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Zentrum für
Demokratie
Aarau

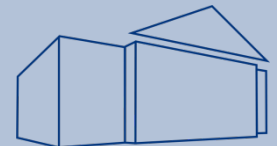
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Annual Report ZDA 2020

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Foreword

In the year 2020, life and work at the Centre for Democracy Studies Aarau – much as everywhere else – was shaped by the Corona pandemic. We introduced the possibility to work from home early on in the year and advised the ZDA staff to limit their use of public transport to off-peak hours. The first lockdown was imposed in March and the Blumenhalde offices fell silent. ZOOM, Webex and Microsoft Teams became the main means of internal and external communication. The new formats of collaborative work proved to be productive. Research projects, which included planned data collection in schools in the spring, needed to adapt and find new approaches.

For the Aarau Democracy Days in March 2020, it was taken into consideration to either postpone or cancel. As the topic was ‘Demokratie im digitalen Zeitalter/Democracy in the digital age’, it suggested itself to also adapt and change the conference format to a digital one. After careful assessments, we decided to organize the 12th Aarau Democracy Days on 19-20 August 2020 as a Webinar. Interest in the event was extensive; almost 200 persons participated and were able to log in from home via the video conferencing infrastructure of the ETHZ, follow live panel discussions and presentations and participate in the subsequent discussions. Special thanks go out to Hanna Wolf in this context and to the whole video conferencing team of the ETHZ, who, with their technical know-how and willingness to break new ground, made a professional implementation of the Democracy Days possible. Further thanks go out to the contributors: to Professor Dr Bernhard Poerksen, professor of media studies at the University of Tübingen, who with his talk on the topic ‘Zwischen Fakt und Fake – die Macht der Lüge im digitalen Zeitalter’ (trans. Between fact and fake – the power of the lie in the digital age) kicked off the conference; to the panelists Daniel Graf, Uwe Serdült, Béatrice Wertli Meierhans and Laura Zimmermann, who, chaired by the journalist Partizia Laeri, discussed aspects of digital democracy; and to the speakers on the Friday morning expert panels. The challenges to democracy have been particularly accentuated in this year of the global Corona pandemic and the American presidential election. Discontent, tension and stress, stemming from existential fears and unprecedented restrictions of public and private life, have found an outlet in, amongst others, agitation and absurd posts in social media, as well as in Corona demonstrations. Radicalisation and a disposition toward violence is on the rise worldwide. In Switzerland, the handling of the crisis has rekindled the discussion about federalism. ZDA experts also provided input on these issues.

In 2020, there were also a number of changes at the ZDA with regard to organisation and personnel. After four eventful years, Prof. Dr Andreas Glaser handed over the chairmanship of the directorate to his successor Prof. Dr Monika Waldis as of the end of 2020. We would like to express our thanks for his prudent management of the Centre’s business. The communications officer Nathalie Baumann is transferring to the University Library Basel. We wish to welcome our new communications officer Simon Gemperli to the Centre. Thomas Milic and Philippe Rochat have taken on a new challenge at the Liechtenstein Institut für Demokratieforschung (trans. Democracy research institute). As of September, Vera Baumann and Dominic Studer have joined the teams working on two new – now ongoing – SNSF projects. Liliane Wenger took over the project management of ‘SpielPolitik!’ from Stefan Walter and started with the challenge of carrying out the project days digitally. Claudio Baldi manages the newly set up project ‘Faktoren guter Rechtsetzung’ (trans. factors of good legislation). We wish the ZDA leavers all the best for their future endeavours. And we extend a warm welcome to the new members of staff joining us at the Centre.

The year 2021 will also be shaped by the Corona pandemic. We wish the whole ZDA team strength to carry on while working from home and we will continue with Democracy research, which is more important than ever.

Prof. Dr Monika Waldis
Aarau, March 2021

I. Research

Research focus 1: Direct Democracy

The voting analysis, which is conducted on a regular basis, received considerable attention in this reporting year as well. The post-analyses of the federal votes (VOTO analyses), which the ZDA compiles together with the Research Centre FORS at the University of Lausanne and the survey institute Link on behalf of the Federal Chancellery, provide political actors with important information on how the voters want federal policies to develop. The cantonal authorities and parties are also very interested in the analyses of the cantonal votes ('Fokus Aargau'). But, for the greater public these findings on the reasoning behind the acceptance or rejection of the proposals are also interesting. The study results accordingly receive extensive media coverage. In the year 2020, the extension of the contract was again put out to tender in accordance with the WTO regulations. Unfortunately, the offer made by the VOTO-Konsortium was underbid by gfs Bern. The VOTO-project came to an end with the post-analyses of the federal vote of 27 September 2020, which lay within the responsibility of the ZDA. The post-voting and post-election analyses relating to Aargau (Focus Aargau) will, however, continue to be carried out by the ZDA.

Applied projects in the research focus 'Direct Democracy' are, among others, concerned with the study of new forms of civic participation in various parts of the world and the positions of the cantons regarding federal voting.

Ongoing projects

Direkte Demokratie und Populismus in Europa (ADF/c2d): Sponsoring by The University of Zurich (**Tarik Abou-Chadi/Lorenz Langer**). Duration: 09/2017–10/2023.

Evaluation du budget participatif de la ville de Lausanne, evaluation project commissioned by the City of Lausanne (**Daniel Kübler & Marine C. Trichet**, Centre for Democracy Aarau [UZH]). Duration: 4/2020–12/2021.

Fokus Aargau: Nachbefragung anlässlich von Wahlen und Abstimmungen im Kanton Aargau (c2d/ADF): Research project commissioned by Canton Aargau and funded by the Swisslos-Fonds (**Uwe Serdült & Thomas Milic**). Duration: 01/2018–12/2021.

Politische Partizipation im Kanton Glarus (ADF): Research project commissioned by the State Chancellery of Canton Glarus (**Daniel Kübler & Philippe Rochat**, Centre for Democracy Aarau [UZH]). Duration: 01/2020–03/2021.

Social Status and the Transformation of Electoral Behavior in Western Europe. (ADF): SNSF project funding (**Tarik Abou-Chadi**). Duration: 08/2019–07/2023.

Wahlen und Abstimmungen Schweiz (ADF): Mandated by the Federal Statistical Office towards supporting the further development and data processing of the election and voting statistics (continuation of the 2012–2015 mandate) (**Daniel Kübler, Daniel Bochsler, Thomas Milic, Philippe Rochat & Alessandro Feller**). Duration: 11/2016–03/2020.

Completed projects

Nachbefragung und Analysen zu eidgenössischen Abstimmungen (VOTO) (ADF): Research project commissioned by the Federal Chancellery (Georg Lutz [Stiftung für die Forschung in Sozialwissenschaften (UniL)], **Daniel Kübler**, Urs Aellig [Link Institut]). Duration: 06/2016–12/2020.

Towards a theory of deliberative receptiveness in constituent process. The Citizen's dialogues from a comparative approach (c2d): National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development FONDECYT, Chile (**Yanina Welp**). Duration: 04/2017–03/2019.

Unterstützung für die Weiterentwicklung und Datenbearbeitung der Wahl- und Abstimmungsstatistik, Research project commissioned by the Federal Statistical Office. (**Daniel Kübler, Daniel Bochsler & Thomas Milic**, Centre for Democracy Aarau [UZH]). Duration: 11/2016–6/2020.

New approved projects

None

Non-approved projects

Equality policies in Europe – between internalization and backlash (ADF): Pre-proposal submitted to VW Foundation. (Lukas Stötzer, **Tarik Abou-Chadi**, Anita Gohdes, Tom O’Grady, Andrea Kriszan).

Fighting the Epidemic in a (Direct) Democracy: Popular, Political and Legal Acceptability of Public Health Measures to Counter Covid-19 in Switzerland. Submission to the SNSF regarding call for proposals on the Corona virus (**Daniel Kübler & Andreas Glaser**, Centre for Democracy Aarau [UZH], Thomas Widmer, Department of Political Science [UZH]).

Nachbefragung und Analysen zu eidgenössischen Abstimmungen ab Ende 2020, submission for the proposal request by the Federal Chancellery. (Georg Lutz, Stiftung für die Forschung in Sozialwissenschaften [UniL], **Daniel Kübler**, Centre for Democracy Aarau [UZH], Urs Aellig, Link Institute).

Proposed projects

Swiss direct democracy in the digital age: the transformation of campaigning and citizen’s opinion formation. Application to Division I of the SNSF (Resubmission). (**Daniel Kübler** and **Thomas Milic**, Centre for Democracy Aarau [UZH]).

Research focus 2: Institutions of Democracy in Comparison

With its ‘Democracy Barometer’, the ZDA continues to operate an internationally recognized project to measure and analyse the quality of democracy, compared chronologically and between countries. Thanks to financial support from the Grants Office of the University of Zurich, it was possible – fitting for the pandemic year 2020 – to research what influence the quality of democracy in European countries has on the measures towards combating Covid-19. It is clear that greater restraint is shown regarding the implementation of restrictive public health measures in countries with a high quality of democracy.

The Covid-19 pandemic defined further activities in this research focus. Based on the findings of a topically relevant analysis, published already in 2017, Lorenz Langer commented on a regular basis in the media on various constitutional questions regarding the Covid-19 vaccination. Additionally, he prepared further publications on this topic that will appear in 2021. Central to this were questions regarding the constitutionality of mandatory vaccination for certain job sectors and the compatibility with equality before the law as well as with the ban on discrimination should only vaccinated individuals be permitted to take part in certain activities. In addition, the studies show close ties to the populism research in research focus 1, as criticism of the Covid-19 vaccination is often disseminated in connection with conspiracy theories and also propagated by means of a popular initiative titled 'STOPP Impfpflicht' (trans. stop mandatory vaccination).

Ongoing projects

Demokratiebarometer (ADF): Research project of NCCR Democracy, i.e., the ZDA (**Sarah Engler**, Lucas Leemann, Heiko Giebler & **Tarik Abou-Chadi**). Duration: 01/2009– [self-financed by the ZDA].

Durchmischung in städtischen Schulen (Folgestudie: Basel, Bern, Genf, Lausanne und Winterthur) sowie Vertiefungsstudie Stadt Zürich (ADF): Funding by the Stiftung Mercator Schweiz and two school districts in Zurich (**Oliver Dlabac**). Duration: 01/2020–01/2021.

The democratic foundations of the Just City (ADF): SNSF project funding (Div. I) (**Oliver Dlabac**, **Daniel Kübler**, **Roman Zwicky** & Peter Lee [University of Birmingham]). Duration: 3/2017–2/2021.

The genesis of consociational oligarchies. Why consociational regimes have spread to the nondemocratic world (ADF): SNSF project funding (Div. I) (**Daniel Bochsler**). Duration: 05/2016–02/2021.

Completed projects

HIV/STI Präventionsarbeit im Kanton Zürich: Analyse der vorhandenen Evidenz bezüglich der Kosteneffektivität von verschiedenen Präventionsmassnahmen im HIV/STI Bereich (ADF): Research project commissioned by the Department of Health of Canton Zurich. (**Daniel Kübler** & Kathrin Frey [KEK Consultants]). Duration: 01/2019–03/2020.

Quality of democracy and public health measures against Covid-19: an exploratory international comparison (**Daniel Kübler**, **Tarik Abou-Chadi**, Lucas Leemann, **Andreas Glaser**, Palmo Brunner, **Sarah Engler**, **Romane Loviat**, UZH Grants Office – seed money). Duration: 05/2020–10/2020.

Wahlen und Abstimmungen Schweiz (ADF): Mandated by the Federal Statistical Office to support the further development and the processing of the voting and election statistics data (continuation of the 2012–2015 mandate) (**Daniel Kübler**, **Daniel Bochsler**, **Thomas Milic**, **Philippe Rochat** & **Alessandro Feller**). Duration: 11/2016–03/2020.

New approved projects

None

Non-approved projects

None

Research focus 3: Democracy and its Citizens

The relationship of citizens to the state is the subject of a number of research projects focusing on the judiciary, legislative and executive branches of the government. Katja Gfeller has successfully completed her dissertation project ‘Die Justizfunktion der Zürcher Bezirksräte’ (trans. The judicial power of district councillors in Zurich), the paper was awarded the highest grade of ‘summa cum laude’ by the Faculty of Law of the University of Zurich. In the middle of the year, the project ‘Faktoren guter Rechtsetzung’ (trans. factors of good legislation) was initiated. It is financed by the Stiftung für schweizerische Rechtspflege and conducted in cooperation with the Centre for Legislative Studies at the University of Zurich and the KPM Centre for Public Management (KPM) at the University of Bern. On part of the ZDA, Claudio Baldi, as doctoral student, is extensively involved in the project. The theoretical foundations of the project and the planning for the empirical implementation have already been developed. The project’s goal is to identify the essential factors influencing legislation in the Federation, based on migration law, spatial planning law and financial markets law, and to place these in relation to each other. The power of the executive branch in a state of emergency is the research topic of Romane Loviat’s dissertation project ‘Les limites au contenu des ordonnances d’urgence du Gouvernement’ (trans. the limits on the content of emergency decrees of the government).

The digitalisation of the relationship of state authorities to citizens is an important focus topic in the research and consultancy activities of the ZDA. In this context, Andreas Glaser gave a presentation on the topic of ‘Automatisierte Verwaltungsverfahren in den Schweizer Kantonen’ at a conference organised by the Institut für Föderalismus at the University of Innsbruck. He was also employed as expert within the project group digilex, implemented by the State Chancellery of Canton Zurich, whose aim it is to create a legal foundation for e-government.

Ongoing projects

Behördenkommunikation bei Abstimmungen und Wahlen: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen (c2d): Legal opinions/reports for the attention of the Schweizerischen Staatsschreiberkonferenz (**Lorenz Langer**). Duration: 2019–xxx.

Die Transparenz der öffentlichen Verwaltung im digitalen Zeitalter (c2d): **Regina Weder**. Duration: 07/2019–06/2022.

Faktoren guter Rechtsetzung (c2d): Stiftung für Schweizerische Rechtspflege (**Claudio Baldi & Andreas Glaser**). Duration: 06/2020–05/2023.

Social Status and the Transformation of Electoral Behavior in Western Europe. (ADF): SNSF project funding (**Tarik Abou-Chadi**). Duration: 08/2019–07/2023.

Les limites au contenu des ordonnances d’urgence du Gouvernement. (c2d): **Romane Loviat**. Duration: 01/2020–12/2022.

Completed projects

Die Justizfunktion der Zürcher Bezirksräte (c2d): **Katja Gfeller**. Duration: 02/2018–04/2020.

Digilex: Gesetzliche Grundlagen für elektronischen Geschäftsverkehr (c2d): Consultancy project commissioned by the State Chancellery of Canton Zurich (**Nadja Braun Binder, Katja Gfeller & Andreas Glaser**). Duration: 02/2019–01/2020.

What is political about consumerism? Political Consumerism in Switzerland (ADF): SNSF project funding (Div. I), (**Daniel Kübler & Birte Gundelach**). Duration: 02/2017–05/2020.

New approved projects

Index «Digitale politische Partizipation» in der Schweiz (c2d): Research project within the program digitalisation and society, subject area ‘Digitale Teilhabe/digital participation’, financed by the Mercator Stiftung Schweiz (**Uwe Serdült**). Duration: 01/2021–12/2023.

Legal Protection of Religion(s) in Cyberspace (c2d): University research focus ‘Digital Religion(s)’ (**Lorenz Langer & Christine Kaufmann**). Duration: 2020–2024.

Non-approved projects

Digital Participation, Application/// for a University-based research focus of the University of Zurich (**Daniel Kübler**, Centre for Democracy Aarau [UZH], Frank Esser, Department of Communication and Media Research [UZH]).

Research focus 4: Democracy and Historical-Political Education

Both the completion and initiation of projects has defined work at the Centre for Historical and Political Education in 2020. We finalised the project ‘Politische Bildung im fächerübergreifenden Unterricht mit Geschichte auf der Sekundarstufe I’ (trans. Political education in cross-disciplinary lessons with history on secondary level I). In 2020, an article with the core study results was published in an edition of the *Zeitschrift für Bildungswissenschaften*. The thematic focus of the publication was political education and human rights education. The results indicate a high proportion of information transfer, while the development of competencies, such as learning to argue and form judgments about political issues play a minor role in lessons. The project ‘Doing/Undoing Difference in der Politischen Bildung – eine praexologische Studie’ (trans. Doing/undoing difference in lessons on civic education – a praxeological study) was also completed. The ethnographic study in Swiss-German classes shows how challenging it is to address the topic of migration with adolescents without activating patterns of allocating a ‘we’ and ‘the others’ in the background. In the project ‘Schülerinnen und Schüler schreiben Geschichte’ (trans. Students write history) we found that argument writing by upper secondary school students (secondary level II) can be developed by means of well-directed guidance in source-based work and in history writing. The results of these research projects show that didactics research findings can provide additional value towards developing lessons for the school subjects of history and civic education. What is required to achieve this is a more widespread dissemination of research results and that these results are also addressed and discussed in the training and further education of teachers. Internally, the findings led to the next step of formulating follow-up research questions, which will be taken up in, among others, the newly started SNF-research projects RICH and global history. The first project deals with a diagnosis of historical learning processes. The second one

addresses the question of the extent to which – in a networked and globalised world that is, inter alia, shaped by migration – history lessons can or, respectively, must give due consideration to historical questions relating to the present, for example by specifically dismantling the hitherto prevailing Eurocentric perspectives. Exceptionally productive and efficient were the discussions among an international body of experts in meetings which took place online. Equally worthwhile was the online conference ‘Geschichtsdidaktik empirisch 2020 light’ (trans. History teaching empirically 2020 light) early in September on the topic “geschichtsdidaktisch intervenieren” (trans. interventions by means of history didactics). The sequence of keynote speeches on theory and methodology prerequisites, quality criteria and practical experiences in the implementation of interventions was well structured, providing an up-to-date overview of the state of history didactics-based intervention research and the next steps that are to be initiated. Here I would like to express my warm thanks to the three keynote speakers Martin Lüdtkke, Christiane Bertram and Jannet Van Drie. And a big thank you to everyone who submitted a paper to the conference; contributions which will now appear in written form in the conference publication. I also want to thank Manuel Hubacher and Hanna Wolf, who once again enabled us – with due care – to carry out the online conference.

As already noted in the foreword, the Corona crisis has had its effect on our research and development work in 2020. Thus, in the project ‘Grundkenntnistest Kanton Zürich’ (trans. basic knowledge test Canton Zurich) we carefully looked into possibilities of the technical and procedural aspects of digital testing and conducted digital surveys during the lockdown by means of ZOOM, smartphones and a digital questionnaire. An innovative approach was also required to carry out the digital project days ‘SpielPolitik!’. Over a period of several days, together with students and teachers, we succeeded in simulating debates in the national parliament and carrying out the final votes on the submitted initiatives of the participating classes. The results of the final vote point to a differentiated assessment of the various issues, which on the one hand means that the planning game deserves good marks as a learning tool, but, on the other hand, also indicates the high level of engagement shown by the students and the teachers. We are very pleased indeed that we can offer this digital version once again in 2021. At the same time, we hope that we will be able to carry out project days on location and in-person in 2021.

Ongoing projects

Evaluation Planspiel «SpielPolitik!» (PBGD): Ernst Göhner Stiftung, Swisslos (**Manuel Hubacher, Monika Waldis, Liliane Wenger**). Duration: 12/2019–12/2021.

Globalgeschichtliche Perspektiven im Schweizer Geschichtsunterricht (PBGD): SNSF project funding (Div. I) (**Vera Baumann, Philipp Marti, Dominic Studer**). Duration: 07/2020–06/2023.

Historische Lernprozesse erforschen – Research of Learning Processes in History (RicH) (PBGD): SNSF project funding (Div. I) (**Vera Baumann, Martin Nitsche, Jan Scheller & Julia Thyroff**). Duration: 08/2020–07/2023.

Projektleitung «SpielPolitik!» (PBGD): private and sponsorship money (**Liliane Wenger**). Duration: 01/2019–12/2022.

«Rassismuserfahrungen und antirassistische Bildung» – Kooperationsprojekt (Teilprojekt II von *Zugehörigkeit reconsidered*; PBGD): Service for Combating Racism (**Simon Affolter & Vera Sperisen**). Duration: 08/2020–12/2021.

«Werkstatt: Teilhabe neu denken» – ein Entwicklungsprojekt (Teilprojekt I von *Zugehörigkeit reconsidered*; PBGD): Federal Commission on Migration (**Vera Sperisen & Simon Affolter**). Duration: 08/2020–12/2021.

Completed projects

Doing/Undoing Difference im Unterricht in Politischer Bildung (PBGD): SNSF project funding (Div. I) (**Simon Affolter, Vera Sperisen & Monika Waldis**). Duration: 02/2017–04/2020.

Grundkenntnistest Kanton Zürich (PBGD): Canton Zurich (**Stefan Walter, N.N.**). Duration: 11/2019–12/2020.

Labor 21 (PBGD und Eidgenössische Migrationskommission): funded by the State Secretariat for Migration (**Stefan Walter & Manuel Hubacher**). Duration: 05/2017–03/2020.

Politische Bildung im fächerübergreifenden Unterricht mit Geschichte auf der Sekundarstufe I (PBGD): SNSF project funding (Div. I) (**Monika Waldis, Béatrice Ziegler, Claudia Schneider & Julia Thyroff**). Duration: 09/2016–02/2020.

Studie zur Wirksamkeit des Impulstags «Prisma» der Schweizerischen Flüchtlingshilfe (PBGD): Swiss Refugee Council (**Simon Affolter & Vera Sperisen**). Duration: 03/2020–10/2020.

New approved projects

PBTools: Zeitgemässes Handwerkszeug für das Unterrichten Politischer Bildung (Pilotphase; ADF, c2d, PBGD): Ernst Göhner Stiftung (**Manuel Hubacher, Julia Thyroff, Lisa Fahrni, N.N.**). Duration: 01/2021–12/2021.

Non-approved projects

Argumentieren und Urteilen in der Politischen Bildung. SNSF submission Division I (**Monika Waldis, Julia Thyroff & Jan Scheller**).

Cross-departmental collaborations

ADF and c2d department staff have collaborated in developing an international comparative analysis on the connection between the quality of democracy and measures to combat Covid 19. The collaboratively prepared and submitted project on researching the democratic implications of the measures against Covid 19 in Switzerland was unfortunately not approved by the SNSF.

On 01.01.2021, after comprehensive preliminary work in 2020, we started the cross-departmental collaboration in the project PBtools. This project will provide teachers (initially) at secondary level I and II with simpler access to fundamental didactic resources and practical materials for civic education. The materials will be accessible via a new open access website. Further, Oliver Dlabac will collaborate, as political scientist, in the project ‘basic knowledge test Canton Zurich’. Last but not least, there was an open exchange on questions of digital democracy during the Aargau Democracy Days and beyond. We will continue the discussion of current questions in the coming months.

II. Publications

Monographs 2020

Braun-Binder, Nadja, Milic, Thomas & Rochat, Philippe (2020). *Die Volksinitiative als (ausser-parlamentarisches Instrument?* Zurich: Schulthess Verlag.

Kübler, Daniel, Kobelt, Emilienne & Zwicky, Roman (2020). *Les langues du pouvoir. Le plurilinguisme dans l'administration fédérale.* Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes (collection 'Le Savoir Suisse').

Rochat, Philippe E. (2020). *Versammlungsdemokratie realistisch betrachtet: Die Gemeindeversammlungen der Schweiz.* Zurich/Basel/Geneva: Schulthess.

Christen, Markus, Mader, Clemens, Čas, Johann, **Abou-Chadi, Tarik**, Bernstein, Abraham, **Braun Binder, Nadja**, Dell'Aglio, Daniele, Fábíán, Luca, George, Damian, Gohdes, Anita, Hilty, Lorenz, Kneer, Markus, Krieger-Lamina, Jaro, **Licht, Hauke**, Scherer, Anne, Som, Claudia, Sutter, Pascal, Thouvenin, Florent (2020). *Wenn Algorithmen für uns entscheiden: Chancen und Risiken der künstlichen Intelligenz.* Vol. 72. vdf Hochschulverlag AG.

Thyroff, Julia (2020). Aneignen in einer historischen Ausstellung. Eine Bestandsaufnahme von Elementen historischen Denkens bei Besuchenden der Ausstellung „14/18. Die Schweiz und der Grosse Krieg“. Bern: hep.

Anthologies 2020

Ewert, Christian & Heyne, Lea (eds.) (2021). *One Year with Covid-19.* Zurich: DemocracyNet.

Glaser, Andreas & Langer, Lorenz (eds.) (2020). *Das Parlamentswahlrecht als rechtsstaatliche Grundlage der Demokratie.* Zurich: Dike/Nomos/Facultas.

Glaser, Andreas & Ziegler, Béatrice (eds.) (2020). *Direkte Demokratie im Kanton Aargau in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Zurich: Schulthess.

Thyroff, Julia, & Ziegler, Béatrice (eds.) (2020). *Die Jugoslawienkriege in Geschichtskultur und Geschichtsvermittlung.* Zurich: Chronos.

Journals 2020

Sperisen, Vera & Schneider, Claudia (2020). Rock it out. Musik und Politik. *POLIS*, (12).

Journal articles 2020

Peer-reviewed journal articles

Abou-Chadi, Tarik & Stötzer, Lukas (2020). How Parties React to Voter Transitions. *American Political Science Review*: 114 (3), 940–945.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik & Krause, Werner (2020). The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties' Policy Positions – a Regression Discontinuity Approach. *British Journal of Political Science*: 50 (3), 829–847.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik, Green-Pedersen, Christoffer & Mortensen, Peter B. (2020). Parties' policy adjustments in response to changes in issue saliency. *West European Politics*: 43 (4), 749–771.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik & Wagner, Markus (2020). Electoral Fortunes of Social Democratic Parties: Do Second Dimension Positions matter? *Journal of European Public Policy*: 27 (2), 246–272.

Bochsler, Daniel & Juon, Andreas (2020). "Authoritarian footprints in Central and Eastern Europe". *East European Politics*: 36 (2), 167–87.

Buser, Patricia & **Kübler, Daniel** (2020). "Understanding participatory innovations: a Multiple Streams account of the creation of parents' councils in Swiss schools". *The Public Sector Innovation Journal*: 25 (1).

Carpenter, Juliet, Pereira, Patrícia, **Dlabac, Oliver** & **Zwicky, Roman** (2020). "Urban interventionism" in welfare and planning: National typologies and "local cultures" in Europe. *Journal of Urban Affairs*: 1–20.

Dlabac, Oliver, **Zwicky, Roman**, Carpenter, Juliet & Pereira, Patrícia (2020). "Towards the 'just city'? Exploring the attitudes of European city mayors." *Urban Research & Practice*: 1–24.

Dong, Lisheng & **Kübler, Daniel** (2020). "Scale-Building in the Party State: the Governance of China's Metropolitan Regions". *Territory, Politics, Governance*.

Engler, Sarah & David Weisstanner (2020). The threat of social decline: Income inequality and radical right support. *Journal of European Public Policy*: OnlineFirst.

Engler, Sarah (2020). Centrist Anti-Establishment Parties and Their Protest Voters: More Than a Superficial Romance? *European Political Science Review*: 12 (3), 307–325.

Engler, Sarah (2020). Fighting corruption or fighting the corrupt elite? Politicizing corruption within and beyond the populist divide. *Democratization*: 27 (4), 643–661.

Frey, Kathrin, Locicero, Stéphanie, Blank, Patricia, Schwenkglens, Matthias, Dubois-Arber, Françoise, Rosenbrock, Rolf, Lehner, Andreas, Staub, Roger, Derendinger, Steven, Schmidt, Axel J., Bize, Raphaël, **Kübler, Daniel** & Low, Nicola (2020). "'Break the Chains 2015' community-based HIV prevention campaign for men who have sex with men in Switzerland: non-randomised evaluation and cost analysis". *BMJ Open*: 10.

Gebistorf, Louis (2020). Ist die Standardabkommen-Praxis Geschichte? *suis-generis*: 463–473.

Glaser, Andreas (2020). Anmerkung zum Urteil des Bundesgerichts vom 27. November 2018 – 1C_137/2018, 1C_139/2018 - Elektronische Publikation des Amtsblatts. *Schweizerisches Zentralblatt für Staats- und Verwaltungsrecht*: 121 (2), 107–110.

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Milic, Thomas, Uwe Serdült & Brüggemann, Salim (2020). “What Is the Price of Going Fully Online? A Mixed-Mode Sampling Experiment on the Occasion of the Swiss General Elections 2019,” Aarau.

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Milic, Thomas, Brüggemann, Salim & Serdült, Uwe (2020). “FOKUS Aargau. Studie zu den kantonalen Abstimmungen vom 27. September 2020.” FOKUS Aargau, Nr. 6. Aarau, Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau.

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Engler, Sarah & David Weisstanner (2020). “Income Inequality, status decline and support for the radical right”. In: Careja, Romana, Emmenegger, Patrick & Giger, Nathalie (eds.), *The European Social Model under Pressure* (pp. 383–400). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

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Glaser, Andreas & Steffen, Gabriel (2020). Gegenseitiges Vertrauen im Europäischen Verwaltungsverbund und die Schweiz. In: Epiney, Astrid & Zlätescu, Petru Emanuel (eds.), *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Europarecht 2019/2020* (pp. 571–590). Zurich: Schulthess.

Glaser, Andreas & Zubler, Clio (2020). Briefliche und elektronische Wahl – Problemfelder des Wahlverfahrens in der Schweiz. In: Glaser, Andreas & Langer, Lorenz (eds.), *Das Parlamentswahlrecht als rechtsstaatliche Grundlage der Demokratie* (pp. 147–174). Zurich: Dike/Nomos/Facultas.

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Kübler, Daniel (2020). Schweizerische Demokratie im internationalen Vergleich. In: Diggelmann, Oliver, Hertig Randall, Maya & Schindler, Benjamin (eds.), *Verfassungsrecht der Schweiz = Droit constitutionnel suisse. Band 1* (pp. 317–332). Zurich: Schulthess.

Langer, Lorenz (2020). Zwischen republikanischer Selbstbestimmung und demokratischer Legitimation: Der schweizerische corps politique. In: Glaser, Andreas & Langer, Lorenz (eds.), *Das Parlamentswahlrecht als rechtsstaatliche Grundlage der Demokratie* (pp. 57–85). Zurich/Vienna/Baden-Baden: Dike/Nomos/Facultas.

Nitsche, Martin & Gollin, Kristine (2020). Zeitlichkeit und narrative Kompetenz – zur kategorialen Erfassung des Umgangs mit Zeit. In: Sandkühler, Thomas & Bernhardt, Markus (eds.), *Sprache(n) des Geschichtsunterrichts. Sprachliche Vielfalt und Historisches Lernen* (pp. 311–327). Göttingen: V & R unipress.

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Scheller, Jan, Buchsteiner, Martin, & Walter, Stefan (2020). Stellenwert und Wirksamkeit schulpraktischer Übungen in der geschichtsdidaktischen Lehrerbildung am Beispiel der Universität Greifswald. In: Barsch, Sebastian & Plessow, Oliver (eds.), *Universitäre Praxisphasen im Fach Geschichte – Wege zu einer Verbesserung der Lehramtsausbildung?* (pp. 115–144). Berlin: Lit.

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Thyroff, Julia (2020). Die Jugoslawienkriege als Unterrichtsthema in der Schweiz. Der Lehrplan 21 für die Sekundarstufe I und darauf abgestimmte Geschichtslehrmittel. In: Thyroff, Julia, & Ziegler, Béatrice (eds.), *Die Jugoslawienkriege in Geschichtskultur und Geschichtsvermittlung* (pp. 61–72). Zurich: Chronos.

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Waldis, Monika (2020). «Civic media literacy», «digital citizenship» und Politische Kompetenz – Annäherungen an ein theoretisches Rahmenmodell für die digitale Politische Bildung. In: Binder, Ulrich & Drerup, Johannes (eds.), *Demokratieerziehung und die Bildung digitaler Öffentlichkeit* (pp. 55–70). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

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Online publications 2020

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Glaser, Andreas & Gfeller, Katja (2020). Das Ringen des Parlaments um mehr Macht: Rückschlag infolge der Corona-Pandemie? *Jusletter*, 9. Oktober 2020. Online unter: https://www.ius.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:5548dcea-4515-4c06-b37e-8e5103b84990/Jusletter_das-ringen-des-parla_3ae3ddfeb2_de.pdf

Langer, Lorenz (2020). Die Demokratie an der Ampel: Paternalismus, Populismus und Placebo-Knöpfe. *Jusletter*, 10. Februar 2020. Online unter: https://jusletter.weblaw.ch/dam/publicationssystem/articles/jusletter/2020/1010/die-demokratie-an-de_03cd5c1a31/Jusletter_die-demokratie-an-de_03cd5c1a31_de.pdf

Loviat, Romane (2020). Les ordonnances d'urgence du Conseil fédéral: Quels enjeux constitutionnels? Bern: Schweizerische Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften. Online unter: <https://sagw.ch/sagw/aktuell/blog/details/news/les-ordonnances-durgence-du-conseil-federal-quels-enjeux-constitutionnels/>

Milic, Thomas, Serdült, Uwe & Brüggemann, Salim (2020). Fokus Aargau: Studie zur Aargauer Grossratswahl vom 18. Oktober 2020. *Fokus Aargau*, Nr. 7 Aarau: Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau. Online unter: https://fokus.ag/FOKUS_Aargau_Bericht_Grossratswahl_2020-10-18.pdf

Milic, Thomas, Serdült, Uwe & Brüggemann, Salim (2020). Fokus Aargau: Studie zur kantonalen Volksabstimmung vom 27. September 2020. *Fokus Aargau*, Nr. 6 Aarau: Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau. Online unter: https://fokus.ag/FOKUS_Aargau_Bericht_2020-09-27.pdf

Milic, Thomas, Serdült, Uwe & Brüggemann, Salim (2020). Special on Survey Methodology: What is the price of going fully online? A mixed-mode sampling experiment on the occasion of the Swiss general elections 2019. *Fokus Aargau*. Aarau: Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau. Online unter: https://fokus.ag/FOKUS_Aargau_Special_on_Survey_Methodology_February_2020.pdf

O'Farrell, Liam (2020): *Governance and urban development in Birmingham: England's second city since the millennium*. In collaboration with Eric Chu, **Oliver Dlabac**, Peter Lee, Charlotte Hoole and **Roman Zwicky**. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.

Rochat, Philippe E. & Kübler, Daniel (2020). Politische Teilnahme im Kanton Glarus. Zwischenbericht 1: Beschrieb der Ausgangslage. Aarau: Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau.

Rochat, Philippe E. & Kübler, Daniel (2020). Politische Partizipation im Kanton Glarus. Zwischenbericht 2: Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Umfrage. Aarau: Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau.

III. Teaching

Lectures and seminars at universities:

Abou-Chadi, Tarik: BA seminar *Aufstieg und Krise der europäischen Sozialdemokratie*, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik: 2-day Graduate Workshop *Transformation of European Politics*, European University Institute Florence, June 2020.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik: BA lecture *Democracy Studies*, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Dlabac, Oliver: MA Forschungsseminar *Dezentralisierung, lokale Demokratie und soziale Gerechtigkeit: Europäische und globale Perspektiven*, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Dlabac, Oliver: BA seminar *Dezentralisierung, lokale Demokratie und soziale Gerechtigkeit: Europäische und globale Perspektiven*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, FS 2019.

Engler, Sarah: MA seminar *Demokratie und Parteienwettbewerb in Zentral- und Osteuropa*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Engler, Sarah: MA Vorbereitung zum Forschungsseminar *Demokratie und Demokratisierung: (Il)liberale Demokratien im postkommunistischen Europa*, HS 2020.

Ewert, Christian: BA lecture *Democracy in Public Discourses*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Ewert, Christian: MA lecture *Transnational Private Regulation*, l'Institut de hautes études en administration publique, University of Lausanne, HS 2020.

Ewert, Christian: BA lecture *Politikwissenschaft: Grundlagen*, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich, HS 2020.

Glaser, Andreas: Seminar *Aktuelle Fragen des Staatsrechts*, RWF, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Glaser, Andreas: Lecture *Demokratie*, RWF, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Glaser, Andreas: Lecture *Staatsrecht der Kantone*, RWF, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Glaser, Andreas: Lecture *Staatsrecht I*, RWF, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Glaser, Andreas: Lecture *Staatsrecht III*, RWF, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Glaser, Andreas & Kley, Andreas: Doktorierendenkolloquium *Power Meeting Democracy*, RWF, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Glaser, Andreas & Kley, Andreas: Doktorierendenkolloquium *Power Meeting Democracy*, RWF, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Kübler, Daniel: BA lecture *Governance: Politik und Demokratie in der Stadt*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Kübler, Daniel: BA lecture *Einführung in die Schweizer Politik*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Kübler, Daniel: MA-CIS Core Seminar *Democracy*, D-GESS, ETHZ and the Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Kübler, Daniel: Capstone Course *Politikfeldanalyse Strompolitik*, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, University of Zurich, FS 2020 (together with P. Brunner).

Kübler, Daniel: Spezialisierung BA *Governance und Demokratie (Teil 1)*, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, University of Zurich, HS 2020 (together with P. Brunner).

Kübler, Daniel: Weiterbildungskurs *Das NIMBY Syndrom, oder: Urban Governance und 'lokale Egoismen'*, CAS Urban Management, Centre for Urban and Real Estate Management, University of Zurich, 4 July 2020.

Marti, Philipp: Seminar, *Historische Kompetenzen und Globalgeschichte: Bezugspunkte, Chancen und Herausforderungen für die Geschichtsdidaktik*, Institut für Bildungswissenschaften, University of Basel/Pädagogische Hochschule FHNW, HS 2020.

Marti, Philipp: Seminar, *Die Balkanregion: Geschichtsdidaktische Zugänge*, Institut für Bildungswissenschaften, University of Basel/Pädagogische Hochschule FHNW, FS 2020.

Marti, Philipp: Grundlagenmodul, *Fachdidaktik 2, A-SI-GRK*, Pädagogische Hochschule Zurich, FS 2020.

Marti, Philipp: Seminar, *Berufswerkstatt (Geschichtskultur): Geschichtsdebatten nach 1945: Die Beispiele Deutschland und die Schweiz*, Didaktik der Geschichte, University of Augsburg, WS 2019/20.

Martin Nitsche: Masterseminar, *Historisches Schreiben lernen und lehren*, Institut für Bildungswissenschaften, University of Basel, HS 2020.

Milic, Thomas: BA lecture *Einführung in die Statistik*, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Milic, Thomas: MA seminar *Abstimmungsforschung in der Schweiz*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, FS 2020.

Milic, Thomas: BA lecture *Einführung in die Forschungslogik*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Milic, Thomas: BA lecture *Fortgeschrittene Statistik*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Milic, Thomas: MA seminar *Abstimmungsforschung in der Schweiz*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Scheller, Jan: Seminar, *Historisches Denken diagnostizieren*, Historisches Institut, University of Greifswald, FS 2020.

Scheller, Jan: Übung, *Unterrichtsvideographien analysieren*, Historisches Institut, University of Greifswald, FS 2020.

Scheller, Jan: Seminar, *Historisches Denken diagnostizieren*, Historisches Institut, University of Greifswald, HS 2020.

Scheller, Jan: Übung, *Unterrichtsvideographien analysieren*, Historisches Institut, University of Greifswald, HS 2020.

Serdült, Uwe: Weiterbildungskurs «Wissenschaft und Weisheit» *Digitale Demokratie - Teil der Lösung oder Beginn eines Problems?* University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Thyroff, Julia, Metzger, Franziska & Gautschi, Peter: Seminar, *Forschungsmethoden in der Public History*, hochschulübergreifender Masterstudiengang «Geschichtsdidaktik und öffentliche Geschichtsvermittlung» der PH Luzern with PH FHNW et al., FS 2020.

Thyroff, Julia, Szkiel, Christine & Furrer, Markus: Seminar, *Forschungsmethoden der Geschichtswissenschaften, der Geschichtsdidaktik und der empirischen Sozialwissenschaften*, hochschulübergreifender Masterstudiengang «Geschichtsdidaktik und öffentliche Geschichtsvermittlung» der PH Luzern with PH FHNW et al., HS 2020.

Trichet, Marine: BA seminar *Digitalized Government? Opportunities and challenges related to the 'smart city' trend*, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

Waldis, Monika & Demantowsky, Marko: Ringseminar, *Die Macht der Karten. Spatial Turn und Geschichtskultur*, University of Basel, FS 2020.

Waldis, Monika: Blockveranstaltung, *Argumentation and decision-making in citizenship education for digital democracy*, University of Zurich, HS 2020.

IV. Services

1. Databases

www.c2d.ch

The online database on national and regional referendums and initiatives worldwide, with entries starting from 1791, has continually been updated in the reporting year. Thanks to the efforts of a number of junior assistants, both the cantonal as well as the international sections are continuously kept up to date. Technical problems (including a hacking attempt) could be overcome, so that in future a greater emphasis can be placed on the valorisation of existing data in the form of annual reports and academic publications.

2. Reports, expertise, evaluations

Häusermann, Silja, Kitschelt, Herbert, **Abou-Chadi, Tarik**, Ares, Macarena, Bischof, Daniel, Kurer, Thomas, van Ditmars, Mathilde, Wagner, Markus (2020). *The Myth of Voter Losses to the Radical Right: Social Democratic*

Parties Have Predominantly Lost to the Left and Center, Not to the Radical Right. *Policy Brief. Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung.*

Häusermann, Silja, Kitschelt, Herbert, **Abou-Chadi, Tarik**, Mitteregger, Reto, Mosimann, Nadja, Rehm, Philipp, Wagner, Markus (2020). Economically and socially progressive programs resonate most strongly with actual and potential social democratic voters. *Policy Brief. Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung.*

Bochsler, Daniel. *Wahlrechtsreform Kanton Baselland.* Landrat Baselland. Duration: 06/2020–10/2020 (Pending renewal).

Kübler, Daniel & Zwicky, Roman. *Zweiter aktualisierter Bericht über Stimm- und Wahlrecht für Ausländerinnen und Ausländer zuhanden der Stadt Aarau.* Study commissioned by the city of Aarau. Duration: 06/2019–12/2020.

Serdült, Uwe. Neuausrichtung des E-Voting-Versuchsbetriebs. Bern, commissioned by the Federal Chancellery to provide expertise. Duration: 2020.

V. Knowledge transfer to the general public

1. Events

75 Jahre UNO – Die Welt in der Krise: Ist es Zeit für ein Weltparlament? (20 October 2020, online event). Presentations and panel discussions with Andreas Bummel, Executive Director Democracy Without Borders), Member of the Swiss Council of States, Daniel Jositsch (Chair Democracy Without Borders), Prof. Dr Tina Freyburg (University of St. Gallen), Prof. Dr Andreas Glaser (ZDA).

12th Aarau Democracy Days ‘Demokratie im digitalen Zeitalter’ (trans. Democracy in the digital age), 19th and 20th August 2020 (virtual event via Zoom):

- **Keynote:** Professor Dr Bernhard Poerksen, Professor of Media Studies at the University of Tübingen, ‘Zwischen Fakt und Fake – die Macht der Lüge im digitalen Zeitalter’. **Panel discussion** with Daniel Graf, Prof. Dr Uwe Serdült, Béatrice Wertli Meierhans, and Laura Zimmermann, moderated by Patrizia Laeri.
- **Conference ‘Demokratie im digitalen Zeitalter’** 20 August 2020. Presentations by Dr Antoine Courmont, Marine Trichet, Prof. Dr Madeleine Simonek, Prof. Dr Roger Rudolph, Prof. Dr Kerstin Vokinger, Grossrat Andreas Fischer Bargetzi, Maximilian Stern, Prof. Dr Johannes Reich, Dr Elke Schlote, Steve Kenner, Dr Georg Materna, Prof. Dr Andreas Glaser, Prof. Dr Daniel Kübler, Prof. Dr Monika Waldis.

Geschichtsdidaktik empirisch light (trans. History didactics empirically – light), 3 September 2020 (virtual event via Zoom). Organised by the Centre for Civic Education and History Teaching at the ZDA. Conference series ‘Geschichtsdidaktik empirisch’ (trans. History didactics empirically). Organisation: Dr Martin Nitsche and Prof. Dr Monika Waldis. Presentations by Prof. Dr Christiane Bertram (University of Konstanz), Prof. Dr Martin Lücke (FU Berlin) and Prof. Dr Jannet van Drie (University of Amsterdam).

Media conference ‘Les Langues du pouvoir’ (trans. The languages of power): Multilingualism in the Federal Administration in theory and practice, 17 November 2020. Online event with Daniel Kübler, Émilienne Kobelt, Roman Zwicky (ZDA), Véronique Jost Gara (collection ‘Le Savoir Suisse’ – EPFL Press), President of the National Council Isabelle Moret, President of the Council of States Hans Stöckli, National Councillor, Marco Romano, National Councillor Jon Pult, Verio Pini (President Coscienza Svizzera).

Webinar/Panel discussion ‘Bürgerrechte und digitale Demokratie’ (trans. Civil rights and digital democracy), 30 May 2020. With Matthias Ammann (Avenir Suisse). Organised by Young European Federalist (YES). (**Sarah Engler**)

Lecture at the cantonal school Uster ‘Vom Aufstieg zum Niedergang der Demokratie’ (trans. From the rise to the fall of democracy), 11 February 2020. (**Sarah Engler**)

Weniger Lokaljournalismus = weniger Demokratie? (trans. Less local journalism = less democracy) Online event in collaboration with the Union Stiftung (Saarbrücken), 17 November 2020. (**Daniel Kübler**)

Referat und Podiumsdiskussion anlässlich des Jahreskongresses der ICJ (trans. Talks and panel discussion on occasion of the annual conference of the ICJ), 3 September 2019, The financing of parties and politics in Switzerland from a political science perspective. (**Thomas Milic**)

Vorstellung der Forschungsergebnisse 2016-20 (trans. Presentation of the research results 2016-20). Poster presentation of the results of the project ‘Topkader und Mehrsprachigkeit in der Bundesverwaltung’ (trans. Senior management and multilingualism in the Federal Administration) at the Department for Multilingualism in Freiburg, 31 January 2020. (**Roman Zwicky**)

2. Contributions in the media

ZDA staff are regularly present in the local, national and international media with their expertise. There are links on Facebook and Twitter (www.facebook.com/zdaarau; www.twitter.com/zdaarau) to most of the media articles. The complete press review can be found on our website under the heading ‘Centre for Democracy Studies Aarau in the media’. Highlights in 2020 were **articles and expert opinions by ZDA staff** on the following topics:

December 2020

Mostar – die geteilte Stadt in Bosnien-Herzegowina. (*Echo der Zeit*, 18 December 2020). Interview with **Daniel Bochsler** on elections in Mostar.

Wind of Change in Südosteuropa (NZZ, 24 December 2020). **Daniel Bochsler** on the resurgence of nationalist-authoritarian states in South-eastern Europe.

Online-Petitions-Boom in der Schweiz: Die neuen Meinungsmacher (Beobachter, 17 December 2020). **Uwe Serdült** on electronically collected petitions and their (limited) effect.

Wie deckt die Statistik Wahlfälschung auf? (Republik, 14 December 2020). **Daniel Bochsler** on uncovering electoral fraud in Bolivia.

Grossratswahlen im Aargau: Die SP hat gut mobilisiert, viele SPler wählten aber nicht grün, sondern rot. (SRF Regionaljournal Aargau/Solothurn, 11 December 2020). Report on the ZDA study **Fokus Aargau**.

Einkommen, Bildung, Alter: Jetzt zeigt sich, wie unterschiedlich die Aargauer Stimmberechtigten wählen (Aargauer Zeitung, 11 December 2020). **Fokus Aargau** on the cantonal parliamentary election of 18 October 2020.

Was bewirken die Trolle? (Wochenzeitung, 10 December 2020). **Thomas Milic** on the effect of comments columns in the media.

Der Spagat zwischen Legitimation und Unabhängigkeit (Schweizer Monat, 1 December 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on politicising the judiciary.

November 2020

«Gemeindeversammlungen trotz Corona – Politologe sieht Stimmrecht gefährdet» (Der Landbote, 2 November 2020). Interview with **Daniel Kübler**.

Linke Vorlagen würden von einer Reform profitieren (20min.ch, 29 November 2020). **Thomas Milic** on the debate about the cantonal majority after the rejection of the responsible business initiative.

Nur noch mit Corona-Impfung in die Bar und ins Stadion: Mit strengen Einlassvorschriften darf die Bevölkerung ganz legal zur Impfung gedrängt werden (NZZ, 28 November 2020). **Lorenz Langer** on mild coercion in Corona vaccination.

Bundeskanzlei rüffelt Kirchen: Sie haben sich «nicht transparent» und «unverhältnismässig» verhalten (Aargauer Zeitung, 28 November 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the voting **battle** for the responsible business initiative.

Medienkonferenz zur ZDA-Publikation ‘Les langues du pouvoir’ with **Daniel Kübler**, **Emilienne Kobelt** and **Roman Zwicky**.

L'Allemand, langue du pouvoir (TSR «19.30», min. 26.55, 18 November 2020).

Lingue nell'amministrazione, troppo tedesco e poco italiano (La Regione, 18 November 2020).

«Las linguas le la pussanza» (La Quotidiana, 18 November 2020).

Mehrsprachigkeit beim Bund bleibt Makulatur (Aargauer Zeitung, 17 November 2020).

Polyglot Switzerland ‘could do better’ at federal level (Swissinfo, 17 November 2020).

The link to the complete reporting on the media conference can be found on the ZDA website (see heading ‘The Centre for Democracy Studies Aarau in the media’).

Ein Impfwang existiert nicht, subtilere Druckmittel sind jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen (NZZ, 16 November 2020). **Lorenz Langer** on the possibility of mandatory vaccination being limited to certain groups.

Zu viele Akademiker, zu wenig Bümplizer (Der Bund, 14 November 2020). **Daniel Kübler** on the elections of the Bern City Councillors.

Studie zum «Super-Sonntag»: Die älteren Generationen entschieden die kantonalen Abstimmungen (Aargauer-Zeitung, 11 November 2020). The second analysis of the study by **Thomas Milic**, **Uwe Serdült** and **Selim Brüggemann** on voting Sunday of 27 September 2020 in the Canton of Aargau.

«Il megljer sistem è quel cun la pli vasta acceptanza» (La Quotidiana, 11. November 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the reform of the voting system in the Grisons.

Diese Hausbesitzer lehnten das Energiegesetz ab, diese nahmen es an – die Gründe (Aargauer-Zeitung, 10 November 2020). Exclusive analysis of voting behavior in Canton Aargau on the voting proposals of 27 September 2020 (**Thomas Milic**, **Uwe Serdült** and **Selim Brüggemann**).

Verhältnismässig? Staatsrechtler sind uneins über faktisches Demoverbot (Der Bund, 3 November 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the intention of the Bern city government to limit the number of protesters to 15 at political demonstrations.

Politologe sieht Stimmrecht gefährdet (Landbote, 2. November 2020). **Daniel Kübler** on the new regulations defined by the Federal Council for political gatherings.

Oktober 2020

How the Pandemic Dealt a Blow to Europe's Far Right (Intelligencer, 31 October 2020). **Tarik Abou-Chadi** on the effect of the Corona pandemic on the European parties.

Der Kanton Thurgau zieht Mitgliederbeiträge für den Bauernverband von Direktzahlungen an Landwirte ab – jetzt wird Kritik laut (St. Galler Tagblatt, 28 October 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the question, whether the public sector can take over the collection of association fees). Original segment in the SRF-Tagesschau.

Una «c» diventata scomoda: Il partito democratico-cristiano svizzero probabilmente cambierà nome (RSI, 19 October 2020). **Daniel Bochsler** comments on the new name and the new positioning of the CVP.

Grüne Welle, konservativer Ständerat: Ein Jahr nach den grossen Verschiebungen bei den Wahlen 2019 – eine Zwischenbilanz (CH-Media, 17 October 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the role of the parliament, in that it has not observed its responsibility in the Corona crisis.

Les ordonnances d'urgence du Conseil fédéral : quels enjeux constitutionnels? Blog Académie suisse des sciences humaines (15. Oktober 2020). **Romane Loviat** on the controversy regarding the Corona directives of the Federal Council.

Politik ist kein Spiel – oder etwa doch? (FHNW, 12. Oktober 2020). **Monika Waldis** on the significance of political education in today's education system.

Konkret mit Monika Waldis (Tele Z, 12 October 2020). **Monika Waldis** explains why political education should not be left to chance.

Dürfen Kirchen in Abstimmungskämpfen alles? (NZZ, 12 October 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the controversy around the involvement by the official regional churches against or for the responsible business initiative.

Politik ist kein Spiel – oder etwa doch? (Aargauer Zeitung, 10 October 2020). **Thomas Röthlin** on the project 'SpielPolitik!' of the ZDA and the FHNW.

Politische Bildung ist mehr als klassische Staatskunde (Aargauer Zeitung, 10 October 2020). **Monika Waldis** on the meaning of political education.

«Schwach aufgestellt»: Parlament erhält schlechte Noten für sein Handeln während der Covidkrise (Aargauer-Zeitung, 6 October 2020). Contribution to the study by **Andreas Glaser** and **Katja Gfeller**: 'Das Ringen des Parlaments um mehr Macht' (trans. The parliament's struggle for more power).

How the world's most frequent voters handle postal ballots (Swissinfo, 2 October 2020). **Uwe Serdült** on postal voting in Switzerland. German version: Die Schweiz wird zum Briefwahl-Paradies.

September 2020

«Raumplanung und Zersiedlung – wie die Schweiz das Zersiedlungsproblem stoppen könnte» (SRF Kultur, 18 September 2020). Interview with **Daniel Kübler**.

«Il y a besoin d'un dialogue sur les mesures sanitaires» (Le Temps, 12 September 2020). Interview with **Daniel Kübler** and **Uwe Serdült**.

Eine Schlappe für die SVP und den Bundesrat (20 Minuten, 27 September 2020). **Thomas Milic** comments on the results of the voting weekend.

Politische Bildung darf nicht dem Zufall überlassen werden (Influence.ch, 25 September 2020). **Monika Waldis** on the meaning and development of political education in Switzerland.

Passwort: Wahlen (Republik Magazin, September 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on risks of conventional data collection in the polling stations.

Darf ein Parteibuch Voraussetzung für ein Richteramt sein? (Echo der Zeit, 23 September 2020) **Lorenz Langer** after the contentious Federal Supreme Court elections.

Tops und Flops beim Abstimmungsquiz: Wissen bei Kampfjets hoch, bei Kinderzulagen und Energiegesetz tief (Aargauer Zeitung, 22 September 2020). **Uwe Serdült** analyses the initial results of the voting quiz in the AZ.

Bundesgerichtswahl: Die SVP sägt am eigenen Ast (NZZ, 22 September 2020). Op ed comments by **Lorenz Langer** on the conflict between the SVP and their federal judge.

Agglomerationen gewinnen 97 Prozent der Abstimmungen (Tamedia, 21 September 2020). **Daniel Kübler** on voting behaviour of the urban, rural and suburban areas.

Bundesgericht erklärt Basler Primateninitiative für gültig (SRF Regionaljournal Basel, 16 September 2020). **Andreas Glaser** explains the legal implications of the elections in Basel.

In Köln stärker als die AfD: Volt ist die Überraschung der NRW-Kommunalwahlen (Watson, 14 September 2020). **Tarik Abou-Chadis** on the reasons for the election success of the Pan-European Party.

Il y a un besoin de dialogue sur les mesures sanitaires, et non d'un monologue (Le Temps, 12 September 2020). **Daniel Kübler** on the Corona protests.

Die Schweiz hat Probleme mit der Unabhängigkeit ihrer Bundesrichter (Swissinfo, 11 September 2020). **Lorenz Langer** on the announcement made by the SVP faction not to re-elect their own federal judge.

Wie die Schweiz das Zersiedlungsproblem stoppen könnte (SRF Online, 11 September 2020). **Daniel Kübler** on federalism in spatial planning.

Cinquième Suisse: Aujourd'hui en Suisse (Swissinfo, 7 September 2020). **Daniel Kübler** compares the Corona protests with the Aids debates in the 1980s.

Sie können teilnehmen: Die AZ startet ein grosses Abstimmungs-Quiz, das auch für die Forschung wichtig ist (Aargauer Zeitung, 6 September 2020). The ZDA assists the Aargauer Zeitung with a voting quiz - **Thomas Milic** explains how.

Staatliche Förderung ist für Zeitungen überlebenswichtig (NZZ, 5 September 2020). The NZZ quotes the research of **Daniel Kübler** and **Christopher Goodman** on the connection between the existence of regional newspapers and voting behaviour.

August 2020

In Volksinitiativen steckt weniger Volk, als man denkt – stattdessen gibt es eine regelrechte «Initiativ-Industrie» (Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 27 August 2020). The NZZ on a book ‘Die Volksinitiative als (ausser-)parlamentarisches Instrument?’ by **Marianne Braun Binder**, **Thomas Milic** and **Philippe E. Rochat**.

Der Zürcher Stadtrat verletzt die Meinungsfreiheit (20 Minuten, 23 August 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the ban of a march by anti-abortion activists.

Kampfjet-Kauf nach Drehbuch: Amherds Offensive (Tamedia, 23 August 2020). **Thomas Milic** comments on the role of the Federal Councillors in the voting campaigns.

Wie Corona-Gegner die Demokratie auf die Probe stellen (Watson, 20 August 2020). **Thomas Milic** on the Corona protests as challenges for the institutions.

Aarauer Demokratietage: Schweizer Debatten ums Digitale (Swissinfo, 17 August 2020). Report on the 12th Aarau Democracy Days.

Müller im Kaninchenbau (WOZ, 6 August 2020). **Tarik Abou-Chadi** on the dangers of conspiracy theorists and anti-democrats.

July 2020

Das Problem von Doppelmandaten sollte im Aargau ohne ein Verbot zu lösen sein (Aargauer Zeitung, 23 July 2020). **Uwe Serdült** on the compatibility of national and cantonal mandates.

Wenn nicht alle an die Gemeindeversammlung können (Radio SRF, 13 July 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on (ostensible) Democracy shortfalls during the Corona pandemic.

June 2020

Das Bündner Parlament arbeitet wieder (RTR, 6 June 2020). Interview with **Andreas Glaser** on democracy in critical situation.

Gibt es einen Impfzwang in der Schweiz? (SRF, Echo der Zeit, 2 June 2020). **Lorenz Langer** on the compulsory vaccination controversy.

May 2020

Urnengang statt GV: Ist dies ein Verlustgeschäft für die Demokratie? (Thuner Tagblatt, 19 May 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the suspension of municipal assemblies during the lockdown.

April 2020

Sie haben die Briefwahl 30 Jahre lang getestet (tvn24, Polen, 29 April 2020). **Uwe Serdült** on the Swiss experience with postal voting.

La Svizzera, un banco di prova per il populismo europeo? (Swissinfo, 13 April 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on Swiss and European populism.

Damit geht der Bundesrat an die Grenzen seines Spielraums (Bluewin, 10 April 2020). Interview with **Andreas Glaser** on the role of the Federal Council in the Corona crisis.

Bündner Regierung will Doppelproporz (Bündner Tagblatt, 1 April 2020). Report on the legal opinion by **Andreas Glaser** on the election system.

March 2020

‘Tagesgespräch’ (SRF 1, 26 March 2020). Interview with **Daniel Kübler**.

‘Wie stabil sind Demokratien?’ (Die Republik, 18 March 2020). Guest opinion piece by **Daniel Kübler** and **Sarah Engler**.

Staatsrechtler Andreas Glaser sagt: Wahlen müssen stattfinden (Aargauer Zeitung, 20 March 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on democracy during the pandemic.

Wie stabil sind Demokratien? (Republik, 18 March 2020). **Sarah Engler** and **Daniel Kübler** on the restrictions to fundamental rights during the pandemic.

February 2020

«Aufschrei erklärt sich auch aus der Geschichte» (20 Minuten, 6 February 2020). Interview with **Sarah Engler**.

Fordern statt nur bangen (Südostschweiz, 18 February 2020). Article on the ZDA study report: ‘Massnahmen zur Erhaltung und Förderung der rätoromanischen und der italienischen Sprache und Kultur im Kanton Graubünden’ (trans. measures to preserve and promote the Romance and Italian languages and cultures in Canton Grisons).

Wie eine Umfrage ausfüllen? Linke mögen es online, SVP-Wähler die Papiervariante (Aargauer-Zeitung, 17 February 2020). **Uwe Serdült** on a ZDA study of survey methods.

Die Bauernlobby, Mitgliederbeiträge und die Kantone (SRF Tagesschau, 8 February 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the collection of association fees by the state.

"Briefliche Stimmabgaben können beim Auszählen schon mal vergessen gehen" (Basler Zeitung, 7 February 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the election mishap in Arlesheim.

Abstimmungen landen immer öfter vor Gericht (Tele Züri, 7 February 2020). **Andreas Glaser** on the voting complaint of Zurich’s taxi-driver association.

Aufschrei erklärt sich auch aus der Geschichte (20 Minuten, 6 February 2020). **Sara Engler** on the state premier elections in Thüringen.

Stimmbeteiligung sinkt und sinkt: Kann ein Steuerabzug die Bürger wieder an die Urne locken? (Aargauer Zeitung, 4 February 2020). **Thomas Milic** on compulsory voting in cantonal parliaments.

Politische Beteiligung erhöhen – mit wissenschaftlicher Begleitung (Südostschweiz, 4 February 2020). ZDA research project commissioned by the canton.

January 2020

Direkte Demokratie und Kontrollillusion (NZZ, 29 January 2020). **Lorenz Langer** on the impact of international interrelations on direct democracy.

Algorithmen für faire Bildungschancen (WOZ, 21 January 2020). **Oliver Dlabac** on the pilot scheme in Aargau.

In Aargauer Gemeinden sind die Rentner an der Macht – das hat Vorteile, birgt aber eine Gefahr (Aargauer Zeitung, 13 January 2020). **Oliver Dlabac** on the role of pensioners in municipal committees.

VI. Organisation / Resources

1. Organs / Partners

a. Partners

The ZDA is a joint research institute of the City of Aarau, the Canton of Aargau, the University of Zurich (UZH) and the University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland (FHNW).

b. Board of Partners

The Board of Partners is composed of two delegates each per partner:

- Prof. Dr Thomas Bernauer (City of Aarau delegate)
- Stadtpräsident Dr Hanspeter Hilfiker (Chairman of the ZDA General Meeting; City of Aarau delegate)
- Dr Katja Gentinetta (Canton Aargau delegate)
- Regierungsrat Alex Hürzeler (Head of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports BKS of the Canton of Aargau)
- Dr Alexander Hofmann, (Vice Director of the College of Education, FHNW delegate)
- Prof. Dr Sabina Larcher (Director of the College of Education, FHNW delegate)
- Prof. Dr Thomas Gächter (RWI, UZH delegate)
- Prof. Dr Gabriele Siegert (Vice President Education and Student Affairs, Vice President, University Executive Board UZH delegate)

The partners' meeting is the strategic steering committee of the ZDA. Its responsibility is to supervise and control the activities of the centre and manage the organisation's funds in accordance with its purpose. In the reporting year 2020 it approved the annual report and the financial reporting for 2019. The 2021 budget was also approved.

c. Directorate

The directorate is the operative management committee of the ZDA and is composed of the heads of the three departments who are at the same time professors at the UZH, respectively, at the FHNW. The chair is held by a member elected by the partners at the partner meeting and for a pre-determined term of two to four years.

As of 1 January 2017, the general meeting elected Prof. Dr Andreas Glaser on a rotation basis as the new Chairman of the ZDA for the 2017–2020 term of office.

- Prof. Dr Andreas Glaser, Chairman Directorate ZDA 2017–2020, Department Head c2d, Professor for Public Law at the UZH;

- Prof. Dr Daniel Kübler, Department Head ADF, Professor for Democracy Research and Public Governance at the UZH, Director of NCCR Democracy;
- Prof. Dr Monika Waldis, Department Head PBGD, Professor at the FHNW and Head of the Centre for Civic Education and History Teaching.

In 2020, the directorate convened at eleven formal meetings; informal meetings took place on a regular basis.

d. Expert Advisory Board

Since 2017 the board meets in the following composition:

- Prof. Dr Giovanni Biaggini, Chair for Constitutional, Administrative and European Law, University of Zurich;
- Prof. Dr Carla van Boxtel, Professor of Teaching Methodology with a focus on history education, Research Institute of Child Development and Education, University of Amsterdam;
- Prof. Dr Silja Häusermann, Full Professor of Swiss Politics and Comparative Political Economy, Institute for Political Sciences, University of Zurich;
- Prof. Dr Dirk Lange, Professor for Didactics of Civic Education, Institute for Political Science, Leibniz University, Hannover;
- Prof. Dr Yannis Papadopoulos, Professor of Swiss Politics and Public Policy, Institute for Political and International Studies, University of Lausanne;
- Prof. Dr Bernhard Waldmann, Chair in Constitutional and Administrative Law, Institute for Federalism, Faculty of Law, University of Fribourg.

The expert advisory board has, in accordance with the ZDA statutes, provided its expert opinion on the annual report. In addition to the regular bilateral contacts with the members of the directorate who are also department heads, a joint meeting takes place once a year. On 8 September 2020, the Advisory Board met via Zoom with the ZDA Directorate (Professor Andreas Glaser, Professor Daniel Kübler and Professor Monika Waldis). Connected via videoconferencing were Professor Yannis Papadopoulos (University of Lausanne), Professor Dirk Lange (University of Hannover) and Professor Bernhard Waldmann (University of Fribourg). Professor Silja Häusermann (IPZ-UZH) and Professor Giovanni Biaggini (University of Zurich) were unable to attend but submitted their input in writing. Professor Carla van Boxtel (University of Amsterdam) was also unable to attend. The meeting lasted 90 minutes and Professor Andreas Glaser, Chairman of the ZDA Directorate, presided over the meeting. The advisory opinions and discussions were summarised in a report to the partners' meeting. This year the members of the advisory board once again issued the ZDA and its directorate a very good testimonial. Several members rated as very positive the high quality and quantity of scholarly research, the very strong links to the praxis and the ability to select relevant topics ('hot topical issues', 'always at the cutting edge of current research'). Also accorded special mention was the, once more, exceptionally high share of acquired third-party funds.

2. Staff

On the reporting date 31.12.2020, a total of 43 staff were employed at the ZDA; the cost-relevant average of full-time equivalents in the reporting year was 2275.11 (ca. 23 full-time equivalents).

The staff statistics, according to function and departments, for the year 2020 is presented in the following table:

Table 1: Employment statistics ZDA 2020 * (Cumulative full-time equivalents categorised)

Function **	Department				Total percentage positions
	ADF	c2d	PBGD	Pool	
Assistants without degrees	10.01	28.33	0.00	0.00	38.34
Assistants with BA	87.51	158.75	38.00	0.00	284.26
Assistants with MA/licentiate	29.17	103.33	114.58	0.00	247.08
PhD students	215.00	165.00	83.33	0.00	463.33
Postdocs	306.68	19.17	0.00	0.00	325.84
Research associates	121.25	60.00	450.00	0.00	631.25
Assistant professors	100.00	91.67	0.00	0.00	191.67
administrative/technical staff	0.00	0.00	20.00	73.33	93.33
Total full-time equivalents	869.61	626.25	705.91	73.33	2275.11
Number of staff on 31.12.2020	14	14	12	3	43

* excl. Directorship

** according to UZH terminology

In the last year it was once again possible to maintain a balance between the number of PhD students and research assistants on the one hand, and postdocs on the other, in harmony with the personnel strategy of the ZDA and in the interest of promoting young academics. The focus on the PhD students and research associates has thus proven expedient in that two assistant professorships helped create two new positions for postdocs.

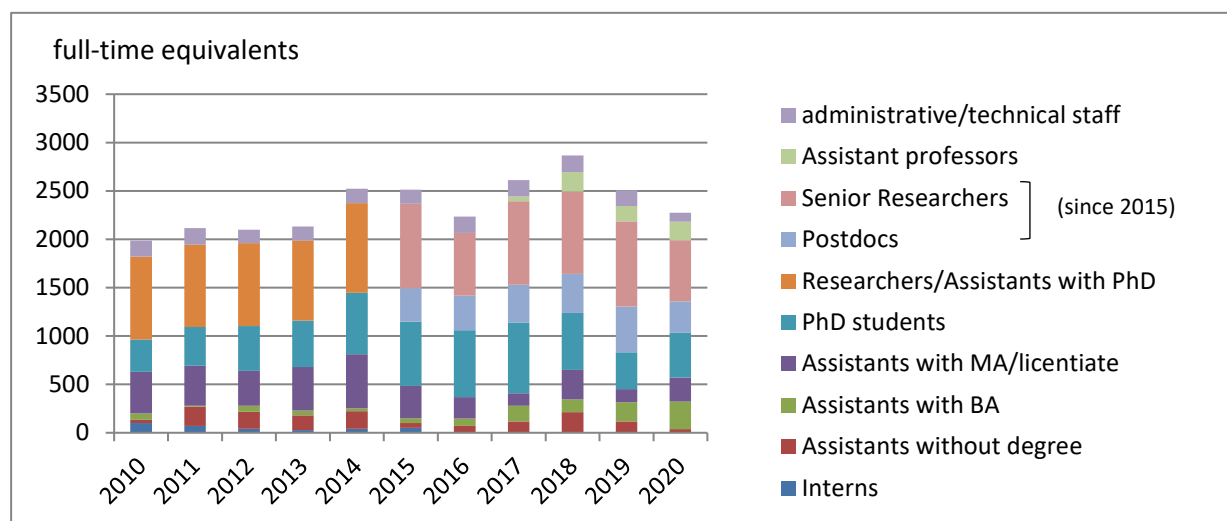


Figure 1: Development of FTEs at the ZDA 2010–2020 according to function

Department of General Democracy Research (ADF):

Prof. Dr Daniel Kübler, Prof. Dr Tarik Abou-Chadi, Prof. Dr Daniel Bochsler
 Dr Oliver Dlabac, Dr Sarah Engler, Dr Birte Gundelach, Dr Tomislav Milic, Dr Philippe E. Rochat,
 Adina Amrhein, Alessandro Feller, Andreas Juon, Deborah Kalte, Hauke Licht, Laura-Vanessa Soldner, Marine
 Trichet, Roman Zwicky, Christian Ewert, Fabienne Hug, Robin Huber, Raphael Capaul, Livia Rohrbach

Completed qualifying papers:

Alice El-Wakil, *Reconsidering Direct Democracy: The Value of the Facultative Referendum in Democratic Systems*, Diss. Phil. Fak. UZH.

Andreas Juon, *Grievances, identity, and political opportunity: The effects of corporate and liberal power-sharing on ethnic conflict*. Diss. University College London.

Livia Rohrbach, *Beyond intractability? Territorial solutions to self-determination conflicts*. Diss. University of Copenhagen.

Roman Zwicky, *Housing governance in a time of financialization: a comparative analysis of Zurich, Birmingham and Lyon*, Diss. Phil. Fak. UZH

Woo, Su Yun, *Deliberative Democracy with Chinese Characteristics Examining the Impact of Deliberation on Local Governance in Chengdu and Wenling*, Diss. Phil. Fak. UZH

Ongoing qualifying papers:

Z. Burkadze, *Hybrid regimes and political transition*, Diss., Phil. Fak. UZH.

D. Kalte, *Political consumerism in Switzerland: Are vegans the new political actors?*, Diss., Phil. Fak. UZH.

H. Licht, *Contesting the mainstream: What explains variation in the salience of anti-elite appeals in the electoral strategies of populist and non-populist parties?*, Diss., Phil., Fak. UZH.

M. Trichet, *Governing the Smart City: how big data reshapes the governance of urban mobility at the age of Mobility as a Service*, Diss., Phil. Fak. UZH.

Department Centre for Research on Direct Democracy (c2d):

Prof. Dr Andreas Glaser, Prof. Dr Lorenz Langer
 Dr Julian Beriger, Dr Uwe Serdült
 Salim Brüggemann, Norina Frehner, Louis Gebistorf, Katja Gfeller, Till Haechler, Valérie Humm, Irina Lehner,
 Romane Loviat, Marzia Piampiano, Gabriel Steffen, Regina Weder, Sarah Lüthold, Mayowa Alaye, Oksana
 Benchemakh, Claudio Baldi, Jérôme Fischer, Lea von Felten

Completed qualifying papers:

K. Gfeller, *Die Justizfunktion der Zürcher Bezirksräte*, Diss., RWF UZH.

Ongoing qualifying papers:

C. Baldi, *Faktoren guter Rechtsetzung in der vorparlamentarischen Phase*, Diss., RWF UZH.

J.-I. Beriger, *Das VwVG im Spiegel der Kodifikationsidee – Aktuelle Fragen des Verwaltungsprozessrechts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Harmonisierung und Dekodifikation*, Habil., RWF UZH.

L. Langer, *Die Richterwahl als republikanische Institution*, Habil., RWF UZH.

R. Loviat, *Les limites au contenu des ordonnances d'urgence du Gouvernement*, Diss., RWF UZH.

R. Weder, *Die Transparenz der öffentlichen Verwaltung im digitalen Zeitalter*, Diss., RWF UZH.

Department of Civic and History Education (PBGD):

Prof. Dr Monika Waldis,

Dr Philipp Marti, Dr Martin Nitsche, Dr Julia Thyroff, Dr des. Simon Affolter

Vera Baumann, Manuel Hubacher, Ruth Probst, Vera Sperisen, Stefan Walter, Liliane Wenger, Dominic Studer, Kristine Gollin, Franziska Hedinger, Jan Scheller, in addition, 8 research assistants supported the team at times.

Ongoing qualifying papers:

F. Hedinger, *Vermittlung der Politischen Bildung im Geschichtsunterricht auf Sekundarstufe I – Eine Untersuchung bezüglich dem Lehrplan 21 – Themenbereich «Menschenrechte»*, Diss. Swissuniversities Doktoratsprogramm UZH IPZ/PH FHNW Democracy Studies/Civic Education.

K. Gollin, *Performanzen historischer Orientierung(en) von Schülerinnen und Schülern beim Schreiben in Geschichte*, Diss. Phil.-Hist. Universität Basel.

K. van Loon, *Learning with images – visual literacy and historical reasoning*, Diss. Phil.-Hist. Universität Basel.

J. Scheller, *Empirische Analyse der historischen Denkopoperation Medienanalyse*, Diss. Phil.-Hist. Universität Salzburg.

J. Sobernheim, *Argumentieren in der Politischen Bildung*, Diss. Phil.-Hist. Universität Basel.

V. Sperisen, *Natio-ethno-kulturelle Zugehörigkeitsordnungen im Unterricht der Politischen Bildung*, Diss. Phil.-Hist. Universität Basel.

ZDA Pool:

Corin Limacher, Administrative Assistant

Hanna Wolf, Social Media Manager

Simon Gemperli, Head of Public Relations

Nathalie Baumann, Head of Public Relations (leaving date 29.2.2020)

3. Financial reporting 2020 / Finance plan

The financial reporting for the attention of the partners/funding institutions encompasses the detailed annual statement per cost centre/department with budget adjustments as well as various analysis reports. Since 2013, the total sum of all expenses is reported on, independent of the method of financing. In the gross cost of personnel, the share of different funding sources (own resources, resp., third-party funds) is, in addition, reported separately. The third-party funds are itemised as funds raised competitively and in part as contracted research.

In addition to the contractually defined funding by the partners and internally produced assets of the parent universities for projects (2020 total CHF 2,813,476), it was possible to raise subsidies to the amount of CHF 1,234,109 in the reporting year. This amounts to a **third-party quota** (percentage share of costs financed by third-party funds) of an average of **32.4%**. In the benchmark with the social sciences and jurisprudence, the ZDA is, thus, consistently at an above average high level of ca. 30%. The share of **competitively acquired third-party funds** is at **15.6%** of the total expenditure; 16.9% were generated by means of contracted research, mandates and services.

The budget for the administrative overhead (cost centre ‘Pool’), amounting to CHF 550,000, is, for an institute the size of the ZDA, very tightly calculated and can only be maintained at this consistently low level—despite the consistent growth of the scope of tasks and regulatory demands—thanks to the link with the administration of the parent university (personnel and financial administration). The largest expense item is the rental cost of ca. CHF 200,000 for the Villa Blumenhalde. The following table 2 is a summary of the most important financial **key data**.

Table 2: annual financial statements ZDA 2020

ZDA TOTAL IST 2020 nach Abteilungen					
Saldovortrag per 01.01.2020 (inkl. zweckgebundene Rückstellungen)	110'000	262'338	299'126	0	671'464
AUSGABEN	Pool	c2d	ADF	PBGD	Total
Personalaufwand					
Personalaufwand	74'997	429'186	842'343	729'635	2'076'161
Sozialleistungen	13'206	65'042	144'347	157'704	380'300
übrige Personalaufwand	1'679	1'947	4'211	571	8'408
<i>Personalaufwand Eigenleistungen UZH: Assistenz Professur Kübler</i>	0	0	163'644	0	163'644
<i>PersAufw Eigenleistungen UZH: Projektbeiträge "DirDemPop"</i>	0	231'805	229'747	0	461'552
<i>PersAufw Projekt Tarik Abou-Chadi S-64215-01-01</i>			163'155		163'155
<i>Direktionsentschädigung</i>	20'327	0	0	0	20'327
PERSONALAUFWAND TOTAL	110'209	727'980	1'547'447	887'911	3'273'546
<i>Davon Anteil Personalaufwand über Drittmittel finanziert</i>	0	101'495	522'409	515'664	1'139'567
<i>Davon Anteil Personalaufwand über Eigenmittel finanziert (Grundfinanzierung)</i>	110'209	626'485	1'025'038	372'247	2'133'979
Sachaufwand					
SACHAUFWAND TOTAL	363'394	83'560	64'425	36'484	547'862
INTERNE UMLAGE: BEITRAG ABTEILUNGEN AN VERWALTUNGSGEMEINKOSTEN (POOL)	-423'276	141'092	141'092	173'222	32'130
TOTAL AUFWAND	50'327	952'632	1'752'964	1'097'616	3'853'538
EINNAHMEN	Pool	c2d	ADF	PBGD	Total
Eigenmittel (Grundausrüstung)					
Beitrag Kanton AG (inkl. Verwaltungsgemeinkosten)	0	800'000	0	0	800'000
Beiträge Stadt Aarau (inkl. Verwaltungsgemeinkosten)	0	0	786'000	0	786'000
Beitrag FHNW an die Verwaltungsgemeinkosten (Pool)	0	0	0	173'222	173'222
Eigenleistungen FHNW (Anteil PBGD)	0	0	0	408'731	408'731
<i>Eigenleistungen UZH: Assistenz Professur Kübler</i>	0	0	163'644	0	163'644
<i>Eigenleistungen UZH: Projektbeiträge "DirDemPop"</i>	0	231'805	229'747	0	461'552
<i>Beitrag Direktionsentschädigung (2/3 UZH und 1/3 PH FHNW)</i>	20'327	0	0	0	20'327
TOTAL VERFÜGBARE EIGENMITTEL	20'327	1'031'805	1'179'391	581'953	2'813'476
Drittmittel (Fremdfinanziert)					
Einnahmen SNF-Projekte	0	0	129'903	185'092	314'995
Einnahmen Overhead SNF	0	0	0	0	0
Einnahmen Sonstige Drittmittel-Projekte (inkl. Overhead)	0	150'764	264'133	330'472	745'368
Einnahmen Diverses (Dienstleistungen, Zuwendungen)	0	4'995	5'496	100	10'591
<i>Einnahmen SNF-Projekt T. Abou-Chadi / KST 6421500</i>	0	0	163'155	0	163'155
TOTAL ERTRÄGE AUS DRITTMITTELN	0	155'759	562'686	515'664	1'234'109
<i>Drittmittelquote (Erträge aus Drittmitteln kompetitiv : Total Aufwand)</i>		0.0%	17.6%	25.8%	15.6%
<i>Drittmittelquote (Erträge aus Drittmitteln nicht kompetitiv : Total Aufwand)</i>		16.4%	14.5%	21.1%	16.9%
<i>Drittmittelquote (Total Erträge aus Drittmitteln : Total Aufwand)</i>	---	16.4%	32.1%	47.0%	32.4%
TOTAL EINNAHMEN	20'327	1'187'564	1'742'078	1'097'616	4'047'585
SALDO PER 31.12.2020 (inkl. zweckgebundene Reserven)	80'000	497'270	288'240	0	865'510
Zweckgebundene Rückstellungen	Pool	c2d	ADF	PBGD	Total
Bestand per 31.12.2020	80'000	0	82'165	0	162'165

The third-party acquisitions made by the department c2d in 2020 stem, for the most part, from the project Focus Aarau, funded by the lottery fund, and the project 'Faktoren guter Rechtsetzung' (trans. Factors of good legislation), funded by the Stiftung für Schweizerische Rechtspflege. In personnel costs there was a significant decrease in positions financed by own resources as a result of a number of staff leaving after the completion of qualifying papers (dissertation, habilitation). The positions are continuously filled through the acquisition of new PhD students.

The department ADF carried out several third-party funded mandates commissioned by administrative offices and realised three research projects funded by the SNSF, one of which was completed in 2020 ('Political consumerism'). Since the phase-out of NCCR Democracy in the fall of 2017, the 'Democracy Barometer' has become a fixture at the ZDA, while the relevant resources in the regular budget of the department have been expended. The remaining reserves will be used to fund individuals and projects (project cooperation 'Citizen Participation in China' and project set-up 'Direkte Demokratie und Populismus in Europa' [trans. Direct democracy and populism in Europe]).

In the department PBGD, two research projects funded by the SNSF were completed in the reporting year. It was possible to start two new SNSF projects in the summer of 2020. This, on the other hand, includes the funding of young research staff, respectively, PhD students. To this we can add the project ‘Grundkenntnistest Kanton Zürich’ (trans. The basic knowledge test canton Zurich) commissioned by the municipal office Zurich as well as the project ‘Zugehörigkeit reconsidered’ (trans. Belonging reconsidered) with financial support from the Service for Combating Racism and the Federal Commission on Migration. Also in this year it was seen that the largest third-party amounts stem from competitively raised research applications. The third-party funds for praxis-based projects that were raised from foundations and federal offices were lower. In order to deal with concerns in the education praxis they are, however, just as important.

Financial planning

Basic funding by the four partners (based on the articles of partnership in CHF):

City of Aarau	785,000.–	
Canton Aargau	800,000.–	
University of Zurich	300,000.–	Assistant Professorship D. Kübler IPZ/UZH as well as internally generated project assets
FHNW	450,000.–	Administrative cost contributions and internally generated project assets
Total	2,335,000.–	

Financial contributions by the parent universities by way of internally produced assets were contractually set at a minimum of CHF 200,000 (UZH), resp., 300,000 (FHNW). As a rule, however, the project funding substantially exceeds these figures. The basic contribution of the UZH to the ZDA is realised through financing of an assistantship at the IPZ/UZH chair of the department head ADF and internally produced assets in projects, which until September 2017 were realised in connection with *NCCR Democracy* (department ADF). In October 2017, with the phasing out of *NCCR Democracy*, a transition to the new project funding ‘Direkte Demokratie und Populismus in Europa’ (trans. Direct democracy and populism in Europe) took place: The UZH funds two assistant professorships with one doctoral post each, one of which is affiliated with the Faculty of Philosophy (IPZ) and the other with the Faculty of Law (RWI). With the approved budget of CHF 420,000/year for the duration of the project (2017–2020, with the option to extend for a further three years), the UZH provides a contribution to the ZDA that is more than double the contractually stipulated amount – showing a clear commitment to and an appreciation for the successful institutional collaboration with the other partners. In December 2019, the UZH management moreover decided to continue their contribution in the period 2023–2029 to a comparable extent. In effect this means that the UZH will support the project ‘Demokratie ohne Parteien, Parteien ohne Demokratie: welche Zukunft für die politische Willensbildung im 21. Jahrhundert?’ (trans. Democracy without parties, parties without democracy: Which future for political will-formation in the 21st century?) to an approximate total of 460,000 CHF per year.

Additionally, in line with the financial planning goals, project-based third-party funds to the amount of ca. CHF 1,200,000 are to be realised for research projects and services. CHF 1,542,881 has been budgeted for the year 2021. It must be noted, however, that the budgeting for the expected third-party funds from public institutions (in particular the SNSF, federal authorities and cantonal administrations) as well as private organisations (foundations, NGOs, private firms and associations) depends on planned and pending project applications and/or expected commissions. The actual resulting project commitments/commissions very much depend on external factors such as the economy, political developments and research funds made available by the federal government (SNF). The extent to which the Corona pandemic might necessitate certain shifts in emphasis and financial cuts will be seen. Accordingly, financial planning is subject to a number of uncertainties.