

# M. A. SHIRAEF

Department of Political Science  
University of Notre Dame, USA  
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## EDUCATION

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**Ph.D.**, University of Notre Dame, USA, Political Science, *Scheduled* April 2024

**External Research:** Visiting Student Researcher, Stanford University, Political Science, 2019–20

**Dissertation Title:** The Politics of Identity Transmission in and after Authoritarian Albania

**Committee:** Susanne Wengle, Victoria Hui, Jaimie Bleck, Scott Mainwaring, & David Laitin

**Fields:** comparative politics, political theory, and international relations

**M.A.**, University of Notre Dame, USA, Political Science, 2016–18

**MLitt**, University of St Andrews, UK, International Relations (theory), 2014–15

**B.A./A.A.**, Emory University / Oxford College, USA, Political Science, 2009–13

## PUBLICATIONS

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### PEER-REVIEWED

“[Did Border Closures slow SARS-CoV-2?](#),” Lead Author w/ the COBAP Team, *Scientific Reports*, **Nature** Portfolio, 12(1709), 2022

“[COVID Border Accountability Project, a hand-coded global database of border closures introduced in 2020](#),” Lead Author w/ COBAP, *Scientific Data*, **Nature** Portfolio, 8(253), 2021

### SOLICITED

“[What Good is a Liberal Arts Education?: Tocqueville’s Education as a Public Good](#),” *Agora*, 2014

“[From Fighting to Electing Nazis: Explaining the Rise of Golden Dawn in Greece](#),” *Cornell International Affairs Review*, 7, 1: 47-53, 2013

### CONTRIBUTING TO POLICY DEBATES

“[Europe’s Border Responses to COVID-19 in Global Context](#),” *Europe In the World*, Nanovic Institute for European Studies, 2021

“[Closed borders, travel bans and halted immigration: 5 ways COVID-19 changed how and where people move around the world](#),” *The Conversation*, 2021 (re-published in more than 40 news outlets)

“[Will COVID-19 Harden the World’s Borders?](#),” with Fei & Wolff, Stanford University’s Immigration Policy Lab (IPL), 2020

### IN-PROGRESS

“Playing the Long Game with the State: How Multiethnic Identity Engineering Backfired in Communist Albania, Eventually.” Job Market Paper, Available upon Request

“The Salience of Post-Communist Identity Games after Migration,” Article Manuscript

“The Anti-Immigrant Motivations for Pandemic Border Closures,” Article Manuscript, Available as an APSA [iPoster](#)

## PRINCIPAL GRANTS & AWARDS

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### EXTERNAL

**Title VIII Fellowships**, U.S. Dept of State, Albania, \$23,500, \$2,900, & \$2,900, 2024, 2023, and 2022

**Fulbright-Hays Fellowship**, U.S. Dept of Education and Fulbright Greece, \$24,174, 2023

**American Political Science Association Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant (APSA DDRIG)**, U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF), \$15,000, 2021-2022

**Boren Fellowship**, U.S. Dept of Defense, Albania, \$25,000, 2020 (delayed to 2022)

**Summer Centennial Research Center Grant**, American Political Science Association, \$2,500, 2022

Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies Association Award, for fieldwork in Albania, \$5,000, 2022

**U.S. Institute for Southeast European Studies Fellowship**, for archival reserach in Albania, \$3,000, 2022

Questbridge National College Match Program, for full tuition and living stipend at a top-20 university, awarded to “high-achieving, low-income students,” Finalist, 2009

### INTERNAL

Graduate Student Research Awards, \$4,000 and \$4,000, Spring and Fall 2023

Kellogg Institute for International Studies Research Awards, \$7,000 and \$6,190, 2022 and 2023

Race & Resilience Initiative grant, University of Notre Dame, Albania-Greece, \$3,907, 2022

Nanovic Institute for European Studies Grants, \$2,750, \$1,500 and \$8,500, 2022, 2020, and 2018

Discretionary Travel & Research Recruitment Grant, Department of Political Science, \$12,500, 2016

**Dean’s “Select Fellowship,”** university-wide award for first-generation students, \$20,000, 2016-2021

## RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS (\*INVITED)

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“The Legacy of Communist-era Ethnic Identity Politics on Contemporary Integration Challenges in the EU,” Mannheim Centre for European Social Research, MZES University of Mannheim, Mannheim, Germany, 2024\*

“The Radical Politics of Recognizing Diversity: How and Why Communist Albania Recognized the Greek Minority,” Council for European Studies, Lyon, France, 2024 (Forthcoming)

“**Playing the Long Game with the State: How Identity Engineering Backfired in Communist Albania, Eventually,**” Fulbright Mediterranean Research Seminar, Alicante, Spain, 2023 and Democritus University of Thrace, Komotoni, Greece 2024 (Forthcoming)\*

“Measuring Identity in Authoritarian Contexts,” International Society of Political Psychology Academy, Montreal, Canada, 2023

“Unintended Consequences: The Authoritarian Legacy of Multiethnic Regime Engineering in Albania,” European Political Science Association, Glasgow, Scotland, 2023

“**Nation-building through Minority Identity Engineering in Albania,**” Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin, Italy, 2022\*

“**The Effects of Communist-era Protections for Minority Groups on Ethnopolitical Identity Compliance,**” Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 2022

“The Impacts of Minority Identity Engineering on Ethnopolitical Identity Transmission,” Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Chicago, 2022

“Hoxha’s Grand Experiment on Minority Identity in Albania,” American Political Science Association (APSA), Montreal, Canada, 2022

**“The COVID Border Accountability Project: Xenophobic Motivations of International Border Closures introduced in 2020-21,”** APSA, Montreal, Canada, 2022

“Hoxha’s Grand Experiment with Minority Identity in Albania: the Impacts of Multiethnic Identity Engineering on Political Identity Transmission in Authoritarian Regimes,” International Society of Political Psychology, Athens, Greece, 2022

“The Impact of Communist-era Multiethnic Identity Engineering on Post-communist Political Identity Transmission: A Natural Experiment at the Albania-Greece Border,” European Political Science Association, Prague, Czechia, 2022

**“Hoxha’s Grand Experiment on Minority Identity in Albania: the Impacts of Multiethnic Identity,”** Comparative Politics Workshop, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 2022

“Hoxha’s Grand Experiment on Minority Identity in Albania: the Impacts of Multiethnic Identity Engineering on Ethnopolitical Identity Transmission in Authoritarian Regimes,” Midwest Political Science Association, 2022

“National citizenship by Birth (*jus soli*) v. by Blood (*jus sanguinis*) in Soviet Context,” Political Theory Workshop, Stanford University, 2021

“Ideal Theory in Everyday Politics,” Western Political Science Association, virtual, 2021

**“The COVID Border Accountability Project (COBAP): The Global Health Impacts of Travel Bans,”** Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 2020

“Habermas’ Communicative Freedom v. the ‘Schmittiness’ of Trump-era politics: A Case for Identifying Ideal Theory in Everyday Politics,” Stanford University, Political Theory Workshop for in-progress work, McCoy Center for Ethics and Society, 2020

“Modeling Internal versus International Migration restrictions in Albania,” Immigration Policy Lab, Stanford University, 2020

“Measuring ‘Greek’ identity in Albania,” Immigration Policy Lab, Stanford University, 2020

“‘The Albanian People want to be Sincere Friends with the Greek People Forever’: A Natural Experiment Idea from Hoxha’s Policy on Greek Identity in Albania,” Comparative Politics Visiting Researchers’ Panel, Stanford University, Department of Political Science, 2019

“Interactions between Greek and Albanian Identities in America,” Political Violence Seminar convened by Stathis Kalyvas, Olympia Summer Academy, Greece, 2019

“Anti-intellectualism in Democracy: Insights from Tocqueville and Arendt,” Annual Conference in International Political Theory, University of St Andrews, 2014

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

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### Instructor of Record, Visiting Lecturer, Oxford College, Emory University

Introduction to Political Science (2 sections), Spring 2019

Modern Political Thought, Spring 2019

Classical Political Thought, Spring 2019  
Introduction to Political Science (3 sections), Fall 2018  
Classical Political Thought, Fall 2018

**Instructor of Record, Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame**

Research Internship, Fall 2022  
Research Internship, Spring 2022  
Research Internship, Fall 2021

**Co-instructor of Record, short course**

Minority Identity Narratives, Hope House Scholars Program, Stanford University, Aug 2020  
Freshman Seminar, Oxford College, Emory University, Fall 2018

**Invited Lectures, selection**

**“Hoxha’s Grand Experiment on the Greeks of Albania: Documenting Communist-era Minority Identity Engineering and Intergenerational Identity Transmission with Civil Registry and Cemetery Records in southern Albania, 1930-74,”** American Institute for Southeast European Studies, virtual, 2023

**“Methods for Preserving Local-to-Global History,”** Konstantinos Giakoumis’ Master’s Course on Methods for Teaching History, University College Logos, Albania, Forthcoming 2024

**“Methods and Research Agenda of the COVID Border Accountability Project,”** Political Science Graduate Student Association, University of Waterloo, Canada, 2021

**“Arendt’s *Origins of Totalitarianism: Ideology and Structure*,”** college-in-prison program, Common Good Atlanta, Georgia State University & Emory University, 2019

**“Aristotle on the Common Good (*Koinei Sympheron*) and Institutional Slavery,”** college-in-prison program, Common Good Atlanta, Georgia State University & Emory University, 2019

**“Why Study the Poor?: the Logic of the Wanderers Challenging Western Complacency,”** James McAdams’ Course, Introduction to Comparative Politics, University of Notre Dame, 2017

**Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame, 2017-21**

**Senior Teaching Assistant, Oxford College, Emory University, 2012-13**

**Teaching Assistant, Oxford College, Emory University, 2010-11**

Introduction to Political Science, William Shapiro, Fall 2011  
Introduction to Political Science, William Shapiro, Spring 2010

**Social Studies Instructor, Shanti Bhavan Residential School, 9th-12th grades, India, 2013–14**

Economics, 12th grade, Spring 2014  
International Politics, 11th grade, Spring 2014  
English Literature, 9th and 11th grades, Fall 2013  
History & Civics, 9th grade, Fall 2013 and Spring 2014

## TEACHING AWARDS

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**Excellence in Teaching Award**, University of Notre Dame, Honorable Mention, \$300, 2018

**R&A Ernest Ransome Trust Scholarship**, awarded for pursuit of a Master's degree from the University of St Andrews for a "demonstrated philanthropic commitment to education" following a year-long, volunteer teaching assignment in Bangalore, India, \$80,000, 2014

## PEDAGOGIC TRAINING

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**Certificate, Striving for Excellence in College and University Teaching**, Kaneb Center for Teaching Excellence, University of Notre Dame, 2016-2018

## ADDITIONAL METHODS TRAINING

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**Survey Research Methodology**, Keough School for Global Affairs, University of Notre Dame, 2021

**ICPSR Summer School**, University of Michigan, 2020 & 2021

**Causal Inference**, Stanford University, 2020

**Survey Questionnaire Design**, University of Macedonia, Greece, 2018

## OTHER RELEVANT WORK

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**Production Editor, Dept. Political Science, Notre Dame** Aug 2020 – May 2021

– Produced Online Journal for Eileen Botting's Honor's Program course ([GRAD](#) and [UG](#) editions)

**Consultant**, Stanford University, McCoy Center for Ethics 2019–20

– Provided editorial assistance in academic book writing workshops

**Editorial Intern**, *Review of Politics*, Cambridge University Press 2019–20

– Conducted desk reviews for more than 50 submitted articles

**Editorial Research Assistant**, American Public Power Association (APPA), D.C. summer 2010

– Wrote newsletters on cybersecurity and created an internal database of the first U.S. state-led SmartGrid ventures, including 70 projects in 26 states.

**Litigation Intern**, The Law Offices of Steven J. Strelzik, P.C., Atlanta, GA summer 2009

– Assisted with large-scale corporate and civil cases by researching legal precedents, preparing documents for trial, attending trials and hearings, and filing pleadings with both the district courts and Georgia's State Supreme Court

## INVITED MEDIA APPEARANCES, SELECTION

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"[Tracing Albanian-ness in Greece after a Go at Greekness in Albania: A Research Update from the Field](#), Kellogg Institute News, 2023

"[The China Travel Restriction has nothing to do with Covid Spread](#)," *The Atlantic*, Interview, 2023

"[Hoxha's Border Experiment on Minority Identity Transmission: Completing Data Collection on Communist-Era Identities](#), Kellogg Institute News, 2022

"[Pandemic Pivot: Shiraef Leads Team of Scholars Studying Whether Border Closures Affected COVID-19's Spread](#), University of Notre Dame Press Release, 2022

“Pandemic & Policy, COVID Border Accountability Project,” *Data Brunch*, Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), Podcast, 2022

“Did Border Closures Help Curb Coronavirus Spread?” *Healthline*, Interview, 2022

“Meet Mary Shiraef, 2021 APSA Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grantee,” *Political Science Now*, American Political Science Association (APSA), 2021

“Has COVID Accelerated Border Closures and a Little Bit about Albania with M. A. Shiraef,” *The Perch Pod*, Perch Perspectives, Podcast, 2021

“Shiraef Co-Authors Article in Scientific Data,” Kellogg Institute, Press Release, 2021

“Facing the Xenophobic and Ultra-right Narrative,” *Neutral*, Spanish Press, 2019

“Who’s Behind the Attacks on Migrants in Greece?,” *Al Jazeera*, The Stream, 2018

“Lasting Lessons: M. A. Shiraef reflects on Randall Strahan’s final Tocqueville course,” *Emory Magazine*, Spring 2014

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## LANGUAGES

English (*native*)

Greek (Modern and Ancient, *intermediate*)

Albanian (*intermediate*)

Thai (*beginner*)

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## COMPUTING

Stata, R,  $\LaTeX$ , and Python

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## ACADEMIC SERVICE, SELECTION

Editor, COVID Border Accountability Project (COBAP) Reports, self-published reports on [Europe](#), the [European Union+](#), the [U.S.](#), [Russia](#), and [China](#), COBAP Website, 2020–present

Dataset Contributor, “[Mapping Travel Policy Responses to COVID-19](#),” *Harvard Dataverse*, 2020

Undergraduate Research Supervisor, Emory University, Oxford Scholar Program, 2018–19

Lead Delegate, the EU Politics and Institutions branch of the founding session of the [89 Initiative](#), London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), 2015–16

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## PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Political Science Association (APSA)

European Political Science Association (EPSA)

Council for European Studies (CES)

Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES)

## REFERENCES

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### Committee Members

**Susanne Wengle** (Chair)  
Assoc. Prof. of Political Science  
University of Notre Dame  
swengle@nd.edu

**Scott Mainwaring**  
Eugene & Helen Conley Prof. of Political Science  
University of Notre Dame  
smainwar@nd.edu

**Victoria Tin-bor Hui**  
Assoc. Prof. of Political Science  
University of Notre Dame  
thui@nd.edu

**Jaimie Bleck**  
Associate Professor of Political Science  
University of Notre Dame  
jbleck@nd.edu

**David D. Laitin**  
James T. Watkins IV & Elise V. Watkins  
Prof. of Political Science  
Stanford University  
dlaitin@stanford.edu

**Kenneth Carter** (Teaching)  
Former Division Chair  
Emory University (Oxford College)  
kcart01@emory.edu

### Professional References

**Joseph C. Moon** (Service)  
Former Dean  
Emory University (Oxford College)  
joseph.moon@emory.edu

**Saad Gulzar** (Methods)  
Asst. Prof. of Politics & International Affairs  
Princeton University  
gulzar@princeton.edu

**Colin Lewis-Beck** (Methods)  
Industry Position  
clewisbeck@gmail.com

**Ruth Abbey** (Publishing)  
Editor-in-Chief *Review of Politics*  
University of Notre Dame  
rabbey1@nd.edu