

Lena Maria Schaffer

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married, two children (*2012; *2015)

Academic Position

From 09/2016 **Universität Luzern**
Assistant Professor for Inter- and Transnational Relations
(6-year fixed term position until 08/2022; no tenure track)

Research Interest

- Comparative Climate Change and Energy Policy
- International and Comparative Political Economy
- Individual Preferences towards Globalization & Climate Change
- Applied Research Methods

Education

2006 – 2011 **Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH) Zürich**
Ph.D. candidate and research assistant at the Center for Comparative and International Studies; Thesis: “**Voluntary climate change initiatives in the U.S.: Analyzing participation in space and time**“
Dissertation committee:
Prof. Thomas Bernauer (ETH Zürich),
Prof. Jude Hays (University of Pittsburgh),
Prof. Vally Koubi (University of Berne)
Title: **Dr. sc. ETH Zürich**

2009 **University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, USA**
Visiting Scholar at the Department of Political Science with Professor Jude Hays (October-December)

2009 **Columbia University, New York, USA**
Visiting Scholar at ISERP with Professor Dana Fisher (February-April)

2004 **University of Bologna, Italy**
Semester abroad

2001 – 2002 **University of Warwick, UK**
ERASMUS exchange year

2000 – 2006 **University of Konstanz, Germany**
M.A. (Diplom) in Public Policy and Management, major in „European Integration and International Organisations“
(Grade: very good)

Employment

03/2016 – 05/2016 07/2014 – 03/2015	Universität Konstanz Post-doctoral researcher at the Department of Politics and Public Administration.
10/2015 – 02/2016 06/2016 – 08/2016	Maternity leave (9 months)
04/2015 - 10/2015	Universität Konstanz <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Interim professorship (Lehrstuhlvertretung) of the W3 professorship in Political Science with specialization in International Relations and European Politics at the Department of Politics and Public Administration
2011 – 2014	ETH Zürich Post-doctoral researcher <i>2011-2014 (50%): Schweizerischer Nationalfonds (SNF) Project “Explaining Spatial and Temporal Dynamics in Climate Change Policy Making” (with Thomas Bernauer)</i> <i>2012-2014 (50%): 50%: National Centre of Competence in Research NCCR „Trade Regulation“: Work Package 1 „Trade Governance“ (with Gabriele Spilker and Thomas Bernauer)</i> <i>2011 (50%): Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS) Projekt “Climate Change, Economic Growth, and Conflict” (with Vally Koubi)</i>
03/2012 – 08/2012	Maternity leave (5 months, 40% from 02/2013-05/2013)
2011 – 2012	University of Zurich Postdoctoral Researcher (20%) at the Chair of Policy Analysis (Prof. Fabrizio Gilardi)
04/2007 – 04/2011	Competence Center Environment and Sustainability (CCES), ETH Zürich Research Assistant within the interdisciplinary consortium <i>ClimPol (Climate Policy Making for Enhanced Technological and Institutional Innovations)</i>

Grants and third party funding

- Research Grant for a **survey experiment** and a research assistant for research in the context of a popular referendum “Begrenzungsinitiative” on the free movement of people in Switzerland (vote: September 2020): “*Free Movement in the Shadow of the Referendum: The Impact of Culture, Context and Competition on People’s Immigration Preferences*” Research Commission University of Luzern Grant Nr. 20-012-LS (**19.341 CHF**, ca. 18.250 EUR)
- ****Career funding for an own research group** (Postdoc (100%), PhD (100%), Assistants (30%)) and research funding:
 - Assistant Professor (AP) Energy Grant for research on “Beyond Policy Adoption: Implications of Energy Policy on Parties, Publics, and Individuals“. Grant funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), 1. November 2017 – 31. October 2021, **922.068 CHF (ca. 840.000 Euro)**

- Grant to finance own Postdoc position for two years (Brigitte-Schlieben-Lange-Program, MWK Baden-Württemberg (ca. **80.000 Euro**, October 2015- October 2017, *declined after 3 months due to transition to Luzern*)
- Grant for research on „Attitudes towards Trade Liberalization“ (Cluster 1.2) within the second phase of the Swiss National Competence Centre for Research (NCCR) Trade Regulation (with Thomas Bernauer and Gabriele Spilker, volume **217.392 CHF**, August 2011 – August 2013)
- Grant of the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF) for the project „Explaining Spatial and Temporal Dynamics in Climate Change Policy Making“ (with Thomas Bernauer, volume **307.659 CHF**; April 2011 – April 2014, extension until 04/2015)
- Grant to cover additional travel and personnel cost associated with the dissertation project from the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) of ETH Zürich (with Prof. Thomas Bernauer, 2009, **25.000 CHF**)
- Project Grant for dissertation research within the project "Diffusion of Climate Policy Adoption" within the interdisciplinary Consortiums Climate Policy Making for Enhanced Technological and Institutional Innovations (CLIMPOL) des **Competence Centers for Environment and Sustainability (CCES)** (with Prof. Thomas Bernauer, 2007 - 2011, **100'000 CHF**)
- Stipend of the **American National Science Foundation** (covering courses, travel costs, full room and board for four weeks) to take part in the Empirical Implications of Theoretical Modelling (EITM) workshop in Ann Arbor, Michigan (2009, ca. **5000 \$**)
- Grant to attend the 2008 Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis in Colchester, UK (**6.000 CHF**) and the the 2007 ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan (**4.100 CHF**). Funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF)
- Grant for a Peer Group PoliNet (10 PhD students together) within a mentoring program for young researchers at the University of Zurich (2008-2010, **18.000 CHF**)
- Grants to take part in several conferences (APSA 2008, MPSA 2009, **4.000 CHF**). Funded by the Swiss Academy for the Humanities and Social Sciences (SAGW)

Publications (6 most important)**

I. Monograph

Lena Maria Schaffer (2011) „Voluntary climate change initiatives in the U.S.: Analyzing participation in space and time**“ Dissertation, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH) Zürich, Nr. 19475 (<http://e-collection.library.ethz.ch/view/eth:2712>).

II. Contributions to Edited Volumes

[3] Lena Maria Schaffer (forthcoming 2021) “**The Politics of Green Taxation**” in: Hakelberg, Lukas and Laura Seelkopf (Eds.) **Handbook on the Politics of Taxation**. Edward Elgar Publishing.

[2] Lena Maria Schaffer and Alessio Levis (forthcoming 2021) “**Public Discourses on (Sectoral) Energy Policy in Switzerland: Insights from Structural Topic Models**” in: Hettich, Peter and Aya Kachi (Eds.) **Swiss Energy Governance**. Springer Nature.

[1] Thomas Bernauer and Lena Maria Schaffer (2012) „**Climate Change Governance**“ in: **Levi-Faur,**

David (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*, pp. 441-456. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (<http://levifaur.wiki.huji.ac.il/index.php/HandbookofGovernance>).

III. Articles (peer-reviewed)

[12] Lena Maria Schaffer, Bianca Oehl and Thomas Bernauer **"Are policy-makers responsive to public demand in climate politics"** conditionally accepted at *Journal of Public Policy*

[11] **Resul Umit and Lena Maria Schaffer (2020) **"Attitudes to carbon taxes across Europe: The role of perceived uncertainty and self-interest"** *Energy Policy* (<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2020.111385>).

[10] **Lena Maria Schaffer and Gabriele Spilker (2019) **"Self-interest vs. Sociotropic Considerations: An Information-based Perspective to Understanding Individuals' Trade Preferences"** *Review of International Political Economy* 26(6): 1266-1292.

[9] **Vally Koubi, Tobias Böhmelt, Gabriele Spilker and Lena Maria Schaffer (2018) **"The Determinants of Environmental Migrants' Conflict Perception"** *International Organization* 72 (4): 905-936.

[8] Bianca Oehl, Lena Maria Schaffer and Thomas Bernauer (2017) **"How to measure public demand for climate change when there is no appropriate survey data?"** *Journal of Public Policy* 37(2): 173-204.

[7] Vally Koubi, Gabriele Spilker, Lena Maria Schaffer and Tobias Böhmelt (2016) **"The role of environmental perceptions in migration decision-making: evidence from both migrants and non-migrants in five developing countries"** *Population and Environment* 38 (2): 134-163.

[6] Vally Koubi, Gabriele Spilker, Lena Maria Schaffer and Thomas Bernauer (2016) **"Environmental Stressors and Migration: Evidence from Vietnam"** *World Development* 79: 197-210.

[5] **Lena Maria Schaffer and Gabriele Spilker (2016) **"Adding Another Level: Individual Responses to Globalization and Government Welfare Policies"** *Political Science Research and Methods* 4 (2): 399-426.

[4] **Lena Maria Schaffer and Thomas Bernauer (2014) **"Explaining Government Choices for Promoting Renewable Energy"** *Energy Policy* 68, May 2014: 15-27.

[3] Gabriele Spilker, Lena Maria Schaffer and Thomas Bernauer (2012) **"Does Social Capital Increase Public Support for Economic Globalization?"** *European Journal of Political Research* 51(6): 756-784.

[2] Tobias Hofmann and Lena Maria Schaffer (2009) **"Einmal Frieden und zurück? Friedensmissionen und die wiederkehrende Eskalation innerstaatlicher Gewalt"** *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 34: 307-332.

[1] Lena Maria Schaffer and Gerald Schneider (2005) **"Die Prognosegüte von Wahlbörsen und Meinungsumfragen zur Bundestagswahl 2005"** *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 45(4): 674-681.

IV. Under Review

Under review

Koubi, Vally, Lena Maria Schaffer, Gabriele Spilker and Tobias Böhmelt **"Environmental Migration: Vulnerability, Adaptation, and Trapped Populations"**.

Resul Umit and Lena Maria Schaffer “**Opposition to Wind Turbines and Electoral Outcomes**”

Lena Maria Schaffer und Resul Umit «**Public Support for National vs. International Climate Change Obligations**». Under review at the *Journal of European Public Policy* within a special issue on “*Responding to the Climate Crisis – Understanding Policy Change, Acceptance, and Management Challenges*” (Guest Editors: Elin Boasson & Michael Tatham).

Lena Maria Schaffer and Resul Umit “**Do they Realize? Understanding Individuals’ Preferences towards Energy Transition**”

Maximilian Lüth and Lena Maria Schaffer “**The electoral importance and evolution of climate related energy policy: evidence from Switzerland**” part of a Special Issue on the “*Swiss Elections 2019*” of the *Swiss Political Science Review* (Guest Editors: Nathalie Giger, Anke Tresch, Denise Traber). Presented at a virtual author workshop in January 2021.

In preparation (presented or accepted at a conference at least once and in final preparation stage)

Lena Maria Schaffer and Gabriele Spilker “**Individual Migration Preferences: Culture, Context or Competition?**” *working paper, presented at APSA 2020, SVPW in February 2021*

An extant literature has sought to explain variation in individuals’ opposition to immigration and has mostly focused on two main forms of natives’ threats when evaluating immigration: economic and cultural sources. The apparent problem within studies on this cultural vs. economic threat literature is that it is hard to disentangle the economic threat immigration poses to a certain individual from the cultural impact of immigration. In our paper, we attempt to separate the economic and the cultural impact immigrants have by making use of a specific particularity of Switzerland as a rather small landlocked country within Europe. It shares long stretches of borders with Germany, France and Italy and thus attracts an unusually high number of cross-border commuters. In contrast to labour migrants from EU/EFTA states, these individuals only come to work in Switzerland but otherwise do not partake in everyday social life within the communities. While economically these commuters pose the same threat as foreigners living in Switzerland, culturally they should not. This gives us a unique opportunity to test whether the labor market competition hypothesis prevails or whether cultural or other factors need to be figured in more closely. Evidence from our survey experiment within the Swiss context, however, indicates that cross-border commuters are viewed much less favorable than resident foreigners (this holds when controlling for exposure in various ways), weakening both potential explanations. Results from a conjoint experiment where we ask respondents to compare persons with varying characteristics (origin, gender, age, high-skilled vs. low-skilled, living vs. commuting to Switzerland, etc.) corroborate our initial findings that people actually seem to prefer labour migrants to settle and contribute to society.

Lena Maria Schaffer “**Who’s afraid of more ambitious climate policy? Distributional consequences and inequality perceptions in ratcheting up for the Paris Agreement**” *working paper, to be presented at Midwest EPSA 2021*

Nation states need to address global climate change with ever increasing levels of stringency, as scientific evidence available suggests that efforts implemented so far will massively overshoot the 2° Paris Agreement scenario. A central component of the international agreement is the role of a progression of commitments and thus a strengthening of domestic policies to reach the proposed targets. More stringent climate change policies (e.g. an increase of a carbon tax) will come at a cost. A cost with respect to economic growth or international competitiveness for firms and at a cost for individuals resulting from higher expenditures for heating, mobility or housing. The yellow vest protest in France prominently figure as an example on how more stringent policies and their distributive consequences may lead to increased perceptions of inequality and an increased politicization of the climate issue. I use the recent total revision of the Swiss CO2 law (the main climate policy instrument in Switzerland) as an example of a change towards a more ambitious climate policy. I administered a survey experiment to 4000 people in Switzerland in September 2020 right before the parliamentary decision on the law was taken and experimentally test whether and which distributional implications of the policy change matter in people's consideration of supporting or opposing the revision. Moreover, people were asked about their preferences in compensating losers of the reform. Preliminary results suggest that people generally react very negatively to information on distributional implications and that preferences regarding compensation vary widely and line up well with partisanship.

Maximilian Lüth and Lena Maria Schaffer **“Political Parties in Times of Energy Transition: A Research Agenda”** ECPR 2020 and SVPW in February 2021

Our paper presents a new measurement instrument to assess if and how parties compete over the main political tool to combat climate change – energy policy. Building on the literature on party competition with a focus on niche parties and the environment we develop a measure that is able to estimate both the issue salience of energy transition as well as party positions on it. Beyond adding a new policy category not captured by existing analytical frameworks like the ‘Comparative Manifesto Project’, our contribution to the literature on party competition will be threefold: First, by focusing on a ‘green’ issue we will enhance the understanding of the effects electoral success of the green niche party family has on its political competitors. Second, we are able to show that energy-related climate change policy can increasingly be regarded as a positional issue that provides an interesting case for party competition and finally, we will contribute to the emerging discussion over impact of climate skeptic far right and populist parties.

In this paper we provide evidence on the importance and evolution of climate related energy policy in Swiss elections over the past two decades by combining data from our own collection effort on the issue of energy transition (as the main policy tool to prevent climate change) in party manifestos with the results of the current and previous Swiss Election Studies (‘SELECTS’). We build on previous findings which have shown that green parties and their electoral success play a pivotal role in energy transition. These parties can be regarded as issue-owners and their gains in vote share in recent years have proven to lead other parties to increase competition over climate and energy policy. We find that energy transition has become increasingly politicized over time and that parties on the very right of the political divide have started to become antagonists of green parties. These findings are well reflected in ‘Selects’ data on voter perception of climate related energy policy both in overall salience of the issue as well as polarization of the electorate.

Conference Presentations and Invited Talks (from 2013)¹

2021

Swiss Political Science Association Annual Conference (Organization of the *Section International Relations*, P, C, D)

Special Issue “Swiss Elections 2019” workshop (January 2021)

Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference (P)

2020

CUSO Masterclass “Investigating attitudes in comparative politics using survey methods” (invited guest lecturer)

Swiss Political Science Association Annual Conference (Organization of the *Section International Relations*, P, C, D)

International Studies Seminar Series (ISSS) at the University of Konstanz “Individual Migration Preferences: Culture, Context or Competition?” (Invited talk, June 2020)

Lucerne Research Seminar in Economics and Management (invited talk, November 2020)

2019

Swiss Political Science Association Annual Conference (Organization of the *Section International Relations*, Discussant on different Panels)

What are the Implications of Globalisation and Global Crises for Policymaking and for Economic and Political Outcomes in Western Democracies? CAGE Conference University of Warwick, UK (invited talk)

2018

Annual Congress of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft (Organization of a Panel on **“Dimensions of public contestation of globalization and international integration”**, D)

Swiss Political Science Association Annual Conference (Organization of the *Section International Relations*, Discussant on different Panels)

Midwest Political Science Association Annual National Conference (P, D)

Invited talk in the research seminar „The Role of Demand in Comparative Climate Change Politics“, University of Geneva

2017

Midwest Political Science Association Annual National Conference (P, C)

¹ „P“ = Paper/Poster Presentation“; „C“ = Chair of a Panel; „D“ = Discussant

Swiss Political Science Association Annual Conference (Organization of the *Section International Relations*, Discussant on different Panels)

European Political Science Association Annual Meeting (P, C)

Presentation and Discussion within a workshop on "Environmental Politics in Global and Local Contexts" organised by the Eastern ARC, University of Essex (invited talk)

2016

Swiss Political Science Association Annual Conference (Organization of the *Section International Relations*, Discussant on different Panels)

2015

Presentation within the Politics and International Studies (PAIS) Departmental Seminar Series, University of Warwick (invited talk)

Midwest Political Science Association Annual National Conference (P, D, C)

2014

Presentation at the Centre for International Environmental Studies, Graduate Institute Geneva (invited talk)

International Studies Association Annual Meeting (P, D, C)

Midwest Political Science Association Annual National Conference (P, D, C)

Swiss Political Science Association Annual Conference (D, C)

European Political Science Association Annual Meeting (P, D, C)

2013

International Studies Association Annual Meeting (P, D)

International Conference of Europeanists (P)

International Conference on Social Dilemmas (P)

The Political Economy of Redistribution and Income Inequality in Developed Democracies - CAGE Conference University of Warwick (Invited talk)

Professional Roles and Collaborations

Academic self-governance

- Program Director of the MA-program "**World Society and Global Governance**" at the University of Luzern (together with Prof. Dr. Bettina Beer), responsible for a drafting new guidelines and an update of the curriculum in 2018, responsible for the external and internal evaluation of the MA Program 2020/2021.
- Head of the working group "**International Relations**" of the Swiss Political Science Association (SVPW) (together with Prof. Dr. Simone Dietrich and Dr. Loriana Crasnic, since August 2014).
- Board member of the **European Community Studies Association Switzerland (ECSA)** (since 2016)

Scientific collaborations

ongoing

- Associated researcher within WP2 "What are credible, legitimate and salient aspects of offshore wind?" (Module leader: Prof. Michael Tatham, University of Bergen) and advisory board member in the Project "**Designing a Refined Legal Framework for Offshore Wind in the North Sea Basin (DeWindSea)**" lead by Prof. Sigrid Eskeland Schütz (University of Bergen, Norway)
- Associated researcher in the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS) Project "**Environmental migration, urbanization and conflict**" lead by Prof. Vally Koubi, Universität Bern und ETH Zürich. (2017-2020) <https://snis.ch/project/environmental-change-and-migration-the-role-of-urbanization-in-conflict-processes/>

completed

- Associated researcher in the Centre for Competitive Advantage in the Global Economy (CAGE II) research area 4 "**What are the Implications of Globalization and Global Crises**

for Policymaking and for Economic and Political Outcomes in Western Democracies?”

(University of Warwick, UK. Lead: Prof. Vera Troeger)

- Associated researcher in the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS) Project **“Environmental Change and Migration”** lead by Prof. Vally Koubi, Universität Bern und ETH Zürich. (2012-2016)

Reviewing and membership in associations

- Reviewer for *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *European Union Politics*, *Energy Policy*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *Environmental Politics*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *European Societies*, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, *Jahrbuch für Handlungs- und Entscheidungstheorie*
- Member of: Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), European Political Science Association (EPSA), Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft (DVPW), Schweizerische Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft (SVPW)

Skills and Interests

Languages

German (native speaker)

Englisch (excellent)

French (good)

Italian (good)

IT

Statistical Software: STATA, R, Matlab, QGIS/ArcGIS

Other

Project Management Seminar, Effective Presentations Workshop

Konstanz, April 2021