

**DAHRENDORF PROGRAMME**  
*at the*  
**EUROPEAN STUDIES CENTRE**



ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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**EUROPE IN A CHANGING WORLD**

**Participating Institutions, Faculty, and Students**

**University of Oxford**

**Ashoka University, Delhi**

**European University Institute, Florence**

**Higher School of Economics, Moscow**

**Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna**

**Peking University, Beijing**

**Sabancı University, Istanbul**

**Stanford University**

**'Contestations of the Liberal Script' (SCRIPTS), a cluster of excellence at Freie Universität Berlin and the WZB Berlin Social Science Centre**

## University of Oxford

### Project Coordinator:

#### Adele Curness



Adele Curness is the Research Manager for the Dahrendorf Programme and Coordinator of the 'Europe in a Changing World' Project. She has recently completed a DPhil in Byzantine Studies at the University of Oxford, during which she held the A.G. Leventis Graduate Scholarship, as well as the Royal Historical Society Fellowship at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. Her research focuses on the Byzantine *theme* (province) of Calabria, in southern Italy, and on the ways in which the folklore written about Calabrian saints in the tenth and eleventh centuries illuminates the complicated relationship between southern Italy and the wider Byzantine imperial project. More broadly, she is interested in the history of spatiality, ecocriticism, and Italian diaspora experience.

### Faculty:

#### Professor Othon Anastasakis

Othon Anastasakis is the Director of the South East European Studies at Oxford Programme (SEESOX), at St Antony's College; a Senior Research Fellow at the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford; and the former Director of the European Studies Centre, at St Antony's (July 2012-October 2015). He teaches South East European politics, as well as European politics. His research interests include transition and democratisation in South East Europe, the EU's eastern enlargement, Greek politics and foreign policy, European extreme right politics, and EU-Turkey relations.



#### Professor Paul Betts



Paul Betts is a professor of European history at St. Antony's College, Oxford and Co-Director of the Dahrendorf Programme. His research and publications centre on Modern European Cultural History in general and 20th Century German History in particular. He is especially interested in the relationship between culture and politics over the course of the century, and has worked on the themes of material culture, cultural diplomacy, photography, memory and nostalgia, human rights and international justice, the history of ideas and changing notions of private life. His recently published books include *Socialism Goes Global: The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the Age of Decolonisation*, jointly written with James Mark et al, and *Ruin and Renewal: Civilizing Europe after World War II*, which was awarded the Jacques Barzun Prize for Cultural History by the American Philosophical Society.

### Professor Timothy Garton Ash

Timothy Garton Ash is Professor of European Studies, University of Oxford, Isaiah Berlin Professorial Fellow at St Antony's College, Oxford, and Co-Director of the Dahrendorf Programme. He is a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He is the author of ten books of contemporary history and political writing, including most recently *Free Speech: Ten Principles for a Connected World* and a third edition of *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, & Prague*, with a new chapter analysing developments over the last 30 years. He also writes a widely syndicated column on international affairs in the *Guardian*. In 2017, he was awarded the International Charlemagne Prize for services to European unity.



### Professor Hartmut Mayer



Hartmut Mayer joined the European Studies Centre as Director on 1 September 2017. He is also a Fellow and Tutor in Politics at St. Peter's College, University of Oxford, where he has been teaching politics and international relations since 1998. Hartmut also serves as the Acting Director of the EUROPÆUM, a consortium of leading European Universities. In addition, he has held an Adjunct Professorship in European and Eurasian Studies at Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Bologna since 2014, and has taught International Relations in the Hong Kong Fellows' Programme at the Blavatnik School of Government since 2016. He is also a Region Head for Europe at Oxford Analytica, a global consultancy, in a freelance capacity. His main academic interests are diplomatic history, German and EU politics, international relations theory, EU-Asia (in particular Japan), European responses to Rising Powers, and Comparative

Regionalism. His most recent publication, written with Paul Bacon and Hidetoshi Nakamura is *The European Union and Japan: A New Chapter in Civilian Power Cooperation?*

### Professor David Priestland

David Priestland is a professor of modern history at St Edmund Hall, Oxford. His early research was on the History of the Soviet Union, concentrating especially on the relationship between ideology, politics and political culture in the interwar era, and the origins of the Stalinist repressions of the late 1930s. He then expanded his focus to explore the history of global communism. He now focuses on the history of two of the most influential global ideologies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, communism and market liberalism ('neoliberalism'), especially in the communist and post-communist worlds. His first book on the topic, *Merchant, Soldier, Sage: A New History of Power* was a book-length essay on the rise of market cultures in global history and their competition with other value systems, and it sought to reconcile a cultural history with a historical sociological approach to the subject. He is now working on the history of market liberalism with special reference to the former communist world, again exploring how market liberal ideas and practices interacted with their competitors.



### Students:

### Abid Adonis

Abid Adonis is a DPhil candidate at the Oxford Internet Institute, supervised by Professor Luciano Floridi. His research aims to understand digital sovereignty as an idea and practice, by investigating how digital sovereignty reshapes international politics, particularly among great powers. His research interests also include international relations and technology, the politics of cyberspace, and digital statecraft. Prior to joining OII, Abid studied for a dual master's degree in International Affairs at Sciences Po and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). He earned his Bachelor of Social Science at the Department of International Relations, Universitas Indonesia. Abid is also a junior researcher at Abdurrahman Wahid Centre for Peace and Humanities, Universitas Indonesia (AWCPH UI). He is a co-founder of Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia at Universitas Indonesia (FPCI UI) and LSESU Association for International Peace and Security (LSESU AIPS). Abid is also a part of *Podcast Bebas Aktif*, a leading International Relations podcast in Indonesia.



### Julia Carver



Julia Carver is a DPhil candidate in International Relations at the University of Oxford, under the supervision of Dr Robert Johnson and Professor Dominic Johnson. Her research is jointly funded by the Grand Union DTP (Economic and Social Research Council) and Nuffield College, and it explores the interplay between geopolitical strategic thought, sovereignty, and the development of cybersecurity policy by the European Union. She is particularly interested in understanding how the EU's relationships with other actors (as well as the goals of its own Member States in that policy domain) have shaped relevant EU policy developments in cybersecurity. Her project expands upon the research she undertook while reading for the MPhil in European Politics and Society programme (at Oxford's DPIR). Prior to graduate studies at Oxford, Julia obtained a BA in Political Studies and World Language Studies at Queen's University, Canada, as the recipient of a major national scholarship. At present, she leads the Cyber Strategy and Information Working Group at the University of Oxford's Changing Character of War Centre.



### Jan Farfal

Jan Farfal is a DPhil candidate in Area Studies (Russia and East Europe) at the University of Oxford. His project examines the ways in which emigré journals addressed their home societies behind the Iron Curtain, with a focus on the most prominent Polish, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav democratic centre-left emigré journals in the post-war period, including their legacies in the post-socialist transition. Jan's broader interests include intellectual history related to the 'Iron Curtain' and the contemporary identity disputes experienced in the former Eastern Bloc. Before starting his doctoral studies, Jan worked in Public Affairs sector and was awarded an MPhil in Russian and East European Studies at the University of Oxford (2016-2018). He is the secretary of St Antony's International Review journal and works as a teaching assistant at the Faculty of History and the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford.



### Carys Howell



Carys Howell is currently completing an MSt in British and European History (1700 to 1850) at the University of Oxford, after finishing her undergraduate History degree in June 2021 at the same university. Her current research focuses on the British government's management of immigrants and questions around migration in the aftermath of the French Revolution, with particular emphasis on the role of the Alien Office in enacting resulting policies after its foundation in 1792. Going forward, she hopes to complete a DPhil in Modern European History conducting similar research to her Master's but situating this two centuries later, in order to explore the extent to which questions about immigration factored into Western European attitudes towards the collapse of communism and the rise of Eurocentrism in the 1990s (especially in relation to Switzerland, Austria and Great Britain).

### Talia Kollek

Talia Kollek is a DPhil candidate in Area Studies (Russia and East Europe) at the University of Oxford. Her research focuses on civil society in Russia and Eastern Europe and how, over the past decade, restrictions around the world have resulted in a 'shrinking space' for civil society. Talia's research investigates how organisations navigate increasingly challenging environments to continue their work, and how governing bodies such as the EU can support these efforts. Her master's thesis at the Higher School of Economics in Saint Petersburg was on Soviet hockey, examining the ways in which sport is used to construct broader ideological frameworks. Her undergraduate work at McMaster University in Canada focused on historical narratives in the Russian education system.



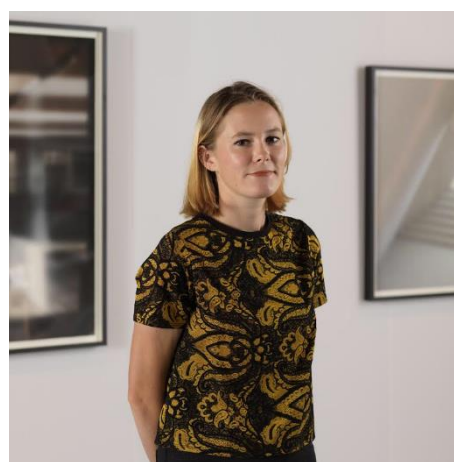
## Josef Lolacher



Josef Lolacher is a second-year MPhil student in European Politics and Society at the University of Oxford. Before coming to Oxford, Josef studied political science and psychology at LMU Munich, and worked at the German Consulate General in New York and the Chair of International Relations at the Geschwister-Scholl-Institute for Political Science in Munich. He is particularly interested in the effects of populism on liberal democracy, the state of democracy in the European Union and how the European Union is perceived as a promoter of liberal democracy, the rule of law and human rights outside of Europe. In his master's thesis, he looks at populist parties in government and examines the extent to which they can deliver on their campaign promises once in office and thus influence public policy.

## Alexandra Solovyev

Alexandra Solovyev is a DPhil candidate in History of Art at the University of Oxford. Her doctoral research is focused on the visual culture of the British railways in Ottoman Anatolia during the nineteenth century. She is interested in policy around the repatriation of artworks and cultural artefacts and in the historical origins of these contemporary issues. Alexandra received a BA in Art History and Archaeology with a concentration in Philosophy from Columbia University in 2018 and an MSt in History of Art and Visual Culture from the University of Oxford in 2019.



## Reja Wyss



Reja Wyss is a DPhil candidate in Sociology at the University of Oxford. Her research focuses on the relationship between science, technology and politics, ranging from the situation of Polish academia under a populist government to scientific arguments in abortion debates or European climate politics. She has also recently worked for the *Europe's Stories* project, led by Professor Timothy Garton Ash, as an associate for the political science department at the University of Basel, and assisted with research at the Oxford Internet Institute. These projects explored a range of questions from young European identity, digital voter-politician interactions to online disinformation and hate speech. Starting from 2022, she will also explore some of these

links together with the Swiss Young Academy on their 'Who gets heard?' project. Reja holds a BA degree in History and Political Science from the University of Basel, as well as an MPhil in Russian and East European Studies from St Antony's College, Oxford. She is also a member of the Swiss Study Foundation.

**Ruihan Zhu**

Ruihan Zhu is an MPhil student in Development Studies at Jesus College, University of Oxford. Her research interests include the political economy of development, sustainable development, and rural-urban linkages. Her current research focuses on the ontological debates around climate change and the critique of mainstream development ideas. For her MPhil study, Ruihan plans to study the impact of green transformation on local communities in China, especially its interconnection with gender equality, poverty reduction, and the digital economy. She used to work as a research assistant at the Institute of International Development Cooperation, CAITEC and graduated with a Bachelor's degree in International Politics (International Political Economy) from Peking University.





## Ashoka University, Delhi

### Faculty:

#### Professor Mandakini Dubey

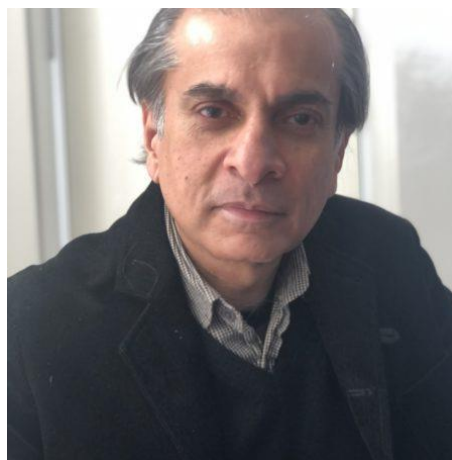


Mandakini Dubey is Assistant Professor of English and Instructor at the Centre for Writing and Communication at Ashoka University. Professor Dubey also conducts a writing seminar at Ashoka University's Young India Fellowship, which engages a long-time interest in creating a curriculum for critical thought and writing, tailored to the Indian context. She earned her Ph.D. in English (Victorian literature) at Duke University in 2003. She has taught several courses in academic writing as well as in Victorian, Anglophone and Postcolonial literature for many years, both as a graduate student at Duke and, since completing her Ph.D., at Drew University (New Jersey) and the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi. Her interest in the instruction of academic analysis and writing has also been shaped by her experience as a tutor at the Duke University Writing Studio and, earlier, at the Mount Holyoke College Writing Centre. Her dissertation 'Esotericism and Orientalism: Nineteenth-Century Narrative Initiations' brought orientalist disciplines like philology and comparative religion into conversation with a range of narrative modes: classic Victorian literary prose and poetry, occultist writings by figures like Madame Blavatsky of the Theosophical Society, and translated Persian poetry.

Nineteenth-Century Narrative Initiations' brought orientalist disciplines like philology and comparative religion into conversation with a range of narrative modes: classic Victorian literary prose and poetry, occultist writings by figures like Madame Blavatsky of the Theosophical Society, and translated Persian poetry.

#### Professor Sunil Khilnani

Sunil Khilnani is Professor of History and Politics at Ashoka University. Prior to that, he was Avantha Professor and founding Director of the India Institute at King's College London, and his previous academic positions include: Starr Foundation Professor and Director of South Asia Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Professor of Politics, Birkbeck College, University of London; Visiting Professor, Seikei University, Tokyo, and Visiting Professor, Princeton University. He has been a Research Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, a Leverhulme Fellow, and has held Fellowships at the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Washington DC, the Institute for Advanced Study, Berlin, the American Academy in Berlin, and, most recently, he was a Presidential Scholar at the Getty Centre in Los Angeles. His recent publications include *Non-Alignment 2.0: a Foreign Policy for India in the 21st Century*, *Comparative Constitutionalism in South Asia*, and *Incarnations: A History of India in Fifty Lives*, which accompanied his 50-part podcast and radio series broadcast on BBC Radio 4 and the World Service in 2015-16.





### Professor Malvika Maheshwari



Malvika Maheshwari teaches political science at Ashoka University. She holds degrees in the discipline from Delhi University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and earned her doctorate at Sciences Po's Centre for International Research and Studies (CERI) in 2011. Prior to joining Ashoka, Professor Maheshwari taught at Sciences Po, and was a research associate at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi. Her research lies at the intersection of political thought and art practice, especially as it relates to phenomena like violence, power, democracy and state capacity. Her first book, *Art Attacks: Violence and Offence-taking India* was published in 2019 by Oxford University Press.

### Professor Ananya Sharma

Ananya Sharma is Assistant Professor of International Relations at Ashoka University. Her principal areas of academic focus include International Relations theory, intellectual histories of the global south, disciplinary histories of IR, gender in IR, and more recently the implications of utopianism in the discipline of IR. Several of her research articles have been published in edited volumes and conference proceedings. Professor Sharma earned a PhD from the Centre for International Relations, Organisation and Disarmament, School of International Studies, JNU.



### Students:

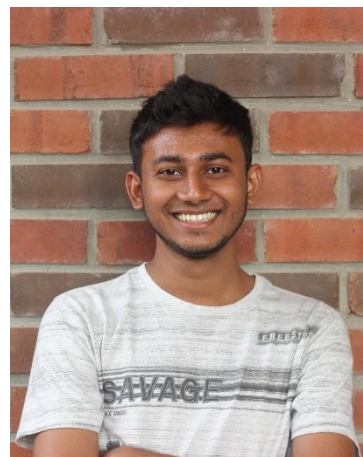
#### Samayita Banerjee



Samayita Banerjee is a graduate student at Ashoka University specialising in pre-colonial history, archaeology and heritage conservation. Her present research looks at the spatial history and archaeology of the deltaic/coastal region of the Ganga-Brahmaputra-Meghna delta, home of the largest mangrove forest in the world. She wishes to understand the nature of a fluvial riverine landscape through its material and epigraphic remains and how it was inhabited and depicted in pre-modern times. Samayita was a UNESCO-Sahapedia Project Fellow in 2017-2018, working on the problems of heritage protection and preservation of archaeological sites. She also conducts heritage walks around the monuments of Delhi whenever she can as a walk-leader at India Heritage Walks.

### Malay Bera

Malay Bera is a PhD student in English at Ashoka University, currently studying Folklore at the University of Tartu, Estonia as an ERASMUS (Dora Plus) visiting PhD student. His doctoral research explores the traces of cross-fertilisation between European and Indian folk/fairy tales. He is interested the practice of ‘civilising’ through children’s literature and the nuances of the concept of ‘civilization’ vis-à-vis indigenous writing systems and knowledge traditions of both India and Mesoamerica. He holds a BA in English from the University of Calcutta and an MA in Linguistics from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.



### Sandeep Bhardwaj



Sandeep Bhardwaj is a PhD student in History at Ashoka University. His current research explores the evolution of India’s political, economic and conceptual relationship with the East Asia region (comprised of modern-day Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia) from the inter-war period to the 1950s. Particularly, it is interested in examining India’s changing location in the conceptual geography of Asia as imagined by Indian elites as well as external actors. The project explores five themes: regionalism, decolonisation, trade, economic multilateralism and diaspora. Sandeep has a Masters in International Relations from University of Chicago. He was a foreign policy researcher at the Centre for Policy Research 2020 and has also worked as a journalist (and still regularly writes on South Asian history and Indian foreign policy in the Indian media), a think tank analyst, a documentary scriptwriter and a political organizer. He has co-authored

the official history of the Kargil War for the Government of India, and regularly engages with various government agencies on issues of national security.

### Rajvardhan Ghorpade

Rajvardhan Ghorpade is a third-year undergraduate student at Ashoka University, majoring in Political Science with a minor in International Relations. Currently, his research is interdisciplinary and he is interested in the amorphous boundaries between academic fields. More generally, his research interests lie in Western political theory and modern Indian intellectual history, particularly the nationalist movement for Independence and the making of the Indian Constitution. He is also a keen observer of contemporary politics and foreign affairs,



### Dipanita Malik



Dipanita Malik is a student in Political Science, International Relations and Media Studies at Ashoka University. Her research interests are interdisciplinary and holistic, with a focus on post-colonialism, gender studies, cultural populism, decision sciences, electoral studies, Indian politics and political thought, and aesthetics. In the past, she has worked on diverse projects based on political data and analysis, and her experience in research and teaching assistantship roles at her University contribute to her liberal arts education.

### Anindita Mukherjee

Anindita Mukherjee is a PhD student in English at Ashoka University. Her research focuses on the philosophy of literature, Classical Reception Studies, European Literature(s), Holocaust and Memory Studies and Continental philosophy. She holds a BA in English from Presidency University, Kolkata and an MA in English from Jawaharlal Nehru University. She has held fellowships at the Holocaust Research Institute in Royal Holloway (2021) and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (2021-2022). Currently, she is working on a research project and hopes to present her work at the University of Southern California in April 2022. Anindita is also a poet and writes in Bangla and English and is preparing her first manuscript on mythopoesis.



### Samapan Saha



Samapan Saha is a PhD student in History at Ashoka University. His area of research focuses on food, colonial encounters, and identity formation in late colonial Bengal, and specifically on how local food habits in Colonial Bengal evolved with time, as well as how Imperial policies affected this evolution. He holds a BA in History from Scottish Church College, University of Calcutta, an MA in Modern Indian History from Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, and an MPhil from Jamia Millia Islamia. His MPhil dissertation focused on the Bengal Famine of 1943, particularly the literature on migration and memory.

**Vritika Sharma**

Vritika Sharma is a second-year undergraduate student at Ashoka University, majoring in Psychology with a minor in International Relations. She is interested in political psychology, particularly how individual and collective emotions affect foreign policy decisions.

**Divya Wagle**

Divya Wagle is a third-year undergraduate student at Ashoka University currently pursuing a BA in Political Science with a minor in International Relations. A public policy and development studies enthusiast with a larger interest in IR, she is fascinated by the power of grassroots level innovation and policy in bringing about socio-economic empowerment and inclusion of the subaltern on a global scale. Her current research interests include employing critical theory in understanding systemic challenges to development in the global South.



## European University Institute, Florence

### Faculty:

#### Dr Veronica Anghel



Veronica Anghel is a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute. Her research focuses on the challenges to democratic state building and party politics in post-communist Europe. Her project with the EUI is centred on the clashes between the intrinsic effects of formal and informal institutions and elite agency as critical junctures that lead to different outcomes of democratisation. Currently, she engages in the academic debate regarding the perceived democratic ‘backlash’ of CEE post-communist states and aims to publish on this topic. Previously, Dr Anghel held fellowships at Stanford University (Fulbright), Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies, the Institute for Human Sciences Vienna, the Institute for Central Europe Vienna, the University of Bordeaux and the Institute for Government in Vienna. She received her Ph.D. *summa cum laude* from the University of Bucharest in co-direction with the University of

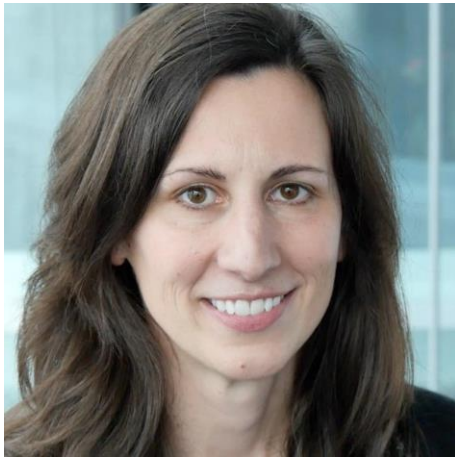
Bordeaux for her thesis ‘The Formation of Coalition Governments in Romania: Patterns Behind the Drift’. Her research has been published in *East European Politics and Societies*, *Government & Opposition*, *Survival* and edited volumes with Oxford University Press, Macmillan and ECPR Press. She is also an editorial fellow for *Government & Opposition*. Dr Anghel has also worked as a foreign affairs advisor for the Romanian Presidential Administration and the Romanian Senate.

#### Dr Tatyana Bajenova

Tatyana Bajenova is a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute. During the period of this fellowship, she will work on a research project analysing the role of universities in the EU’s science diplomacy. Before joining the EUI, she was carrying out her postdoctoral research project at the University of Lausanne, exploring the role of Swiss universities in science diplomacy, funded by the Swiss Government Excellence Scholarship, and her Ph.D. project dealt with European think tanks and their influence on EU institutions. Her wider research interests include internationalisation of research, higher education and public health sectors; lobbying and use of expertise in EU policy-making; the role of non-state actors in transnational governance, as well as public and science diplomacy. Dr Bajenova received her Ph.D. in Political Science from the École Normale Supérieure de Lyon (France) in the framework of the European ‘Universities in the Knowledge Economy’ project, funded by the FP7 – Marie Curie Actions.



### Professor Stephanie Hofmann



Stephanie Hofmann holds the Joint Chair in International Relations between the Department of Political and Social Science and the Robert Schuman Centre of Advanced Studies. She is also director of the Europe in the World research area at the Robert Schuman Centre. She is currently on leave from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, where she is Professor in International Relations and Political Science. Most of her research revolves around densely institutionalised spaces (also called regime complexes), variegated institutional expressions of multilateralism, national preference formation on foreign and security policy issues and global ordering processes. In terms of issue areas, she mainly focuses on crisis management and cyberspace, but is also interested in the nexus between security

and economic policy issues. While she has worked a lot on European and transatlantic institutions, she also has started researching the AU, CSTO, SCO, OAS and the UN. Professor Hofmann holds a PhD in Government from Cornell University in 2009. Her work has been published, among others, with Cambridge University Press and journals such as *Cooperation and Conflict*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Affairs*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Perspectives on Politics*, and *West European Politics*.

### Professor Erik Jones

Erik Jones is Director of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute. He is also Professor of European Studies and International Political Economy at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) – from which he is on extended leave. Professor Jones is author of *The Politics of Economic and Monetary Union*, *Economic Adjustment and Political Transformation in Small States*, *Weary Policeman: American Power in an Age of Austerity* (with Dana H. Allin), and *The Year the European Crisis Ended*. He is editor or co-editor of books and special issues of journals on topics related to European politics and political economy including *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* and *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*. Professor Jones is co-editor of *Government & Opposition* and a contributing editor of *Survival*. His commentary has appeared in the *Financial Times*, the *New York Times*, and other major newspapers and magazines across Europe and North America.



### Dr Gözde Kılıç

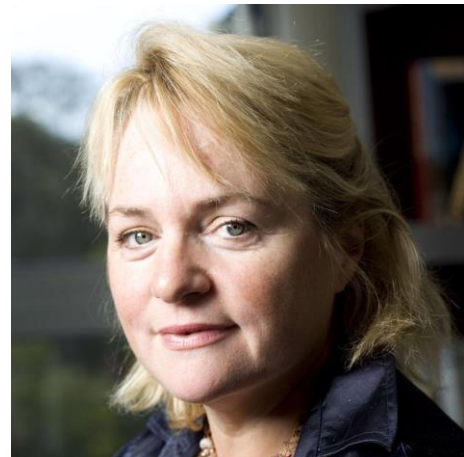


Gözde Kılıç is a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute. She is a scholar of cultural studies, and during her fellowship she will initiate a new project that offers a genealogical study of love in Turkey's modern history by tracing the transformations the concept underwent in the Ottoman/Turkish imagination in the early twentieth century. Some of the questions that inform her project are: How did Ottoman intellectuals forge a modern understanding of the individual as an autonomous agent? How was the language of gender, sexuality, and desire reconfigured during this process? How was the construction of new individual and collective identities embodied in the changing meanings of love? At the European University Institute, Dr Kılıç aims to produce a monograph on the history of psychiatry and psychoanalysis in

Turkey that focuses on the intersections between gender, sexuality, medicine, and nationalism. As she spent more than half a decade in North America during her graduate studies, it will be her first time extending her work to a European setting – she obtained her Ph.D. in Cultural Studies from Trent University in Ontario, Canada (2017). Her dissertation engages in a psychoanalytic interpretation of the crisis of paternal authority within a theoretical and literary-historical framework.

### Professor Kalypso Nicolaïdis

Kalypso Nicolaïdis is Professor at the School of Transnational Governance and Professor of International Relations at the University of Oxford. Previously, she was Associate Professor at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. She is chair of Southeastern European Studies at Oxford and a Council member of the European Council of Foreign Relations. In 2012-2013, she was Emile Noel-Straus Senior Fellow at NYU Law School. In 2008-2010, Professor Nicolaïdis was a member of the Gonzales reflection group on the future of Europe 2030, set up by the European Council. She also served as advisor on European affairs to George Papandreou in the 90s and early 2000s, the Dutch government in 2004, the UK government, the European Parliament, and the European Commission, OECD and UNCTAD. Professor Nicolaïdis has published widely on international relations, global governance, trade ethics, law and democracy promotion, as well as the internal and external aspects of European integration in numerous journals. Her latest books are *Exodus, Reckoning, Sacrifice: Three Meanings of Brexit*, *The Greco-German Affair in the Euro Crisis: Mutual Recognition Lost?* (co-authored with Claudia Sternberg and Kira Gartzou-Katsouyanni, and *Echoes of Empire: Memory, Identity and Colonial Legacies* (edited with Berny Sebe and Gabrielle Maas).





### Dr Marius Ostrowski



Marius Ostrowski is a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute, with research and teaching interests in social and political theory and intellectual history. His research specialism is the study of ideologies, in particular how ideologies gain influence among the general population. His current work focuses on two historical case-studies: the emergence of social democracy as an independent ideology in the early 20th century; and the rise of Europeanist movements during the interwar period. During his time as a Max Weber Fellow, he will be working on a research project uncovering ‘roads not taken’ over the course of European unification, examining competing visions of European unity put forward during the immediate prehistory of the European project (1919–57). Marius completed his D.Phil. at the University of Oxford in 2017, with a thesis exploring how ideology shapes the way in which public opinion is formed and expressed. Between 2013 and 2020, he was an Examination Fellow in Politics at All Souls College, Oxford, and in 2019 he was a Visiting Fellow at the EUI’s Department of Political and Social Sciences. He also holds an M.Phil in Political Theory and a B.A. in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics, both from Oxford.

### Dr Anja Thomas

Anja Thomas is a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute. Her research studies the link between Europeanisation and national elite’s discourse on the future trajectory of European integration. At the EUI, she will be studying the emergence of different clusters of parliaments in the EU in which MPs share the same role understandings. From a more theoretical perspective, she is interested in the question of how sociological approaches, in particular Max Weber’s ‘old’ institutionalism, help better to understand institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation processes in the EU and their effects. Dr Thomas holds a doctoral degree from Sciences Po in Paris and the University of Cologne. Before coming to the EUI, Anja was a postdoctoral fellow at the Department of Politics and International Relations (DPIR) of the University of Oxford, where she is affiliated to the Maison française d’Oxford and Nuffield College. Her book *Assemblée nationale, Bundestag and the European Union. The micro-sociological causes of the European integration paradox*, drawn from her award-winning PhD thesis, was published in autumn 2019. Dr Thomas is also a member of the ‘expert group on national parliaments in the EU architecture’ at the EUI’s School of Transnational Governance. She has taught extensively on all levels of the curriculum on issues linked to the EU’s polity and governance, comparative politics and political science approaches and methods in university institutions in France, Germany and throughout Europe, most recently in the European Affairs Masters at Sciences Po Paris and the University of Nantes.





## Students:

### Jan Becker

Jan Becker is a PhD student at the Department of History and Civilisation at the European University Institute. In his research, Jan investigates the global entanglements of medicine, racism, and Christian faith. More specifically, he analyses the medical approaches French and Dutch missionaries employed in South-East Asia. He argues that their patients significantly shaped the missionaries' scientific and religious theories explaining the origin and the meaning of human difference. In these intercultural encounters, environments, climates, and human bodies were pivotal in negotiating the notion of race. Jan's research interests thus include global history, colonialism, imperialism, globalisation, the history of science and medicine, environmental history, and the global history of Christianity. Previously, he studied for a BA in History and Sport & Physical Education at the University of Münster. In 2020, he continued with an MA in Colonial and Global History at Leiden University from which he graduated cum laude and with honours. Parallel to his studies, Jan has completed internships at research institutes in Paris, London, and Munich.



### Andrew Fallone



Andrew Fallone is a Master's student at the European University Institute School of Transnational Governance, focusing on clandestine border crossings, human smuggling, social capital, and the impact of migration management policies. He currently also researches with the International Centre for Migration Policy Development and the Centre for European Policy Studies. Before joining EUI, Andrew completed a fellowship with the German Bundestag and U.S. Department of State, researching the market for human smuggling. Andrew also previously worked with the United Nations, the General Delegation of Palestine to the United States, and the Embassy of the Principality of Liechtenstein, among other organisations.

### Pengheng Ma

Pengheng Ma is a second-year Master's student at the European University Institute School of Transnational Governance. His recent research interests have focused on Chinese BRI projects in the Balkan countries, especially Greece. Pengheng earned a Bachelor's degree in International Relations from Beijing Foreign Studies University. In the summer of 2021, he interned in the Eliamep, a think tank in Greece. He also interned with NDRC as a research assistant for two years on Chinese BRI. In addition, he has a long-term follow-up on India's domestic affairs and foreign policy, co-composed more than 60 issues of the semi-monthly *South Asia Political Briefing*.



## Gabriele Marcon



Gabriele Marcon is a PhD student at the Department of History and Civilisation at the European University Institute. He is an early modern historian whose interests lie at the intersection between labour history and the history of science. His research offers new insights into the mobility of workers and the construction of scientific expertise in early modern Europe. His doctoral dissertation – titled ‘Transnational Expertise. German miners in Renaissance Italy’ – builds on a comparative study of the mobility of German miners to the Republic of Venice and the Duchy of Florence with the aim to uncover the relationship between labour mobility and the circulation of knowledge across early modern extractive economies. He intends as his research moves forward to explore the circulation, adaptation, and contestation of

scientific expertise across Europe, the British Empire, and the Iberian World from a global and comparative perspective in the period 1500-1800.

## Rouven Symank

Rouven Symank is a PhD student at the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute. His research aims to understand the dynamics of solidarity during economic and political crises from a genealogical perspective. His PhD thesis examines how concepts of solidarity emerged as distinct response to modern forms of crisis, how social solidarity has a profound relation to the concept of debt, and how a political theory of solidarity can inform policy debates in the EU, and critical approaches to International Relations and European Studies. His wider research interests include theories of culture and social change, and post-colonial approaches in Political Philosophy. Rouven completed an MA in Cultural Theory and History at Humboldt University Berlin, an MSc in Political Sociology at the London School of Economics, and a BA in Comparative Literature at Free University Berlin. This training allows him to engage with contemporary political and cultural phenomena drawing on an interdisciplinary and historically informed approach. In spring 2021, Rouven was a visiting researcher at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Oxford. He also has work experience in management consulting and with the United Nation’s Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) in New York. Currently, he is a visiting researcher at the University of California, Berkeley.



### **Sarah Tegas**



Sarah Tegas is a first-year Master's Student in Transnational Governance at the European University Institute. Her research interests lie in the transformative changes required to pursue the ecological transition, from regenerative economics, participatory democracies, cities, citizenship education and alternative ways of living inspired by First Nations' cultures. She is also passionate about the European Union, its various modes of governance, inherent flaws and high potentials, the challenge of populism, and political disengagement. Sarah studied Politics and International Relations as an undergraduate in Manchester before coming to the EUI. Over the past two years, she has also been an active member of Volt Europa, a pan-European political movement and party, seeking to reconnect citizens with the EU and transform it with

a bottom-up approach.

### **Jordy Weyns**

Jordy Weyns is a PhD student at the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute. His thesis examines trade policy under conditions of increased (geo-)politicisation. Some of his key research interests include institutional theory, political economy, and multilevel governance. Previously, Jordy graduated in International Relations and Diplomacy and in Political Science from the University of Antwerp.



### **Lukas Wiehler**



Lukas Wiehler is a Master's student with joint affiliation at the European University Institute School of Transnational Governance and at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin. His research interests lie in European Politics and regulation of tech companies and Artificial Intelligence. Previously, Lukas completed his undergraduate studies in Liberal Arts and Sciences, with a focus on European Affairs, at the University of Freiburg's University College and Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. He has also worked with the German Social Democratic Party, the State of Baden Württemberg, and the German Association of Labour Unions.

## Higher School of Economics, Moscow

### Faculty:

#### Professor Fyodor Lukyanov



Fyodor Lukyanov is a research professor at the Higher School of Economics. He is also Chairman of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy, the oldest Russian NGO providing expertise in the foreign policy field, and editor-in-chief of the *Russia in Global Affairs* journal published in Russian and English with participation from *Foreign Affairs*. As head of *Russia in Global Affairs* since its founding in 2002, he has greatly contributed to making this journal Russia's most authoritative source of expert opinion on global development issues. He is also research director at the International Valdai discussion club, and a member of the presidium of the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC). Professor Lukyanov has also worked as a correspondent, commentator and editor for

numerous Russian printed and electronic media. Now, he is one of the most known commentators of Russian foreign policy worldwide.

#### Dr Sergei Shein

Sergei Shein is a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies at the Higher School of Economics. His research interests moved from the problems of adaption of conservatism to changing internal and external institutional conditions to the interaction between the traditional mainstream and right-wing populist parties (RPPs). These issues are important not only for the future EU's configuration, but also for the prospects of the EU as a global actor. In this context, he currently focuses on identification of the foreign policy impulses of RPPs, based on his previous research on the conceptual essence of populism and experience in analysing European politics. His current research project is at the intersection of comparative politics and European studies. Dr Shein received his PhD from the Institute of Europe at the Russian Academy of Sciences.





## Students:

### Julia Belous



Julia Belous is a graduate student at the Higher School of Economics and Analyst at the Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies, also at the HSE. Since January 2020 she has been a member of the Group of Young Academic Professionals at the HSE. In 2021, she won a major research competition for young researchers announced by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research by proposing a project about the political development of modern Spain. Her current research interests are the political and institutional development of the European Union, public and humanitarian diplomacy, and decentralisation processes among the EU countries.

### Sabina Davronova

Sabina Davronova is a graduate student at the Higher School of Economics, on the 'Combined Master's-PhD track' currently pursuing a master's degree in European studies. Her master's thesis explores the 'new generation' of free trade agreements. She focuses on how major European stakeholders forge consensus between one another and present their common position to trade partners, and will continue developing this topic during her PhD research. Sabina is originally from Samarkand, Uzbekistan, and moved to Moscow in 2017 to pursue a bachelor's degree in international relations at the HSE. It was during the course of her undergraduate studies that Sabina became interested in the European integration project, which impressed her with its scale, depth, elaborateness and true nobleness built-in its objectives.

### Artemiy Dzhafarov

Artemiy Dzhafarov is a graduate student at the Higher School of Economics, currently studying for a master's degree in European and Asian Studies. His research interests are primarily located in the politics of the British Isles, not only in the United Kingdom but also in the Republic of Ireland, with a particular focus on nationalism and separatism, primarily Celtic nationalism in Northern Ireland, on which he has already published widely. Artemiy is also interested in European integration - and believes that the experience of the European Union is unique and quite positive, - as well as constructivist approaches to history and politics, and the ways in which discourse and identities shape the political and social aspects of political processes. Artemiy graduated with a bachelor's degree in International Relations from the HSE. He also regularly gives classes in international relations for high-school students, contribute notes and articles, and organises and participate in live-action role-playing games, where he makes some practical use of political models and theories.



### **Ekaterina Konovalova**



Ekaterina Konovalova is a graduate student at the Higher School of Economics, currently studying for a master's degree in International Relations, with a focus on European Studies. Her research interests are related to energy policy and political leadership in the European Union. Ekaterina completed a bachelor's degree, also in International Relations, at the HSE. During the course of her studies, she was awarded a grant from the President of the Russian Federation for scientific achievements in International Relations. She was also the winner of an academic competition in International Relations and World Economy at the HSE and has studied European Integration at the Sciences Po Summer School in Paris. Ekaterina speaks four foreign languages - English, German, French, and Arabic.

### **Lolita Krasikova**

Lolita Krasikova is a graduate student at the Higher School of Economics, currently studying for a master's degree in European and Asian Studies. Her research focuses on Euroscepticism in the European Union, particularly in France and Italy, with her wider research interests including relations between the European Union, the United States, and Russia, and the development of post-Soviet space, especially during the Transnistrian conflict. Lolita is also a research assistant at the Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies and a guest lecturer of international relations theory at the HSE. She holds a bachelor's degree in International Relations from the HSE.



### **Alexandra Malinina**



Alexandra Malinina is a graduate student at the Higher School of Economics, currently studying for a master's degree in International Relations, with a focus on European Studies. Her research interests include the history of the UK-US 'special relationship', the transformation of the British political elite, and European integration. Alexandra is also an active participant in the Youth Association for the Greater Europe (YAGE) which aims to unite young people from all over the continent.

**Vladislav Semenov**

Vladislav Semenov is a graduate student at the Higher School of Economics, currently studying for a master's degree in International Relations, with a focus on European Studies. His research interests include sustainable development, foreign aid (to which he devoted his Master's thesis), and conflict studies, largely focusing on Europe and the US. He is interested more widely in Arctic Studies, African studies, and Archaeology, and advocates for an interdisciplinary approach within International Relations. Vladislav completed a bachelor's degree in History. He has participated in two exchange programs during his studies – at University College Dublin and at Ca' Foscari University, Venice.



## Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna

### Faculty:

#### Professor Ivan Krastev



Ivan Krastev is chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia, and Permanent Fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna. In 2019 he was awarded a Mercator Senior Fellowship and in 2020 both the Jean Améry Prize for European Essay Writing and the Lionel Gelber Prize for his book *The Light that Failed. A Reckoning*. Beyond that, he is a founding board member of the European Council on Foreign Relations, a member of the global advisory board of Open Society Foundations, New York, and a member of the advisory council of the Centre for European Policy Analysis (CEPA) and the European Cultural Foundation (ECF). He is also associate editor of *Europe's World* and a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Democracy* and *Transit – Europäische Revue*. From 2004 to 2006 he has been the executive director of the International Commission on the Balkans chaired by

the former Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato. He was the editor-in-chief of the Bulgarian Edition of *Foreign Policy* and was a member of the Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London (2005-2011). He has held fellowships at St. Antony's College (Oxford); the Woodrow Wilson Centre for International Scholars (Washington, D.C.); the Collegium Budapest; the Wissenschaftskolleg (Berlin); the Institute of Federalism at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland); and the Remarque Institute at New York University.

#### Professor Ivan Vejvoda

Ivan Vejvoda currently serves as the Acting Rector of the Institute for Human Sciences. He is head of the Europe's Futures program at the Institute. Before joining the IWM as a Permanent Fellow in 2017 he was Senior Vice President for Programs at the German Marshall Fund (GMF) of the United States. From 2003 until 2010, he served as Executive Director of GMF's Balkan Trust for Democracy, a project dedicated to strengthening democratic institutions in South-Eastern Europe. Professor Vejvoda came to GMF in 2003 after distinguished service in the Serbian government as a senior advisor on foreign policy and European integration to Prime Ministers Zoran Djindjic and Zoran Zivkovic. Prior to that, he served as Executive Director of the Belgrade-based Fund for an Open Society from 1998 to 2002. During the mid-1990s, he held various academic posts in the United States and the UK, including at Smith College in Massachusetts and Macalester College in Minnesota, and the University of Sussex in England. Professor Vejvoda was a key figure in the democratic opposition movement in Yugoslavia during the 1990s, and has published widely on the subjects of democratic transition, totalitarianism, and post-war reconstruction in the Balkans. Since 2005 he has been a member of ERSTE Foundation's Advisory Board. Furthermore, he is a member of the Serbian PEN Club and is a board member of US social science journals *Constellations* and *Philosophy and Social Criticism*. Vejvoda has been awarded the French National Order of Merit in the rank of Officer and the Order of the Italian Star of Solidarity, second rank (Commendatore). He holds a diploma from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris and completed his postgraduate studies in Philosophy at Belgrade University.





## Peking University, Beijing

### Faculty:

#### Professor Demin Duan

Demin Duan is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, School of Government, Peking University. His research fields include western political philosophy, Alexis de Tocqueville's political thought, contemporary continental political philosophy (especially French political philosophy), contemporary western theories of democracy, and political problems in modern China. Professor Duan received his BA in Law from Jinlin University in 2003, his MA in Law from Peking University in 2006, and his Ph.D. in Philosophy from the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium, in 2011.

#### Professor Xiaoyu Lu

Xiaoyu Lu is an Assistant Professor at the School of International Studies at Peking University. His research focuses on international development, conflict and security, and political anthropology. His doctoral research was on global norm contestation and translation, based on an in-depth political ethnography of international institutions in China. The monograph titled *Norms, Storytelling and International Institutions in China: The Imperative to Narrate* was published in March 2021.



### Students:

#### Chenchen Hao



Chenchen Hao is a PhD student at the Institute of Area Studies, Peking University. Due to her interest in international economics and politics, she is currently focusing on Russia's energy policy and its international impact. Her research includes a variety of IPE topics such as the Nord Stream system project and the energy power of Russia, EU and Ukraine. As a native speaker of Chinese, she is also fluent in both English and Russian due to completing her undergraduate major in Russian; she completed her master's degree at RUDN University. Chenchen is also enthusiastic about volunteer work, having completed more than 300 hours.

### Xuechun Tian

Xuechun Tian is currently a dual-degree master's student at Peking University and the London School of Economics in International Affairs. Her current research focuses on EU foreign policy, especially on the formulation and implementation of common EU foreign policy and its effectiveness. She additionally intends to examine the EU's pursuit of ethical foreign policy goals, such as promoting human rights and democracy. Alongside this, her interests also extend to public opinions in Europe and EU-Sino relations. After her graduation from PKU and LSE, Xuechun is planning to pursue a PhD degree.



### Weiyan Xu



Weiyan Xu is a graduate student at the School of International Studies, Peking University. She is writing her thesis on beauty pageants, and is curious about European standards of beauty, noting that while Western standards are usually followed, they do also get challenged, and focusing on the change and continuity of attitudes towards these standards. Weiyan is also interested in the specific issues of how poor children and youth in high welfare countries spend their leisure time: what are the identities and experiences of these poor groups? How do those who feel marginalised react to the reality? How do ethnic minorities relate their ethnic identity to consumer culture? Weiyan completed her undergraduate thesis on what we can learn from the French-German textbook dialogue during the two world wars and thus how other former enemy countries could handle historical issues.

### Yiqing Zhou

Yiqing Zhou majors in Translation and takes an interest in cross-cultural communication between China and Europe. He has been learning French as his second foreign language for over two years and has also recently begun to learn Spanish. Yiqing's research interests relate to Europe and China: ethnic minorities in European political circles and their identities, how the youth of China and Europe perceive the relations between China and the EU and what role young people can play in promoting mutual understanding and cooperation between China and the EU, how China and European countries support young people to work in international organisations and how they can learn from each other in enhancing communication among young people. Other topics he is interested in include literature and heritage preservation.



### Jiangbin Zhu



Jiangbin Zhu's research interests mainly include comparative political party research, democracy and populism, and left-wing thoughts, particularly in France. The main research methods he applies are case studies, comparative historical analysis and qualitative methods. Previously, he has conducted research on (a) political parties and elites in the process of democratisation and democratic backsliding in Central and Eastern Europe and (b) the relationship between Laclau and Mouffe's radical and plural democratic and populism. In the future, he intends to focus on left-wing political parties, left-wing thoughts, and their interaction in European countries.

### Zhaowen Zhong

Zhaowen Zhong is currently a Master's student at the School of International Studies, Peking University. Her research interests include: countries/groups with common characteristics within the EU such as permanent neutral states; sports diplomacy; the role of sports in the construction of a common identity in EU Member States; the acceptance of naturalised players in China and EU; and the role of competitive sports in the recovery of war trauma. Zhaowen is a member of one of the 55 minority ethnic groups in China, called She (畲).





## Sabancı University, Istanbul

### Faculty:

#### Professor Senem Aydın-Düzgit



Senem Aydın-Düzgit is a Senior Scholar and the Research and Academic Affairs Coordinator at Istanbul Policy Centre and a Professor of International Relations at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of Sabancı University. She was previously a Jean Monnet Chair of EU Political and Administrative Studies in the Department of International Relations at Istanbul Bilgi University. Her main research interests include European foreign policy, Turkish foreign policy, discourse studies and politics of identity. She holds a Ph.D. from Vrije Universiteit Brussels, an MSc from the London School of Economics, and a BA from Boğaziçi University. Her articles have been published in *the Journal of Common Market Studies*, *West European Politics, Cooperation and Conflict*, *Politics, South European Society and Politics*, *Alternatives*, *International Relations*, and *Politique Européenne*. She is the author of (with Alper Kaliber) *Is Turkey De-Europeanising?*, (with Nathalie Tocci) *Turkey and the European Union*, and *Constructions of European Identity*. She is a member of the ECFR Council, a board member of the Centre for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM), a member of the Global Relations Forum (GIF) and a member of the Carnegie Rising Democracies Network. She also serves as the Associate Editor of *South European Society and Politics*. She was awarded the Young Scientist Award of Turkey's Science Academy (BAGEP) in 2014 and was admitted as a Fellow of the Young Academy of Europe (YAE) at the beginning of 2020.

#### Professor Ayşe Kadioğlu

Ayşe Kadioğlu has been a Professor of Political Science at Sabancı University since 1998. She was the Acting President of Sabancı University (2016-2018) and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Sabancı University (2013-2017). She was a Visiting Scholar at Columbia University, Sakıp Sabancı Centre for Turkish Studies during the 2019-2020 academic year, and is also a member of the Advisory Board for this centre. She was a Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School, Carr Centre for Human Rights Policy (2019-2020), and a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University's Minda de Gunzburg Centre for European Studies (2018-2019). She has a PhD in Political Science from Boston University; an M.A. in International Relations from the University of Chicago; and a B.S. in Political Science from the Middle East Technical University. She



has been a regular participant in Yale Law School's ongoing annual Middle East Legal Studies Seminar since 2004. She is one of the Advisors for the online network Free Speech Debate. She served as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Sakıp Sabancı Museum in Istanbul (2013-2018), a member of the Executive Board of the Education Reform Initiative at Sabancı University (2013-2018), and a member of the Executive Board of the Istanbul Policy Centre, Stiftung Mercator Initiative (2016-2018). She was a deputy member of the Board of Directors of the Hrant Dink Foundation in Istanbul (2011-2015). She was a Visiting Scholar and Senior Associate Member at St Antony's College, Oxford University in 2005 and 2010. She was a member of the Advisory Board of Bucerius PhD Program in Migration Studies, Zeit Stiftung (2010-2013). She was a member of an Advisory Group of Council of Europe and co-authored a report titled *Living Together: Combining Diversity and Freedom in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Europe* in 2011. Her fields of research are migration and citizenship studies, new authoritarian regimes, comparative nationalisms, political ideologies in Turkey, early twentieth century liberal thinkers in Turkey, women and Islam, Turkish secularism, memory, and democracy.



### Professor Fuat Keyman



Fuat Keyman is the Director of the Istanbul Policy Centre; Vice President for Institutional Affairs and Social Impact, and Professor of International Relations at Sabancı University. He is a leading political scientist in Turkey and an expert on globalisation, democratisation, international relations, Turkey-EU relations, Turkish foreign policy, and civil society development. He is a member of the Turkish Science Academy. In 2013, he was awarded the Strategic Vision Award for Scientists by TASAM (Turkish Asian Centre for Strategic Studies). He has worked as a member on the Council of Wise People as part of the Peace Process to the Kurdish issue. He also serves on advisory and editorial boards for a number of respected international and national organisations as well as for academic journals. Additionally, he is a member of the scientific advisory boards for the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (OIIP) and The Global Centre for Pluralism. He

has been the research director for various projects, such as Peter Berger and Samuel Huntington's *Many Globalizations*; *Strengthening Checks and Balances in Turkey* (SIDA, Sweden); *Enacting European Citizenship* (European Council Framework 7 Project); *Mapping Civil Society in Turkey* (CIVICUS); and received a prestigious grant on urbanisation from the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey. Since 2002, as well as his academic work, Keyman has been sharing his ideas and analysis of Turkey in a global context through various newspaper columns and TV programs. He is the author and editor of more nearly thirty books.

### Professor Meltem Müftüler-Baç



Meltem Müftüler-Baç is Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, and a Professor of International Relations/Jean Monnet chair at Sabancı University. She is a graduate of Robert College, received her B.A in Political Science from Boğaziçi University, and her M.A and Ph.D. in Political Science/International relations from Temple University, USA. She was promoted to Associate Professor in 1996, and Full Professor in 2004. She worked at Bilkent University from 1992 to January 2002; as a visiting scholar at the University of Chicago (1999-2000), Affiliate Professor at University of Stockholm (2013-2016), and visiting professor at the University of Pennsylvania, Perry World House, (2019-2020). She joined Sabancı University's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences in 2002. Professor Müftüler-Baç has authored books including *Diverging Pathways: Turkey and the European Union*, *Re-Thinking the Dynamics of Turkish-European Union Relations* and *Interparliamentary Cooperation: Parliamentary Cooperation and Diplomacy in EU external relations* (with Kolja Raube and Jan Wouters). Her publications have appeared in numerous international outlets. She participates in EU funded large scale collaborative research projects in Framework programs and received numerous grants from the EU both for research and teaching. Professor Müftüler-Baç holds two prestigious awards from the Turkish Academy of Sciences: the Young Social Scientist Investigator Award in 2002, and the Distinguished Young Scientist Award in 2003. She was awarded with the Jean Monnet Professor *ad personam* title from the European Commission in 2004.

## Students:

### Samet Apaydın



Samet Apaydın is a PhD student in Political Science at Sabancı University. He is also a research assistant in Sabancı University's Political Science and International Relations program. His primary research interests include migration governance, electoral effects of migration, terrorism, and quantitative research methods. He holds a master's degree in Political Science and a bachelor's degree in Political Science and International Relations. In his master's thesis, entitled 'The Role of Refugee Flows and Porous Border in Shaping Voting Behaviour,' he analysed the effects of the recent refugee crisis in Turkey on local citizens' voting behaviour. He is planning to continue his work on the intersections of migration and voting behaviour as well as party politics in Western European countries.

### Ali Baydarol

Ali Baydarol is interested in studying EU-Turkey affairs within EU politics. Specifically, in the past he has worked on the privatisation issue within the EU (both in his master's thesis and in his published articles) with a particular emphasis on the Slovenian case. He has also conducted research on the voter turnout decisions in the EP elections.



### Seyma Koç

Seyma Koç is a PhD student in Political Science at Sabancı University. Her current research topics include democratisation, authoritarianism, populism, and local governance. She is currently studying the unfair competition in Istanbul as the opposition has been facing continuous impediments from the AKP since they gained control, and the strategies the opposition-controlled municipality develops to maintain the capacity to produce new projects. Seyma graduated from Boğaziçi University's Political Science and International Relations department and then received her master's degree from Sabancı University. She wrote her MA thesis about liberal parties in Europe and the factors affecting their emphasis on human rights and freedom.

### **Ersagun Kocabaş**

Ersagun Kocabaş is a PhD student in Political Science at Sabancı University. His research interests lie primarily in civil–military relations, peace operations, and foreign policy making. His dissertation project focuses on the effect of UN peacekeeping troop deployments on civil–military relations in sending states. Building on the previous literature, it investigates how these contributions affect coup-proofing strategies adopted by sending state leaders with respect to post-deployment coup risk that varies across political regimes on the basis of profits made from UN peacekeeping reimbursements. Ersagun holds a BA from Marmara University and an MSc from SOAS University of London.



### **Samer Sharani**



Samer Sharani is engaged in studying ontological security at the collective, (inter)national and societal level and at the individual level. Besides that, he also studies agonism as a wide concept, especially concerning topics such as agonistic peace, agonistic liberalism, and agonistic democracy. Refugees' home returns are a secondary phenomenon he conducts research on. He focuses on the Syrian civil war, Central Asian national buildings, democratisation in some countries, and the EU's migratory policies to apply, test, and develop the theoretical frameworks depicted above.

### **Elif İnci Ünal**

İnci Ünal is a PhD student at Sabancı University, as part of the department of Political Science. She is also a Research Assistant at Beykoz University in the department of Political Science and International Relations. She studies Political Theory and Comparative Politics. Her current research interests revolve around climate politics, climate justice, science and democracy, and deliberative democracy. İnci received her BA and MA in Political Science from Galatasaray University and Sabancı University respectively. In her MA thesis she focused on the governance of a speculative climate geoengineering technology that is currently under research, called Stratospheric Aerosol Injection (SAI). She argues for establishing a global Citizens' Assembly for the democratic governance of SAI.



## Stanford University

### Faculty:

#### Professor Anna Gryzmala-Busse



Anna Grzymala-Busse is the Michelle and Kevin Douglas Professor of International Studies in the Department of Political Science, the Director of the Europe Centre, and Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute at Stanford University. Her research focuses on the historical development of the state and its transformation, political parties, religion and politics, and post-communist politics. Other areas of interest include populism, informal institutions, and the role of temporality and causal mechanisms in social science explanations. She is the author of three books: *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Successor Parties*; *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Development in Post-Communist Europe*; and *Nations Under God: How Churches Use Moral Authority to Influence Politics*. She is also a recipient of the Carnegie and Guggenheim Fellowships.

#### Professor Norman Naimark

Norman Naimark holds the Robert and Florence McDonnell Chair in East European History at Stanford University. He is also Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution and of the Institute of International Studies, where he was Convener of the “European Forum.” He has served as Director of Stanford’s Centre for Russian and East European Studies (1989-95), Chair of its History Department (1995-1998), member of the Faculty Senate and its Steering Committee (2001-4), and Director of Stanford’s interdisciplinary programs in International Relations and International Policy Studies. He presently serves as the Burke Family Director of the Bing Overseas Studies Program. Naimark serves on the editorial boards of a number of leading journals in the field, including *The American Historical Review*, *The Journal of Modern European History*, *East European Politics and Societies*, and *Kritika*. He has also served on and chaired the major professional committees that foster research and exchanges with the successor states of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Joint Committee on Eastern Europe, and the International Research and Exchange Corporation (IREX) Program Committee. Naimark was elected to the Commission Internationale des Études Historiques Slaves, and was on the Board (and then President, 1997-98) of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS). In the past, Professor Naimark’s writing focused on the problems of radical politics in the Russian Empire and Eastern Europe. Since publishing a major study of the Soviet occupation of Germany, *The Russians in Germany* and a comparative study of ethnic cleansing and genocide in 20th Century Europe, *Fires of Hatred*, he has been working on two projects: a Mellon Foundation sponsored seminar series on ‘Mass Killing in the 20th Century’ and a book on Stalin and Europe, 1945-1953.





### Professor Steven Press



Steven Press is an Assistant Professor of History and an affiliated member of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, the Centre for African Studies, and the Stanford Centre for Law and History. His first book, *Rogue Empires: Contracts and Conmen in Europe's Scramble for Africa* received the American Historical Association's Pacific Coast Branch Book Award. *Rogue Empires* draws on archival work in ten countries and three languages. It offers a new approach to understanding European colonialism in Africa by examining one of its pivotal projects: empires run by companies and individual adventurers. His second book, *Blood and Diamonds: Germany's Imperial Ambitions in Africa*, was published in April 2021. In an article in the *Journal of Modern History*, Press explored the exchanges

between Germany, China, and Cuba that led to the USA's lease for Guantanamo Bay in 1903. His article on post-Napoleonic European nationalism appeared in *Central European History*. Professor Press graduated with a BA from Vanderbilt University and an AM and PhD. from Harvard University. He taught at Harvard and Vanderbilt before coming to Stanford. His research interests include European sovereignty, international relations, and commodity networks.

### Professor Jonathan Rodden

Jonathan Rodden is a Professor in the Political Science department at Stanford who works on the comparative political economy of institutions. He has written several articles and three books on federalism and fiscal decentralisation. One of those books, *Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*, was the recipient of the Gregory Luebbert Prize for the best book in comparative politics in 2007. He works with institutions including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, USAID, and the European Parliament on issues related to fiscal decentralisation and federalism. He has also written papers on the geographic distribution of political preferences within countries, legislative bargaining, the distribution of budgetary transfers across regions, and the historical origins of political institutions. He has written a series of papers applying tools from mathematics and computer science to questions about redistricting, culminating in a 2019 book called *Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Political Divide*. Professor Rodden has also embarked on an inter-disciplinary collaborative project focused on handgun acquisition. He received his PhD from Yale University and his BA from the University of Michigan, and was a Fulbright student at the University of Leipzig, Germany. Before joining the Stanford faculty in 2007, he was the Ford Associate Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



**Students:****Sierra Nota**

Sierra Nota is a doctoral candidate in history at Stanford University. She works primarily on modern Eastern European history and identity both within and outside of the former Soviet Union. Sierra's Dissertation, 'The Many Lives of Mezhyhirya: Political and Property Regime in Ukraine, 1786-2014,' explores the economic, cultural, artistic, and social values of political power through a 360-acre estate, from the dissolution of the Cossack Hetmanate to the fall of Viktor Yanukovich. Prior to coming to Stanford, Sierra received her BA in History, *summa cum laude*, from Harvard University.

**‘Contestations of the Liberal Script’ (SCRIPTS), a cluster of excellence at Freie Universität Berlin and the WZB Berlin Social Science Centre**

**Faculty:**

**Professor Tanja Börzel**



Tanja Börzel is a professor of political science and holds the Chair for European Integration at the Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science, Freie Universität Berlin. She is the director of the ‘Contestations of the Liberal Script’ cluster of excellence. Her research focus and teaching experience lie in the field of institutional theory and governance, comparative regionalism and diffusion. She mainly concentrates on questions of governance and institutional change as a result of Europeanisation as well as on the diffusion of European ideas and policies within and outside of the EU. The latter is part of her current research, which deals with compliance with EU norms and rules in member states, accession countries and neighbouring countries. Moreover, she is interested in

how governance in and by the EU compares to other regional organisations. Her recent publications include amongst others: *Why Noncompliance; Governance under Anarchy. Effective and Legitimate in Areas of Limited Statehood* (with Thomas Risse) and *The Oxford Handbook of Governance and Areas of Limited Statehood* (with Thomas Risse and Anke Draude). Professor Börzel earned a Doctor of Political and Social Sciences degree from the European University Institute, Florence, Italy.

**Professor Swen Hutter**

Swen Hutter teaches political sociology at Freie Universität Berlin and is Vice Director of the Centre for Civil Society Research, a joint initiative of Freie Universität and the WZB Berlin Social Science Centre. He is interested in the changing dynamics and structuration of political conflict in contemporary democracies. In particular, he is interested in how social movements and political parties interact in articulating and mobilising new societal divides.



**Dr Christian Rauh**



Christian Rauh is a political scientist in the Global Governance unit of the WZB Berlin Social Science Centre. His research and teaching interests lie at the intersection of EU studies, international relations and comparative politics. Besides decision-making in the European Commission, he is particularly interested in the public political debates about European and international institutions. His work aims to combine solid theory with innovative empirical analysis. Luckily, this often involves the more immediate gratifications of a little programming, quantitative text analysis, and data visualisation.



### **Professor Thomas Risse**

Thomas Risse is director of the Centre for Transnational Relations, Foreign and Security Policy at the Otto Suhr Institute of Political Science at Freie Universität Berlin. He acts as a co-director of the research college 'The Transformative Power of Europe,' as well as coordinator of the Research Centre 'Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood,' both funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). He also serves on the executive board of the Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies (BTS) and on the executive committee of the Joint Master's program in International Relations. He is chair of the Social Science Committee of Science Europe, the association of research-funding and research-performing organisations in Europe. From 1997-2001, he was Joint Chair of International Relations at the European University Institute's Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and the Department of Social and Political Sciences in Florence, Italy. His previous teaching and research appointments include the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, the University of Konstanz, Germany, as well as Cornell and Yale Universities, and the University of Wyoming. He has also held visiting professorships at Stanford and Harvard Universities. He received his PhD from the University of Frankfurt in 1987, after studying political science in Paris and Bonn.



### **Professor Gwendolyn Sasse**



Gwendolyn Sasse has been the Director of ZOiS since October 2016. Since April 2021, she has been Einstein Professor for the Comparative Study of Democracy and Authoritarianism at the Department of Social Sciences of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Prior to that, she was Professor of Comparative Politics at the Department of Politics and International Relations and at the Oxford School for Global and Area Studies at the University of Oxford. She maintains her connection with Oxford as a Senior Research Fellow at Nuffield College. She is also a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the think tank Carnegie Europe. Her academic career began with the study of history, Slavonic studies and political science at the University of Hamburg and led her to an MSc and PhD in

political science at the London School of Economics. After that, she took up a post as Assistant Professor at the Central European University, and then as Lecturer/Senior Lecturer at the London School of Economics before moving to Oxford in 2007 where she became a full professor in 2013.

### **Professor Michael Zürn**

Michael Zürn is director of the 'Global Governance' research unit at WZB Berlin Social Science Centre and professor of International Relations at Freie Universität Berlin. Since 2019, he is the spokesperson of the SCRIPTS cluster of excellence, funded by the German Research Foundation. He was the founding rector of the Hertie School of Governance and director of the Special Research Centre on 'Transformations of Statehood' at the University of Bremen. He is member of the Academia Europaea and the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences as well as of numerous editorial and advisory boards and has been a guest at several universities such as Harvard University and the London School of Economics. His main research focus is the emergence and functioning of inter- and





supranational institutions and the normative tensions and political conflicts that these developments unfold.

### **Students:**

#### **Zakaria Al Shmaly**



Zakaria Al Shmaly is currently an MA researcher at EUI and a PhD applicant at the Berlin Social Science Centre (WZB). His research interest is the intersection between EU foreign policy, political psychology, and digital governance. Currently, his research focus is the effect of context (local environment) on the political socialisation of refugees in Germany. Zakaria was born and raised in Syria, and studied Interior Architecture in Aleppo before moving to Europe to study Governance at the University College Freiburg and Transnational Governance at the European University Institute's School of Transnational Governance. He has worked with several international humanitarian organisations such as the International NGO Safety Organisation (INSO) in Turkey and Iraq, as

well as the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) in Brussels before focusing on European Union affairs and working with the European Parliament's Secretariat of the Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET).

#### **Sarah George**

Sarah George is a PhD candidate at WZB's research group on 'Digital Mobility and Societal Differentiation'. Her research focuses on social inequalities in mobility in different spatial contexts. By looking at different countries and cultural contexts she aims to gain a better understanding of how specific political, economic, geographic and spatial framework conditions differently influence mobility. In doing so, she seeks to develop the perspective of spatiality in the social sciences, and contribute to an understanding of mobility as a foundational social practice that shapes political power relations and social justice. Before working at the WZB she finished her master's in political science at Freie Universität Berlin.



## Greta Groß



Greta Groß is a Research Associate at the Hertie School and a PhD candidate at the SCRIPTS cluster of excellence. Her research interests concern the interplay between psychology, politics and economics, such as the political psychology of crises (e.g. the coronavirus pandemic) and the link between political leadership, economics, and public trust and behaviour. She obtained her bachelor's in psychology from the University of Osnabrück and her master's in psychology from the University of Bonn – with a focus on forensic, occupational and political psychology, among others. She worked as a Research Assistant at the University Hospital and the University of Bonn and gained working experience in a business consultancy during her master's.

## Thea Kirsch

Thea Kirsch is a PhD candidate at the Berlin Graduate School for Global and Transregional Studies (BGTS) at Freie Universität Berlin and the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Her research interests include digital technologies, border security, and state surveillance practices. She has been researching and developing projects on the socio-political challenges of digitalisation for several years, having worked at the Hertie School of Governance, for Fraunhofer, and other research institutions, as well as in the digital industry. Thea studied Political Science and Communication in Dresden, Montpellier, Boston, and Berlin. She holds a Master of Political Science degree from Freie Universität Berlin.



## Valentin Krüsmann



Valentin Krüsmann is a China-focused scholar, currently pursuing a PhD (Public Policy and Management) examining Chinese approaches to the Belt and Road Initiative in the regions of Eastern Europe, the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia. His research interests include Chinese foreign policy and development cooperation, China's economic and financial system as well as EU-China relations. Having grown up in China, he continues to be passionate about the country and its position within global affairs. Prior to beginning his PhD, he supported the European External Action Service's (EEAS) China department in Brussels and gathered experience consulting European private sector and public institutions on their China strategies, including in the domain of geopolitics. He has also supported the GIZ in Beijing. He has an MSc in Development Studies from SOAS, University of London as well as a BSc in Economics from the Vienna University of

Economics and Business. He has also previously studied at Yonsei University in Seoul, South Korea and at Yunnan Normal University in Kunming, China. He speaks English, German and Chinese

### **Nora Kürzdörfer**



Nora Kürzdörfer is a PhD candidate at the Hertie School in Berlin and a doctoral researcher at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies in Hamburg. She is working for a SCRIPTS project led by Professor Amrita Narlikar and Professor Mark Hallerberg which deals with the Belt and Road Initiative and the response to it by other actors. In her PhD research, Nora specifically concentrates on the EU's reaction to the Digital Silk Road. She analyses how the EU is cooperating with non-European countries in times of power fragmentations and diverging interests. Nora is also interested in the interplay between trade and security, e.g. through the weaponisation of interdependence.

### **Jaša Veselinovič**

Jaša Veselinovič is a PhD candidate at the Berlin Graduate School for Global and Transregional Studies, FU Berlin where he works within the SCRIPTS cluster of excellence. He completed his Master's degree at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Ever since, he has been interested in the role of worldviews and social forces in how and for what purpose foreign policies/grand strategies are (re)formulated. For his PhD thesis he is researching the role and influence of European foreign policy think tanks. He is focusing on transatlantic relations in the past decade and examining the activity of and interactions between think tanks in Germany, France, and Brussels. More broadly, his research interests include European integration, geopolitics, foreign policy, transnational class agency, and critical (international) political economy. By biographical necessity, he is also interested in post-socialist transitions and post-Yugoslav politics.



### **Mikhail Zabotkin**



Mikhail Zabotkin is a PhD candidate at Freie Universität Berlin on the SCRIPTS cluster of excellence. He earned his bachelor's degree in Political Science from Moscow State Institute of International relations (MGIMO) and his double master's degree in International Relations from MGIMO, Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt University of Berlin, and University of Potsdam. His current research interests include democratic backsliding and its causes in a comparative perspective, endogenous challenges to liberal democracy, contemporary varieties of illiberalism, as well as set-theoretic methods.