# IRINA BUSYGINA

Visiting Scholar, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University

[**irinabusygina@fas.harvard.edu**](mailto:irinabusygina@fas.harvard.edu)**;** [**ira.busygina@gmail.com**](mailto:ira.busygina@gmail.com)

**Research Interests**

*Russian Foreign Policy*

*Post-Soviet Politics*

*EU-Russia Relations*

*Comparative Federalism and Decentralization*

## Board Membership

Executive Committee, PONARS Eurasia

University Consortium – 6 leading academic institutions in the US, the EU, and Russia (before 2022)

Academic Advisory Board – Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS), Berlin, Germany

Scientific Advisory Board, Leibniz Science Campus “Eastern Europe – Global Area” (EEGA), Germany

## Education and Degrees

2006 – State degree (diploma) of Full Professor in Political Science

2000 - Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Moscow

Degree: Doctor of Science in Politics (habilitation)

Thesis: Political Role of the Regions within the European Union and Their Impact on the EU Institution-Building

## Work Experience

Since September 2022 – Visiting scholar at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University

2017- 2022 (August) - Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, National Research University; Director, Center for Comparative Governance Studies – Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg

1997 - 2016 - Professor, Department for Comparative Politics; Director, Center for Regional Political Studies, Moscow State Institute of International Relations

1996 – 1999 – Head of Division for Regional and Social Problems, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences

## Teaching Experience

Department of Political Science and International Relations, National Research University – Higher School of Economics in Saint Petersburg

* *Russia in World Politics*
* *Russia – EU Relations*
* *Geography, Institutions and Development*
* *Regional Political Studies*

University Consortium, Oxford Module June 23-30, 2019. Oxford, St. Anthony's College, UK

*- Russia in Eurasia*

Free University of Berlin

*- Module “Eastern European Politics” (in English)* 2015-2018

Department of Comparative Politics, School of Political Science, Moscow State Institute of International Relations, 1999 – 2016

* *Political Geography and Geopolitics*
* *Regional Politics*
* *Comparative Federalism*
* *Political Geography of Post-Soviet Space*
* *Political System of Germany and the European Union*

#### **Visiting Positions**

2020 (February – August) – Visiting Scholar, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University

2015-2016 – Visiting Fellow, Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, Finland (Grant of the Finnish Academy of Sciences)

2014 – Visiting Researcher, Uppsala Center for Russian Studies, Uppsala University, Sweden

2014 – Visiting Researcher, Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, Finland

2006 – Visiting Professor, SUNY, Binghamton, NY, USA

2005, 2011 – Visiting Professor, University of Regensburg, Germany

2000 – 2001 – Research Fellow, Slavic Research Center, University of Hokkaido, Japan

2001 – Visiting Professor, University of Bergen, Norway

## Recognition

1997 – State Award of the Russian Federation for the highest achievements in the fields of science and technology *(Gosudarstvennaya premiya)*

2000 – Prize of the “Foreign Literature” magazine for the book “Regions of Germany” (Moscow: ROSSPAN)

2011 – The First place at the competition of scientific works, Russian Association of Political Science (for the textbook “Political Geography of the World”. Moscow: Prospect, 2010)

2021 – 2022; 2019-2020; 2018-2019; 2017-2018 - the Best Teacher (Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg, School of Social Sciences)

***Books in English***

1. Regional Leadership in Post-Soviet Eurasia: The Strategies of Russia, China, and the European Union. UK: Routledge, 2023.
2. Federalism and Decentralization in Authoritarian Settings: Lessons from the Post-Soviet Region. UK: Routledge (*under contract*) (with Mikhail Filippov)
3. Russia-EU Relations and the Common Neighborhood: Coercion Versus Authority. UK: Routledge, 2018.
4. New Frontiers of Europe: Opportunities and Challenges, Ed. by Irina Busygina and Olga Potemkina. Moscow: MGIMO University, 2003.

***Books in Russian***

1. Modernization and Democratization in BRICS Countries: Comparative Analysis. Moscow: Aspect-Press, 2015 (with Igor Okunev)
2. Political Geography and the World Map. Moscow: Aspect Press, 2010, 2016 (2nd edition)
3. Political Modernization of the State in Russia: Necessity, Directions, Costs and Risks. Moscow: “Liberal Mission” Foundation, 2012 (with Mikhail Filippov)
4. Giant Countries: The Problems of Territorial Stability. Collective Volume. Ed. by Irina Busygina, Leonid Smirnyagin and Mikhail Filippov. Moscow: MGIMO – University, 2010
5. Federalism and Ethnic Diversity in Russia. Ed. by Irina Busygina and Andreas Heinemann-Grueder. Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2010
6. Regional Politics. Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2006
7. Regions of Germany. Moscow: ROSSPAN.

***Selected peer-reviewed journal publications in English (2021-2022)***

1. Ready to Protest? Explaining Protest Potential in Russian Regional Capitals. *Regional and Federal Studies* published online January 2023. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2022.2159389> (with Ekaterina Paustyan)
2. Pandemic Decentralization: COVID-19 and Principal–Agent Relations in Russia. *Problems of Post-Communism,* Published online: 14 Sep 2022 (with Stanislav Klimovich) DOI: [10.1080/10758216.2022.2111313](https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2022.2111313)

# COVID and Federal Relation in Russia. *Russian Politics,* 6 (2021), pp.279–300 (with Mikhail Filippov).

# Trade-offs and inconsistencies of the Russian foreign policy: The case of Eurasia, *Journal of Eurasian Studies,* 2021, Vol. 12(1) 46–56.

1. Russia, Post-Soviet Integration, and the EAEU: The Balance between Domination and Cooperation, *Problems of Post-Communism,* 2021, 68:6, 477-486 (with Mikhail Filippov)

***Selected peer-reviewed journal publications in Russian (2020-2022)***

1. The problems of coordination in a multilevel governance system at a time of crisis (the EU and the Covid-19 pandemic), *Political Science,* 2022, N 2, pp. 74–95 (with Anatolie Cecalenko).
2. Models of Regional Leadership in Eurasia: To the New Research Agenda. *World Economy and International Relations,* 2020, vol. 64, no. 11, pp. 114-123 (coauthors I. Grigoriev, A. Dekalchuk, Y. Kabanov, S. Krivokhizh, E. Soboleva).
3. Benefits of Failure: Russian for the Comparative Federalism Research. *Bulletin of Perm University. Political Science,* 2020, Vol. 14. №3, pp.6-20.
4. Changing incentives and strategies of national governments in the EU multilevel governance system. *POLIS. Political Studies*. 2020. № 5. pp.148-163 (with Mikhail Filippov).
5. Agglomerations, cluster policy and economic growth in Russia (the case of Tatarstan), *Bulletin of Perm University. Political Science*. 2020, Vol. 14. No2, pp.5-15 (with Lilya Sagitova).
6. The Transit to “Open Access Order” In the Post-War Germany // *Social Science and Contemporary Wor*ld, 2020, N 2, pp. 64-80 (with Stanislav Klimovich).
7. Regional Leadership in International Relations and the Role of Russia in Eurasia // *Social Science and Contemporary World,*  2019. N 4, pp. 121-133.
8. Polish Minority in the Republic of Lithuania: Internal and External Factors, *Baltic Region,* 2019, Vol. 11, № 1., pp.43—59 (coauthor Anton Оnishenko).

***Selected chapters in collective volumes in English (2017-2022)***

1. Center-regional relations in Russia. In: Routledge Handbook of Russian Politics and Society. Ed. by Graeme Gill. UK: Routledge, 2023, Chapter 14 (with Mikhail Filippov)
2. Are Post-Soviet Leaders Doomed to Be Populist? A Comparative Analysis of Putin and Nazarbayev. *Multifaceted Nationalism and Illiberal Momentum at Europe’s Eastern Margin,* Ed, by Andrey Makarychev, Routledge, 2021. (Chapter 9).
3. The Limits of Conservative Influence on Economic Policy in Russia. *New Conservatives in Russia and East central Europe*, Bluhm, Katharina and Mihai Varga (eds.). UK: Routledge, 2018 (coauthor Mikhail Filippov).
4. Russian Federalism, in *Russia: Strategy, Policy and Administration,* ed. by Irvin Studin, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
5. Rising Powers in the Contemporary World: Sources of Sustainability, in: Vocabularies of International Relations After the Crisis in Ukraine, ed. by Andrey Makarychev and Alexandra Yatsyk, London and NY: Routledge, 2017.

***Selected policy papers and memos (2020-2022)***

# The Rise of Eurasia and the Ukraine War. *Horizons*, Summer 2022

<https://www.cirsd.org/en/horizons/horizons-summer-2022-issue-no.21/the-rise-of-eurasia-and-the-ukraine-war>

1. [Der Krieg in der Ukraine: Positionen und die Zukunft der russischen Universitäten](https://www.laender-analysen.de/russland-analysen/422/der-krieg-in-der-ukraine-positionen-und-die-zukunft-der-russischen-universitaeten/). Russland-Analysen N 422, 15.07.2022 <https://www.laender-analysen.de/russland-analysen/422/>
2. “Russian Arbitrary Rule”. RIDL Russia. 12.07.2022
3. Russia in the Post-Soviet Eurasia: What Has Been Lost on the Road to War? June 20, 2022, <https://russiapost.net/politics/postsovieteurasia>
4. Moscow is trapped: center-regional relations in Russia after the invasion of Ukraine. ZOiS Spotlight N 23, 15.06.2022 <https://www.zois-berlin.de/en/publications/zois-spotlight/moscow-is-trapped-centre-regional-relations-in-russia-after-the-invasion-of-ukraine>
5. (No New) Lessons Learned. *Russian Analytical Digest,* N 276, 18 February 2022.

<https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/RAD276.pdf>

# Russia and Its Two “Shared Neighborhoods”, *PONARS Policy Memo* N 712, Publication date: October 2021.

# Nested Games? The Inconsistencies of Russian Foreign Policy in Eurasia, *PONARS Policy Memo* N 684, Publication date: January 2021<https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/nested-games-inconsistencies-russian-foreign-policy-eurasia>

1. Russian Federalism: Informal Elite Games Against Formal Democratic Institutions. PONARS Memo, N 656, June 2020.
2. Institutional experiments in the post-Soviet space, March 11, 2020 <https://www.ridl.io/ru/institucionalnye-jeksperimenty-na-postsovetskom-prostranstve/>

## Selected Conferences, Invited Seminar Presentations (2021-2022)

1. Political Ethnography of State and Society in Post-Soviet Contexts in the Shadow of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine. Yale MacMillan Center, Yale University, December 9-10, 2022
2. Rising Power Coalitions: Reimagining Global Governance? The Fletcher School, Tufts University, December 1-2, 2022 (*Broader Eurasian Dynamics and Integrations*)
3. Russian and Belarusian Foreign Policy in Times of the War. DGO and Akno Seminar, Berlin, November 29. 2022 *(Russian foreign policy in the post-Soviet Eurasia)*
4. The West’ and the Challenge of Unity in the face of Russia, University Consortium, Brussels, November 11-12, 2022 *(The war against Ukraine and the trends within Russian political regime)*
5. Eurasian Club, Fletcher School of Diplomacy, Tufts University. Research seminar, October 04, 2022 *(Implications of War: Disintegration of the Post-Soviet Eurasia?)*
6. Riga Dialogue, Expert Discussion “Russia: What Next?”, Riga, September 16, 2022.
7. Between the EU and Russia. PONARS Eurasia and The BEAR Network Joint Conference, April 29 – April 30, 2022, Washington, D.C. *(The War and the Future of Russian Universities)*
8. BASEES Annual Conference. Cambridge, UK, April 8-10, 2022 *(Russia’s Two Shared Neighborhoods Before and After the War in Ukraine)*
9. **Russia’s lost future? The political system before, during and after the invasion of Ukraine. ZOiS Seminar, Berlin, April 6, 2022 *(Center-regional relations in Russia: Another administrative decentralization?)***
10. Domestic Politics in the Shadow of Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine. PONARS Eurasia Spring Policy Conference, Washington D.C., March 25, 2022 *(Ready to Protest? Explaining Protest Potential in Russian Regional Capitals),* with Ekaterina Paustyan
11. Inequality and Diversity Conference (IDC), Higher School of Economics in Saint-Peterburg, November 11-13, 2021 *(Russia and Its Two Shared Neighborhoods)*
12. Inequality and Diversity Conference (IDC), Higher School of Economics in Saint-Peterburg, November 11-13, 2021 *(Cities “Dead” and “Alive”: The Calculus of Urban Protests in Russia)*
13. Addressing Strategic Stability in the Euro-Atlantic Area. Riga Dialogue, October 1, 2021 *(How development in Belarus is affecting stability and security in the Baltic Sea region?)*
14. PONARS Eurasia Fall Policy Conference, Washington D.C., USA, September 24, 2021 *(Russia and Its Two “Shared Neighborhoods”)*
15. Restoring European Security. From managing relations to principled cooperation, Center for East European and International Studies. Berlin, June 18, 2021. Expert discussion.
16. **Russia’s Threat Perceptions in Northern Europe, International workshop, Helsinki, April 29, 2021 *(Russian security studies: premises instead of theories)***
17. XXII April International Conference on Economic and Social Development, Moscow, Higher School of Economics, April 13-30, 2021 *(Incentives and strategies of national executives in the EU multilevel governance system)*
18. Expert discussion “Russia – EU Relations and Their Future”. “European Dialog”. Moscow, March 18, 2021 *(Why the EU is not seen in the Russian “optics”)*
19. Russia’s Regions: Is Awakening to Be Expected? Webinar, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki, March 15, 2021 *(Center-regional relations in Russia: the stories of protests and the COVID-19 pandemic)*
20. COVID-19 Pandemic: New Challenges for Social and Political Relations in Russia, Workshop, Higher School of Economics in Saint Petersburg, February 25, 2021 *(COVID-19 pandemic and "blame-shifting" decentralization in Russia; COVID-19 pandemic: the time of forecasts and research agenda)*
21. Aleksanteri Alumni Talks, University of Helsinki, February 18, 2021 *(Regional Governors as Putin Agents or Stakeholders? The story that COVID-19 pandemic tells about center-regional relations in Russia)*
22. Rethinking the Role of Local Governments in a Post-COVID-19 World. Central University of Kerala and Center for Rural Management, Kerala, India. December 11-14, 2020 *(Does the COVID-19 Pandemic Provide Incentives for Decentralization in Russia?)*
23. 21CQ/Global Brief International Conference “The State & Future of the World, Post-Pandemic & Post-U.S. Election”, Toronto, Canada, November 27-28, 2020 *(Russia and the Post-Soviet Space: Post- Pandemic & Post-U.S. Election)*
24. The EU and Russia: 10 Year from Now. Expert seminar. EU Delegation in Russia and Russian International Affairs Council, Moscow (RIAC), November 26, 2020
25. Saint-Petersburg Conference on Inequality and Diversity, Higher School of Economics, Saint-Petersburg, November 5-7, 2020 *(“****Russia in the Post-Soviet Space: Between Domination and Cooperation”, “Incentives and Strategies of National Governments in the EU Multilevel System”, “COVID-19 and Federal Relations in Russia”)***
26. Research seminar "Politics and Culture", Saint Petersburg State University, October 28, 2020 *(COVID-19 Pandemic as a Test for the Quality of Governance in Russia)*
27. Center-Periphery Politics in Russia: Instability and Adaptation. PONARS Eurasia Seminar, October 23, 2020 (*Federal Relations in Russia in the Time of COVID-19 Crisis)*
28. American Political Science Association (APSA), Annual meeting, September 11-14, 2020 *(The sources of federal stability in Russia)*
29. *Majlis Podcast* (on Central Asia), weekly talk show, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, May 26, 2020
30. “Will the Coronavirus Change Russian Foreign Policy”, Research seminar, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, USA, May 12, 2020

**Languages**

Russian (native)

English (fluent)

German (fluent)

French (spoken)

**Statistical packages**

R, STATA