

**ZOE LEFKOFRIDI**  
**Curriculum Vitae**

**Office:**

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**Current Position**

2014- University of Salzburg, Austria:  
(tenure-track) Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics, Division of Sociology and Political Science.

**Previous Appointments and Visiting Positions**

2014-5 European University Institute, Florence:  
Jean Monnet Fellow, Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies.

2013-4 European University Institute, Florence:  
Max Weber Fellow in Social and Political Sciences  
University of Vienna, Austria:  
Post-doctoral Research Fellow, Institute for European Integration Research.  
GESIS-Leibniz Institute, Cologne, Germany:  
Visiting Post-doc Researcher, EUROLAB.

2011-2012 Stanford University, California, United States:  
Visiting Post-doc Researcher, Department of Political Science  
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria:  
Post-doctoral Researcher, Institute for European Integration Research.

2008-11 University of Vienna, Austria:  
Pre-doc and Post-doc Research Associate, Dept. of Methods in the Social Sciences.

**Education**

2009 University of Vienna, Faculty of Social Sciences, Dr. Phil. in Politics (distinction).

2007 Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS)-Vienna, Postgraduate diploma in Politics and European Integration.

2004 Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, MA in Advanced International Studies (distinction).

2003 College of Europe-Bruges, MA in European Political and Administrative Studies.

2002 University of Athens, School of Philosophy, Ptychion (Magister equivalent) in Theatre Studies.

## **Publications** (\*Journal in SSCI or A&HCI Indexed)

### **Articles in international peer reviewed journals**

- 2016 Schmitter, P. C. and Lefkofridi Z. Neofunctionalism as a theory of disintegration. *Chinese Political Science Review* 1 (1): 1-29.
- \*2015 Lefkofridi, Z. and Schmitter, P.C. Transcending or Descending? European Integration in Times of Crisis. *European Political Science Review* 7 (1): 3-22.
- \*2014 Giger, N, Holli, A.M., Lefkofridi, Z and Wass, H. The gender gap in gender-based voting: the Role of Context, *Electoral Studies* 35: 303-14.
- 2014 Lefkofridi, Z., Giger, N. and Gallego, A. Electoral Participation in Pursuit of Policy Representation: Ideological Congruence and Voter Turnout, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* (24 (3): 291-311.
- \*2014 Lefkofridi, Z. From Bad to Worse? Reflections on the Crisis in Greece and in Europe. *Austrian Journal of Political Science- Österreichische Zeitschrift der Politikwissenschaft*, 2: 217-228.
- \*2014 Lefkofridi, Z. 2014. National Political Parties and EU Policy Developments: the Case of Greece prior to the Crisis. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 32 (2): 287-311.
- \*2014 Giger, N. and Lefkofridi, Z. 2014. The Role of Personal Issue Salience in Citizens' Representation via Parties: The Swiss Case, *Swiss Political Science Review* 20(2): 20 (2): 287-304.
- \*2014 Lefkofridi, Z. and Katsanidou, A. 2014. Multilevel Representation in the European Parliament, *European Union Politics* 15 (1): 108-131.
- \*2014 Lefkofridi, Z., Wagner, M. and Willmann, J. Left-Authoritarians and Policy Representation in Western Europe: Electoral Choice across Ideological Dimensions, *West European Politics* . 37-1: 65-90.
- 2012 Lefkofridi, Z. and Horvath, K. Migration Policy Issues and Representation in European Liberal Democracies. *Representation* 48 (1): 29-45.
- \*2012 Lefkofridi, Z. and Casado-Asensio, J. 2012. European Vox Radicis: Representation and Policy Congruence on the Extremes. *Comparative European Politics* 11: 93-118 .
- 2012 Lefkofridi, Z., Giger, N. and Kissau, K. Inequality and Representation in Europe. *Representation* 48 (1): 1-11.
- 2011 Casado-Asensio, J. and Lefkofridi, Z. Representation in the European Union: Congruence between Citizens and Elites in the European Parliament's Two-level Setting. *Perspectives on European Politics & Society* 12 (2): 161-179.

\*2008 Lefkofridi, Z. and Kritzinger, S. Battles fought in the EP arena: Developments in National Parties' Euro-manifestos. *Austrian Journal of Political Science* 37(3): 273- 296.

### **Contributions to Editions/Collections**

Forthcoming Lefkofridi, Z. and Michel, E. The Electoral Politics of Solidarity. In Banting, K. and Kymlicka, W. (eds) *The Strains of Commitment: the Political Sources of Solidarity in Diverse Societies*. Oxford University Press.

Forthcoming Schmitter, P.S. and Lefkofridi, Z. Using Neo-functionalism to understand the disintegration of Europe. In Magara, H. (ed) *Policy Change under New Democratic Capitalism*. Routledge.

2017 Lefkofridi, Z. Europe at the Crossroads: The Dangers of Economizing on Democracy and the Prospects of *Democratie Sans Frontières*. In Burgin, M. and W. Hofkirchner, *The Future Information Society: Social and Technological Problems*. World Scientific.

2016 Giger, N. and Lefkofridi, Z. Alignment of Objectives between Parties and their Electors: The Role of Personal Salience in Political Representation. Bühlmann, M. and J. Fivaz (eds.): *Political Representation: Roles, Representatives, and the Represented*. Routledge: 135-151.

2014 Lefkofridi, Z. and Schmitter, P. C. A good or a bad crisis for the European Union? In: Rodrigues, M. J. and Xiarchogiannakopoulou, E. (eds). *The Eurozone Crisis and the Transformation of EU Governance*. Ashgate: 11-27.

2014 Lefkofridi, Z. and Pappas, T.S. Grecia: le elezioni e l'Europa ai tempi della crisi, in M. Valbruzzi e R. Vignati (eds), *Le elezioni europee e amministrative del 25 maggio 2014. L'Italia e l'Europa al bivio delle riforme*. Bologna, Istituto C. Cattaneo: 231-241.

2013 Gemenis, K. and Lefkofridi, Z. The Europeanization of Greece: A Critical Assessment. In Mannin, M. and Bretherton, C. (eds). *The Europeanization of European Politics*. Europe in Transition Series. Palgrave Macmillan: 95-108.

2012 Katsanidou, A. and Lefkofridi, Z. Citizen Representation in the European Union: Policy Congruence in the 2009 EP Election. In Banducci, S., Franklin, M. Giebler, H., Hobolt, S., Marsh, M., van der Brug, W., and van der Eijk, C. (eds) *An Audit of Democracy in the EU*. Florence: European University Institute: 153-174.

2010 Kritzinger, S. Lefkofridi, Z. and Casado-Asensio, J. Policy-Repräsentation und Europäische Integration: Wählerpräferenzen im Spiegel der Parteien. In: Pfefferle, R., Schmidt, N., and Valchars, G. (eds): *Europa als Prozess: 15 Jahre Europäische Union und Österreich*. Wien: LIT Verlag: 131-151.

- 2009 Lefkofridi, Z. Europeanization of national political parties. In: Konstantinidis, J., Marantzidis, N. and Pappas, T. (eds) *Parties and Politics in Greece: Contemporary Developments*. Athens: Kritiki: 76-100.

### **Edited Volumes/Special Issues**

- 2012 Lefkofridi, Z., Giger, N. and Kissau, K. (eds.). Inequality and Representation in Europe. *Representation* 48 (1): 1-148.

### **Monographs**

- 2009 Lefkofridi, Z. National Party Response to European Integration: A theoretical Framework and Evidence from the Case of Greece (1974-2007), Doctoral Dissertation, University of Vienna.

### **Book Review**

- \*2012 Lefkofridi, Z. Review of Hayward, K. and Murphy, M. C. (eds). The Europeanization of Party Politics in Ireland, North and South *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (2): 361.

### **Working Papers**

- 2015 Fasone, C., Fromage, D. and Lefkofridi, Z. Parliaments, Public Opinion and Parliamentary Elections in Europe. *European University Institute-Max Weber Program* 2015/18.
- 2015 Giger, N. and Lefkofridi, Z. The Council's Congruence with European Citizens, *MWP RED NUMBER SERIES* 2015/14 Max Weber Program.
- 2014 Lefkofridi, Z. and Michel, E. Exclusive Solidarity? Radical Right Parties & the Welfare State. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Paper No. 2014/120. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2539503>
- 2014 Donnelly, M. and Lefkofridi, Z. Economic & Political Inequality in Modern Democracies: Differential Responsiveness to the Policy Preferences of Economic Classes. *MWP RED NUMBER SERIES* 2014/13 Max Weber Program.
- 2008 Lefkofridi, Z. An Integrated Model of National Party Response to European Integration, *IHS Working Paper Political Science Series 115*. Vienna: Institute for Advanced Studies.

### **Other Publications (Opinion, Commentary, Policy Briefs, Academic Blogs )**

- 2016 Zoe Lefkofridi and Lena Ramstetter, Die Isländische Methode. Warum direkte Demokratie Gräutöne braucht. Wiener Zeitung, 01.09.2016. URL: [http://www.wienerzeitung.at/meinungen/gastkommentare/841696\\_Die-\\_\\_islaendische-Methode.html](http://www.wienerzeitung.at/meinungen/gastkommentare/841696_Die-__islaendische-Methode.html)

{another version of this piece, entitled "*Involvement with Icelandic format: What can the constitution drawn up by public participation, teach us about direct democracy and Brexit?*" was also published in Icelandic on 25.06.2016, by the online journal **Kvennablaðið** ("Women's Magazine"), URL: <http://kvennabladid.is/2016/08/25/thatttaka-med-islensku-snidi-hvad-getur-stjornarskra-sem-samin-er-med-almennri-thatttoku-kennt-okkur-um-beint-lydraedi-eftir-brexite>

- 2015 Hakelberg, L. and Lefkofridi, Z. It's the Community Stupid! Österreichische Gesellschaft für Europäische Politik. ÖFGE Policy Brief 31, 09.10.2015.
- 2015 Hakelberg, L. and Lefkofridi, Z. Europa zwischen Helfer und Heuchler, *DerStandard Online*, 9.10.2015.
- 2015 Hakelberg, L. and Lefkofridi, Z. Why European Integration remains the best answer to the challenges of globalization. *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog*, 07.09.2015.
- 2014 Lefkofridi, Z. A nationalist alliance in the European Parliament would be more effective if it were framed around left-right issues rather than immigration or euroscepticism, *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog*, 23.05.2014.
- A summary of this analysis has been included by EU Bulletin in its *European Think Tank Review*, 11.09.2014.
- 2014 Lefkofridi, Z. Europe' Odyssey. In Gerodimos, R. (ed.) European Elections in Greece 2014: First Thoughts on the 25<sup>th</sup> May European Election in Greece. *Political Studies Association: Greek Politics Specialist Group*.
- 2014 Lefkofridi, Z. and Pappas, T. S. The 2014 European Parliament Election in Greece. *Max Weber Program Blog*. URL: <http://blogs.eui.eu/maxweberprogramme/2014/07/15/the-european-parliament-election-in-greece/>
- 2013 Aslanidis, P. and Lefkofridi, Z. Greece: The Populist Deluge. *PolitiX* 34: 26-30.
- 2012 Lefkofridi, Z. Greece & Europe 2012: Friends or Foes? In Gerodimos, R. (ed.) Greek Elections 2012: First Thoughts on the 6<sup>th</sup> May Election in Greece. *Political Studies Association: Greek Politics Specialist Group*.
- 2011 Lefkofridi, Z. 2011: Quantifying Europe? Quantitative Methodology & EU Research, *PolitiX* 29: 10-2.

#### **Awards and Honors**

- 2016 Nominated – Prize for Outstanding Teaching, University of Salzburg
- 2015 Nominated – Prize for Outstanding Teaching, University of Salzburg
- 2012 Unanimously Nominated- Tenure-track position of 'Lecturer', Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cyprus.
- 2009 Nominated - Nachwuchspreis: Top-3 Dissertations, Austrian Political

2007 Science Association.  
Awarded- Doctoral Research Award (€7000)-FNr.324  
Forschungsstipendium der Universität Wien.

### **Grants and Fellowships**

2014 Awarded Jean Monnet Fellowship, EUI, Florence.  
2014 Awarded Max Weber Fellowship, EUI, Florence.  
2013 Awarded Max Weber Fellowship, EUI, Florence.  
2011 Awarded Grant (€3900) for Research Visit at Stanford University,  
European Science Foundation.  
2010 Awarded Dissemination Fund (€10.000) for Organizing Workshop on  
“Inequality and Representation in Europe” under the HumVib Eurocores  
Scheme (with G. Lutz and K. Kissau, University of Lausanne), European  
Science Foundation.  
2009 Awarded Networking Fund (€10.000) for Organizing Workshop on  
“Multilevel Modeling in the Social Sciences” under the HumVib Eurocores  
Scheme (with S. Kritzinger, University of Vienna and R. Sinnott, University  
College Dublin), European Science Foundation.  
2007 Awarded Research Grant (€2100), Institute for Advanced Studies/Vienna.  
Awarded Dissemination Grant (€650), University of Vienna, for  
conference presentation at Yale University, New Haven, CT, USA.  
2006 Awarded Fieldwork Research Grant (€500), Institute for Advanced  
Studies/Vienna.  
2004-7 Awarded Doctoral Studies Grant, Institute for Advanced Studies/Vienna.

### **Invited Talks**

2016 “Exclusive Solidarity”, Invited Talk at Workshop on the Radical Right and the  
Welfare State, University of Milan, Italy, 03.10.2016.  
2016 “Economy, Politics and Society in Greece and the EU during the Crisis”, Lecture,  
Summer University on Alternative Economic and Monetary Systems, BOKU  
University-OEAD Vienna, 11.08.2016.  
2016 “Unequal Representation in Europe”, Guest Lecture at Global Dynamics:  
Structural Adjustments come to Europe, Roskilde University, Denmark,  
31.03.2016.  
2015 Quetelet Lecture on “European Politics”, Honors Program, University of Ghent,  
Belgium, 02.12.2015.  
2015 “The Case of Greece” (Economics and Politics) together with Helene Schuberth  
(National Bank of Austria), Lecture, Summer University on Alternative Economic  
and Monetary Systems, BOKU University-OEAD Vienna, 23.07.2015.  
2015 “Griechenland nach dem Referendum”: Hintergründe, Dynamiken, Szenarien,  
JBK-Montagsrunden, Guest lecture at Robert Jungk Bibliothek, Salzburg,  
20.07.2015.

- 2015 "Europe at the crossroads: Is economizing on Democracy the way forward? Keynote Speech at ISIS Summit Vienna 2015 "The Information Society at the Crossroads: Response and Responsibility of the Sciences of Information", Vienna University of Technology, 03-7.06.2015.
- 2015 Forum Politik „Fundamentalismus, Populismus, Separatismus – Herausforderungen für Europa“ Keynote Speech at PfingstDialog Geist & Gegenwart: 'Europa Wertvoll' Schloss Seggau, Leibnitz, 20-22.05.2015.
- 2015 "Populism & European Governance", Guest Lecture at PfingstDialog Geist & Gegenwart: 'Europa Wertvoll' Schloss Seggau, Leibnitz, 20-22.05.2015.
- 2013 "Democracy, Inequality and Representation in Europe", Guest Lecture, Wissenschaftliches Zentrum Berlin (WZB), 24.09.2013.
- 2013 "The State of Democracy in Europe: the Problems of Populism and Euroscepticism", Keynote Speech at European Citizen Initiative for Media Pluralism Conference, Budapest, 27.09.2013.
- 2013 "The Achilles Heel of the European Project: Youth Unemployment in Europe", Keynote speech at Perspectives European Forum Alpbach, 20.08.2013.
- 2013 "Demokratie & Recht", Guest lecture at PfingstDialog Geist & Gegenwart: 'Vereingte Staaten von Europa. Hoffen. Wagen' Schloss Seggau, Leibnitz, 15-17.05.2013.
- 2013 "Inequality & Representation", Presentation at International Workshop on "Capitalism, and Democracy", Institute for European Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, 12-13.04.2013.
- 2013 "Griechenland: Zwischen EU-Forderungen & Soziale Proteste", Keynote Speech at Konferenz "Wir sind alle Griechenland- Politik & Soziale Gerechtigkeit in der Post-demokratie", Bildunszentrum 5-6 April, 2013.
- 2013 "Measuring Extremism, and Mapping its Ideological & Social Human Geography", Presentation at University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 07.06.2013.
- 2012 "Political Extremism in Europe and the case of Austria". Presentation at Workshop on "Interactive Extremism in Europe", organized by the University of Bournemouth/UK, Brussels 24-25.5.12.
- 2012 "Greek Left & Right-wing Ideological Extremism in Comparative European Perspective: Policy Congruence on the EU, socioeconomic and sociocultural issue dimensions". Presentation at Workshop "Anti-systemic and Extremist" Phenomena in Greece during the Crisis in Greece", University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 07-08.06.2012.

- 2009 “Green parties in Central Europe: the Cases of Austria and Germany”. Presentation at European Network for Political Texts Network (ENAPT) Workshop/Keele European Parties Research Unit (KEPRU), Keele University, 25.06.09.

### **Conference Activity**

#### **Conference/Workshop Organization**

- 2015 Annual Meeting of Austrian Political Science Association “Tag der Politikwissenschaft”, University of Salzburg, November.
- 2015 9th MWP June Conference “Social Issues for Social Sciences”, EUI, Florence.
- 2015 Workshop “Beyond the democratic deficit: Policy Representation & Differential Responsiveness in the EU”, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (EUI), (with B. Laffan and C. Williams, RSCAS-EUI), EUI, Florence, May.
- 2015 Interdisciplinary Conference “Parliaments and Parliamentary Elections in Europe” Robert Schuman Centre for Advances Studies and Max Weber Programme (EUI), Villa La Fonte, Florence (with C. Fasone and D. Fromage, MWP-EUI), March.
- 2013 Workshop “Gender, Political Behavior and Representation in ‘Preferential’ Electoral Systems”, ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, University of Mainz (with A. M. Holli, University of Helsinki), March.
- 2011 Workshop “Inequality and Representation in Europe” at Dreiländer Tagung “Politische Integration”, University of Basel, Switzerland (4 Panels, with K. Kissau, FORS/University of Lausanne), January.
- 2009 International Workshop in “Multilevel Modeling in the Social Sciences”, University of Vienna, Austria, September.

#### **Panel Organization/Chair**

- 2016 “Responsive vs. Responsible Government: How do Parties find the Balance?” ECPR General Conference, University of Prague, September (with J. Karremans, EUI, Florence).  
 “5 Years European Citizens’ Initiative (ECI) – Dying Patient or Bright Future Ahead? Empirical Perspectives on the Use and Impact of the ECI” (with A. Kandyla, EUI, Florence and R. Preukschat, HIS, Vienna).
- 2014 “Challenges to and Changes in Governance and Democracy”, 8<sup>th</sup> Max Weber Fellows’ Conference, EUI, Florence, June.
- 2013 “The Impact of the Economic Crisis in Europe on the Party Systems”, European Union Democracy Observatory/EUDO 2013 Dissemination Conference, EUI, Florence, November.
- 2009 “Europe’s double talkers? Determinants of policy congruence at the European level”, ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany, September (with J. Casado-Asensio, University of Vienna).



### **Invited Discussant**

- 2015 Workshop „Party competition and voter alignments in times of welfare state transformation”, Sciences Po, Uni Bremen and EUI, Florence, June.
- 2014 Conference “Southern European Socialism in the 1980s” London School of Economics, University of Oxford, EUI; Florence, December.
- 2014 “Public Opinion and the Euro” European Union Studies Working Group, EUI, Florence, May.
- 2014 ‘Economic Policy’, 7<sup>th</sup> James Madison University-Max Weber Programme Symposium: “The European Union and the Challenges of Globalizing Politics and Economics”, EUI, Florence, April.
- 2014 “The Strains of Commitment: The Political Sources of Solidarity in Diverse Societies,” EUI, Florence, February.
- 2013 "Zivilgesellschaft & Demokratie", Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft (ÖFG)- Arbeitsgruppe "Zukunft der Demokratie", Graduiertenkonferenz „Innovative Demokratieforschung“, Vienna, June.
- 2012 "Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Voting Advice Applications: The cases of *Choose4Greece* and *Choose4Cyprus*", Technological University of Cyprus, Limassol, November.
- 2012 "EUropeanization, Policy Transfers and Compliance", Panel C3-Tag der Politikwissenschaft, Graz, November.
- 2011 “Understanding European Diversity: Cross-National Analysis of Human Values, Attitudes and Behaviors”, European Science Foundation Conference, Berlin, September.
- 2011 "The European Union’s Internal Structure and Network of Actors" Panel 4D-Tag der Politikwissenschaft, Salzburg, December.

### **Roundtable discussant**

- 2015 “Abseits des Mainstreams? Die Krise in Europa und ihre Auswirkung auf die Parteienlandschaft” Auftaktveranstaltung der Konferenz *Tag der Politikwissenschaft*, Salzburg Center of European Studies, Salzburg; November.
- 2012 "Europas Krise und die Fragmentierung der Sozialwissenschaften", Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS)- Alumni Meeting, Vienna, November.

### **Campus/Departmental Talks**

- 2015 „Coercive Europeanization“ Paper presentation at „Mittwochrunde“-Dept. Seminar , University of Salzburg, 22.04.15.
- 2014 “Poverty & Politics”, Presentation at Multidisciplinary Workshop on “Poverty research”, Max Weber Programme, EUI, Florence, 05.12.2014.
- 2014 “The Electoral Politics of Solidarity: Radical Right Parties’ Welfare Agendas”, Presentation at Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies’ Seminar Series: 'Shifting the Policy Agenda: National & Supranational Actors’ Responses to Contemporary Challenges', EUI, Florence, 12.11.2014.

- 2013 “Gender Stereotypes & Electoral Representation”, Presentation at Colloquium on Political Behavior, EUI, Florence, 18.11.2013.
- 2011 “Clientelism, Populism, and Political Parties: Theory and Greek practice”. Institute for European Integration Research (EIF), Keynote Speech Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 30.11.11.
- 2010 “Griechische Parteien in der EU: der Fall PASOK (1974-2007)”. Guest lecture at Österreichische Gesellschaft für Neugriechische Studien & Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik, University of Vienna, 29.11.10.
- 2008 “The Presidentialization of Politics”, Presentation at Themes in Comparative European Politics, Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS) and the Dept. of Methods in the Social Sciences, University of Vienna, 08.04.08.

### Conference Papers

- 2016 Transnational Party Coherence. Issues and Ideologies in the 2009 and 2014 European Parliaments. Workshop “Transnational Partisanship”, 24-28.05.2016, London School of Economics and Political Science.
- 2016 Unequal Representation in Europe, ECPR Joint Sessions, Workshop “Public Opinion and Public Policy -Analyzing Feedback Effects in Comparative Politics”, Pisa 24-27.04.2016.
- 2016 The institutionalization of new parties in Europe: (how) does it matter for success? ECPR Joint Sessions, Workshop “Institutionalization and De-institutionalization of political organizations”, Pisa 24-27.04.2016
- 2016 Neofunctionalism as a Theory of Disintegration. “European Disintegration: A Blind Spot of Integration Theory?”, 22<sup>nd</sup> Conference of Europeanists (CES), July 8-10 2015, Science Po-Paris.
- 2015 European Integration and Policy Responsiveness to Rich and Poor. Social Issues for Social Sciences- 9<sup>th</sup> Max Weber Fellows’ Conference, European University Institute, Florence, 11.06.2015.
- 2015 Whom does the Council Represent? Research Workshop “Beyond the Democratic Deficit: Political Representation & Differential Policy Responsiveness in the European Union”, May 14-15, 2015 Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence (with N. Giger, University of Geneva).
- 2015 Regional Integration & Policy Responsiveness. Research Workshop “Beyond the Democratic Deficit: Political Representation & Differential Policy Responsiveness in the European Union”, May 14-15, 2015 Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence.

- 2014 Unequal Policy Responsiveness in Europe. Paper presentation at Section S060 "The Functioning of Representative Democracy: Processes Linking Citizens and the State", ECPR General Conference, Glasgow, 3-6.09.2014 (with M. Donnelly, University of Toronto).
- 2014 European Democracy in Times of Crisis. 8<sup>th</sup> Max Weber Fellows' Conference, European University Institute, Florence, 11.06.2014.
- 2014 Political Parties and the politics of solidarity. Workshop on "The Welfare State and the Radical Right", European University Institute, 21.05.2014 (with E. Michel, EUI).
- 2014 Same-gender voting and gender stereotypes: evidence from Finland. "Gender, Political Behavior & Representation in Preferential Voting Systems" ECPR Joint Sessions, Mainz 11-16.03.2013 (with Nathalie Giger, MZES-Mannheim, & Anne Maria Holli, University of Helsinki).
- 2013 Gender preferences & political representation in the Republic of Cyprus. Paper presentation at "Gender, Political Behavior & Representation in Preferential Voting Systems", ECPR Joint Sessions, Mainz 11-16.03.2013 (with Roula Nezi, University of Konstanz).
- 2012 'Split-level' Representation in the EU Transnational Polity: Evidence from the 2009 European Parliament Election, Presented at Workshop on "Representative Democracy in the 21st Century" European University Institute, Florence, 25-26.10.2012 (with Alexia Katsanidou, GESIS).
- 2012 Migration Issues & Representation in European Liberal Democracies. Paper presentation at "Cross-National Evidence from European Social Survey: Exploring Public Attitudes, Informing Public Policy in Europe", 2nd ESS Conference, Panel: Immigration, Nicosia, 23-25.11. 2012 (with Ken Horvath, Pädagogische Hochschule Karlsruhe).
- 2012 Gender-based Voting: Findings from the Finnish 2011 Elections. Paper presentation at International Political Science Association 22nd World Congress, Panel: Feminism, Representation and Federalism, Madrid, 08.07-12.07.2012 (with Hanna Wass & Anne Maria Holli, University of Helsinki).
- 2012 Representation in EU 'split-level' democracy: Evidence from the 2009 European Parliament Election. Paper presentation at International Political Science Association 22nd World Congress, Panel: Elections, Parties & Democracy Madrid, 08.07-12.07.2012 (with Alexia Katsanidou, GESIS).
- 2012 Gender, Voting & Stereotypes. Paper presentation at 70th Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Section: Voter Response to Candidate Race and Gender; Panel: Voting Behavior (with Hanna Wass, University of Helsinki), Chicago, 12-15.4.2012.

- 2011 Policy Representation & Turnout. Paper presented at 6th ECPR General Conference, Panel: Representation and Voter Turnout, Reykjavik/Iceland, 25-27.8.2011 (with Aina Gallego, University of Stanford/University of Barcelona & Nathalie Giger, MZES/University of Mannheim).
- 2011 Men for men, women for women? Paper presented at XVI Conference of the Nordic Political Science Association (NOPSA), Vaasa/Finland 9-12.8.2011 (with Nathalie Giger, MZES/University of Mannheim; Anne-Maria Holli & Hanna Wass, University of Helsinki).
- 2011 Ideological Congruence and Voter Turnout. Tag der Politikwissenschaft, Salzburg 2.12.2011 (paper with Aina Gallego, Universities of Stanford/Barcelona, Nathalie Giger, Universität Mannheim).
- 2011 Individual- and contextual-level factors accounting for gender-based voting in the Finnish parliamentary elections. Paper presented at 6th ECPR General Conference, Panel: Gender Inequalities & Political Power, Reykjavik/Iceland, 25-27.8.2011 (with Nathalie Giger, MZES/University of Mannheim; Anne-Maria Holli & Hanna Wass, University of Helsinki).
- 2011 Left-Authoritarian Citizens in Europe: Seeking Policy Representation Across Issue Dimensions. Paper presented at 2011 ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Workshop 18: Issue Congruence and Policy Responsiveness in European Governance, St.Gallen/Switzerland, 12-17.4.2011 (with Markus Wagner and Johanna E. Willmann, University of Vienna/AUTNES).
- 2011 Ticket-splitting' in EU 'Split-Level Democracy': Policy Representation Across National & EP Arenas, Paper presented at 2011 ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Workshop 18: Issue Congruence and Policy Responsiveness in European Governance, St.Gallen/Switzerland, 12-17.4.2011 (with Iannis Konstantinidis, University of Macedonia).
- 2011 Taxation without Representation? Conditions Underlying Anti-immigrant Policy Positions across EU Member States. Paper presented at Dreiländer Tagung, Workshop 16 Inequality & Representation Basel/Switzerland, 13-14.1.2011 (with Ken Horvath, University of Vienna).
- 2010 Citizen Representation in the European Union: Policy Congruence in the 2009 EP Election. Paper presented at Final User Conference of 7th Framework Programme: Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union(PIREDEU), Brussels/Belgium, 18-19.11.2010 (with Alexia Katsanidou, GESIS, Cologne).
- 2010 European Vox Radicis: Representation & Policy Congruence on the Extremes. Paper presented at Workshop Representation & Policy Congruence in Europe, Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES)-University of

- Mannheim/Germany, 28-29.5.2010 (with J. Casado-Asensio, University of Vienna).
- 2010 Sleeping with the enemy? The Greek Radical Left & the EU. Paper presented at PSA 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference, Workshop: Another Europe is Possible? The Radical Left and the European Union, Edinburgh/UK, 29.3-1.4.2010.
- 2010 Changing Policy, not Structure: Greek Office-Seekers Facing Voters and EU Partners. Paper presented at 2010 ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Workshop 11: The Europeanization of National Political Parties, Münster/Germany, 22-27.3.2010.
- 2009 Representation in the European Union: Congruence between Citizens and Elites in a Multilevel Setting. Paper presented at 5th General European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Conference, Section: Policy Representation in Comparative Perspective, Panel: Europe's double talkers? Determinants of policy congruence at the European level, Potsdam/Germany, 10-12.9. 2009 (with J. Casado-Asensio, University of Vienna).
- 2009 The Presidentialization of Greek Politics. Paper presented at the 2009 ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Workshop 18: European Leaders and Democratic Elections, Lisbon/Portugal, 14-19.4.2009.
- 2008 The impact of European Integration on National Political Parties: Evidence from four Greek Parties. Paper presented at Workshop "The International Dimension of Political Party (System) Development: Assessing Actors, Methods, Effects", Universiteit van Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 14-15.11.2008.
- 2008 An Integrated Model of Party Response to Integration. Paper presented at Central European Political Science Association (CEPSA) 2008 Conference on Europeanization of National Politics, Panel 2: Political Institutions, Opatija/Croatia, 2-5.10.2008.
- 2008 The impact of EU Institutions and Policies on National Political Parties. Paper presented at 4th ECPR Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Section: EU Institutions and Politics, Panel: Parties and Parliament, Riga/Latvia, 25-27.9.2008.
- 2008 The Impact of European Integration on National Political Parties: Theoretical framework of the Greek Case. Paper presented at Conference "The New Political Party Landscape in Greece", University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki/Greece, 3-4.4.2008.
- 2007 Intra-party organizational change due to EU membership: The Case of Greece. Paper presented at Modern Greek Studies Association MGSA "Symposium@20", Yale University, New Haven/Connecticut, 18-21.10.2007.

2007 Changes in the Political Space: Developments in Parties' Policy Positions due to European Integration. Paper presented at ECPR General Conference 2007, Pisa, Italy, Section: Voting Behavior and Electoral Institutions in a Comparative Perspective, Panel: The transformation of political cleavages and of the political space in Western Europe, 6-8.9.2007 (with Sylvia Kritzing, University of Vienna).

## Teaching and Mentoring

### University of Salzburg, Austria (under-/graduate level)

Courses taught:

Inequality and Political Representation: SE 2015-6 Winter (nominated for 2015 Prize of Outstanding Teaching); 2015 Summer

Political Parties and Party Systems: SE 2016 Summer (nominated for 2016 Prize of Outstanding Teaching).

Einführung in die Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft PS 2014-5 Winter; 2015 Summer 2015-6 Winter; 2016 Summer.

Arbeitstechniken des Politikwissenschaftlichen Arbeitens PS 2014-5 Winter.

Mentoring & Supervision:

PhD Thesis (Ethnic Minorities and Political Representation), Corinna Kröber (2015-).

PhD Thesis (Gender and Political Representation), Sarah Dingler (2015-).

MA Thesis (Female parliamentarians and women's issues in Kirghizstan), in the context of Seminar "Inequality and Political Representation", Mirgul Mataeva (2016).

BA Thesis (Social Change and Descriptive Representation in the Salzburger Landtag) in the context of Seminar "Inequality and Political Representation" Simon Hofbauer (2016).

BA Thesis (Women in pre- and post-Soviet Russia), in the context of Seminar "Inequality and Political Representation", Xenia Schmick (2016).

### European University Institute, Florence, Italy (PhD level)

Course taught:

Key Concepts & Research in Political Science & Sociology, SE 2<sup>nd</sup> Term 2015

Mentoring:

Discussant at PhD Colloquia of the Dept. of Social and Political Sciences (SPS): invited by Prof. A. Trechsel, 2014 Summer and by Prof. P. Culpepper, 2013 Summer.

**University of Vienna, Austria** (under-/graduate level):

Courses taught:

Europeanization of Political Parties: SE 2012 Summer; 2010 Winter

Das Politische System Österreichs und der EU: LK 2011 Summer; 2011 Winter

Qualitative Research Design- Sozialwissenschaftliche Methoden Qualitative- UE 2010 Winter

Quantitative Methods in Electoral Research: PS 2009 Winter

Quantitative Methods in Empirical Social Science Research: PS 2009 Winter; 2009 Summer; 2009 Summer

Political Inquiry: Concepts and Measurement, Tools for Data Description and Research Design: UE 2008 Summer

Quantitative Methods & Party Research: Members of the EP- UE 2008 Summer  
Institutions of the European Union: PS 2006 Winter

Mentoring & Supervision:

PhD Project Discussant at Doctoral Seminar of Dept. of Methods for the Social Sciences, University of Vienna, invited by Prof. S. Kritzinger, 2010 Summer and 2009 Winter.

BA Thesis ("The 2004 European Parliament Election in the United Kingdom: A Second-order Election, but for Whom?"), Dominik Neubauer, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Vienna (2009).

**Research Experience**

**Principal Investigator**

2015-2016 "Gender Stereotypes and Political Behavior": Special Module in Swiss Election Study-SELECTS. Quantitative survey design together with N. Giger (University of Geneva) (post election survey fielded Nov-Dec. 2015).

2012-2015: "Designing & Operating an Infrastructure for the Empirical Inquiry of Political and Social Radicalism in Greece": 7<sup>th</sup> Framework Program „Lifelong Learning“. Head: Prof. I. Konstantinidis (University of Macedonia). Quantitative survey design; fieldwork on the social movement of the 'Indignant' in Athens (participant observation & qualitative interviews).

2011-2014: "Gender Equality, Gender Stereotypes and Candidate Selection": Special Module in Finnish National Election Study/FNES together with H. Wass (University of Helsinki) and N. Giger (University of Geneva). Head: A.M. Holli (University of Helsinki). Quantitative survey design (fielded in Legislative Election 2011 & Presidential Election 2012).

## **Team Member**

- 2013-4: 'euandi' Voting Advice Application for the May 2014 European Parliament Elections. Head: A. Trechsel, European University Institute. Own roles: Team Leader- Austria & Team Member-Cyprus: Coordinator of the work of the country research team, Expert Coder of party positions, Media Contact Person.
- 2012: 'Choose for Greece', Joint Academic Project/Online Application for Ideological Congruence, Lead Researchers: V. Triga (Cyprus University of Technology); F. Mendez (University of Zurich); A. Baka (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki); Elias Dinas (University of Oxford); Kostas Gemenis (University of Twente); Lia Figgou and Lia Spyridou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki); Nicolas Tsapatsoulis (Cyprus University of Technology). Own role: Expert Coder of Political Parties' Positions competing in the May and June 2012 Greek legislative elections.
- 2008-9: "Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the EU/PIREDEU", 7th Framework Program 2007-10. Chair of the Steering Committee: M. Franklin (European University Institute, Florence). Own role: Research Assistant of S. Kritzinger (Voter Survey Design).
- 2008-11. "Representation in Europe: Policy Congruence between Citizens and Elites (REPCONG)", European Science Foundation (ESF), Eurocores HumVib. Head: Prof. Sylvia Kritzinger (University of Vienna). Own Roles: Assistant of Principal Investigators' Team: Professors Thomas Bräuninger, University of Mannheim; Sylvia Kritzinger, University of Vienna; Georg Lutz, University of Lausanne, Gail McElroy, Trinity College Dublin) in Drafting the Proposal – 3 Rounds (2007); Pre- & Post-doc Research Associate (7/2008-6/2011).

## **Professional Activities & Service to the Profession**

### **Editor/Reviewer**

- Editorial Board Member: Journal of European Public Policy (2015-)
- Co-editor: European Integration Online Papers (EIoP) (November 2011-October 2013)
- Guest Editor, Representation (April 2012)
- Book Manuscript Reviewer:
  - Routledge (Economics)
- Article Manuscript Reviewer: American Journal of Political Science (AJPS); European Political Science Review (EPSR); Electoral Studies; European Union Politics (EUP); European Journal of Turkish Studies (EJTS); Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS); Journal of European Integration (JEI); Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (JEPOP); Journal of Gender Studies; Journal of Mixed Methods Research (JMMR); Hellenic Review of Political Science (ΕΕΠΕ); International Migration Review (IMR); International Journal of Electronic Governance (IJEG); Living Reviews in European Governance (LREG); Mobilization; Perspectives of European Politics & Society; Political Research Quarterly (PRQ); Politics; Representation; Utrecht Journal of International



and European Law (Mercurios); West European Politics (WEP).

- Awards' Reviewer:
  - ÖGPW/Austrian Political Science Association 'Nachwuchspreis' (MA & PhD Theses Awards) in 2010, 2011, and 2012.
  - Ludwig von Bertalanffy Center of the Study of Systems Science (BCSSS) - European Meetings on Cybernetics and System Research "emcsr Avantgarde", 2016.
- Grant Reviewer:
  - Flemish Research Foundation (FWO) 'Pegasus Marie Curie Fellowship- Research Project at FWO', 2014.
  - Hellenic Ministry of Education 'Doctoral Research Grants' - Heraclitus II, 2010.

## Knowledge Management & Transfer

### Media Contributions

- 2016 Interview, Servus am Morgen, Servus TV on "EU Verdrossenheit", 27.06.2016, 06:00-09:00.
- 2016 Interview, Servus am Morgen, Servus TV on "Brexit- Abstimmung", 24.06.2016, 06:00-09:00.
- 2015 Research Portrait, Austrian Newspaper *der Standard*, "Von Euroskepsis und Populismus" *Wissenschaft: Geistesblitze*, Print Edition 09.09.2015. Online Editions, URL: <http://derstandard.at/2000021894290/Von-Euroskepsis-und-Populismus?ref=rec>
- 2015 Interview, *France24 News* with Francois Picard, 10.07.2015, 18.15-18.30.
- 2015 TV Panel Discussant, *France24 Debate* on "Greek Debt Talks: Tsipras promises credible reforms at EU Parliament". 08.07.2015, 19.10-20.00. URL: part 1: <http://www.france24.com/en/2015-07-08-the-debate-greek-debt-talks-tsipras-promises-credible-reforms-part-one> and part 2: <http://www.france24.com/en/2015-07-08-the-debate-greek-debt-talks-tsipras-promises-credible-reforms-part-two>  
[Also mentioned here: <http://summit.is4is.org/zoe-lefkofridi-at-greek-debt-talks>].
- 2015 Interview, *Austrian Servus Journal*, EU Negotiations while heading towards the Greek Referendum 02.07.2015, 19.20.
- 2015 Interview, Austrian Broadcasting ORF-Radio, The Greek Referendum 01.07.2015, 11:20.
- 2015 Interview Swiss National Radio (SRF), 18.05.2015. "In der Krise helfen sich die Griechen selbst", URL: <http://www.srf.ch/kultur/gesellschaft-religion/in-der-krise-helfen-sich-die-griechen-selbst>; und Audio "Gesellschaftliches Engagement als Folge der krise", URL: <http://www.srf.ch/play/radio/popupaudioplayer?id=94e845d1-1867-4c5e-9fb9-9beb7ebb6b62>
- 2015 Interview, European University Institute *Times Online*, "Syriza, Scylla and Charybdis", 16.02.2015. URL: <http://times.eui.eu/syriza-scylla-and>

- [charybdis.html](#) Interview, Austrian Newspaper *Salzburger Nachrichten*. "Die Griechen wollen Kooperation" 29.01.2015. URL: <http://www.salzburg.com/nachrichten/welt/politik/sn/artikel/die-griechen-wollen-kooperation-136457/>
- 2015 Interview, Austrian Newspaper *DerStandard* "Für viele Linke ist diese Koalition ein Albtraum". 25.01.2015. URL: <http://derstandard.at/2000010878174/Fuer-viele-linke-Griechen-ist-diese-Koalition-ein-Albtraum>
- 2014 Interview, Slovak Newspaper *Spravy.Pravda*, "Cameron si vybral nacionalistov". 06.06.2014. URL: <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/320019-cameron-si-vybral-nacionalistov>
- 2013 Interview on "Democratic accountability and participation in the EU", PoliticallyEU, 29.11.2013, European University Institute, Florence. URL: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z5oxPnIP\\_MQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z5oxPnIP_MQ)
- 2013 Interview, TV Macedonia-Greece, "City, Citizen & Politics" (Πόλη, Πολίτης και Πολιτική) on the Troika Demands and Reform Record of the Greek Government, 06.06.2013.
- 2013 Interview with *Tiroler Tageszeitung* "Messer ins Herz der Demokratie", 19.06.2013. URL: [http://activerreflection.blogspot.gr/2013\\_06\\_01\\_archive.html](http://activerreflection.blogspot.gr/2013_06_01_archive.html)
- 2013 Moderation, "Zukunft des Journalismus im Krisenstaat Griechenland" Forum Journalismus & Medien Wien (fjum) & Österreichische Presserat, Altes-AKH Campus, Vienna 18.06.2013.
- 2013 Commentary, "Reflecting on Debtocracy", Filmabend Werkstatt & Kulturhaus (WUK), Vienna, 27.02.2013.
- 2012 Interview, ORF-REPORT "Euro: Tage der Entscheidung", *ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation)*, 21:05, 19.06.2012.
- 2012 TV Panel Discussant at CLUB2 "Sparen oder Schulden machen? Was rettet Europa?". *ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation)*; 23:00, 09.05.2012. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mujJT-5Z8SU>.
- 2012 Interview, *ATV Aktuell* (TV News) on "Koalitionsmöglichkeiten nach der Griechischen Wahl", 19.20, 07.05.2012.
- 2012 Online Chat with *derStandard.at* readers, "Griechische Gesellschaft hält härtere Sparmaßnahmen nicht aus", 17.06.2012. URL: <http://derstandard.at/1339638159946/Chat-mit-Zoe-Lefkofridi-Griechische-Gesellschaft-haelt-haertere-Sparmassnahmen-nicht-aus>
- 2012 Interview, Austrian Newspaper *DerStandard* on 'Greece, Austerity and EU Membership', 16.05.2012. URL: <http://derstandard.at/1336697065255/Aeltere-fuerchten-dass-Griechenland-ohne-EU-Militaerdiktatur-waere>
- 2012 Interview, Slovak Newspaper *Spravy.Pravda*, "V kríze chutia Európe extrémny sprava i zľava", 15.06.2012. URL: <http://bit.ly/Lv482s>.
- 2011 Interview, Austrian Newspaper *DerStandard* on the 'Indignant Movement in Athens', 16.06.2011. Available online at: <http://derstandard.at/1308186216212/Vielen-Griechen-reicht-es-ganz-einfach>
- 2011 Interview, „Greek Rendezvous (Elliniko Randevou)“ on "Restructuring Greek Political Parties" Radio Station „FunkHaus Europa“, *Westdeutsche Rundfunk Köln (WDR)*, 19- 20.00, 03.07.2011.

- 2011 TV Panel Discussant at CLUB2: „Euro nach Athen tragen: machen uns die Griechen arm?“, *ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation)*; 23.00, 15.06.2011.
- 2011 Interview, 'Zeit Im Bild/ZIB2' (TV News), *ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation)*, 22: 00, 15.06. 2011.
- 2010 Lefkofridi, Z. "Das griechische Volk glaubt den Politikern nicht mehr". *Wiener Zeitung*, Weekend print edition, 08.05. 2010, S. 4.
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## **Institutional Engagement**

### **Representative and Advisory Roles**

- 2015-2017 Elected Member of the Steering Committee of the Austrian Association of Political Science (Österreichische Gesellschaft Politikwissenschaft-ÖGPW).
- 2016-2019 Member of the Advisory Committee of the Greek Politics Specialist Group of the Political Studies Association
- 2013-4 Representative of Max Weber Fellows at the Department of Social and Political Sciences and Coordinator between Fellows & Faculty, European University Institute, Florence.

### **Membership in professional associations (varying over years)**

Gender Studies Association Austria (ÖGGF)

European Sociological Association (ESA)

European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Groups on:

- Public Opinion and Voting Behavior
- Southern European Society and Politics
- European Union
- Political Parties
- Political Representation

Greek Elections, Public Opinion and Parties Group (GrEPOP)

Austrian Political Science Association (ÖGPW)

Political Studies Association (PSA)-Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG)

International Political Science Association (IPSA)- RC 19 Gender, Politics & Policy

American Political Science Association (APSA)

Modern Greek Studies Association (MGSA)

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## **Additional training and qualifications**

### **Summer Schools & Seminars**

- 2010 Social Science Data Analysis - ECPR Summer School, University of Essex

- 2008 European Social Survey (ESS) Training, Center for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA) Mannheim.  
Spring Seminar at the Zentralarchiv, University of Cologne.
- 2007 European Social Survey (ESS) Training and ECPR Summer School in Methods, University of Ljubljana.
- 2006 ECPR Summer School in Parties and Party Systems, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.
- 2003 Hydra Summer School, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences.
- 2000 Germanistik, Humbolt University, Berlin.

### **Languages**

English and German:

Fluent (Cambridge-Proficiency and Goethe Institut-Kleines Sprachdiplom)

Spanish and French:

Good (Salamanca-Diploma Básico; Paris-Sorbonne II-Literature & History)

Italian: Basic

Greek: Mother Tongue