

MIHAI VARGA, PhD

Curriculum Vitae

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Current Position

September 2011 – August 2012: Max Weber Postdoctoral Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy (mentor: Laszlo Bruszt)

Education

February 2011: **PhD cum laudae**, University of Amsterdam, dissertation title “Striking with Tied Hands: Strategies of Labor Interest Representation in Post-communist Romania and Ukraine”

Supervisory team: Jelle Visser, Annette Freyberg-Inan, Marc Van der Meer

Defense committee: Michael Burawoy, Jonathan Zeitlin, Bela Greskovits, Brian Burgoon, Maarten Keune.

December 2010 – January 2011: Visiting research fellow at the Viadrina University in Frankfurt Oder, Germany.

October 2005: **Master of Arts** (European Studies) at Viadrina University in Frankfurt/Oder, Germany (with a scholarship from the German Academic Exchange Service, DAAD); MA thesis supervised by Timm Beichelt and Michael Minkenberg: "Anti-Corruption Reforms in Post-Socialist Countries: Of Political Actors and their Resistance to Civil Service Development in the Czech Republic, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania".

July 2003: **Bachelor of Arts** at the Political Science Faculty of the National School for Political and Administrative Studies in Bucharest, Romania; BA Thesis supervised by Sorin Ionita: "The Role of Electoral Systems in the President-Parliament Relationship in Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia, 1992-2001: Consequences for the Electoral Systems Theory".

Academic Publications

2012 (forthcoming, with Annette Freyberg-Inan): "The Threat of Selective Democracy: Popular Dissatisfaction and Exclusionary Strategies of Elites in Central and Eastern Europe", in *South-Eastern Europe*, Volume 36.

2012 (forthcoming): "Countering authoritarian states through public campaigns: A post-Soviet perspective", *Max Weber Working Papers*, European University Institute

2011: "Containing Militancy: Workers, Trade Unions and Factory Regimes in Ukraine", in *Debatte, Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, Volume 19, issue 3, p. 397-419

2011 (with Annette Freyberg-Inan): "Ungarn seit der Wahl - Demokratie unter Druck" [Hungary since the Elections – Democracy under Pressure], in *Berliner Debatte Initial*, Volume 22, Issue 3, pages 120-126.

2011: "An Anatomy of 'Collective Anti-Collectivism': Labor Sociology in Ukraine and Romania," *Global Labour Journal*: Volume 2, Issue 1, p. 43-63.

2010: "Political Involvement in Industrial Conflict in Ukraine during the World Economic Crisis, 2008-2010", in *Emecon: Journal for Employment and Economy in Central and Eastern Europe*, Volume 1, Issue 1, http://www.emecon.eu/fileadmin/articles/1_2010/emecon%201_2010%20Varga.pdf.

2010 (with Annette Freyberg-Inan): "Ungarn 2010: Die Bedeutung der Wahlergebnisse im Kontext der Demokratientwicklung" [Hungary 2010: The Significance of the Elections for the Development of Democracy], in *Berliner Debatte Initial*, Volume 21, Issue 2, pages 60-67.

2009 (with Annette Freyberg-Inan): "Demokratie okay, aber fuer alle? Demokratieunzufriedenheit und selektive Demokratie in Mittel- und Osteuropa" [Democracy for all? Dissatisfaction with Democracy and Selective Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe], in *Berliner Debatte Initial*, Volume 20, Issue 4, pages 104-119.

2008: "How Political Opportunities Strengthen the Far Right: Understanding the Rise in Far-Right Militancy in Russia", in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 60, Issue 4, pages 561-579.

2004: "Putin Running the Duma: A Quest for Stability, Regardless of Democratisation", in *The Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 4, Issue 2, pages 47-70.

2002: "National Corruption Day: A Theoretical Essay on the Sources of Corruption", in *The Romanian Journal of Society and Politics*, Volume 2, Issue 1, pages 107-114.

Book reviews

2007: Book review of Annette Freyberg-Inan / Radu Cristescu, *The Ghosts in Our Classrooms* (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2006); in *Osteuropa*, Volume 56, November 2007.

2006: Book review of August Pradetto / Carola Weckmüller, *Präsidenten in Postkommunistischen Ländern* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004); in *Osteuropa*, Volume 55, September 2005.

2002: Book review of Adam Michnik's *The Velvet Restoration* (Romanian edition, Iasi: Polirom, 2001), in *The Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 2, Issue 1.

Other publications

2011 (Op-ed): „Wirtschaftskrise ohne Arbeiterproteste. Zur Rolle von Gewerkschaften bei Arbeiterprotesten in der Ukraine“, *Ukraine-Analysen* (University of Bremen, Bremen, Germany), available here <http://www.laender-analysen.de/ukraine/pdf/UkraineAnalysen91.pdf>

2010 (Essay): "Ukraina: strajk w fabryce kombajnow" [Ukraine: strike at the harvester factory], in *Przegląd Anarchistyczny 11* (Poznan, Poland) <http://www.przegląd-anarchistyczny.org/pismo/170-przegląd-anarchistyczny-nr-11>

2009 (Essay): "Vor een handvol euro's. Aan de frontier van democratisch Europa: Roemenie" [For a fistful of Euros. At the borders of democratic Europe: Romania] in *De Republikein* (Amsterdam, Netherlands), Volume 5, Issue 3, pp. 9-11.

2008 (Essay): "Industrial Blues At Shop One - Two in Zaporozhe", in Plotki 07/08 http://www.plotki.net/cms/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=687&Itemid=31

Contributions to newspapers, interviews: four articles in the Moldovan literature monthly *Contrafort* (2006-2007); three articles in the Romanian weekly *Dilema* (2002-2003); for the French trade union CFDT magazine (October 2011)

Publications under review or in progress

2011 – *Striking with Tied Hands. Strategies of Labor Interest Representation in Post-communist Romania and Ukraine*, book proposal submitted to academic presses

2011 (revise and resubmit for *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*): “The Strategy of Threatening: Plant-Level Unions in Post-Communist Europe”, earlier version presented at European Doctoral Workshop at the University of Warwick, Sept. 2009

2011 (acceptance subject to revisions, *European Journal of Industrial Relations*): “Re-focusing studies of post-communist trade unions: Searching for more encompassing dependent variables”

2011 (with Annette Freyberg-Inan, to be submitted to *Europe-Asia Studies*): “State strategies of containing industrial conflict in post-communist countries: The case of Romania, 1999-2010”; earlier version presented at the EQUALSOC/TRALEG workshop at AIAS in Amsterdam, June 2009

2011 (with Ruya Gökhan Kocer, to be submitted to *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*): “Is there a third logic of collective action? Gray Unions as mechanisms of permanent pacification of worker power: An analysis of Russia and Turkey”

Awards and fellowships

- September 2011- August 2012 Max Weber Postdoctoral Fellowship, European University Institute
- September 2006 – February 2011 Amsterdam School for Social Science Research scholarship for the completion of a doctoral project
- 2003-2005 German Academic Exchange Service Fellowship for the duration of my Masters studies

Current projects

- with Laszlo Bruszt (EUI) currently developing a Framework 7 project titled “Regional Regulatory Integration and Development” (researching the workings of labor market regulating institutions such as labor inspections function in post-communist countries)
- co-organizer of the 4th Summer School in the Social Sciences in Ukraine (2012), a school established and run by the following institutions: Embassy of France in Ukraine, Doctoral School of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Kyiv, Ukraine), Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa (Canada), Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales [EHESS] (France)

Past projects

- with Rebecca Gumbrell McCormick (head of project, Birkbeck, University of London) and Richard Hyman (LSE), project titled “Assessing the Response of Trade Unions to Precarious Work across Europe”, funded by Rutgers University and the AFL-CIO (responsible for a report on Ukraine and Romania)

Teaching

- teaching at the Universita Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, part of the teaching exchange program between the EUI and UPF: “Working class action in Europe: Western and Eastern Perspectives”, (16-21 April 2012)
- “Enlargement and the Future of the EU”, Monash University (Australia, taught at the Monash University Center in Prato, Italy, December 2011)

- taught together with Jelle Visser the introductory course “Great Books” in the Research Master in the Social Sciences of the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of Amsterdam; winter semester 2010-2011; official student evaluations available upon request

- designed and taught the BA seminar course "The Moving Target: Democracy in Eastern Europe, 1989-2009" at the University of Amsterdam, winter semester 2009-2010; official student evaluations available upon request

- guest lecturer in 2008 and 2009 in Master’s research seminar on European integration and EU enlargement taught by Annette Freyberg-Inan at the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of Amsterdam

- “Introduction to Russian Politics”, course taught in December 2009 to the members of the Machiavelli Political Science Students’ Association

Areas of interest and/or teaching include theory and empirics of democracy and especially democratization, International Political Economy, sociology of social movements and in particular of the labor movement, qualitative research design, Russian politics, the post-communist far right, the development of the European Social and Employment Policy, of the European Neighborhood Policy.

Coursework done during my PhD

- Winter semester 2006-2007, “Analytical Sociology”, taught by Jelle Visser
- Summer semester 2007, “Methodology Clinic B”, taught by Annette Freyberg-Inan and Brian Burgoon
- September 2006 – October 2010, regular participation in the International Political Economy Club, a workshop at the University of Amsterdam meeting twice every month to discuss the members’ work in progress

Practical Experience and work within NGOs

2011-2012: Editor of the Social and Political Sciences internal magazine “SPS in press”, European University Institute

2009-2011: Ukraine-oriented volunteer for *XminY* (Dutch progressive funding organization providing support for social movements and grass roots groups globally working for social justice and political emancipation: www.xminy.nl)

September 2008- May 2009: main organizer of the staff seminar of the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam

2008: member of the Transriver team to organize the restoration of the Fagaras Synagogue in Southern Transylvania; http://transriver.org/index.php?title=Projekte_alt

2004-2005: student assistant at the Chair for the History of Eastern Europe (Prof. Karl Schloegel) and the European Studies Chair (Prof. Dr. Timm Beichelt) at Viadrina University, Germany

March 2000-August 2003: Founding Member and Executive Secretary of student NGO "Alumnus Club UNESCO" in Romania; most important activity organized: "Deconstructing Balkan Stereotypes", seminar held in August 2003, sponsored by the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation Bucharest

1999-2003: Member of the Association of Political Science Students of my faculty in Bucharest; responsible for, among other activities, protests regarding living conditions in the faculty's dormitories

Sept. 2001, 2003: Worked for the Civic Education Project, Bucharest, Romania, helping to organize two conferences

2002: Member of the Executive Committee of IAPSS, the International Association of Political Science Students, responsible for *Politikon*, the IAPSS journal

2001: Internship at the National Commission of Romania for UNESCO, in preparation of the delegation to the Youth Forum at the Opening of the UNESCO General Conference 2001 in Paris (in which I also participated)

Languages

Native: Romanian

Fluent: English, German, Russian

Near Fluency: French, Italian

Basic: Hungarian; good listening and hearing comprehension of Ukrainian and Dutch

Academic references

Prof. Dr. Timm Beichelt

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