CURRICULUM VITAE CHRISTINA ISABEL ZUBER

Contact and Personal Information

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Main research areas Political parties and political representation

Migration, integration and citizenship policy

Nationalism and ethnic politics

Comparative federalism and regionalism

Short outline of work A common question connecting most of my research projects to each

other is how diverse cultural, ethnic, and national identities affect the functioning of democracy. My recent book contributes a novel theory of ideational policy stabilisation to the debate about the causal power of ideas in comparative public policy. In the empirics, I trace how historical legacies of industrialisation continue to impact the contemporary politics and policies of migration and integration in Catalonia and South Tyrol thanks to ideational legacies, and despite radical changes in the underlying incentive structure. Current projects investigate nationalist mobilisation in contemporary and historical European democracies and the implementation of citizenship policy in the German multi-level system.

Education

03/2009–12/2012 Dr. rer. pol. (summa cum laude), University of Cologne, Germany

09/2002–07/2008 Magistra artium (with distinction) in Political Science, Slavic Philology and

Philosophy, University of Cologne, Germany

09/2005–01/2006 Visiting graduate student, Federal University of Kazan, Russian Federation.

Professional and Research Experience

Current position (since 05/2021)	Full Professor (W3) for German Politics, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Konstanz, Germany.
05/2015-04/2021	Assistant Professor (W1) for German Politics, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Konstanz, Germany.
09/2014-04/2015	Postdoctoral research fellow at the Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS), Bremen University, Germany.
09/2013-08/2014	Postdoctoral research fellow at the Department of Political and Social Sciences, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain.
01/2014-03/2014	Visiting researcher at the Institute for Minority Rights of the European Academy of Bolzano (EURAC), Italy.
03/2013-09/2013	Postdoctoral research fellow at the UZH Zurich and the Centre for Democracy Studies (ZDA), Aarau, Switzerland.
03/2013-06/2013	Lecturer at the Universities of Lucerne and Zurich, Switzerland.
01/2009-02/2013	Pre-doctoral research fellow and lecturer at the Cologne Center for Comparative Politics, University of Cologne, Germany.
04/2010-06/2010	Field research in the Republic of Serbia.
09/2008-10/2008	Internship at the regional office of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation in Skopje, Republic of North Macedonia.

Publications - Monograph

2022. *Ideational legacies and the politics of migration in European minority regions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Publications – Journals with Peer-Review

- 2023. Lipset and Rokkan's missing case: Introducing the Habsburg Manifesto Dataset. *Party Politics*, Online First, DOI: 10.1177/13540688231185671 (with Philip J. Howe & Edina Szöcsik).
- 2022. Nationalism, class, and status: How nationalists use policy offers and group appeals to attract a new electorate. *Comparative Political Studies* 55 (5):832-868 (with Philip J. Howe & Edina Szöcsik).
- 2021. Check your truth conditions! Clarifying the relationship between theories of causation and social science methods for causal inference. *Sociological Methods and Research* 50 (4): *1623–1659* (with Ingo Rohlfing).
- 2021. Thirty years of Regional and Federal Studies. *Regional & Federal Studies* 31 (1): 1-23 (with Imke Harbers, Michaël Tatham & Louise Tillin).

- 2021. Does decentralization turn minority parties into secessionists? Insights from Eastern and Western Europe. West European Politics 44 (4): 825-851 (with Edina Szöcsik).
- 2020. Making regional citizens? Drivers and effects of subnational immigrant integration policies. *Regional Studies* 54 (11): 1475-1485 (with Anita Manatschal & Verena Wisthaler).
- 2020. Explaining the immigrant integration laws of German, Italian and Spanish regions: Sub-state nationalism and multi-level party politics. *Regional Studies* 54 (11): 1486-1497.
- 2019. The Second Edition of the EPAC Expert Survey on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition Testing for Validity and Reliability. *Regional & Federal Studies* 29 (1), 91-113 (with Edina Szöcsik).
- 2018. Surpassing Simple Aggregation. Advanced Strategies for Analysing Contextual-Level Outcomes in Multilevel Models. *methods, data, analyses*. DOI: 10.12758/mda.2017.05 (with Dominik Becker & Wiebke Breustedt).
- 2016. Liquid Democracy: Potentials, Problems, and Perspectives. *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 24 (2), 162–182 (with Christian Blum).
- 2015. Position, Selective Emphasis and Framing: How parties deal with a second dimension in competition. *Party Politics* 21 (6), 839–850 (with Anwen Elias & Edina Szöcsik).
- 2015. Ethnic outbidding and nested competition. Explaining the extremism of ethnonational minority parties in European Journal of Political Research 54 (4), 784–801 (with Edina Szöcsik).
- 2015. Reserved Seats, Political Parties, and Minority Representation. Ethnopolitics 14 (4), 390-403.
- 2015. EPAC A new Dataset on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition in 22 European Democracies. *Party Politics* 21 (1), 153-160 (with Edina Szöcsik).
- 2013. Beyond outbidding? Ethnic party strategies in Serbia. Party Politics. 19 (5): 758-777.
- 2013. Representative Claims and expected Gains. Minority Council Elections and intra-ethnic Competition in Serbia. *East European Politics* 29(1): 52-68 (with Jan Jakub Mus).
- 2012. Ethnic Party Competition beyond the segmented Market. Nationalities Papers 40(6): 927-944.
- 2011. Understanding the Multinational Game: Toward a Theory of Asymmetrical Federalism. *Comparative Political Studies* 44(5): 546-571.

Publications - Book Chapters

- 2017. Serbia and Montenegro. From Centralization to Secession and Multi-ethnic Regionalism, in A. Schakel (ed.): *Regional and National Elections in Eastern Europe. Territoriality of the Vote in Ten Countries*, pp. 207-238. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan (with Jelena Džankić).
- 2016. Die politische Theorie des Neoinstitutionalismus: James March und Johan Olsen, in A. Brodocz & G.S. Schaal (eds.): *Politische Theorien der Gegenwart II*, 4th ed. Opladen und Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich/UTB (with André Kaiser).
- 2013. Whose Mobilisation? An Ontological Primer on the Mobilisation of National Minorities, in J. Danero, N. Stojanovic & S. Weinblum (eds.): *New Nation States and National Minorities*, pp. 191-207. Colchester: ECPR Press.

Publications – Working Papers and Short Pieces

- 2023. Why migration politics in Germany is stuck in the past. The Loop ECPR's political science blog, February 6^{th} .
- 2022. Capturing the pessimists. How nationalists exploit status concerns in elections. *EUROPP:* European Politics and Policy Blog, LSE, March 10th (with Phil Howe & Edina Szöcsik).
- 2021. Is Federalism Conducive To Ethnic Outbidding?. 50 Shades of Federalism.
- 2020. Taking Stock of the Explanatory Power of Ideas. *EuropeNow*, Online Journal of the Council for European Studies, January 2020 edition.
- 2014. Comparing the politics behind the immigrant integration laws of Catalonia and South Tyrol. GRITIM-UPF Working Paper Series 22/Winter 2014.

Publications – Datasets

- 2021. Replication Data for: Nationalism, class, and status: how nationalists use policy offers and group appeals to attract a new electorate, https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/TKQHYQ, Harvard Dataverse, V2, UNF:6:GkC8Hx0o6EPd4lxzu64ERg== [fileUNF] (Philip J Howe & Edina Szöcsik).
- 2018. Parties-PostYug data on parties, elections and governments in former Yugoslav democracies. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/WWHXDY, Harvard Dataverse, V1, UNF:6:dkfn4zkZeFCdIU/oIZ9GOA== [fileUNF] (with Nikola Todorić & Holger Döring).
- 2018. *EPAC 2017 a dataset on ethnonationalism in party competition*, 2nd edition, based on an expert survey conducted Sep 2016-Jan 2017, http://christinazuber.com/data/ (with Edina Szöcsik).
- 2012. *EPAC 2011 a dataset on ethnonationalism in party competition*, 1st edition, based on an expert survey conducted June-Nov 2011, http://christinazuber.com/data/ (with Edina Szöcsik).

Invited Talks – Recent Years

- 2023. *Policy meets identity. Why and how research on party competition should engage with group appeals*, Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES), Universität Mannheim, June 5.
- 2023. *Ideational legacies and the politics of migration in European minority regions*. Forschungs-kolloquium Soziologie, Universität Bern, Switzerland, April 19.
- 2023. Comparing the electoral strategies of indigenous movements in Ecuador and Peru, Universidad San Francisco de Quito, Ecuador, March 17.
- 2022. *Competing on Issues and Identities Research on Party Competition and Group Appeals.* Research Seminar, Department of Political Science, McMaster University, Canada, September 22.
- 2022. Nationalist persuasion, legacies of the transition and democratic backsliding in Europe. Joint seminar of the EU Studies and Political Economy working groups, European University Institute, Italy, June 14.

- 2022. *Ideational legacies and the politics of migration in European minority regions.* BIRMM Migration Lecture series, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 3 June.
- 2022. *Ideational legacies and the politics of migration in European minority regions.* Talk series of the Amsterdam Centre for European Studies (ACES), University of Amsterdam, February 28.
- 2020. *The promise of status-improvement: how nationalists attract working-class votes*. Departmental Research Seminar of the Political Science Department, University College London, May 13.
- 2019. Past incentives present choices. Ideational legacies and the politics of migration in European minority regions. Lecture series of the Institute of European Studies, University of California, Berkeley, December 3.
- 2019. Past incentives present choices. Ideational legacies and the politics of migration in European minority regions. Colloquium of the Department of Political Science, University of Bamberg, November 20.
- 2019. Legacies of communism? Parties and elections in East and West Germany. Symposium on the 30-year anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall, University of Belgrade, November 1.
- 2019. New policies in old frames: history, ideas and immigrant integration in Catalonia and South Tyrol. Seminar Series of the Politics and Economics Research Group, IE University Madrid, April 5.
- 2019. Including Strangers, Now and Then: How Old Ideas Drive Contemporary Migrant Policies in Catalonia and South Tyrol. General Seminar of the Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics, Sciences Po Paris, March 12.

Conference Presentations – Recent Selection

- 2023. *Policy meets identity: Why and how research on party competition needs to engage with group appeals*, ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Toulouse, 25-28 April 2023 (with Philip Howe).
- 2022. *Majoritarian-Nationalist Persuasion, Transition Legacies, and Support for Democratic Backsliding in Europe*, 28th Conference of Europeanists (CES), Lisbon, June 29-July 1 (with David Knoll).
- 2021. Movements, Parties and the Making of Indigenous Politics in Ecuador and Peru. General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Virtual, August 20-26 (with Lea Haiges).
- 2020. Competition as Constituency-Creation. Towards a Preference Attribute Model of Electoral Politics. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), Virtual, September 9-13 (with Philip Howe and Edina Szöcsik).
- 2019. *Identity and Policy: Why nationalists defeat class-based parties in elections*. 26th International Conference of Europeanists (CES), Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, June 20-22 (with Philip Howe and Edina Szöcsik).
- 2019. Hosts and Strangers, Now and Then. How old ideas drive contemporary immigrant integration policies in Catalonia and South Tyrol. Conference on "The effects of multilevel governance", org. by Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, European University Institute (EUI), May 23–24.

- 2019. Including Strangers, Now and Then. History, Ideas, and the Politics of Immigration in Catalonia and South Tyrol. Joint Sessions of Workshops European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Mons, April 8-12.
- 2018. Nation versus Class: The Electoral Mobilization of Social Identities in Imperial Austria. 27th conference of the German Political Science Association (DVPW), Frankfurt a.M., September 25–28 (with Philip Howe and Edina Szöcsik).
- 2018. Nation versus Class: The Electoral Mobilization of Social Identities in Imperial Austria. 114th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA) Boston, August 30 (with Philip Howe and Edina Szöcsik).
- 2018. Competing Principals in an Under-institutionalized Party System: Legislative Behavior in the Imperial Austrian Abgeordnetenhaus, 1896-1914. Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), Chicago, April 7 (with Philip Howe).
- 2018. Hosts and Strangers, Now and Then. Historical immigration experiences, contemporary integration policies, and the causal power of ideas. 25th International Conference of Europeanists (CES), Chicago, March 28-30.

Academic Services

Associate editor of the journal Regional and Federal Studies.

- Guest editor of a Special Issue in *Party Politics* (Vol. 21, Issue 6) (with Anwen Elias & Edina Szöcsik).
- Guest editor of a Special Issue in *Regional Studies* (Vol. 54, Issue 11) (with Anita Manatschal & Verena Wisthaler).
- Panel convenor, chair or discussant at CES 2019, 2021, 2022; APSA 2018; MPSA 2018; IMISCOE 2014.
- Workshop director "Causes and effects of immigrant integration policies at the subnational level. A global comparison." University of Konstanz, 14-15 September 2017 (with Anita Manatschal and Verena Wisthaler).
- Workshop director "Position, Salience and Issue Linkage. Party Strategies in Multinational Democracies". University of Aberystwyth, 12–13 December 2013 (with Anwen Elias and Edina Szöcsik).
- Workshop director "Ethnicity, Territory and Party Competition. Toward a Unified Approach". ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops Antwerp, 10–15 April 2012 (with Edina Szöcsik).
- Article manuscript referee for American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science,
 Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Constitutional Political Economy,
 Democratization, Ethnopolitics, European Journal of Political Research, European Journal of
 Political Theory, European Union Politics, International Political Science Review, Journal of
 European Public Policy, Journal of Peace Research, Nations and Nationalism, Party Politics, Policy
 Studies, Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Regional and
 Federal Studies, Revista Española de Ciencia Política, Sociological Methods and Research.
- Book manuscript and prospectus referee for ECPR Press, Oxford University Press and Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grant proposal referee for the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF).

Awards and Grants

- 2024-2027. "Nationalist Persuasion, Legacies of Transition, and Democratic Backsliding in Europe." Research Grant (German Research Foundation DFG 523633539).
- 2022. OBW Faculty Research Exchange Grant, Ontario/Baden-Württemberg Program (Ministry of Education / Government of Baden-Württemberg).
- 2020. "Legacies of Authoritarianism? Illiberalism in Central and Eastern Europe", Young Scholar Fund, (Konstanz University).
- 2019 ongoing. Principal investigator of the Cluster of Excellence "The Politics of Inequality", funded by the Excellence Initiative of the German Federal and State Governments through the German Research Foundation (DFG EXC 2035/1).
- 2020 2024 "Administrative inequality in access to German citizenship." Research grant (DFG EXC 2035/1) (with Gerald Schneider, Christian Breunig and Daniel Thym).
- 2019 2023. "Mobilizing inequalities. From grievances to conflict." Research grant (DFG EXC 2035/1) (with Miriam Butt, Karsten Donnay and Nils Weidmann).
- 2018 2019. "Making Regional Citizens", Research grant (Swiss National Science Foundation SNF, NCCR on the move) (with Anita Manatschal and Verena Wisthaler).
- 2018. Travel grant to attend the APSA annual meeting, Young Scholar Fund, Konstanz University.
- 2018. "LUKS Award" for outstanding teaching practices, Konstanz University.
- 2017-2018. "The Habsburg Manifesto Project". Research grant (Committee on Research, Konstanz University).
- 2017/18. Causes and effects of participatory city planning. Teaching grant (Konstanz University).
- 2016/17. Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Study Konstanz, 1 October 2016 31 March 2017 (DFG Exc16, "Cultural Foundations of Integration").
- 2016. Belgrade-Konstanz Summer School on Democratic Transition and Party Politics in Post-Communist Europe (with Sonja Grimm, Baden-Württemberg-Foundation).
- 2013/14. Postdoctoral research fellowship (Fritz Thyssen Foundation).
- 2011. ASN Best Doctoral Student Papers Award, awarded by the Association for the Study of Nationalities during its Annual Convention in New York, 16–18 April 2011.
- 2010. Grant for conducting field research in Serbia, April 2010–June 2010 (German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)).
- 2008. Best M.A. Thesis Award of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Cologne.

Teaching

Syllabi and evaluation reports available from: http://christinazuber.com/courses/

University of Konstanz

- German politics (BA lecture)
- Case studies and qualitative methods (MA lecture)
- When, why, and how the past matters: imperial, colonial & communist legacies (MA seminar).
- Migration and integration: from politics to policies (MA seminar)
- Comparative ethnic politics (MA Seminar)
- Liquid, open, deliberative new avenues in democracy research (MA seminar)
- Inequality normative principles and empirical insights (MA seminar, with Jacob Rosenthal)
- Immigrant integration in multi-level systems (BA seminar)
- Party politics in Central and Eastern Europe (BA seminar)
- Comparing multinational democracies (BA seminar)
- Representation of women and minorities in politics and public administration (BA seminar)
- Participatory city planning. With an introduction to qualitative case studies (BA seminar)
- Current topics in public administration: how states respond to Covid-19 (BA seminar)
- Political Control of the Bureaucracy or Bureaucratic Politics? (BA seminar)

University of Belgrade

Institutions of minority self-government (MA seminar)

Pompeu Fabra University

• Immigrant integration in multi-level systems (MA seminar)

University of Lucerne and University of Zurich

• Democracy in multicultural societies (with Nenad Stojanovic, MA seminar)

University of Cologne

- Comparing multi-ethnic democracies (BA seminar)
- Liquid democracy (with Christian Blum, open workshop)
- Direct democracy and Voter Competence (MA seminar)
- Democratic theory (with Christian Blum, BA seminar)
- Are multi-ethnic democracies viable? Comparing Bosnia and Belgium (BA seminar)
- The political system of Germany (BA seminar)

Summer schools

- Belgrade-Konstanz Summer School (organiser and lecturer, various editions)
- Electoral systems and party competition in divided societies, University of Sarajevo (lecturer)
- Konstanz Methods Excellence Workshops (lecturer of course: Causal inference and observational research – designing robust counterfactuals)

Language Skills

German: native

English and Spanish: fluent Russian and Serbo-Croat: good

Catalan, Italian and Macedonian: passive knowledge (able to conduct research)