

BESIR CEKA

Associate Professor and Chair of Political Science

Davidson College

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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

- 2023-present *Chair of Political Science*
Davidson College
- 2020-present *Associate Professor*
Political Science Department
Davidson College
- 2018-2020 *L. Richardson King Assistant Professor*
Political Science Department
Davidson College
- 2018 *Visiting Fellow* (September-December)
Department of Political and Social Sciences
European University Institute
- 2014-18 *Assistant Professor*
Political Science Department
Davidson College
- 2013-14 *Max Weber Fellow*
Department of Political and Social Sciences
European University Institute
- 2013-14 *Lecturer*
M.A. in European Union Policy Studies
James Madison University in Florence, Italy

EDUCATION

- 2008-13 **University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill, NC**
- 2013 *Ph.D. in Political Science*
Dissertation: "The Causes and Consequences of Political Trust and Satisfaction with Democracy in Eastern Europe."
Committee Members: Milada Vachudova (Chair), Liesbet Hooghe, Robert Jenkins, Gary Marks, Graeme Robertson, and John Stephens
Fields: Comparative Politics (major), International relations (minor)
- 2010 *M.A. in Political Science*
- 2004-08 **Bates College, Lewiston, ME**
- 2008 *B.A. cum laude*
Majors: Political Science (honors) and Economics; Minor: German
Phi Beta Kappa
- 2007 **European College of Liberal Arts, Berlin, Germany**

PUBLICATIONS

Peer-reviewed

- 2024 Stoeckel, Florian, Sabrina Stöckli, Besir Ceka, Chiara Ricchi, Ben Lyons, and Jason Reifler (*forthcoming*). "The Double-Edged Sword of User Comments: Social Corrections Reduce the Perceived Accuracy of Both False and Real News in the UK, Germany, and Italy." *Communications Psychology* 2 (1): 1-17.
- 2023 Tobias Lenz, Besir Ceka, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, and Alexandr Burilkov. "Discovering Cooperation: Endogenous Change in International Organizations." *Review of International Organizations* 18 (4): 631-66.
- 2023 Stoeckel, Florian and Besir Ceka. "Political Tolerance in Europe: The Role of Conspiratorial Thinking and Cosmopolitanism." *European Journal of Political Research* 62 (3): 699-722.
- 2020 Ceka, Besir and Pedro C. Magalhães. "Do the Rich and the Poor Have Different Conceptions of Liberal Democracy? Socioeconomic Status, Inequality, and the Political Status Quo." *Comparative Politics* 52 (3): 383-412.
- 2019 Ceka, Besir and Andrew J. O'Geen. "Evaluating Student Performance on Computer-Based versus Hand-Written Exams: Evidence from a Field Experiment in the Classroom." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 52 (04): 757-62.
- 2017 Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, Besir Ceka, and Svet Derderyan. 2017. *Measuring International Authority: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance, Volume III*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- 2017 Ares, Macarena, Besir Ceka and Hanspeter Kriesi. "Diffuse Support for the European Union: Spillover Effects of the Politicization of the European Integration Process at the Domestic Level." *Journal of European Public Policy* 24 (8): 1091-1115.
- 2016 Ceka, Besir and Aleksandra Sojka. "Loving it but not Feeling it yet? The State of European Identity After the Eastern Enlargement." *European Union Politics* 17 (3): 482-503.
- 2016 Ceka, Besir and Pedro C. Magalhães. "How People Understand Democracy: A Social Dominance Approach." In *How Europeans View and Evaluate Democracy*, edited by Mónica Ferrín and Hanspeter Kriesi, 90-110. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 2014 Armingeon, Klaus and Besir Ceka. "The Loss of Trust in the European Union during the Great Recession since 2007: The Role of Heuristics from the National Political System." *European Union Politics* 15 (1): 82-107.
- 2013 Ceka, Besir. "The Perils of Political Competition Explaining Participation and Trust in Political Parties in Eastern Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (12): 1610-35.

Book chapters

Forthcoming Ceka, Besir and Pedro C. Magalhães (*forthcoming*). "The correlates of European citizens' views of democracy." In *How Europeans View and Evaluate Democracy Revisited. Ten years later*, edited by Mónica Ferrín and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford University Press.

Monograph

2014 Marks, Gary, Tobias Lenz, Besir Ceka and Brian Burgoon. "[Discovering Cooperation: A Contractual Approach to Institutional Change in Regional International Organizations](#)." EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2014/65, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Global Governance Programme.

Short articles and essays

2018 Ceka, Besir. 2018. "Macedonia: A New Beginning?" *Journal of Democracy* 29 (2): 143-57.

2016 Bryan, Alyssa ('17) and Besir Ceka. "After Paris, Europe must deny power to far right." *The Charlotte Observer*, March 19.

2015 Ceka, Besir. [Tug of War in Macedonia](#). *Foreign Affairs*, June 3.

2014 Pedro C. Magalhães and Besir Ceka. "[The Meaning of Democracy Changes for Europeans Depending on their Education Status, Income and National Context](#)." *LSE EUROPP Blog*, August 27.

2014 Ceka, Besir. "Something to Trust." *The European*, March 31.

2013 Ceka, Besir. "[The EU May Have a Democratic Deficit, but National Governments are Facing an Even Greater Legitimacy Crisis](#)." *LSE EUROPP Blog*, October 29.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

- "What Drives Public Support for Ukraine in Germany?" *Work in progress*.
- "The politics of Artificial intelligence." *Work in progress*.
- "Causes and Consequences of Emigration from the Western Balkans to Western Europe." *Work in progress*.
- "Trust in Political Institutions: A Relative Deprivation Approach." *Work in progress*.
- "Mind the Gap: The Different Levels of Trust in EU and National Institutions." *Work in progress*.

CONFERENCES

- 2021 “Political Tolerance in Europe: The Role of Conspiratorial Thinking and Cosmopolitanism” – presented online at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, October 2, 2021.
- 2018 “Evaluating student performance on computer-based versus hand-written exams: Evidence from a field experiment in the classroom” – presented at the European University Institute Experimental Working Group, Florence, Italy, October 9.
- 2018 “Do the Rich and the Poor Have Different Conceptions of Democracy? Socioeconomic Status, Inequality, and the Political Status Quo” – presented at the 12th Max Weber Fellows’ June Conference at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy, June 13-15.
- 2018 “Mind the Gap: The Different Levels of Trust in EU and National Institutions” – presented at the European Political Science Association, Vienna, Austria, Vienna, June 21-23.
- 2017 “Socioeconomic Status and Support for Liberal Democracy: A Cross-National Comparison” – presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31–September 3.
- 2017 “Explaining the relationship between trust in EU and National Institutions” – presented at the 11th Max Weber Fellows’ June Conference at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy, June 7-9.
- 2017 Attended workshops on “The Inclusive Classroom: Inclusive Environments and Teaching Techniques” at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association Teaching & Learning Conference, Long Beach, CA, February 10-12.
- 2017 “Not all Media Content is Alike: Media Ownership, Trust in Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy in Eastern Europe” – presented at the 3rd Annual Maine EuroConference at Bates College, ME, January 28.
- 2016 “After ISIS: spillover in the Balkans” – presented at a one-day conference organized by U.S. Army Special Operations Command (USASOC) and the Laboratory for Unconventional Conflict Analysis and Simulation (LUCAS) at Duke University, December 2.
- 2016 “Media Ownership, Institutional Trust & Satisfaction with Democracy in Eastern Europe” – presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, in Philadelphia, PA, September 1-4.
- 2016 “Diffuse support for the European Union: spillover effects of the politicization of the European integration process at the domestic level” – presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 7-9.
- 2015 Attended the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, in San Francisco, CA, September 4-6.
- 2015 “Loving It but Not Feeling It Yet? European Identity in Eastern and Western Europe” – presented with Aleksandra Sojka at the 22nd International Conference of Europeanists in Paris, France, July 8.

- 2014 “The Individual and Contextual Determinants of the Meaning of Democracy” – presented at 8th Max Weber Fellows’ June Conference, European University Institute, Florence, June 11.
- 2014 “Agents of Democracy? Foreign-owned Media in Eastern Europe” – presented at the Political Behaviour Research Group at Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, May 21.
- 2014 “Malaise or Virtuous Circle? Media ownership, political trust, and satisfaction with democracy in Eastern Europe” – presented at the Political Behaviour Colloquium, European University Institute, Florence, March 4.
- 2013 “Discovering Cooperation: A Constructivist Theory of Regional Organization” – presented with Tobias Lenz and Gary Marks at the conference, “The Design of International Institutions: Theory Meets Data.” UNC at Chapel Hill, April 26-27.
- 2013 “Malaise or Virtuous Circle? Media and politics in Eastern Europe” – presented at the Graduate Conference in Comparative Politics organized by COMPASS – UCLA, CA March 9.
- 2012 “Democratic satisfaction and Support for Anti-mainstream Parties in Europe” – scheduled to present at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, August.
- 2010 “The structure of government above the state” – presented at the “Multilevel Governance: Estimating Authority Below and Above the State” conference in Berlin, Germany, December 20-21.
- 2010 “The perils of political competition: Explaining participation and trust in political parties in Eastern Europe” – presented at the 1st Joint PhD Symposium on Modern and Contemporary South East Europe at the London School of Economics, London, UK, June 18.

INVITED LECTURES AND TALKS

- 2023 Participated in a Davidson Forum-sponsored panel titled “Religion and Politics” with Susan Roberts and Doug Ottati, November 9.
- 2023 Participated in a Deliberative Citizenship Initiative (DCI) panel titled “The Challenge for Democracy: To What Extent Should the U.S. and Other Democratic Nations Defend and Promote Democracy Around the World?” with Shelley Rigger and Ken Menkhaus, October 19.
- 2023 “The War in Ukraine: What’s Next for Russia and Ukraine?” – Invited lecture for Learning in Retirement at the Pines, September 18.
- 2023 Fire chat conversation with the former US Ambassador to Kosovo, Greg Delawie. We focused on European politics, the Balkans, and the war in Ukraine, March 23.
- 2023 “The War in Ukraine: Why did Russia invade and what’s next?” – Invited lecture to the Davidson Parents Council, February 18.

- 2022 “The War in Ukraine: What’s next for Russia and Ukraine” – invited lecture, *DavidsonLearns* Rynne Lectures in International Affairs, Davidson, NC, October 10.
- 2022 “The War in Ukraine” – invited lecture, *DavidsonLearns* Rynne Lectures in International Affairs, Davidson, NC, March 7.
- 2021 “Political tolerance in Europe” – invited lecture, *DavidsonLearns* Rynne Lectures in International Affairs, Davidson, NC, September 27.
- 2021 “German Election Watch party” – provided analysis and opinion on the 2021 German federal election results, Davidson College, September 26.
- 2021 “Political tolerance in Europe” – invited lecture, Program in European Studies, Bates College, April 27.
- 2019 “Russia and Europe: An uneasy relationship” – invited lecture, *DavidsonLearns* International Affairs Course, Davidson, NC, February 19.
- 2017 “German Election and European Studies Symposium and Festival” – provided analysis and opinion on the 2017 German federal election results, Davidson College, September 24.
- 2017 “Vying for Influence in the Balkans: The European Union, NATO, and Russia” – invited lecture to *DavidsonLearns*, Davidson, NC, September 18.
- 2017 “Europe and its discontents” – invited lecture, Learning in Retirement program at The Pines, Davidson, NC, March 13.
- 2016 “Elections Issues Forum: The United States and the World” – invited lecture on Brexit, Turkey, and the migration crisis in Europe at Queens University, September 23.
- 2016 "Europe in Flux: The Refugee Crisis and What it Means for the European Union" – invited lecture to Senior Scholars, Davidson, NC, February 10.
- 2015 “Out with the Old, In With the New: Developments in European Politics” – Lecture series with Lou Ortmayer. Davidson College, March 12.
- 2015 “A Conversation about Democracy in Europe” – led a discussion with German Green Party politicians Ekin Deligöz and Kerstin Celina.” Davidson College, February 19.
- 2014 “The culture, history, policies, and political systems of Macedonia and Albania” – invited talk for the 92th Civilian Affairs Brigade (Airborne) from Fort Bragg, NC. UNC at Chapel Hill, November 14.
- 2014 “EU-Balkan Roundtable: Crisis and Change in Bosnia and Kosovo” – participated in a roundtable discussion at UNC at Chapel Hill, March 18.
- 2013 “A Crisis of Trust? Popular Support for the European Union During the Great Recession” – invited talk at the Institute for European Studies, Indiana University, November 11.
- 2013 “The History and the Politics of the Balkans” – presented at Worldview (K-12

high school teachers), UNC at Chapel Hill, March 20.

WORKSHOPS

- 2014 - 16 Writers' Circle – gave feedback and presented own papers at interdisciplinary group, Davidson College.
- 2014 "Davidson Domains Learning Community" – participated in a workshop on Davidson Domains at Davidson College, December 11-12.
- 2014 "Scale and Community: The Design of International Organizations" – participated in a workshop at Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, Germany, July 6-9.
- 2014 "The European Union and the Challenges of Globalizing Politics and Economics" – helped organize the 7th JMU-Max Weber Programme Symposium at EUI, Florence April 11.
- 2014 "How Europeans View and Evaluate Democracy" – participated in a workshop at the European University Institute, Florence March 6-7.
- 2010 "Democracy and European Integration in Post-Communist Europe" – presented at the workshop *The European Union as a Foreign Policy Actor* at UNC at Chapel Hill, March 25.
- 2009 "Party Competition and Political Participation in Eastern Europe" – presented at the workshop *The European Union as a Foreign Policy Actor* at UNC at Chapel Hill, March 26.

GRANTS AND AWARDS

Research and teaching:

- 2018 L. Richardson King Professorship (pre-tenure endowed professorship)
- 2017 Funding for Group Investigation trip to Vienna, Austria, Davidson College
- 2017 Faculty Study and Research Grant, Davidson College
- 2016 Faculty Study and Research Grant, Davidson College
- 2015 Course Development Grant, Davidson College
- 2012 ERC (European Research Council) Grant by Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe
- 2012 Faculty and Graduate Student Joint Project by the EU Center of Excellence
- 2012 Uhlman Summer Fellowship by the Department of Political Science UNC
- 2011 Summer Research Fellowship by the UNC EU Center of Excellence
- 2010 ERC (European Research Council) Grant by Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe
- 2010 Faculty and Graduate Student Joint Project by the EU Center of Excellence
- 2009 Summer Research Fellowship by the UNC EU Center of Excellence
- 2006 Stangle Research Grant, Bates College
- 2006 Barlow Fellowship Vienna, Austria, Bates College

Travel:

- 2013 Graduate Student Travel grant by the UNC EU Center of Excellence
- 2012 APSA Travel Grant to attend the 2012 annual APSA meeting, June

Besir Ceka

2010 *Travel Grant to the University of Bern to teach a course, February*
2010 *Graduate Student Travel grant by the UNC EU Center of Excellence, March*

Other awards:

2008 *Rodney F. Jhonnot Graduate Award, Bates College, May*
2008 *Maung Maung Gyi prize for excellence in Political Science, Bates College*
2008 *Student Research Apprenticeship Bates College, April-May*
2004 *Best Speaker Award, international debate tournament "Macedonia Open 2004," May*

TEACHING AND ADVISING

Advising

2015 - *present* Faculty Adviser to Davidson European Society
2015 - *present* Faculty Adviser to Model United Nations

Additional training

2013-14 *Max Weber Program Teaching Certificate, European University Institute*
2014 *Academic Teaching Exchange with Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, May 19-23.*

Courses at Davidson:

Rise and Fall of Democracy (POL 448)
Politics of Russia and Eastern Europe (POL 348)
Nationalism (POL 444)
International Relations (POL 161)
West European Politics (POL 242)
European Integration (POL 440)
Psychology of Political Leadership (POL 384)
Political Science Methods and Statistics (POL 201)
International Organization (POL 363)
World Politics in American Politics (Davidson in Washington seminar)

Other courses

2014 *The European Union common market (POSC 641), M.A. level, JMU spring*
2014 *Justice and Home Affairs in the EU (POSC 642), MA level, JMU spring*
2013 *The Political Institutions of the European Union (POSC 603) MA level, JMU fall*
2013 *International Organizations and Global Issues (POLI 252), UNC spring*
2012 *International Organizations and Global Issues (POLI 252), UNC fall*
2012 *Introduction to Comparative Politics (POLI 130), UNC, summer session II*
2012 *International Organizations and Global Issues (POLI 252), UNC spring*
2011 *European Integration (W3066), University of Bern, Switzerland, fall*

Teaching Assistant (UNC):

Besir Ceka

2011 Intro to East Central Politics (POLI 236) taught by Dr. Milada Vachudova, spring
2010 Intro to American Politics (POLI 100) taught by Dr. George Rabinowitz, fall
2010 Intro to East Central Politics (POLI 236) taught by Dr. Milada Vachudova, spring
2009 Intro to European Politics (POLI 239) taught by Dr. Gary Marks, fall
2009 Intro to Comparative Politics (POLI 130) taught by Dr. Andrew Reynolds, spring

Teaching Assistant (Study Abroad):

2013 Honors Burch Field Research Seminar in the Balkans and Vienna taught by Dr. Robert Jenkins, June-August.
2011 Honors Burch Field Research Seminar in the Balkans and Vienna taught by Dr. Robert Jenkins, June-August.
2009 Honors Burch Field Research Seminar in the Balkans and Vienna taught by Dr. Robert Jenkins, June-August.

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Fluent: English, Albanian, Macedonian, BCS (Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian)

Advanced: German

Intermediate: Spanish and Italian

FIELDWORK RESEARCH

2011 **Fieldwork research in Bulgaria and Slovenia June-August.** Interviewed academics and staff from civil society organizations in Bulgaria and Slovenia.
2009 **Fieldwork research in Estonia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina June-August.** Interviewed academics and staff from civil society organizations in Estonia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

SERVICE

2023-present Faculty Hearings Committee
2021 - 2022 Phi Beta Kappa, chapter President
2019 - 2023 Public Lectures Committee (chair) – elected to serve for three years
2015 - 2018 International Education Committee – elected to serve for three years
2013-14 Post-doctoral representative in the European University Institute's (EUI) Academic Council

Reviewer for *APSR, AJPS, JOP, BJPS, World Politics, Comparative Politics, Journal of Common Market Studies, Political Behavior, European Union Politics, Democratization, Party Politics, East European Politics.*

MEDIA APPEARANCE

2014 Mette Rodgers. "Er Parlamentet et forfejlet demokratisk eksperiment?" [Is the Parliament a failed experiment?]. [Danish Daily Information](#), May 24.

Besir Ceka

OTHER

Proficient in Stata and R