

Prof. Dr. Gwendolyn Sasse

CURRENT POSITIONS

Since 2016

Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS), Berlin
Director

Since 2021

Humboldt Universität zu Berlin | Einstein Foundation Berlin
Einstein Professor in the Comparative Study of Democracy and Authoritarianism

Since 2020

Nuffield College, University of Oxford
Senior Research Fellow

Since 2014

Carnegie Europe
Non-resident Senior Fellow

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

2015–2016	Humboldt Universität zu Berlin Visiting Professor
2014–2020	University of Oxford, (on leave 2016–2020) Professor in Comparative Politics, Department of Politics and International Relations & Oxford School of Global and Area Studies
04/2010-05/2010	Sciences-Po , Center for International Studies (CERI), Paris Visiting Professor
09/2010-12/2010	European University Institute , Robert Schuman Institute, Florence Visiting Fellow
2007–2020	University of Oxford Professorial Fellow, Nuffield College University Reader in the Comparative Politics of Central and Eastern Europe, Department of Politics and International Relations & School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies
2005	London School of Economics , European Institute and Department of Government Promotion to Senior Lecturer in Comparative European Politics
2003–2004	European University Institute , Robert Schuman Centre, Florence Jean Monnet Fellowship
2002–2003	Freie Universität , Institute for East European Studies, Berlin Visiting Fellowship
Since 1999	London School of Economics , European Institute Lecturer



1990–1999 Central European University (CEO), Dudabest	1998–1999	Central European University (CEU), Budapest
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Assistant Professor, International Relations and European Studies Programme

EDUCATION

1995–1999	London School of Economics, Department of Government. PhD. Thesis title: 'Bringing the Regions Back In: The Crimean Issue in Post-Soviet Ukraine' (Viva: April 1999, passed without revisions). Awarded the LSE Robert McKenzie Prize 1999 for the best PhD in political science at LSE
1994–1995	London School of Economics, Department of Government MSc 'Russian and Post-Soviet Studies', passed with Distinction
1991–1994	Hamburg University MA courses in History, Russian Language and Literature, and Political Science (average score of credits: 1.0)
1991	Gymnasium Glinde Abitur (final grade: 1,0)

PUBLICATIONS

Google Scholar profile

Books

- Post-Soviet Secessionism: Nation- and State-Failure after Communism, ibidem press/Columbia
 University Press, 2021 (co-edited with Mikhail Minakov and Daria Isachenko).
- The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007 (published in paperback 2014).
- Europeanization and Regionalization in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe. The Myth of Conditionality, London: Palgrave, 2004 (co-authored with James Hughes and Claire Gordon).
- Ethnicity and Territory in the Former Soviet Union: Regions in Conflict, London: Frank Cass, 2001 (co-edited with James Hughes).

Articles in refereed journals

- <u>'War and Displacement The Case of Ukraine'</u>, Europe-Asia-Studies, Vol. 72, No. 3, 2020, pp. 347 55 (Introduction to special issue guest-edited by me). (Open Access)
- "The Displaced as "Ordinary Citizens": Exploring Variation in the Political Attitudes of the Displaced from Donbas', Europe-Asia-Studies, Vol. 72, No. 3, 2020, pp. 354-82 (with Alice Lackner). (Open Access)
- <u>'War and State-Making in Ukraine: Forging a Civic Identity from Below'</u>, Ideology and Politics,
 No.1(12) 2019, pp. 75-98 (with Alice Lackner). (Open Access)
- 'Language, Locality, and Transnational Belonging: Remitting the Everyday Practice of Cultural Integration', Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 46, No. 6, pp. 1072-93, Online First January 2019 (with Félix Krawatzek).



- 'The Simultaneity of Feeling German and Being American: Analyzing 150 Years of Private Migrant Correspondence', Migration Studies, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2020, pp. 161-88 (Online First June 2018) (with Félix Krawatzek)
- 'Integration and Identities: The Effects of Time, Migrant Networks, and Political Crises on Germans in the United States', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 60, No. 4, 2018, pp. 1029-65 (with Félix Krawatzek).
- 'War and Identity: The Case of the Donbas in Ukraine', Post-Soviet Affairs, Vol. 34, Nos. 2-3, 2018, pp. 139-57 (with Alice Lackner).
- 'Studying Identity in Ukraine', Post-Soviet Affairs, Vol. 34, Nos. 2-3, pp. 79-83 (with Olga Onuch, Henry Hale) (Introduction to Special Issue 'Identity Politics in Times of Crisis: Ukraine as a Critical Case' guest-edited by Olga Onuch, Henry Hale and Gwendolyn Sasse).
- Migrantische Netzwerke und Integration: Das Transnationale Kommunikationsfeld deutscher Einwandererfamilien in den USA', Zeitschrift für vergleichende Politikwissenschaft, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2018, pp. 211-28 (with Félix Krawatzek).
- 'Empowering to Engage with the Homeland: Do Migration Experience and Environment foster Political Remittances?', Comparative Migration Studies, 4, 12, 2016, pp. 1-25 (with Anar Ahmadov); (Open Access).
- 'The Maidan in Movement: Diversity and the Cycles of Protest', Europe-Asia-Studies, Vol. 68, No. 3, 2016, pp. 556-87 (with Olga Onuch).
- 'Power ideas and conflict: ideology, linkage, and leverage in Crimea and Chechnya', East European Politics, Vol. 32, No. 3, 2016, pp. 314-34 (with James Hughes).
- 'International Linkages and the Dynamics of Conflict: Revisiting the Post-Soviet Conflicts', East European Politics, Vol. 32, No. 3, 2016, pp. 289-96 (Introduction to the special issue 'Linkages and Conflict in the Post-Soviet Conflicts' edited by Gwendolyn Sasse).
- 'A Voice Despite Exit: The Role of Assimilation, Emigrant Networks, and Destination in Migrant Transnational Political Engagement', Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 49, No. 1, 2016, pp. 78-114 (with Anar K. Ahmadov).
- 'Migrant regional allegiances in homeland elections: evidence on voting by Poles and Ukrainians',
 Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 41, No. 1, 2015, pp. 1769-93 (with Anar K. Ahmadov).
- 'Linkages and the Promotion of Democracy', Democratization, Vol. 20, No. 4, 2013, pp. 553-91.
- 'The European Neighbourhood Policy and Conflict-Management: A Comparison of Moldova and the Caucasus', Ethnopolitics, 8, 3-4, 2009, pp. 369-86.
- 'The Politics of Conditionality: The Norm of Minority Protection before and after EU Accession',
 Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 15, No. 6, 2008, pp. 842-60.
- 'The European Neighbourhood Policy: Conditionality Revisited for the EU's Eastern Neighbours', Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 60, No. 2, 2008, pp. 295-316.
- 'A Research Agenda for the Study of Migrants and Minorities in Europe', Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 43, No. 4, 2005, pp. 655-71 (with Eiko Thielemann).



- 'Securitization or Securing Rights? Exploring the Conceptual Foundations of Policies towards Minorities and Migrants in Europe', Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 43, No. 4, 2005, pp. 673-93.
- 'Monitoring the Monitors: EU Enlargement and National Minorities in Central and Eastern Europe',
 Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe, 1, 2003, pp.1-38 (with James Hughes).
- 'Saying 'Maybe' to the 'Return to Europe': Elites and the Political Space for Eroscepticism in Central and Eastern Europe', European Union Politics, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2002, pp. 327-55 (with James Hughes and Claire Gordon).

Selected articles in other academic journals

- "The Foundations of Ethnic Politics, or a House Built on Sand?", Nations and Nationalism Debate
 2010, Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2011.
- 'Ukraine: The Role of Regionalism', Journal of Democracy, Vol. 21, No. 3, July 2010, pp. 99-106.
- 'Stabilität durch Heterogenität: Regionale Vielfalt als Stärke der Ukraine', Osteuropa, Nos 2-4, 2010, pp. 105-22.
- 'Review Symposium: 'Kymlicka's odyssey lured by norms into the rocks of politics', Ethnicities,
 Vol. 8, No. 2, 2008, pp. 265-70.

Book Chapters

- 'An End to Patience? The Great Recession and Economic Protest in Eastern Europe', in Nancy Bermeo and Larry Bartels (eds) Mass Politics in Tough Times. Opinions, Votes and Protest in the Great Recession, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 334-70 (with Mark Beissinger).
- "The Council of Europe as a Norm Entrepreneur: The Political Strengths of a Weak International Institution", in Neil Walker, Jo Shaw & Stephen Tierney (eds), Europe's Constitutional Mosaic, Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2011, pp. 171-204.
- 'The ENP and the EU's Eastern Neighbours: Ukraine and Moldova as Testcases', in Richard Whitman & Stefan Wolff (eds), The European Neighbourhood Policy in Perspective: Context, Implementation and Impact, Palgrave, 2010, pp. 181-205.
- 'Minority Protection and EU Enlargement: Tracing the Construction and Effects of EU Conditionality', in Bernd Rechel (ed), Minority Rights in Central and Eastern Europe, Routledge, 2009, pp. 17-31.
- 'How Deep is the Wider Europe? Elites, Europeanization, and Euroscepticism in the CEECs', in Aleks Szczerbiak & Paul Taggart (eds), Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism, 2008, pp. 181-207 (with James Hughes and Claire Gordon).
- 'Conditionality-lite: The European Neighbourhood Policy and the EU's Eastern Neighbours', in: Costanza Musu and Nicola Casarini (eds), The Road to Convergence: European Foreign Policy in an Evolving International System, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007, pp. 163-180.
- 'The Political Rights of National Minorities: Lessons from Central and Eastern Europe', in: Wojciech Sadurski (ed), Political Rights under Stress in 21st Century Europe, Oxford: Oxford University Press (Academy of European Law Series), 2007, pp. 239-282.
- 'National Minorities and EU Enlargement: External or Domestic Incentives for Accommodation?',
 in John McGarry and Michael Keating (eds), European Integration and the Nationalities Question,
 London: Routledge, 2006, pp. 64-84.



- 'Sub-National Governance in Central and Eastern Europe: Between Transition and Enlargement', in Wojciech Sadurski et al. (eds), Spreading Democracy and the Rule of Law? The Impact of EU Enlargement on the Rule of Law, Democracy and Constitutionalism in Postcommunist Legal Orders, Springer, 2006, pp. 121-47 (with James Hughes and Claire Gordon).
- 'Minority Rights and EU Enlargement: Normative Overstretch or Effective Conditionality', chapter in Gabriel von Toggenburg (ed), Minority Protection and the EU: The Way Forward, Budapest: LGI, Open Society Institute, 2004, pp. 61-84.
- 'EU Enlargement, Europeanisation and the Dynamics of Regionalisation in the CEECs', in Michael Keating and James Hughes (eds), The Regional Challenge in Central and Eastern Europe: Territorial and European Integration, Brussels: Peter Lang, 2003, pp. 69-88 (with James Hughes and Claire Gordon).
- 'Die Autonome Republik der Krim zwischen Einheitsstaat und Separatismus', in: Gerd Simon (ed.),
 Die neue Ukraine. Gesellschaft Wirtschaft Politik (1991-2001), Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2002, pp. 127-47.
- "The EU Common Strategy on Ukraine: A Response to Ukraine's "pro-European choice"?', in Ann Lewis (ed.), The EU and Ukraine. Neighbours, Friends, Partners?, London: Federal Trust, 2002, pp. 213-21.

ZOiS publications

- Belarus at a crossroads: attitudes on social and political change, ZOiS Report 3/2021 (with Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Félix Krawatzek und Julia Langbein);
- Russland²: Russlandbilder in Ost- und Westdeutschland, ZOiS Report 5/2020;
- Attitudes and identities across the Donbas frontline: What has changed from 2016 to 2019?, ZOiS
 Report 3/2019 (with Alice Lackner);
- Public Perceptions in Flux: Identities, War, and Transnational Linkages in Ukraine, ZOiS Report
 4/2018 (with Alice Lackner);
- Youth in Russia: Outlook on Life and Political Attitudes, ZOiS Report 1/2018 (with Félix Krawatzek),
- Terra incognita: the public mood in Crimea, ZOiS Report 3/2017;
- The Donbas Two parts, or still one? The experience of war through the eyes of the regional population, ZOiS Report 2/2017;
- The Displaced Ukrainians: Who are they? And what do they think?, ZOiS Report 1/2017;

Peer Reviewing and Book Reviews

I regularly review project applications for the ESRC, the British Academy, the AHRC, the DFG, Volkswagen Foundation and similar bodies abroad (e.g. Austria, Ireland). I have reviewed articles and books for many different journals, including World Politics, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, East European Politics and Societies, Europe-Asia Studies, Post-Soviet Affairs, East European Politics, Slavic Review, Nations and Nationalism, Nationalities Papers, Journal of European Public Policy, Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies etc.



RESEARCH AWARDS

2019–2026	Cluster of Excellence, Free University of Berlin, et al.: "The Contestations of the Liberal Script" (SCRIPTS) One of the PIs and member of the research unit "Borders", incl. Post-Doc Project at ZOiS (2020-2023) "The Liberal Script in Ukraine's Contested Border Regions" (PI together with Prof. Christian Volk; ca. EUR 280,000).
2019–2021	British Academy Grant (Programme: 'Tackling the UK's International Challenges 2019'): 'Identity and Borders in Flux: The Case of Ukraine' Co-I, in cooperation with the University of Manchester and George Washington University. £50,000.
2018–2021	Open Research Area Grant: 'Determinants of "Mobilisation" at Home and Abroad: Analysing the Micro-Foundations of Out-Migration & Mass Protest' (MOBILISE) Lead-PI, cooperation with University of Manchester, University of Oxford, Free University Amsterdam, ENSAE University Saclay, ca. EUR 2 million.
2015–2016	John Fell Fund OUP Research Fund, Small Awards Scheme: 'Using new computerised techniques for the social science analysis of historical texts: Building a database of letters sent by German immigrants in the US (19th/20th centuries)' (£7,500).
2013–2016	Large Leverhulme Trust Grant on 'Political Remittances: Understanding the Political Impacts of Migration' (£200,000).
2011–2014	John Fell Fund OUP Research Fund, Small Awards Scheme: 'Drawing Inferences from Migrant Voters to Migrants' (£7,000) (extended until 2014 due to maternity leave).
2012	ESRC Knowledge Transfer Award 'Linkage and Leverage: The External Actors in Post-Soviet Conflicts' (£10,000) (Workshop held on 11 May 2012).
2010–2011	John Fell Fund OUP Research Fund, Small Awards Scheme: 'Engaging with the Homeland: A Survey of Ukrainian Migrants' (£5,700).
2010–2012	British Academy Small Grant: 'Understanding Political Voices from Abroad: Polish Migrants in the UK' (£7,500).
2009–2010	John Fell Fund OUP Research Fund, Small Awards Scheme: 'Migration and the Politics of Time: What is Temporary Migration? What are its Implications' (£7,500).
2006–2008	Partner in EU Framework Six project (Specific Targeted Project) 'Human and Minority Rights in the Life-Cycle of Ethnic Conflicts' (overall budget: EUR 1.186 million).
2003–2005	Leverhulme Trust Research Fellowship (£20,000): 'Minorities in the "New" Europe'.
2002	LSE STICERD Grant (£7,000).
1999–2003	One of three principal researchers on the ESRC project 'Elites and Regional and Local Governance in Eastern Europe' (£160,000), ESRC Programme 'One Europe or Several?'.



KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE & OUTREACH

I regularly write for the Carnegie Europe blog Strategic Europe and contribute to the research-based blogs Monkey Cage (Washington Post), The Conversation, ZOiS Spotlight, Global Voices etc.. I regularly contribute to podcasts, incl. Roundtable Osteuropa (ZOiS) and Foreign Times. I have written op-eds for a variety of media outlets, incl. The Guardian, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, taz, Der Hauptstadtbrief (Berliner Morgenpost). I am regularly being interviewed by German and international media, incl. Tagesschau, ARD/ZDF Morgen/Mittagsmagazin, Deutschlandfunk, rbb, inforadio, Deutsche Welle, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Zeit, Zeit Online, BBC, Monocle, CNN.

I regularly brief German policy-makers (German Federal Foreign Office, Chancellery, Bundestag) about policy-relevant research and participate in discussion groups on East European and foreign policy issues hosted by the political institutions or Berlin-based think-tanks. I also regularly take part in public events on Eastern Europe.

DOCTORAL SUPERVISION

Current

- Kostyantyn Fedorenko: From Molotov Cocktails to Farewell Parties: Causes of Emigration for Participants of the 2013-2014 "Euromaidan" Protests in Ukraine (BGSS/Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin/ZOiS; Co-supervision with Prof. Silvia von Steinsdorff)
- Diana Bogishvili: Georgians in Germany: Transnational financial and social remittances and the transformation of social inequalities in Georgia (BGSS/Humboldt -Universität zu Berlin/ZOiS; Cosupervision with Prof. Magdalena Nowicka)

Previous

- David Cashaback: Accommodating Multinationalism in Russia and Canada: A Comparative Study of Federal Design and Language in Tatarstan and Quebec (London School of Economics, Department of Government)
- Cristina Parau: The Interplay between Domestic Politics and Europe: How Romanian Civil Society and Government Contested Europe Before EU Accession (London School of Economics, Department of Government)
- Emelyne Cheney: The Impact of European Integration on Minority Nationalist Mobilisation in France (London School of Economics, European Institute)
- Matthias Mayer: EU Liberalisation of Economic Migration Policies for Third-Country Nationals: The Case of Germany (London School of Economics, European Institute)
- Olga Onuch: Revolutionary Moments, Revolutionary Movements: Comparing the Mechanisms behind Mass-Mobilisation in Argentina (2001-02) and in Ukraine (2004) (University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations)
- Danielle Granville: Diaspora Activism and the Politics of Genocide Recognition: The Holodomor Recognition Campaign and the Ukrainian Diaspora in North America and the UK (University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations)
- Nadiya Kravets: Domestic Sources of Ukraine's Foreign Policy: Examining Key Cases of Policy Towards Russia, 1991-2009 (University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations; co-supervised with Dr. Alex Pravda)



- Michael Simecka: Exporting Post-Communist Experience: Intra-Regional Diffusion and Learning in Eastern Europe, 2003-2011 (University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations)
- Kristina Mikulova: Missionary Zeal of Recent Converts: Norms and Norm Entrepreneurs in the Foreign Policy of the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia, 1989-2011 (University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations)
- Felix Krawatzek: The Margins of Civil Society: Comparing Political Youth Movements in Times of Crisis (University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations)
- Rebecca Fradkin: Authoritarian Regimes and the Co-optation of Islam: Kazakhstan and Russia (University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations)
- Susan Divald: The Many Faces of Autonomy: Comparing Autonomy Claims in Romania and Slovakia (University of Oxford, DPIR)
- Leandra Bias: Knowledge Transfer in Post-Communist Russia and Serbia: A Contestation of the Assumed Power Relations in Transnational Feminism (University of Oxford, DPIR; Co-supervision with Prof. Elizabeth Fraser)
- Ann-Sophie Gast: The Eurasian Economic Union Cooperation among Autocracies? (Freie Uniersität Berlin, Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften, Co-supervision with Prof. Tanja Börzel)

LANGUAGES

German Native
English Fluent
Russian Good

Ukrainian Intermediate
French Intermediate
Italian Intermediate

MEMBERSHIPS

Professional Organisations

American Political Science Association (APSA) (incl. Chair of the Committee awarding the Juan Linz Prize for the best dissertation in the field of 'Comparative Democratization' in 2008, Member of the Committee awarding the Best Book Award in European Politics and Society in 2010); Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN); University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES), Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde (DGO)

Editorial Board Membership

Editorial Board Member of Comparative Political Studies, Journal of European Public Policy, Nationalities Papers and the Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society Series, ibidem press



HONOURS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

2009	Teaching Excellence Award, University of Oxford
2007	Alexander Nove Prize (annual book prize of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies) for The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict, Harvard University Press 2007.
1999	LSE Robert McKenzie Prize for PhD dissertation
1996–1999	UK ESRC Studentship
1996–1998	LSE Graduate Studentship Award
1996–1998	Ph.D. Scholarship, Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (German Academic
	Scholarship Foundation)
1991–1995	Full Scholarship by the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (German Academic
	Scholarship Foundation)

ADVISORY BOARDS, CONSULTANCY AND THINK TANKS

Since 2021	Member of the Working Group Zukunftszentrum für Deutsche Einheit und Europäische Transformation, Federal Ministry of the Interior
Since 2021	Member of the Advisory Board of Stiftung Berliner Mauer
Since 2020	Member of the Advisory Board of Ukrainian Research in Switzerland (URIS)
Since 2019	Member of the Board of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde (DGO) (elected by the members of the Association)
Since 2019	Member of the Academic Advisory Board of the Institute for European Politics (IEP), Berlin
Since 2019	Member, Förderverein Gedenkstätte Berliner Mauer
Since 2018	Member of the Advisory Board of the FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe, Vienna (ROCPE)
Since 2018	Member in the Advisory Board of the Center for Eastern European Studies (CEES) at the University of Zürich
Since 2018	Member of the Academic Advisory Board of the Project Comprehensive Capacity-Building in the Eastern Neighbourhood and Central Asia (COMPASS): research integration, impact governance and sustainable communities, funded by the Global Challenges Research Fund UK
Since 2017	Chair of Scientific Advisory Board, LeibnizScienceCampus Eastern Europe – Global Area (EEGA)
Since 2010	Member of the International Advisory Council of the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI)



2010–2011	Member of the International Academic Advisory Council of the Academic Fellowship Program, Open Society Institute (supervises projects on university reform in Eastern Europe)
2008–2012	Member of the International Sub-Board of the Open Society Institute's Think-Tank Fund (provides financial support and advice to think tanks in Eastern Europe)
2007–2012	Region head (Eastern Europe) and Contributor to Daily Brief, Oxford Analytica.
2006–2009	International Scholar, Academic Fellowship Programme, Open Society Institute (attachment to two political science departments in Sofia, regular visits and involvement in teaching, curriculum design, research profile)
2005–2010	Deputy Editor of the UNDP newsletter 'Development and Transition'
2000–2006	Economist Intelligence Unit, Regular Contributor to the Quarterly Reports and Country Forecasts on Ukraine
1997–2009	Enterprise LSE, Regular Contributor to Eastern Europe Today (Emerging Markets Analysis)
1995–1997	Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Assistant in the Eastern Europe and Eurasia Programme