

## Curriculum Vitae

**Dr. Adam Holesch**

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### Education

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**2012 - 2016** - PhD in Social and Political Science, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona/Spain

Dissertation: “What holds a multinational state together? The political stability of the Spanish ‘State of Autonomies’”. Supervision: Klaus-Jürgen Nagel, Grade: Excellent Cum Laude

**2011 - 2012** - Master in Political Philosophy, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona/Spain

**1999 - 2005** - Magister of Arts in Political Science and History, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Germany

### Languages

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Polish (native), German (native), English, Spanish (fluent), Catalan and Italian (medium), French (basic)

### Academic employment

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**2023 – now**

Research Assistant and Project Manager at IBEI, Barcelona Institute of International Studies, Barcelona, Spain – Jean-Monnet Network - EU Research and Education Network on Foreign Policy Issues: Values and Democracy.

**2019 – 2022**

Project Manager at IBEI, H2020 Project, “Global Governance and the European Union: Future Trends and Scenarios” (GLOBE). Project coordinator: Prof. Jacint Jordana, Final Evaluation: EU’s success story

**2018**

Researcher at IBEI, H2020 Project Enhancing the EU's Transboundary Crisis Management Capacities: Strategies for Multi- Level Leadership (TRANSCRISIS). Project coordinator: Prof. Jacint Jordana.

**2016 – 2017**

Post-doctoral fellow at IBEI, Barcelona Institute of International Studies, Barcelona, Spain - Project “Borders, sovereignty and self-determination in the UE” - Project leaders: Prof. Jacint Jordana/Prof. Michael Keating

## Research interests

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EU, democracy, identity, regionalism, global governance, comparative politics, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Russia

## Publications

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### Journals

#### Peer-reviewed articles

Holesch, A., & Zagórski, P. (2023). Toxic friend? The impact of the Russian invasion on democratic backsliding and PRR cooperation in Europe. *West European Politics*, 46(6), 1178-1204. Corresponding Author, (*Impact-Factor: 4.055 (2021)*). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2023.2202981>

Jordana, J., Holesch, A., & Triviño-Salazar, J. C. (2022). Trans-governmental regulatory networks and the European Union's involvement in global governance: an occasional instrument?. *Journal of European Integration*, 44(5), 677-693. Corresponding Author, (*Impact-Factor: 2.605 (2021)*). <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2022.2073445>

Roger, C., Jordana, J., Holesch, A., & Schmitt, L. (2022). Global Governance Research: Exploring Patterns of Growth, Diversity, and Inclusion. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 28(4), 486-508. (*Impact Factor: 1,180 (2021)*) <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-02804002>

Holesch, A., & Kyriazi, A. (2022). Democratic backsliding in the European Union: the role of the Hungarian-Polish coalition. *East European Politics*, 38(1), 1-20. (*Impact-Factor: 3,000 (2021)*), *Google Scholar Quotes: 47*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2020.1865319>

Holesch, A., & Jordana, J. (2021). The politics of unilateral secession in the European Union: the case of Catalonia. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1-20. (*Impact-Factor: 3.025 (2021)*). *Google Scholar Quotes: 10*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2021.1886979>

Holesch, A. (2021). Measuring solidarity: towards a survey question on fiscal solidarity in the European Union. *Acta Politica*, 56(2), 376-394. (*Impact-Factor; 1.613 (2021)*). *Google Scholar Quotes: 4*, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41269-021-00198-4>

Holesch, A. (2018). The Decentralization of Poland 1989-2018: From Partisan Disagreement to a Vehicle for Successful Absorption of EU Cohesion Funding. *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals / Journal of Self-Government*, No. 28 - Desembre 2018, pp. 47-73. *Google Scholar Quotes: 5*, DOI: 10.2436/20.8080.01.30

Holesch, A. (2013). Collective identity in the European Union. *World Tensions*, 9/19, pp. 65-83. <https://www.revistas.ucece.br/index.php/tensoesmundiais/article/download/525/423>.

### **Academic Service/Referee for:**

- European Union Politics
- Journal of European Public Policy
- Government and Opposition
- Democratization
- Journal of Elections and Public Opinion
- Territory, Politics and Governance
- Journal of Contemporary European Studies
- Regional and Federal Studies
- Comparative Southeast European Studies
- Politics and Governance
- European Legacy

### **Books**

Holesch, A.; Birkenkämper, A. (2008). "Von Kaczynski zu Tusk – eine deutsch-polnische Tragödie?", Bonn: Bouvier Verlag. (From Kaczynski to Tusk – a Polish-German tragedy?)

Holesch, A. (2007). "Verpasster Neuanfang? Deutschland, Polen und die EU", Bonn: Bouvier Verlag. (A lost new beginning? Germany, Poland and the EU)

### **Thesis**

Holesch, A. (2016). What holds a multinational state together? The political stability of the Spanish "State of Autonomies". PhD Thesis. Universitat Pompeu Fabra. *Google Scholar Quotes: 7*

### **Book Chapters**

Holesch A.; Rutynowska E.; Portela, C. (forthcoming). Too Little, But Not Too Late? Assessing the Role of Sanctions in the EU's Rule of Law Conflict with Poland, in: Antonioli, L. and Ruzza, C. (eds.) The Rule of Law in the EU and its Challenges: Issues, Actors and Strategies, Springer.

Jordana, J., Holesch, A., Keating, M, Marx, A. and J. Wouters (2019). Conclusions. Self - determination and the reconfiguration of the nation-state in Europe, in: J. Jordana, M. Keating, A. Marx and J. Wouters (eds.) Changing Borders in Europe Exploring the Dynamics of Integration, Differentiation and Self-Determination in the European Union, pp. 247-262.

Holesch, A.; Nagel, K-J. (2014). Die spanische Gemeindeverfassung zwischen zentralstaatlicher Lenkung und regionaler Schwäche. In: Alber, E./Zwilling, C. (Hrsg.). Gemeinden im Europäischen Mehrebenensystem: Herausforderungen im 21. Jahrhundert, Baden-Baden: Nomos 2014 (The Spanish municipalities between the central state strength and regional weakness), pp. 77-104.

Holesch, A.; Nagel, K-J. (2012). Bildungsföderalismus in Spanien? (Educational federalism in Spain?). In: Hrbek R./M. Grosse Hüttmann/J. Schmid (eds.). Bildungspolitik in Föderalstaaten und der Europäischen Union: Does Federalism Matter?. Baden-Baden: Nomos 2012 (Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Zentrums für Föderalismus-Forschung, 38), pp. 118-152.

## **Other Publications**

Jordana, J., Saz, A., Marx, A., Holesch, A., Vandendriessche, M., Coen, D., ... & Moreno Villar, C. (2023). Trends in Global Governance and Future Scenarios 2030. *GLOBE Report*.

Jordana, J., Holesch, A. & Schmitt, L., 2022. A Survey about International Organizations and the Future of Global Governance, Technical Report. IBEI Working Paper 2022/58. DOI: 10.31009/ibei.2022.wp58.

Holesch, A.; Pasetti, F. 2019. Broken Consensus in the Fight for the Soul of Europe. CIDOB Opini3n, n3 573, April 2019.

Holesch, A. (2018). Alternative f3r Deutschland: un nou actor d'extrema dreta a la pol3tica alemanya?. *Eines per a l'esquerra nacional*, (31), 106-115.

Nagel, K.-J.; Holesch, A. (2017), Bavaria: another case of a right to decide?, UPF Political Theory. Working paper 19.

Holesch, A.; Nagel, K.-J. (2012), Educational policy in Spain – a federal illusion? UPF Political Theory. Working paper 12.

## **Policy Papers/ Policy Briefs (selected)**

Jacint J., L. Schmitt, A. Holesch, (2020). Understanding Global Governance: the Contribution of Data Sets, GLOBE Policy Brief 1, January 2020.

Jacint J., L. Schmitt, A. Holesch, (2021). Current Challenges of Global Governance, GLOBE Policy Brief 2, March 2021.

Jacint J., A. Holesch L. Schmitt, (2022). Future Challenges of Global Governance, GLOBE Policy Brief 3, March 2022.

## **BLOGS (selected)**

Holesch, A., & Zag3rski, P. (2023). How the Ukraine war has eroded the links between Putin and the European far right, LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) blog, 23/05/23, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2023/05/23/how-the-ukraine-war-has-eroded-the-links-between-putin-and-the-european-far-right/>

Holesch, A., & Zag3rski, P. (2022). Does Fratelli d'Italia's rise to government signal a new era for the far right in Europe?, LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) blog, 26/10/22, <https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/117772/>

Holesch, A., & Kyriazi, A. (2021). Democratic backsliding as a collaborative project: Understanding the links between Fidesz and Law and Justice. *LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) blog*, <https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/109091/>

## **Articles in newspapers/press**

Holesch, Adam 2018. "Spalterisch ist die 'Diada' schon seit Langem" (The 'Diada' has been divisive for a long time), Sueddeutsche Zeitung, 11.9.2018, Interview. DOI: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/interview-am-morgen-nationalfeiertag-in-katalonien-spalterisch-ist-die-diada-schon-seit-langem-1.4118068>

Holesch, Adam/Portos, Martin (2017), *AfD, la ultraderecha que resquebraja el consenso federal*, in: El Pais, 16.10.2017, DOI: [https://elpais.com/internacional/2017/10/16/actualidad/1508141980\\_911594.html](https://elpais.com/internacional/2017/10/16/actualidad/1508141980_911594.html)

Holesch, Adam (2015), „Las visiones políticas del gemelo Kaczynski“, in: El Pais, 29.10.2015, DOI: [http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2015/10/29/actualidad/1446135969\\_542329.html](http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2015/10/29/actualidad/1446135969_542329.html)

Holesch, Adam (2007), "Das Erbe der Kaczynskis", in: Der Tagesspiegel, 13.08.2007, DOI: <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/meinung/polen-das-erbe-der-kaczynskis/1012074.html>

Holesch, Adam (2007), "Scheda po Kaczyńskich", FORUM, Nr. 34 (20.8.2007 – 25.8.2007), S.5.

Holesch, Adam (2006), "Kraft ohne Wirkung", in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 31.07.2006, Nr. 175 / S.6

## **Award**

AGAUR PhD Scholarship 2012-2015

AGAUR Research Stay Scholarship 2013-2014

Award of the Polish Consulate in Cologne/Germany for the best master thesis of the year 2005 about the German-Polish relations (January 2006)

## **Teaching Experience and Thesis Supervision**

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### **Lectures**

- "Comparative Politics and Democratization", M.A in International Relations, IBEI Barcelona Academic years 2021/2022; 2022/2023, 2023/2024.
- "The Politics of Democratic Decline", M.A in International Relations, IBEI Barcelona, 2023/2024.
- "Politica Comparada 2", B.A. in Political Science, UPF Barcelona, 2014/2015, 2015/2016, 2017/2018, 2018/2019, 2019/2020, 2020/2021, 2021/2022.
- "Introducción a la Ciencia Política", B.A. in Political Science, UPF Barcelona, 2015/2016.

### **Teaching assistance/Seminars**

- Seminars "Comparative Politics and Democratization", M.A in International Relations, IBEI Barcelona, Academic years 2014/2015, 2015/2016, 2016/2017, 2017/2018, 2018/2019, 2019/2020, 2020/2021.
- Seminars - "Politica Comparada 2", B.A in Political Science, UPF Barcelona, from 2013 to 2022.
- Seminars - "Qualitative Methods ", B.A in Criminology, UPF Barcelona, from 2016-2018.
- Seminars - "Teoría Política 2", B.A in Political Science, UPF Barcelona, 2018/2019
- Seminars - "Teoría de Instituciones Políticas", B.A in Political Science, UPF Barcelona, 2022/2023

## **Supervision and direction of master's theses**

### **IBEI - Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals**

#### ***Master in International Relations***

1. Ryan Gardebled, “A Look at Authoritarian Tendencies within Cultural Politics in Post-Soviet Moldova and Latvia, September 2023.
2. Hannah Lauder, “The Populist Protest: The Impact of Populism-Induced Hyperpolarization on Democratic Backsliding”, September 2023.
3. Mercedesz Maria Lajos, “Values vs. interests: The effect of the 2022 Russian-Ukrainian war on Hungary’s foreign policy towards Russia” September 2022.
4. Johanna Bucher, “The Culture of Rejection – The 2015 Migration Crisis and the Right-Wing Populism in Austria”, September 2022.
5. Albert Amat Badiella, “Regional Cooperation in Outer Space Policy. A Game Theory Approach”, January 2022.
6. Partick James Joder Hart, “Can Sanctions win over the Russian People? A mixed method case study”, September 2021.
7. Johanna Sohrt, “Merkel and Putin – Allies or Foes? A neo-realist assessment of Russo-German relations”, September 2021
8. Piotr Sienko, “Sustainable Development in Poland – A Case Study. An Examination of Public Health, Energy & Climate Consequences”, September 2021.
9. Josep Maria Reyner Bou, “La Derecha Radical Populista en España”, September 2018.

#### **ERASMUS MUNDUS MASTER’S PROGRAMME IN PUBLIC POLICY**

##### **co-supervised thesis**

10. Michelle Magvasi “Regional Disparities in the Visegrád Four. Does culture make a difference”, September 2021
11. Monica Alegre “The legacy of 15M: Tracing the Institutionalisation of the New Imaginaries”, September 2023
12. Juriaan Stegenga “The Reality of Affective Polarization in the Netherlands: A Systemic Analysis of its Origins”, September 2023
13. Margeux Schulz, “The Emergence and Persistence of Urban Riots in the French Banlieues”, September 2018
14. Erik Kinnhammer, “The Legacy of the Welfare State: The Production and Reproduction of Welfare State Legacies in Relation to the Migration Crisis in Europe in 2015, September 2018

## **UPF - Pompeu Fabra University**

### ***Master in Current Democracies: Nationalism, Federalism and Multiculturalism***

15. Anil Ozan Tural “Differences Within Similarities: Populism and Democratic Backsliding in Turkey and Hungary”, June 2021.

## **Research Visits**

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### **07/2017 - 04/2018**

- Post-doctoral research at the Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven/Belgium (Supervision: Axel Marx).

### **09/2015 – 12/2015**

- PhD Visiting Scholar at European University Institute in Fiesole/Italy (Supervision: Rainer Bauböck)

### **01/2015 – 03/2015**

- PhD Visiting Scholar at European University Institute in Fiesole/Italy (Supervision: Rainer Bauböck)

### **11/2014**

- PhD Visiting Scholar at Central European University in Budapest/Hungary (Supervision: Nenad Dimitrijevic)

### **09/2013 – 2/2014**

- AGAUR Scholarship: Queens University in Kingston/Canada (Supervision: Will Kymlicka, Canada Chair of Philosophy)

## **Participation in research projects and research groups**

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EU H2020 Project, “The European Union and the Future of the Global Governance – Future Trends and Scenarios”, 2019-2022. (Project Manager)

EU H2020 Project Enhancing the EU's Transboundary Crisis Management Capacities: Strategies for Multi- Level Leadership (TRANSCRISIS). (Researcher)

- “Borders, sovereignty and self-determination in contemporary Europe”, project by the Barcelona Institute of International Studies (IBEI); the Centre on Constitutional Change (CCC) (Edinburgh and Aberdeen); and the Centre for Global Governance Studies (Leuven), 2017 – 2018. (Project Manager)

- „Religious Pluralism and Political Decentralization in Europe: towards a post-secular model? A normative and comparative analysis“, this project was financed by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science (CSO2009-13143-CPOL), Period: 2011-2012. (M.A/PhD Student)

- “Research Group in Political Theory” - Period: 2012-2015, UPF - <http://www.upf.edu/grtp/>

## **Papers presented at conferences**

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Money Talks? The Effectiveness of Sanctions The “Rule of Law” Conflict in the European Union, ECPR General Conference, Prague (September 2023).

Idealistic Peacemakers or Putin’s Useful Helpers? The European Populist Far-left after the Russian Invasion (together with Piotr Zagórski), 29<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Europeanists, Reykjavik (June 2023).

Can Sanctions and Threats There of Strengthen Democracy? – The “Rule of Law” Conflict in the European Union, 29<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Europeanists. Reykjavik (June 2023).

“EU's Global Influence: Responding to Russian Aggression, Upholding Democratic Values, and Addressing Populist Radical Right Challenges”, Conference on European Politics, Equality and Democracy (EUGenDem) Conference in Helsinki (May 2023).

“The Effectiveness of Sanctions in the Rule of Law Conflict”, ECPR Joint Sessions Toulouse (April 2023).

“Who pulls the strings: Measuring autonomy in International Organisations (together with Alexandros Tokhi), ECPR General Conference, Innsbruck/Austria (August 2022)

“The Russian Wedge in the Polish-Hungarian Backsliding Coalition”, 28<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Europeanists, Lisbon (June 2022)

“Conflict over Rule of Law with the EU”, 28<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Europeanists, Lisbon (June 2022)

“Can sanctions strengthen democracy? – The ‘Rule of Law’ conflict in the European Union.” ECPR, Early Career Workshop on EU responses to democratic backsliding, Rome (September 2021).

“Democratic Backsliding in Poland: the Role of the EU”, ECPR Standing Group 10<sup>th</sup> Conference of the SGEU, Virtual Event (June 2021).

‘Democratic Backsliding as a Collaborative Project: The Hungarian-Polish Coalition in the European Union’ Workshop Democratic Backsliding in Europe: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives 4 – 5 December 2019, Sciences Po, Paris.

Illiberal Coalitions in the European Union: The Case of Hungary and Poland. ECPR General Conference Wrocław (September 2019).

The Secessionist Conflict in the Spanish “State of Autonomies”, ECPR General Conference Wrocław (September 2019).

“Nationalism ‘Unplugged’: Citizenship and independence in Catalonia and Scotland”, presented at the workshop: An Ever Looser Union - Citizenship and Territory in the Emerging European Order, NCCR on the move - University of Neuchatel (December 2017)

“The Trust in Solidarity”, presented at the workshop Solidarities in Europe, University Bern (November 2017)



“Bargaining for Self-Determination: The Secession Game in the EU”, presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> EISA (European International Studies Association) Pan-European Conference on International Relations in Barcelona (September 2017)

“Hybrid identities in the Spanish ‘State of Autonomies’”, presented at, XIII CONGRESO DE AECPA (La Asociación Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración), Universidad de Santiago de Compostela/Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (September 2017)

“El Juego de la Secesión en el ‘Estado de las Autonomías’”, paper presented at XIII CONGRESO DE AECPA (La Asociación Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración), Universidad de Santiago de Compostela/Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (September 2017)

“Nationalism and Security in Multinational States: The Case of Spain”, presented at the ASEN conference at the London School of Economics and Political Science in London (April 2015)

“The Influence of Asymmetry on Territorial Dynamics in “Hybrid” Multinational States: The Case of Spain”, presented at the Department of Political Science at the Central European University in Budapest/Hungary (November 2014)

“The Influence of Asymmetry on the Territorial Dynamics in Multinational Federal Agreements: The Case of Spain”, presented at the ECPR General Conference in Glasgow (September 2014)

“Mission impossible? Insides from nationalism in the European identity-building process”, presented at the RECODE Summer School in Dublin (April 2013)

„Minority Unit Dynamics in Spain”, paper presented at „5th Graduate Network Conference” at London School of Economics and Political Science in London (March 2013)

“Interkommunale Kooperation in Spanien”, presented at “Jahrbuch des Föderalismus: Autoren-Workshop 2012“ Institut für Föderalismus- und Regionalismusforschung – Europäische Akademie Bozen (October 2012)

„Bildungspolitik in Spanien“, presented at Jahrbuch des Föderalismus: Autoren-Workshop 2011, Europäisches Zentrum fuer Föderalismus – Forschung (October 2011)

Evaluator/Discussant: University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) Graduate Forum, 8/9<sup>th</sup> of June 2023, Barcelona

### **Additional methodological training**

1. Process Tracing, Derek Beach, UPF, 2015
2. Game-theory, ECPR Summer School im Ljubljana 2013 (2 weeks)
3. Multi-level modelling: Roberto Grillo, UPF, 2013
4. Mixed Methods: Manfred Max Bergman, UPF, 2013
5. Qualitative Comparative Analysis, IPSA Summer School in Sao Paolo (2 weeks)
6. Experiments in Social Science: Aina Gallego UPF, 2012