

## **Christoph H. Stefes, Ph.D.**

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### **Current and Previous Positions**

<b>Associate Professor</b> <i>(Tenured Summer 09)</i>	Political Science Department University of Colorado Denver <i>Comparative European &amp; Post-Soviet Studies</i>	08/02 – present Denver, CO
<b>Project Coordinator</b>	Research Unit Democracy: Structures, Performance, Challenges Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (Social Science Research Center Berlin) DFG Project: „Critical Junctures and the Survival of Dictatorships“	02/11 – 01/14 Berlin, Germany
<b>Director</b>	BA in International Studies Program University of Colorado Denver	01/08 – 05/10 Denver, CO
<b>Visiting Fellow</b>	Research Unit Democracy: Structures, Performance, Challenges Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (Social Science Research Center Berlin)	07/09 – 08/09 Berlin, Germany
<b>Visiting Professor</b>	International College Beijing China Agricultural University	11/04 – 01/05 Beijing, China
<b>Instructor</b>	Political Science Department University of Colorado Denver	08/99 – 05/02 Denver, CO
<b>Visiting Lecturer</b>	Department of International Law and Relations Tbilisi State University	02/98 – 06/99 Tbilisi, Georgia

### **Education**

<b>Ph.D.</b>	Comparative Politics, International Relations, Policy Analysis J. Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver Doctoral thesis: <i>The Incompatibilities of Institutionalized Corruption and Democracy in the Former Soviet Union: the Case of Georgia</i>	May 2002 Denver, CO
<b>MA</b>	International Studies J. Korbel School of International Studies University of Denver Master thesis: <i>European Integration and Social Policy: a Case for Neo-functionalism?</i>	Nov 1997 Denver, CO
<b>BA</b>	Modern History, German Literature, and Political Science University of Tübingen	June 1993 Tübingen, D

## Publications

### Books

- Nodia, G. and C. H. Stefes (eds.) *The South Caucasus Since Independence: Political, Social, and Economic Developments* (Frankfurt/M: Peter Lang). Forthcoming.
- Wooden, A. and C. H. Stefes (eds.) 2009. *The Politics of Transition in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (New York: Routledge).
- Stefes, C. H. 2006. *Understanding Post-Soviet Transitions: Corruption, Collusion, and Clientelism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Barrios, H. and C. H. Stefes (eds.). 2006. *Einführung in die Comparative Politics* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006).

### Refereed Articles

- Berry, M., F. Laird, and C. H. Stefes. “Driving Energy: The Enactment and Ambitiousness of State Renewable Energy Policy“. In: *Journal of Public Policy*. Forthcoming.
- Tanneberg, D., C. Stefes, and W. Merkel. 2013. “Hard times and regime failure: autocratic responses to economic downturns.” *Contemporary Politics* 19 (1): 115–129.
- Gerschewski, J., W. Merkel, A. Schmotz, C. H. Stefes, and D. Tanneberg. 2013. “Warum überleben Diktaturen.” In: *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Sonderheft 47: 106-131.
- Stefes, C. H. and J. Sehring. 2011. “Wilted roses and tulips. The failure of building democracy in Kyrgyzstan and Georgia.” In: *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, Sonderheft 1: 221-246.
- Stefes, C. H., A. Schmotz und W. Merkel. 2011. “Diktatorendämmerung. Nordafrika und Nahost: Schwache Regime und starke Oppositionsbewegungen.” In: *WZB Mitteilungen* 133 (September): 25-28.
- Stefes, C. H. 2010. “Autoritäre Parteien und Kooptation im Kaukasus und auf dem Balkan.” In: *Berliner Debatte Initial* 21, no. 3: 100-112.
- Stefes, C. H. 2010. “Climate Change and the European Security Strategy.” In: *Democracy and Security in Southeastern Europe* 1, no. 4/5: 73-77.
- Stefes, C. H. 2010. Bypassing Germany's *Reformstau*: The Remarkable Rise of Renewable Energy. *German Politics* 19: 148-63.
- Laird, F. N. and C. Stefes. 2010. “The diverging paths of German and United States policies for renewable energy: Sources of difference.” In: *Energy Policy* 37: 2619–29.
- George, J. A. and C. H. Stefes. 2008. “Saakashvili and the Future of Georgia’s Democracy after the War.” In: *Current History* (October): 344-47.

- Stefes, C. H. 2008. "Governance, the State, and Systemic Corruption: Armenia and Georgia in Comparison." In: *Caucasian Review of International Affairs* 2, no. 2: 1-11.
- Stefes, C. H. 2007. "Measuring, Conceptualizing, and Fighting Systemic Corruption: Evidence from Post-Soviet Countries." In: *Perspectives on Global Issues* 2, no. 1: 1-16.
- Stefes, C. H. 2003 "Response to Åslund Anders: Stability vs. Volatility. Why the CIS Is *Not* a Shining Example for Central Europe." In: *Demokratizatsiya* 11, no. 2: 320-23.
- Shea, J. and C. H. Stefes. "The Integration of the Visegrad Countries into the European Union." In: *Journal of Public and International Affairs* 13 (1998): 182-207.

### **Non-refereed Articles**

- Stefes, C. H. "Green Energy Investments Pay Off in the Long Run." In: *U.S. News & World Report* (online) Debate Club (January 18, 2012).
- Stefes, C. H. "Renewable Energy: What Germany Can Teach the U.S." In: *New York Times* (online): Room for Debate (22. September 2011).
- Stefes, C. H. "Facing Russia's Threat." In: *Rocky Mountain News* (18 August 2008).
- Stefes, C. H. "U.S. Shows True Colors with Uzbekistan Response." In: *Denver Post* (29 May 2005).
- Stefes, C. H. "A Little Modesty Might Serve U.S. Well." In: *Rocky Mountain News* (15 April 2005).

### **Book Chapters**

- Stefes, C. H. 2011. "Regimebeständigkeit und 'Revolution': Armenien und Georgien im Vergleich." In: H. Albrecht, R. Frankenberger, and S. Rech (eds.) *Autoritäre Regime. Herrschaftsmechanismen, Legitimationsstrategien, Persistenz und Wandel*, (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag): 97-113.
- Stefes, C. H. and Julie A. George. 2010. "The Battles after the Battle: International Law and the Russian-Georgian War." In: C. P.M. Waters and J. Green (eds.) *Conflict in the Caucasus: Implications for International Legal Order* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan): 153-176.
- Sehring, J. and C. H. Stefes. 2010. "Die Stabilität von kompetitiv-autoritären Regimen: Armenien, Georgien, Kasachstan und Kirgistan im Vergleich." In: H. Albrecht and R. Frankenberger (eds.) *Autoritarismus Reloaded. Neuere Ansätze und Erkenntnisse der Autokratieforschung* (Baden-Baden: Nomos): 275-294.
- Stefes, C. H. and A. E. Wooden. 2009. "Tempting two fates. The theoretical foundations for understanding Central Eurasian transitions." In: A. E. Wooden and C. H. Stefes (eds.) *The Politics of Transition in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Enduring legacies and emerging challenges* (New York: Routledge): 3-29.
- A. E. Wooden and C. H. Stefes. 2009. "Multivaried and interacting paths of change in Central Eurasia." In: A. E. Wooden and C. H. Stefes (eds.) *The Politics of Transition in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Enduring legacies and emerging challenges* (New York: Routledge): 249-63.
- Stefes, C. H. "Die Entwicklung der Vergleichenden Politikwissenschaft in den USA seit 1945." In: H. Barrios and C. H. Stefes (eds.) *Einführung in die Comparative Politics* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006): 1-15.

Stefes, C. H. "Der Staat in der Vergleichenden Politikwissenschaft." In: H. Barrios and C. H. Stefes (eds.) *Einführung in die Comparative Politics* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006): 169-81.

Stefes, C. H. "Clash of Institutions: Clientelism and Corruption *vs.* Rule of Law." In: C. P. M. Waters (ed.) *The State of Law in the South Caucasus* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 3-20.

Sisk, T. and C. H. Stefes. "Power Sharing as an Interim Step in Peace Building: Lessons from South Africa for Other Divided Societies." In: D. Rothchild and P. G. Roeder (eds.) *Sustainable Peace. Power and Democracy after Civil Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005): 293-317.

Stefes, C. H. "The Georgian Community in Georgia." In: K. Cordell and S. Wolff (eds.) *The Ethnopolitical Encyclopedia of Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004): 605-607.

Stefes, C. H. "Kampf der Institutionen: Korruption, Marktwirtschaft und Rechtsstaatlichkeit in der früheren Sowjetunion." In: P. Bendel, A. Croissant, and F. W. Rüb (eds.) *Demokratie und Staatlichkeit. Systemwechsel zwischen Staatsreform und Staatskollaps* (Opladen: Leske and Budrich, 2003): 119-38.

### **Book Reviews**

Stefes, C. H. 2009. "Russia's Battle with Crime, Corruption, and Terrorism, ed. by R. W. Orttung and A. Latta (New York: Routledge, 2008)." In: *Slavic Review* 86: 1011-13.

Stefes, C. H. 2008. "Historical Dictionary of Georgia, by A. Mikaberidze (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2007)." In: *Nationalities Papers* 36: 357-59.

Stefes, C. H. 2008. "'Enough!' The Rose Revolution in the Republic of Georgia 2003, ed. by Z. Karumidze and J. V. Wertsch (Hauptpage: Nova Science Publishers, 2005)." In: *Totalitarismus und Demokratie* 1 (2008): .

### **Conference Papers**

2012 "Shaping Perceptions: The Dynamic Interaction between Mass Protest and Elite Divisions", with Sophie Grünwald, 25<sup>th</sup> Scientific Congress of the German Association for Political Science (DVPW), Tübingen, Germany.

2012 "With or Without You - Opposition Leadership and Mass Contestation in Georgia 2003 and Egypt 2011", with Sophie Grünwald, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA (paper accepted for presentation, conference was canceled due to inclement weather).

2012 Keynote Speech: "Critical Junctures, Institution Building, and Regime Survival in Armenia and Georgia", 2<sup>nd</sup> Academic Swiss Caucasus Net Annual Conference, Yerevan, Armenia.

2010 "Creating Path Dependency: The Divergence of German and U.S. Renewable Energy Policy" (with F. Laird), Washington, D. C.

2010 "The Role of Ecology in Security Politics, NATO in the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities", sponsored by: The Atlantic Council of Croatia u. a., Šipan, Croatia.

2009 "Rapid Policy Change in a Semi-Sovereign State: German Renewable Energy Policy-Making as a Deviant Case", presented at: German Studies Association's 33<sup>rd</sup> Annual Conference, Arlington, VA.

- 2009 “Stability and instability of competitive authoritarian regimes: Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in comparison”, presented at: European Consortium for Political Research 5<sup>th</sup> General Conference, Potsdam, Germany.
- 2009 “Die Stabilität von kompetitiv-autoritären Regimes - Armenien, Georgien, Kasachstan and Kirgisien im Vergleich”, accepted at: “Autoritarismus Reloaded” Autorenworkshop, Bad Urach, Germany.
- 2009 “The Battles after the Battle - International Law and the Russian-Georgian War”, presented at: University of Reading’s School of Law Conference “Conflict in the Caucasus: Implications for International Legal Order,” Reading, UK.
- 2009 “Policies of Renewable Energy Development: The U.S. and Germany in Comparison”, presented at: The Southwestern Political Science Association’s Annual Convention 2009, Denver, CO.
- 2009 “Path Dependencies and the Development of Renewable Energy Sources in the United States and Germany”, presented at: The International Studies Association’s Annual Convention 2009, New York, NY.
- 2006 “Systemic Corruption and State Failure: Evidence from the South Caucasus”, presented at: “The Idea of a Failed State: Interdisciplinary Theories and Application”. Westfield State College. Westfield, MA.
- 2006 “Grabbing Hands and Captured States: Systemic Corruption in Armenia and Georgia”, accepted at: American Political Science Association 2006 Annual Meeting. Philadelphia, PA.
- 2005 “Understanding Systemic Corruption: Some Methodological Questions”, presented at: Central Eurasian Studies Society: Sixth Annual Conference. Boston University, Boston, MA.
- 2004 “The Legacies of Transition: Georgia's State Collapse and Democracy”, presented at: Central Eurasian Studies Society, Fifth Annual Conference. Indiana University, Bloomington, ID.
- 2004 “Systemic Corruption as an Intervening Variable in Post-Soviet Political and Economic Transitions: Armenia and Georgia in Comparison”, presented at: Caucasus Regional Policy Symposium, International Research & Exchange Board (IREX) and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars’ Kennan Institute. Shepherdstown, WV.
- 2004 “Systemic Corruption as an Intervening Variable in Post-Communist Transitions”, presented at: Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Portland, OR.
- 2003 “New Faces in Post-Soviet Politics – Does It Really Matter?”, presented at: Central Eurasian Studies Society, Fourth Annual Conference. Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- 1999 “The Impact of Institutionalized Corruption on Democratization in the Caucasus”, presented at: Konferenz des Arbeitskreises Systemwechsel, Deutsche Vereinigung der Politikwissenschaft. Berlin, Germany.
1996. “European Integration and Its Impact on Workers’ Rights and Transnational Union Cooperation”, presented at: Internal Dynamics and External Relations Conference, sponsored by School for Public and International Affairs, Columbia University. New York, NY.
1995. “The Future of the Transatlantic Partnership”, presented at: The World Issue Forum, sponsored by Metropolitan State College of Denver. Denver, CO.

## Teaching

### **Undergraduate level**

- Introduction to Comparative Politics
- Introduction to International Political Economy
- Comparative Politics: Europe
- German Politics
- Corruption in the United States and Abroad
- The Post-Soviet World

### **Graduate level**

- Political Science: State of the Discipline
- Comparative Politics: European Integration
- Dictatorships in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century
- Democracy & Democratization
- Comparative Public Policy
- Advanced International Political Economy: Globalization

## Consulting Work and Media Appearances

Since 2010	Senior Associate, Ecologic Institute Berlin
2009	Interview in <i>Caucasian Review for International Affairs</i> 3 (4) about political developments in the South Caucasus.
2008	Interviewed on <i>KGNU</i> , Boulder about the development of renewable energy in Germany and Europe ( <i>Hemispheres</i> , March 25, 2007).
2008	Expert Witness for asylum trial at the United States Court Of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (04-73149 Mkrtchyan v. Gonzales).
2006-08	Peer Reviewer for <i>Global Integrity</i> Report 2006 and 2007, covering Armenia and Georgia.
2006	Interviewed on <i>Chicago Public Radio</i> about political developments in Georgia ( <i>Worldview</i> , August 9, 2006).
2004	Interviewed by <i>Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty</i> : J-C Peuch, "South Caucasus: Is Any Real Progress Being Made In Tackling Corruption?" (February 27, 2004).

## Awards, Grants and Fellowships

2011-14	Collaborative research grant for a 3-year study on the stability of autocratic regimes, funded by the <u>Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft</u> , in cooperation with Prof. Wolfgang Merkel, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin und Humboldt University Berlin (\$854,000)
2006-08	Collaborative research grant for a 2-year study on renewable energy policies in the United States and Germany, funded by the <u>National Science Foundation</u> , in cooperation with Prof. Frank Laird, University of Denver (\$89,000).

- 2007 Research Excellence Award for Tenure-track and Tenured Faculty, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Colorado at Denver.
- 2004 Fellowship for junior scholars to participate in the Caucasus Regional Policy Symposium, funded by International Research & Exchange Board (IREX) and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars' Kennan Institute.
- 2003 Grant to research corruption in Armenia, funded by Center for International Business Education and Research, Institute for International Business; University of Colorado Denver.
- 1996 Graduate Student Association Council (GSAC), Best Research and Publication, Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver.
- 1992-93 European Union Student Exchange Scholarship (ERASMUS), University of Groningen, The Netherlands.

## **Professional Experience**

- International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) Uzbekistan  
*Program Coordinator* 2000
- Directed the implementation of the 2000 IFES Democracy Summer Camp in Karakalpakistan for fifty Uzbek high school students.
  - Assisted with IFES' 2000-2001 strategic and budgetary planning.
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Armenia and Georgia  
*Election Observer in Armenia and Georgia* 1998- 1999
- Monitored municipal elections in Georgia and parliamentary elections in Armenia.
- German Trade Union Federation (DGB) Germany  
*Research Intern* 1995
- Conducted research in Germany and Belgium for the DGB evaluating the impact of European integration on workers' rights and European labor union cooperation.

## **Skills**

### Language

- German (native), English (fluent), Dutch (advanced), French, Russian, and Georgian (basic)

### Computer

- MS Office, SPSS-PC as well as Blackboard and ECollege (software for online teaching)