, and (ii) support the party due to its position on some other important dimension or due to a longstanding emotional connection with the party. Thus, Democrats who were initially opposed to welfare expansion may represent a hard “core” whose views on this issue are less malleable. This may account for the small observed shift in their views on welfare policy following a worsening in their personal circumstances. Finally, I find that with the passing of time, as job losers regain employment, their support for the expansion of welfare spending decreases significantly. This shift in attitudes among the re-employed is more frequent among voters on the right. Taken together, the findings suggest that while economic shocks can have a sizable effect on the welfare preferences of individuals, this

effect is probably not a reflection of a profound conversion in their political worldview. Rather, it seems that the attitudinal change reflects a more provisional response to an immediate and sometimes temporary need. Such changes in preferences for welfare spending can therefore be fairly short-lived.

To what extent do these findings generalize to other countries? This is a question that Brian Burgoon and I are now exploring, using all suitable panel data produced in any advanced economy. Whether we find, for example, that the attitudes of citizens in corporatist economies respond differently to sudden hardships than workers in an American-like liberal economy is an open question. One recent working paper by Linna Marten suggests that that might not be the case. Examining panel data from the Swedish National Election Study, she reports very similar findings: loss of a job is associated with a sizable increase in support for social insurance, the newly re-employed exhibit similar attitudes to those who never lost a job, and income drop has only a marginal impact on citizens' preferences. It may be the case, then, that national welfare regimes have less of a mediating impact than the conjecture above suggests. New research will hopefully provide further insight into this question.

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CIS welcomed Yotam Margalit as part of our CIS Colloquium guest speaker series on 5 December 2013.

Yotam Margalit is currently Assistant Professor at the Political Science Dept. of Columbia University. Much of his current work deals with the political consequences of globalization, examining how its economic and cultural effects influence electoral politics and shape mass preferences on issues such as welfare spending, trade, and immigration.

Saskia Pauline Ruth (CIS)
+ Sarah Berens (Uni. of Cologne)

Welfare states in low- and middle-income democracies are haunted in many ways: they suffer from resource scarcity, economic volatility, and institutional inefficiencies. But apart from these structural weaknesses, social policies are first of all a product of political decision-making processes that take dominant interests into account. So far, Latin American welfare systems are highly regressive; lower income groups pay disproportionately higher transfers while benefits are to some extent redistributed to the already better-off. Latin American social policies have their roots in exclusive, Bismarckian, social security systems from the early 1920's. Only particular social groups, such as public employees, benefited from social insurance and these allocation keys still loom large behind social policies of the present.

At the same time, Latin America still represents the region with the most inequalitarian income distribution.

“Why are the interests of low-income voters much less represented in Latin American social policies?”

We therefore should ask why regressive social policies are so persistent given the large group of low-income individuals who should have very clear-cut incentives to opt for greater redistribution. Why are the interests of low-income voters much less represented in Latin American social policies? One possible explanation is that the clientelistic practices of political parties distort the link between the interest of low-income individuals and the outcome of redistributive policies. Since the Third Wave of democracy, research on clientelism has experienced a revival. Though the decline of clientelistic practices – such as vote buying and patronage – in democratic contexts has often been predicted, they have proven to be highly adaptive strategies of electoral mobilization and party building. Recently, however, scholars have turned their attention to the effects of clientelism on the functioning and quality of different democratic institutions. Of particular importance are the consequences of clientelism for the quality of public policy. Political representation ideally induces responsive behavior of representatives – either individuals or political parties – to the policy interests of citizens (Pitkin 1967). But elected representatives will only respond to these policy interests if they are selected and judged by this logic. Unlike programmatic parties,

clientelistic parties do not offer programmatic orientation to their voters nor do they provide for mechanisms of interest aggregation. Clientelistic practices aim at the exploitation of state resources for the benefit of few delimitable groups of voters and not at the implementation of general welfare-enhancing policies (i.e. non-targeted public goods). Furthermore, vote-buying is more strongly targeted towards lower income groups as their votes come at a lower cost. Hence, if parties in control of government focus their policy programs on those voters that are not inclined to give their vote in exchange for material benefits, clientelism may lead to distorted policy representation. More specifically, by paying off the poor in return for their vote, political parties gain greater leverage to pursue their political agenda so that regressive social policies can be passed in the legislature.



Saskia Pauline Ruth is a Post-doctoral Fellow in Political Science at the NCCR Democracy at the University of Zurich and the Center for Democracy Studies in Aarau. In her dissertation, she analysed

the effect of different linkage strategies of political parties – like clientelism and personalism – on the quality of political representation in Latin America.

Theories of Justice and Distributive Conflict in Capitalist Democracies

Fall Semester Seminar 2013

Simon Bock (CIS)
+ Christoph Wellig (CIS)

For us, two students with a general interest in questions of distributive conflicts, the title of a seminar “Theories of justice and distributive conflict in capitalist democracies” held in the Fall semester 2013 at the IPZ was very appealing. Apart from the possibility to see for once the three professors, Stefanie Walter, Silja Häusermann and Francis Cheneval, interacting together in class, the idea of combining philosophical thoughts with political economy research seemed unconventional and interesting. It turned out that this adventurous combination provided a chance to overcome some of our critiques about other seminars.

Interpreting regression tables about how inequality influences political participation, or how distributive policies depend on the strength of political actors, as we had done in other seminars of comparative political economy, surely gives fruitful insights in societal developments. However, thoughts about the further implications or normative conclusions of the empirical results are usually reserved for after-class discussions among

students. To hear, for example, of a dualism between insiders and outsiders in labour markets of conservative welfare states, taught us a new way of thinking with regards to European societies. It also, however, raised new questions that were left explicitly unanswered: whether this dualism was to be condemned and /or should be addressed through specific policies. On the other hand, political philosophy tackles such questions about a just society, but remains too often constrained to abstract ideas that fail to be adapted to political and societal reality. Comparing Rawls’ Theory of Justice to utilitarian ideas, judging their assumptions, and discussing logical implications improves students’ ability to think analytically. All questions that need to be answered empirically, however, such as which type of welfare states provides the highest utility, or which groups in individual countries are the worst off, are left blank. The gap between theory and reality often remains unclosed.

Combining the two disciplines to overcome their main shortcomings was the aim of the seminar. We not only tried to empirically assess distributive conflicts in advanced capitalist

democracies, but also addressed philosophical questions of what such a distribution might look like, in order to be considered just. Consequently, and most importantly, we asked – and this nicely reflects the interdisciplinary approach – what could be done in order to achieve a more just distribution from various theoretical-normative perspectives. In referring to real world developments, we asked, for example, how serious the problem of a dualised economy is, and examined its implications for society in Switzerland. Are there normative justifications to counteract processes of dualisation, or at least to alleviate its most unequal consequences? If yes, which concrete policies could be pursued, taking into account that outsiders are themselves a very heterogeneous group and consequently differ in their preferences regarding welfare policies? With regard to other capitalist democracies, could a possible flexibilisation of the labour market or greater social investment improve the situation of outsiders?

In a similar procedure, reading Esping-Anderson’s “Three Worlds of Capitalism” and Iversen and Wren’s “Trilemma of the Service Economy,” we discussed the different types of welfare

states with regards to their impact on society, their congruence with justice from an utilitarian, libertarian or Rawlsian perspective, and possibilities of how they could be altered to increase justice. Further, based on the normative standpoints of the cosmopolitan Beitz and the nationalist Miller, we assessed where the boundaries of solidarity should be defined, and we looked at empirical evidence for welfare chauvinism and immigrants’ welfare deservingness. Finally, we briefly touched the sovereign debt crisis in Europe by analysing the distributive consequences of possible policy options within and amongst states in Europe.

Looking back, the seminar surely stands out compared to the classic courses, but not surprisingly also carried with it a number of problems. The often postulated, but rarely realised, interdisciplinary approach allowed students to take on a more comprehensive view and to gain a deeper understanding of important concepts and distributive conflicts in general,

“We not only tried to empirically assess distributive conflicts in advanced capitalist democracies, but also addressed philosophical questions of what such a distribution might look like, in order to be considered just.”

but eventually went hand in hand with a superficial analysis of distributive conflict. As we know, the devil is always in the detail, and we often did not have time to delve deeply into these details. The mostly fruitful interaction between both disciplines oftentimes got stuck when some participants remained in their realm of a completely logical, but totally abstract theory, whereas others kept relying on complex and even contradictory empirical knowledge of our society, with both groups not finding a common language. In this sense, an

application of philosophical concepts to real -world societal problems remains a daunting task. Nevertheless, by blurring the often rigid boundaries of empirical and normative approaches, the seminar not only enabled students to evaluate and understand current distributive schemes but also to envisage possible remedies to the most pressing distributive conflicts. It proved to be an inspiring as well as a promising project and an interesting new possibility for students of political science and philosophy alike.



Students at CIS (Photo: CIS Zurich, 2010)

CIS Colloquium Fall 2013

Interview with Emre Toros

CIS was thrilled to welcome Associate Professor Emre Toros (Atilim University Ankara) on November 21, 2013. IPZ assistant Marian Bohl sat down with Prof. Toros for an inside scoop on the Gezi Resistance.

Can you briefly explain the background and development of the Gezi Resistance? How does the specific conservatism of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey play a role in this phenomenon?

It all started as a peaceful sit-in protest against an urban development plan in the heart of Istanbul. The response of the government to this protest, however, was brutal. The excessive use of force by the police ignited the activities that followed. The movement spread nationwide, and ended a month later with 6 deaths and more than 8000 injured citizens.

Of course all of these incidents did not happen solely as a response to a local urban plan. The Gezi Park resistance was the blasting point and also an expression of the general disagreement of Turkish citizens with the present government's policies. According to research in the area, the results of which I agree with, this disagreement was referring to two specific areas: The first was related to the increasing authoritarian tendencies of the government, the second was about – as called by Zizek- neo-liberal-free market fundamentalism. In my opinion, in order to understand the background of the Gezi Resistance one should first focus on the Justice and Development Party (JDP) with a special reference to their conceptualization of "conservative democracy". Although for some Turkish citizens and pundits, especially

the so-called liberals, the JDP rule initially seemed to be a chance to end the post-1980 era of military interventions, but the evidence on hand has proven that this did not turn out to be the real situation. Actually this is not surprising since JDP is a conservative party with strong authoritarian tendencies backed by a nationalist vein, which is mainly fed by the Ottoman past and Sunni Islam. Especially during the party's third term in power (since 2011), these diacritic characteristics became more visible and dominant in their rhetoric and policies. Let me give you some striking examples: during the reign of the JDP, many journalists have been prosecuted for merely criticizing the government. More than 90 journalists are now in Turkish prisons,

which is a sad world record, and 4,000 lawsuits are pending against exponents of the press. In addition, Public Procurement Law was changed 24 times, with over 100 amendments, creating exceptions for business circles which are in favour of the government. This point was especially criticized in the European Commission's progress reports on Turkey. Recently, legal codes of building have been revised by the JDP-government and new regulation now bans the construction of studio apartments. These were deemed morally inappropriate in their encouragement of a 'bachelor lifestyle'. These interventions, which try to set up an "appropriate societal model and lifestyle" also exceed the legislative sphere, and arbitrarily interfere with



Professor Emre Toros guest lectured at CIS on 21 November 2013 (Photo: Marian Bohl)

daily life. A female television host on a major private network was recently fired because JDP's spokesman Hüseyin Çelik criticised her dress as "too revealing". In a tragicomic way, while defending himself, Çelik declared, "We do not intervene against anybody but this is too extreme. It is unacceptable." This last incident is actually also valuable in illustrating the second pillar of the JDP's "conservatism". From the beginning, the JDP deliberately set up a discourse which tried to separate the party from its Islamic roots, with the help of the "conservative democracy"-motto. At first glance the theoretical underpinnings of "conservative democracy" seem quite conducive for establishing a plural democratic system. When read in detail, however, "conservative democracy" includes only the majoritarian form of democracy coupled with a societal project. Yalçın Akdoğan, the head political consultant to the prime minister, who has coined the term for the party, writes:

"... social groups may seek for recognition of their identities ... Thus, in order to maintain social peace, conservative democracy needs to create a pluralistic political environment in which all identity groups feel mutual respect. This environment is reinforced by 'national values', a central pillar of Turkish conservatism."



CIS Prof. Silja Häusermann attends the talk (Photo: Marian Bohl)

"More than 90 journalists are now in Turkish prisons, which is a sad world record, and 4,000 lawsuits are pending against exponents of the press. In addition, the Public Procurement Law was changed 24 times, with over 100 amendments [...]"

You do not have to be a political scientist to evaluate the incongruity of the initial and end parts of this sentence. So, according to the "conservative democracy" principle of the JDP, social groups can only express themselves if they speak within the sphere of national values. Surely this approach does not leave any room for a deep and deliberative democracy. Instead, the JDP equates democracy with the ballot box: when responding to any kind of criticism, JDP officials remind social groups and individuals not agreeing with government policy of how popular their party has been in the last elections. To summarize, as Nuhrat and Akkoyunlu aptly argue: "The party imposes a policy set which tries to guide every aspect of social and individual life in Turkey, where the JDP's and Erdogan's definitions of social values are presented and gradually enforced as "society's norms and values".

How is the Gezi resistance relevant to present-day politics in Turkey?

The relevance can be evaluated in a variety of ways. If you are an optimist, for example, you can argue that the Gezi resistance set a new threshold of democracy in Turkey. It has proven that uniting Turkish citizens around a common cause – the demand for a new form of deeper democracy- is possible, even if they have diverse and clashing class backgrounds. This demand is based on recognition of diversity and acceptance: Gezi is a highly secular movement but it does not exclude

Muslims who have been kept away from the public spaces for years. It heavily contains patriotic and national forms of language and symbols but also embraces the Kurdish movement. Moreover, it also encapsulates sub-cultural identities, like homosexuals, who have been neglected and suppressed for years. On these grounds it may be possible to think about the formation of a new kind of citizenship which is comparatively more democratic. However, although agreeing with these facts to a certain degree, I have to say I am mostly on the pessimist side due to the reasons that I have tried to explain in the previous question.

How can this development be explained in a broader comparative perspective?

I can only speculate on this. As we all know Gezi is not the only recent case of popular mobilization against modernizing governments. We have witnessed a number of social movements in different countries including the US, Spain, Peru, Brazil and Greece. The common denominator seems to be the response and revolt to the neo-liberal economic policies, which not only underline the lack of democracy and representative problems in their respective political systems, but are also social movements against commercialisation processes of the public sphere. I think an analysis which locates the neo-liberal policies as the comparative tool will explain the phenomenon in a more robust manner.

CIS + IHEID

A successful pact

For the first time, CIS has joined forces with the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva. The unique coupling bridges the Röstigraben to offer students the best of both curriculae.

This year marks the first time that CIS and the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva (IHEID), have decided to work together, to provide their respective students and faculty with an outstanding exchange package. While this edition goes to print, students from both institutions will have embarked on their academic journeys at both ends; 2013 saw four MACIS students commence their studies at IHEID, while the latter institution sent one of its students to join us at CIS.

The editors at CIS News approached one MACIS exchange student, Yannick Pengl, for his views on the program thus far:

"I was really excited when I first heard about the new exchange programme, since the Graduate Institute was one of the alternatives I had considered before I decided to come to Zurich for the MACIS programme. So far, studying in Geneva has been a great experience. The Graduate Institute offers some courses that are not available in the MACIS curriculum – in my case a game theory class – and thus the exchange nicely broadens the range of electives. In addition, I'm under the impression that some of the courses in Geneva are more practically oriented than what I was used to from my MACIS studies. I had the chance to participate



From l.-r. : Olivier Baumann, Mariana Alvarado Chavez and Yannick Pengl. (Photo: Mirjam Hirzel)

in a two-day negotiation skills workshop, which was great fun. In short, I can only recommend participating in the IHEID exchange."

To apply for the exchange program, or to receive further information, please send your enquiries to:

sekretariat.macis@gess.ethz.ch →

"The objective [...] is to promote cooperation in education between the CIS and the Graduate Institute. In particular, the two parties agree to establish a student exchange programme for postgraduate students [...] and to encourage exchange of faculty."

Excerpt from the 2013 contract drawn between CIS and the IHEID

CIS Alumni

A fond farewell

This year saw a number of CIS students and researchers leave, to embark on an array of endeavours. We wish our alumni much success as they strive to attain their personal and professional goals beyond home turf. *A few words from Florian Weiler, former PhD student at CIS*

"When I first joined the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) in 2009 as part of the team of Prof. Stefanie Bailer, my understanding of political science and social science research was drawn mostly from the perspective of a university student. CIS gave me the

opportunity to broaden my theoretical and methodological knowledge, but in particular I learned how to make use of this knowledge for my independent research and to become part of an international research community. CIS offers young scholars an excellent work environment, in which they can thrive and advance their own research agenda. In addition, there are ample opportunities to discuss ideas, new methods and possible difficulties, amongst other things amongst peers, but also amongst more experienced researchers.

I particularly enjoyed the possibility to visit summer schools in 2010 and 2011, since they gave me the chance to learn about new topics without being distracted by my usual work. That the SNF fully finances such programs, even when they are in the US and relatively expensive, is a distinct advantage CIS students (and Swiss students in general) enjoy. Overall, I believe CIS prepared me well for an academic future and for my current job as a post-doctoral researcher."



Florian Weiler, who wrote his dissertation with CIS Prof. Stefanie Bailer (Chair for Global Governance, ETH) recently undertook a Postdoc position at the Chair of Empirical Political Science at the University of Bamberg.

"CIS offers young scholars an excellent work environment, in which they can thrive and advance their own research agenda."

2013 Top of Zurich, Uto Kulm

For one final time, the CIS community put their best hiking boots forward for a trek up the Uetliberg. Dynamic debates flourished, friends reconnected and culinary delights enticed. CIS bids adieu to a fine venue.

Last year saw approximately 60 CIS members traipse along the snowy paths towards the Hotel Uto Kulm. Following a hearty breakfast, CIS Director **Lars-Erik Cederman** opened the ceremony with a brief introduction, followed by our first panel on European Politics, led by Professor **Frank Schimmelfennig** and CIS PhD student **Christoph Elhardt**. A moving debate ensued, capped by lunch in the panoramic winter garden where staff and students could converse and take in the natural beauty of the Uetliberg. The second panel followed with a diverse selection of talks by four CIS PhD graduates. The day closed with lively discussion and we happily progressed down the hill via an endearing little red train.

Thanks to everyone for a lovely event at the *Uto Kulm*!

“[...] a moving debate ensued, capped by lunch in the panoramic winter garden where staff and students could converse and take in the natural beauty of the Uetliberg.”



CIS Professors F. Gilardi, D. Kübler and F. Cheneval catch up. (Photo: Pepa Echanove)

Speakers at the Assembly 2013:

Christoph Elhardt

Trust and Monetary Union: How German Officials Coped with the Risks of EMU

Frank Schimmelfennig

The Euro Crisis and Integration Theory: between Neo- and Post-functionalism



Prof. Frank Schimmelfennig on European Politics

Seraina Pedrini

Deliberative Inclusion of Minorities: Patterns of Reciprocity among Linguistic Groups in Switzerland

Fabio Wasserfallen

Lessons from an Ideal-typical Case of Interdependent Policy Making

David Willumsen

Policy Preferences, Incentive Structures and Pragmatic Fidelity: Party Unity in European Legislatures

Thomas Winzen

Beyond the Decline of Parliament: European Integration and National Parliamentary Democracy

2014 at Sorell Zürichberg

Following last year's success, CIS aims to attain a similar buzz at this year's assembly and we're throwing in a perk: we'll be enjoying the view from the Sorell Hotel Zürichberg, a restored Art Nouveau building with *bang*

In previous years, CIS staff and students have trekked the winding dirt roads leading to the Hotel Uto Kulm for a celebration of CIS achievement by way of talks and discussions. This year marks our first transition to the beautifully restored Art Nouveau building, home to the Sorell Hotel Zürichberg.

Built around two main sessions, the first half will enable our newly joined professors to introduce their most recent work. Following the roughly 20-minute talks, the CIS community

is encouraged to engage in a Q&A session. The second panel allows recent CIS PhD graduates the chance to show their feathers, with a 15-minute talk to introduce their theses, again followed by a Q&A session open to the audience. Our aim, as always, is to share our most recent academic findings; to hone in on the uniqueness of the individual speaker's debate and to refine the rhetoric. The fiery intellectual exchange is appeased by way of a delightful lunch.

Our annual assembly thus serves two purposes: to invigorate our community with intellectual rigour, whilst simultaneously enabling our staff and students to rub shoulders, catch up and rekindle trusted friendships.

Speakers at the Assembly 2014:

Stefanie Walter

Distributing the Pain: Voters' Vulnerabilities and the Choice between Internal and External Adjustment

Silja Häusermann

Conflict over what? Party Positions on Distributive Policies

Simon Bornschier

The Quality of Representation in Latin America After Re-Democratization

Flavia Fossati

Explaining Labour Market Policy Generosity Attitudes: how Risk Profiles and Values Interact

Seraina Rüeegger

Conflict Actors in Motion: Refugees, Rebels and Ethnic Groups

Sebastian Schutte

Violence, Geography, and Mobilization: A Theory of Insurgency

Manuel Vogt

Ethnic Mobilization, Equality and Conflict in Multi-ethnic States



Our venue will be held at Sorell Zürichberg, a beautifully restored Art Nouveau building



The CIS presentations will take place in the coveted *Kursaal* (Photos here + above: hotel's own)

PhDs Completed in 2013

Accountability in the Metropolis: A media content analysis across European city regions

Karin Hasler

Supervisor: Prof. Daniel Kübler



Through the media, policy actors become accountable to the wider public not only in elections, but also in the public

sphere. As a forum, the media provide public accountability to society and thereby contribute to the democratic legitimacy of the political system. But what determines public accountability and is complex governance a problem to public accountability?

Metropolitan areas are an example of such complex governance where citizens are subject to decisions by different political actors from different political orders. That is when the media's role in pointing out who is to be held accountable and to whom responsibility can be attributed becomes crucial. Taken together I argue that legitimacy through political communication is constructed and that media and political system characteristics shape the way policy actors are held publicly accountable. A quantitative comparative investigation across European city regions based on content analysis of metropolitan newspapers is the framework for the analysis of public accountability.

Non-State Actors in International Climate Change Negotiations

Carola Betzold

Supervisor: Prof. Thomas Bernauer



Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have, over the past decades, come to play a central role in international environmental negotiations. While this growing NGO participation has attracted considerable academic interest, scant attention has to date been paid to the strategic decisions of NGOs before and during actual negotiations: When do they decide to become active in international politics? How do they seek to influence decision-making, and what strategies and activities do they pursue?

My dissertation addresses these questions in different articles, using data from interviews, documents, and a survey I conducted. I first compare the participation of indigenous peoples organisations (IPOs) in the climate change and biodiversity negotiations to understand when NGOs become active in international negotiations. I then turn to the behaviour of NGOs during the climate summits, and examine what advocacy strategies NGOs pursue and with which governments they interact. Finally, I also look at the role of press briefings, with a focus on press events by governments.

Ethnic Mobilization, Equality and Conflict in Multi-ethnic States

Manuel Vogt

Supervisor: Prof. Lars-Erik Cederman



What are the effects of ethnic mobilization on ethnic equality and conflict? Most of the existing literature has

seen ethnic mobilization as harmful to democracy and peace. In contrast, my dissertation argues that its effect depends on the type of multi-ethnic society at hand, distinguishing between "ranked" and "unranked" ethnic systems. Ranked systems are defined as countries characterized by the dominance of a European(-descendant) group over other groups perceived to be racially distinct. Unranked systems are based on other ethnic cleavages and are characterized by more equal ethnic group relations without a historically determined hierarchy. The statistical analyses reveal that ethnic organizations increase the risk of ethnic dominance and violence in unranked systems. In contrast, in ranked systems, they increase the level of peaceful ethnic group protest only, while empowering historically marginalized groups. Four case studies based on field research reconstruct the mechanisms by which ethnic organizations influence equality and conflict.

Violence, Geography, and Mobilization: A Theory of Insurgency

Sebastian Schutte

Supervisor: Prof. Lars-Erik Cederman



In my PhD research, I developed an overarching model of how insurgencies unfold as a function of geography

and the types of violence the actors apply. The research was guided by three central questions which were analyzed quantitatively. First, I analyzed the determinants of different types of violence applied in civil wars. Analyzing large samples of conflict events from 11 cases of insurgency, I am able to show that a simple distance-decay mechanism explains the types of violence used in civil wars surprisingly well: As the distance to their power centers increases, both insurgents and incumbents tend to apply more indiscriminate violence against enemy combatants and innocent bystanders. Second, I investigated how indiscriminate violence affects civilian loyalties and mobilization in civil wars. Based on an in-depth study of Afghanistan, I find that reactive collaboration with the adversary is the predominant consequence of indiscriminate violence in irregular wars. Third, I modeled how these analyzed micro-mechanisms of civil war scale to the macro-level. Drawing on a geo-referenced dataset that codes global population distributions, I find that population concentrations in either the center of the state or the periphery substantially affect outcomes and casualties in irregular civil wars.

The effectiveness of international climate finance in enabling low-carbon development: Comparing public finance and carbon markets

Martin Stadelmann

Supervisor: Prof. Katja Michaelowa



This thesis analyzes how effectively international climate finance has reduced greenhouse gas emissions in

developing and emerging countries in the last 20 years. Empirical data is used from a market-based mechanism and a public finance channel under the climate regime. The study concludes that two interpretations of 'new and additional' climate finance can enable an increase in climate finance without diverting development assistance: 'above pre-defined projection of development assistance and climate finance' and 'from new sources'. Models of renewable energy diffusion suggest that the influence of international climate finance on the diffusion of renewable energy power is overestimated. However, climate finance may increase the likelihood of adopting renewable energy targets and framework policies. Finally, private finance mobilization has a positive influence on the cost-effectiveness of climate finance. Still, maximizing private finance is not the most cost-effective strategy, as the public sector is a major investor in developing countries.

Conflict and Cooperation over Domestic Water Resources in the Mediterranean, the Sahel Area, and the Middle East: Drivers and Structural Alternatives for Conflict-Reducing Management

Theresa Tribaldos

Supervisor: Prof. Thomas Bernauer



Dr. Theresa Tribaldos defended her PhD in July 2013. In her thesis, she focused on the drivers of domestic water-

related conflict and cooperation in 35 Mediterranean, Middle Eastern and Sahel countries. In the first part of her thesis, Theresa collaborated with a team of ETH and PRIO researchers within the CLICO project. This part included the setup of a new dataset on domestic water-related conflict and cooperation and an econometric analysis thereof. In the second part, she conducted case studies in Morocco, Portugal, and Israel where she investigated under which conditions institutions can facilitate water-related cooperation.

Theresa found that water-related cooperation prevails over water-related conflict and that violent conflict is extremely rare. Demand-side drivers are more influential in conflict-increasing effects while supply-side drivers are insignificant. Restraint factors have a cooperation-increasing effect and especially institutions which include specific mechanisms are suitable to effectively address conflict and support cooperation.

Conflict Actors in Motion: Refugees, Rebels and Ethnic Groups

Seraina Rüeegg

Supervisor: Prof. Lars-Erik Cederman



This dissertation analyzes the mechanisms of how refugees trigger violence and thereby contributes to the knowledge

of transnational conflict spread. The existing conflict literature has found a statistically significant correlation between civil conflict diffusion and refugees, but it fails to explain how refugees influence conflict. In contrast to previous research, the new theoretical approach to refugee-related conflict considers ethno-nationalist preferences of refugee groups and the population in the asylum country. I argue that sub-national refugee characteristics, such as ethnicity, are essential to understanding refugee movements. The three quantitative chapters analyze the direction of refugee movements, the relationship between refugees and the population in the receiving state and the relationship between refugees and insurgent groups. Although forced migrants are important actors in conflict diffusion processes, the results suggest that refugees only increase the risk of conflict when there are ethno-political tensions in the host state.

Accountability without Election: The Attribution of Responsibility in the Financial Crisis 2007-2010

Nicole Greuter

Supervisor: Prof. Daniel Kübler



In financial sector politics, responsibilities are fragmented across elected and non-elected policy actors like

central banks and supervisory agencies. The thesis analyzes if the media plays an essential part in disentangling the responsibilities and how institutional characteristics of policy actors and the political and media system they are embedded in, influences the attribution of responsibilities. The study contributes to the debate how the media handles non-elected policy actors and furthermore, if the media provides a potential accountability forum that offers an additional source of legitimacy for non-elected policy actors. The project develops a content-analysis instrument in order to capture the responsibility attribution in the public sphere. In a comparative case study analysis, the press coverage in Germany, the United Kingdom and Switzerland is under scrutiny. In the second part, the thesis analyzes if and how the elected and non-elected policy actors that are involved in financial market supervision redress a reputational loss by communicating to the public. The communication strategies used in the press releases of the Ministry of Finance, the supervisory agency and the central bank are scrutinized and compared within and across the three countries.

Repression and Mobilization in Civil War: The Consequences of State Violence for Wartime Collective Action

Livia Schubiger

Supervisor: Prof. Dieter Ruloff



My dissertation examines the consequences of indiscriminate state violence against civilians for subsequent

patterns of wartime collective action. Challenging the standard conceptualization of civil wars as conflicts between two unitary actors with internally homogeneous and stable preferences, it theorizes how social processes within insurgent organizations as well as within civilian communities are affected by state violence, and how these dynamics relate to the macro level. Drawing on both 'macro' and 'micro' data and a combination of methodological tools for causal inference, the thesis demonstrates that indiscriminate state violence promotes the fragmentation of insurgent organizations and suggests an empirically supported critical role for insurgent institutions forging internal cohesion in moderating this effect. It further shows that indiscriminate state violence can promote not only pro- but also counterinsurgent mobilization at the local level and provides novel insight into the conditions and mechanisms through which this effect is achieved. Finally, it shows that indiscriminate state violence, while suppressing conflict activity in the short term, is ultimately deeply counterproductive.

Activation policies in Western Europe: the multidimensionality of "novel" labour market strategies

Flavia Fossati

Supervisor: Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi



The first part of my PhD contributes to the scholarly debate on the question whether post-industrial economies give

rise to novel social needs and how these are politicised at the elite level. Whilst several authors argue theoretically that the economic conflict is becoming multidimensional, I am actually able to demonstrate empirically that the conflict on labour market policy is structured according to two separate conflict lines. These concern *generosity* and *redistribution* on the one side and the specific *activation type*, i.e. human capital investment, work-first and occupational, on the other side.

In the second part of my PhD, I analyse how labour market risks and individual value orientations – egalitarianism and equity in particular – determine attitudes towards active and passive labour market policies. I show that both values *and* risks, such as direct and indirect unemployment experience, low socioeconomic status and precarious employment, determine preferences for generous labour market instruments. Moreover, the results suggest that people with egalitarian values endorse unconditional activation strategies, whereas people convinced that the unemployed do not deserve help strongly support coercive activation types.

Control of the Oil Upstream Sector: Explaining Policy Choices across Oil Producing Countries

Bianca Sarbu

Supervisor: Prof. Andreas Wenger



Bianca Sarbu's PhD thesis, "Control of the Oil Upstream Sector. Explaining Policy Choices across Oil Producing

Countries", forthcoming as a book publication with Taylor & Francis Group (May 2014), examines government decisions about how much control to exert over the petroleum industry, focusing on the role of national oil companies in the production of crude oil since the nationalizations in the 1970s.

By bringing together three strands of literature (namely, the nationalization/ expropriation literature, the NOCs literature, and the resource curse literature), this dissertation proposes a revised analytical framework to explicate the varied policies pursued by producer states in their oil upstream sector (i.e., exploration and production of crude oil). Empirically, the thesis applies a mixed-method design which combines panel data analysis with two case studies from the Middle East region. This research is one of the first systematic scholarly endeavours to analyse the allocation of upstream control rights in oil producing countries globally.

Beyond the Decline of Parliament: European Integration and National Parliamentary Democracy

Thomas Winzen

Supervisor: Prof. F. Schimmelfennig



There is widespread agreement that European integration weakens representative institutions in the member

states. Critics speak of a "decline of parliament" or a "de-parliamentarisation" process. Although not wrong, the decline of parliament thesis is incomplete. It overlooks that European integration has given rise to institutional reforms in national parliaments that are part of the EU's wider process of institutional democratisation. Confronted with the challenges of integration, national parliaments have taken measures to strengthen their authority and reinforce representative democracy in EU policy-making. Parliaments develop especially strong EU-related competences in countries where they are powerful in domestic politics, and where European integration inspires public and party political scepticism. Institutional reforms in member state parliaments, thus, give expression to domestic political concerns about EU institutions and politics. They suggest that national parliaments develop their place in the EU's emerging multilevel, "demoi-cratic" system of representation.

CIS News

Awards + Grants

Each year, CIS proudly amasses a number of awards and grants. 2013 proved no exception, with staff and students gaining recognition across the border. We look back at our achievements...

DECEMBER

Sabina Stein is the winner of the 2013 ETH Medal for her outstanding MA thesis entitled 'When the State ranks the Gods: Investigating the Impact of Religious Status Inequalities on Ethnic Conflict Onset'.

NOVEMBER

The SNSF has approved funding for a large-scale Research for Development Project on 'Ethnic Politics and Conflict in Fragile States', which will be carried out by **Prof. Lars-Erik Cederman** in collaboration with Prof. Simon Hug from the University of Geneva.

Julian Wucherpfennig has been appointed professorship at University College London, to lecture in International Security as well as direct the MSc program in Security Studies.

Silja Häusermann joined the editorial board of Comparative Political Studies and Socio-Economic Review.

Marco Steenbergen joined the editorial board of Advances in Political Psychology.

The **exchange program** for MACIS students and students of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) in Geneva took place for the first time this Fall semester. Four MACIS students spent the semester in Geneva, while one student from IHEID spent it here at CIS.

Florian Weiler has been assigned a postdoc position at the Chair of Empirical Political Science, University of Bamberg.

David Willumsen was assigned a postdoc position at the Geschwister-Scholl Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.

OCTOBER

Gabriele Spilker will assume her new position as Assistant Professor at the University of Salzburg, commencing March 2014.

Prof. Thomas Bernauer and Prof. Wehrli of the Institute of Biogeochemistry and Pollutant Dynamics & Energy Science Center, ETH, were mandated by the ETH Board to establish a new Institute for Science, Technology and Policy (ISTP). The ISTP will facilitate the ETH in offering new

educational opportunities that allow students of the natural and engineering sciences to also acquire soft skills, including leadership, negotiation, and management skills. Furthermore, the institute will create new opportunities for natural, engineering and social scientists to jointly engage in policy-oriented research on key challenges of our time, e.g. the sustainable use of natural resources, urban development, etc. Last but not least, the Institute will accommodate dialogue with stakeholders in government, business and civil society, thereby contributing to more evidence-based and effective policy-making.

Prof. Francis Cheneval, in collaboration with **Mónica Ferrin**, will be participating in a Europe-wide and multi-disciplinary research project on the topic of European citizenship. Entitled: 'All Rights Reserved? Barriers towards EUropean CITIZENship (bEUcitizen)', this project was initiated by Utrecht University, together with 25 partners including the University of Zurich, at the behest of the European Commission. It will concentrate on the obstacles that EU citizens encounter in exercising their rights and obligations, investigating, for example, the reasons for these obstacles, and the possibilities for the EU to further develop the

notion of European citizenship in the future. bEUcitizen is funded by the EU's Seventh Framework Programme for Research (FP7).

The University of Geneva and the Center for Security Studies, ETH, launch a **joint project** entitled 'Bound to Cooperate? Mapping Swiss Security in a Changing Global Landscape'. This two-year project enquires into the tension between the strong political and popular commitment to independence and neutrality in Swiss foreign and defense policy, as well as the practical developments at the institutional level. Examples include Switzerland's membership in the United Nations and NATO's Partnership for Peace program.

The **third phase of funding** of the NCCR Democracy begins this month, on the basis of which the programme will run for a further four years.

The **Swiss National Science Foundation** issued a three-year research grant for the project: 'Reputation-seeking and capacity-building? Compliance with EU rules in Western and CEE member states across different policy areas'. **Cansarp Kaya**, a recently joined PhD student at the European Politics Research Group, will be working on

this project together with **Dr. Asya Zhelyazkova**.

Professors Francis Cheneval and **Frank Schimmelfennig**, alongside **Dr. Thomas Winzen**, received funding through NCCR Democracy from the SNSF for their project on internationalization and representative democracy.

Prof. Fabrizio Gilardi also received SNSF funding for the research project 'Measuring policy diffusion with automated content analysis: The case of smoking bans in Switzerland and the United States', which he is undertaking in collaboration with Prof. Charles Shipan of Michigan University.

The SNSF, through NCCR Democracy, also granted funding for the project: 'Democratic Governance in and through Transgovernmental Networks', undertaken by **Tina Freyburg**, CIS associate researcher, in collaboration with Prof. Sandra Lavenex of the University of Lucerne.

Simon Bornschier was awarded a three-year grant from the SNSF in support of the project 'The "Left Turn" in Latin America and Party System Responsiveness'.

SEPTEMBER

The Board of the University of Zurich appointed **Thomas Widmer** Associate Professor of Political Science *Professor ad personam*. He will assume office on February 1, 2014.

Between January and September, CIS welcomed **nine academic guests** in 2013, including the following:

Liu Xinyu of the Center for Economy and Sustainable Development, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, is spending a year at the Chair of Political Economy of Developing and Transition Countries, UZH, focusing on renewable energy policy and environmental NGOs in China.

Tomasz Siszek of the European University Institute has been researching at the Chair of Political Methodology (UZH) since January, focusing on opinions on European integration.

Oğuzhan Göktolga, İnönü University, is a guest researcher from September 2013 to August 2014 at the Chair for Democracy and Public Governance, Institute of Political Science, UZH. His research at CIS focuses on local government in Switzerland.

Marc Lanteigne of the University of Victoria, New Zealand, is a visiting researcher from November 2013 to December 2014 at the Center for Security Studies, ETH. He is focusing on two projects during his stay, one on Chinese and Russian policies towards humanitarian intervention and global governance, the other concerning the on-going negotiations between Beijing and Bern aimed at reaching a comprehensive free trade agreement. This latter is part of a wider study on China's Commercial Diplomacy and European Free Trade.

Vera Tröger, University of Warwick, and **Dennis Quinn**, Georgetown University, are visiting professors in the International Relations group (ETH) during the current Fall Semester.

Adrian Dusa of the University of Bucharest attended CIS during September to work on further developing a QCA software package together with CSS researcher Alrik Thiem. They also gave a workshop on how to perform QCA analyses using their software during that time.

Jeff Berg, Carleton College, spent July and August at the Chair of Political Methodology (UZH), carrying out research on the topic of 'ambivalence'.

Odelia Oshri, PhD candidate at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, was a guest in the European Politics group (ETH) during the Spring Semester, carrying out research on the topic of 'Europeanization'.

Tina Freyburg has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of Politics and International Studies (PAIS) of the University of Warwick. She will commence in September 2013.

Tobias Böhmelt began lecturing in the Department of Government at the University of Essex.

AUGUST

Adrian Dusa of the University of Bucharest, was funded by an SNSF international short visit grant to visit CIS with regards to the project 'QCA: A Software Package for Qualitative Comparative Analysis'. The Foundation also supported an international QCA expert seminar, organized by **Alrik Thiem** and **Johannes Meuer**, with over 30 Europe-based participants.

JULY

Jonas Hagmann was awarded a Columbia University Visiting Scholarship to

participate in the university's summer workshop on the 'Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy' (SWAMOS), which took place in Ithaca, New York.

Michael Haas is this year's winner of the *Alfred Zimmern Prize*, awarded by the Senate of Aberystwyth University for outstanding academic performance at its Department of International Politics.

APRIL

The MAXCAP Project (Maximizing the integration capacity of the European Union: lessons and prospects for enlargement and beyond) will concentrate on the effects of the 2004 – 2007 EU enlargement on the stability, democracy, and prosperity of candidate countries, as well as on EU institutions. CIS Prof. **Frank Schimmelfennig** and Dr. **Asya Zhelyazkova** (ETH) will be participating in this project together with partners from eight other universities and institutions. MAXCAP will be coordinated by the Center for European Integration, Freie Universität Berlin, and funded by the EU's Seventh Framework Programme for Research (FP7).

MARCH

Tina Freyburg and Solveig Richter are this year's winners of the Journal of European Public Policy (JEPP) 2013 *Most Downloaded Article not in a Special Issue Award* for their paper: 'National identity matters: the limited impact of EU political conditionality on the Western Balkans' (Vol. 17, Issue II, pp. 263-281).

The Swiss National Science Foundation awarded a research grant to Prof. **Silja Häusermann** and **Bruno Wüest** in support of the research project 'Years of Turmoil: The Political Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe'.

JANUARY

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has renewed its funding of the **CSS** 'Nuclear Proliferation International History' project for a further three years.

BOOK AWARDS IN 2013

CIS professor **LARS-ERIK CEDERMAN**, together with Professors Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Halvard Buhaug, has been granted the prestigious *CRS Book of the Year Award* for their most recent publication: *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

CIS professor **MARCO STEENBERGEN** has been awarded the 2013 *Robert Lane Book Award* by the Political Psychology section of the American Political Science Association as well as the 2013 *David Sears Award* for the *best book on mass politics* by the International Society of Political Psychology for *The Ambivalent Partisan* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

CIS News Publications

Aris, S. 2013. 'An Institutionalized Regional Solution: Regional Organizations in the Space Surrounding Afghanistan'. In: Aris, S. and Snetkov, A. *The Regional Dimensions to Security: Other Sides of Afghanistan*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Aris, S. 2013. *Managing Central Asia: Russia's Approach*. ISN Special Feature. International Relations and Security Network (ISN), ETH Zurich.

Aris, S. 2013. *The Foreign and Security Policy of the Central Asian States*. ISN Special Feature. International Relations and Security Network (ISN), ETH Zurich.

Aris, S. and **Wenger, A.** 2013. *Regional Organisations and Security: Conceptions and Practices*. Routledge.

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Bailer, S. 2013. 'An Agent Dependent on the Member States. Destroying the Myth of the Integrationist and Autonomous European Commission'. *Journal of European Integration*.

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Bernauer, T. 2013. 'Climate Change Politics'. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16, pp. 421-448.

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Impressions

D-GESS Graduation 2013



[Photos: Balz Murer]

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