

# Dr. Michael C. Zeller

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Last updated: 30 August 2023

## Current Positions

since 2022	Research Associate ( <i>Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter</i> ), <a href="#">Faculty of Sociology</a> , <a href="#">University of Bielefeld</a> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Research concentration on the relationship between protest and polarisation</li><li>• Pedagogical concentration on far-right politics and protest, qualitative methods, and social movements</li></ul>
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## Former Positions

2020 - 2023	Head of the Organisation Research Unit (ORU), and Fellow, <a href="#">Far-Right Analysis Network, FRAN</a> (formerly known as the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right, CARR) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• As head of the Organisation Research Unit, coordinating a network of FRAN-affiliated researchers to support scholarly exchange and collaboration, particularly through seminars and peer presentations within the sub-field of methodological approaches and empirical studies of the organised radical right</li><li>• As a fellow, writing short scholarly or editorial pieces on topics related to the study of the radical right and contributing to FRAN reports and initiatives</li></ul>
2019 - 2021	Associate Researcher, E.U.-Horizon2020 ‘ <a href="#">Building Resilience against Violent Extremism and Polarisation</a> ’ (BRaVE) project, Democracy Institute, Central European University <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• In conjunction with the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (European University Institute), contributing to policy research on polarisation and extremism, and related prevention practices</li><li>• Developing conceptual frameworks of policy analysis and collecting data on relevant policies, including qualitative interviews with policy experts</li><li>• Contributing to the production, dissemination, and presentation of project reports and papers, as well as the organisation of policy workshops</li></ul>
2020	Administrative Coordinator, European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR) <a href="#">Virtual Methods School</a> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Configuring a suite of on-line learning systems (chiefly, Moodle, Perusall, Panopto, and Zoom) for a three-week school in social science methodologies and techniques, and assisting instructors’ use of these systems</li><li>• Managing a team of student assistants tasked with responding to access and functionality requests from school participants</li></ul>
2020	Research Assistant to Associate Prof. <a href="#">Kirsten Robert-Lyer</a> , School of Public Policy, Central European University <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Preparing article manuscript on academic freedom and higher education governance in the Republic of Ireland (as part of a test case studies commissioned by the <a href="#">Global Public Policy Institute</a> in Berlin)</li><li>• Assisting preparation of a book manuscript on national human rights institutions and their international accreditation through the Global Alliance of National Human Rights Institutions (GANHRI)</li></ul>

2018 - 2019	<p>Research Assistant to Prof. <a href="#">Dorit Geva</a>, Head of Department of Sociology &amp; Social Anthropology, Central European University</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conducting background research of sociological literature, supporting the completion of article manuscripts</li> <li>• Assisting administrative duties, including degree programme design</li> </ul>
2018, 2019	<p>Student Assistant, European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR) <a href="#">Summer School in Methods and Techniques</a></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collating readings and class materials on e-learning site for all courses</li> <li>• Providing organisational and administrative assistance to Summer School instructors and participants</li> </ul>
2015 - 2017	<p>Research Fellow, <a href="#">Eurasian Research &amp; Analysis Institute</a> (Washington, D.C., United States)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As a non-resident fellows, producing research and commentary on socio-political phenomena within countries or regions of Eurasia</li> </ul>
2015 - 2017	<p>Immigration Services Officer, U.S. Department of Homeland Security (Washington, D.C., United States)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Researching, interpreting, and applying an extensive spectrum of sources—immigration laws and regulations, legislative history, judicial precedents, international treaties and other legal references—in order to apply immigration law</li> <li>• Process immigration applications and petitions, interview applicants for benefits in order to assess credibility</li> </ul>
2011 - 2012	<p>Project Assistant, <a href="#">Society 'Memorial'</a> (Moscow, Russian Federation)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organising initiatives to exhibit Samizdat materials, including recently collected photographs and journalistic accounts of dissident activity in the late Soviet period from western correspondents, news agencies, and media outlets</li> <li>• Contributing to and supervising the uploading of Memorial's "Chronicle of Current Affairs" (a record of repression and human rights activity in the USSR) to an online database</li> <li>• Assisting the preparation of grant applications for Memorial and its programmes</li> </ul>

## University Education

2017 - 2023	<p><i>Central European University</i>, Austria Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science dissertation defended in February 2023</p>
2013 - 2015	<p><i>University of Glasgow</i>, United Kingdom M.A. with distinction in Russian, Central &amp; East European Studies</p>
2014 - 2015	<p><i>Corvinus University of Budapest</i>, Hungary M.A. with distinction in Political Science</p>
2009 - 2013	<p><i>University of Louisville</i>, United States B.A. summa cum laude in Political Science</p>

## Publications

### *Articles in peer-reviewed journals*

<i>under review</i>	<p>with Virchow, F. "Rechtsextreme Führungfiguren Im Vergleich. Variationen In Deutschsprachigen Bewegungen ." <i>Zeitschrift für Soziologie</i>.</p>
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- 2023 with Vaughan, M. "Proscribing right-wing extremist organisations in Europe: Variations, trends, and prospects." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2023.2240446>.
- 2023 with Metodieva, A. "Influences of Islamist radicalisation: A configurational analysis of Balkan foreign fighters in Syria." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2023.2213967>.
- 2022 "Demobilising Far-right Demonstration Campaigns: Coercive counter-mobilisation, state social control, and the demobilisation of the Hess Gedenkmarsch campaign." *Social Movement Studies*, 21(3), 372-390. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2021.1889493>.
- 2021 "Patterns Of Demobilization: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) Of Far-Right Demonstration Campaigns," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 26(3), 267-285. <https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671X-26-3-267>.
- 2021 with Vidra, Z. "Illiberalism, Polarisation, Resilience, & Resistance. Concepts in dynamic tension." *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics* 7(4), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v7i4.945>.
- 2021 with Hrckova, J. "The everyday abnormal and the quest for normalcy: how Polish equality marches build protester resilience." *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics* 7(4), 104-123. <https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v7i4.817>
- 2020 "Rethinking Demobilisation: Concepts, causal logic, and the case of Russia's For Fair Elections movement," *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*, 12(1), 527-558. <https://www.interfacejournal.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Interface-12-1-MC-Zeller.pdf>.
- 2020 "Karlsruhe's 'giving fences': mobilisation for the needy in times of COVID-19," *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*, 12(1), 292-303. <https://www.interfacejournal.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Interface-12-1-Zeller.pdf>.
- 2016 "Battle for the Base: How the Manas basing crisis illustrates Russian behavior in the conduct of foreign affairs," *The Eurasian Era*, 1(1), 28-36. [https://eraoinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/The-Eurasian-Era\\_v1n1\\_summer2016.pdf](https://eraoinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/The-Eurasian-Era_v1n1_summer2016.pdf).
- 2016 "Shifting Political Dynamics and Democratic Disillusionment in Hungary's Political Youth," *The Eurasian Era*, 1(1), 3-11. [https://eraoinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/The-Eurasian-Era\\_v1n1\\_summer2016.pdf](https://eraoinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/The-Eurasian-Era_v1n1_summer2016.pdf).
- 2012 "Cooperative Ventures of Russian Civil Society: Three case studies from the Memorial Human Rights Group." *Vestnik: The Journal of Russian and Asian Studies*, 12(1), 3-12. <https://geohistory.today/cooperative-ventures-civil-society/>

## Book Chapters

- forthcoming* with McNeil-Willson, R. & Vaughan, M. "Critically examining the role of the scholar in policymaking on the Far Right," In Vaughan, A., Braune, J., Tinsley, M., & Mondon, A. (Eds.) *The Ethics of Researching the Far Right*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- 2023 "The Austrian far right: continuities, novelties, and the case of the Ulrichsberg commemorations," In Kondor, K. & Little, M. (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Far-Right Extremism in Europe* (pp. 67-82). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.

- 2023 with Hreckova, J. "Poland," In McNeil-Willson, R. & Triandafyllidou, A. (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook on Violent Extremism and Resilience* (pp. 196-209). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- 2023 with Vidra, Z. "Hungary," In McNeil-Willson, R. & Triandafyllidou, A. (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook on Violent Extremism and Resilience* (pp. 181-195). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- 2021 "How to Laugh Away the Far-Right: Lessons from Germany," In Leidig, E. (Ed.) *The Radical Right During Crisis* (pp. 384-390). Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag.
- 2020 "COVID-19 and the Pause of Far-Right Demonstrations in Germany," In Bar-On, T. & Molas, B. (Eds.), *Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic by the Radical Right: Scapegoating, Conspiracy Theories and New Narratives* (pp. 61-66). Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag.

### *Reports, academic blogs, book reviews*

- 2022 with Vidra, Z. & Triandafyllidou, A. "Feature: BRaVE Project." *Spotlight on Polarisation* (April 2022 publication of the European Commission's Radicalisation Awareness Network). Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/networks/radicalisation-awareness-network-ran/ran-media/ran-spotlight\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/networks/radicalisation-awareness-network-ran/ran-media/ran-spotlight_en)
- 2022 with Vidra, Z. "Policy Brief: Preventing violent extremism: A delicate balance." Building Resilience against Violent Extremism & Polarisation (BRaVE) project. Available at: <http://brave-h2020.eu/repository/PB-BRAVE-final-version.pdf>.
- 2021 (editor and contributor) "Organisation Research Unit: 2021 Year in Review Report," Centre for the Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR). Available at: <https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2022/01/07/organisation-research-unit-2021-year-in-review-report/>
- 2021, October 29 "How to Demobilize the Far Right," Centre for the Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR). Available at: <https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2021/10/29/how-to-demobilize-the-far-right/>.
- 2021, August 12 "From Opera to MMA: Nationalist Symbolism and the German Far Right," *Fair Observer*, Available at: <https://www.fairobserver.com/region/europe/michael-c-zeller-richard-wagner-opera-nibelungenlied-nationalist-symbolism-far-right-germany-news-915421/>.
- 2021, February 23 "Alternative for Germany Is Failing to Keep Up." *Fair Observer*, Available at: <https://www.fairobserver.com/region/europe/michael-zeller-afd-germany-alternative-for-germany-far-right-european-world-news-79600/>.
- 2020 (editor and contributor) "Organisation Research Unit: 2020 Year in Review Report," Centre for the Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR). Available at: <https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2020/12/14/organisation-research-unit-year-in-review-report/>
- 2020 "Review: The anatomy of post-communist regimes: a conceptual framework by Bálint Magyar and Bálint Madlovics," *Democratization* 28(5), 1045-1047. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2020.1840215>.
- 2020 with Vidra, Z. "Discussion paper: The role of socio-economic inequalities in polarisation and violent extremism," Building Resilience against Violent Extremism & Polarisation (BRaVE) project. Available at: [http://brave-h2020.eu/repository/D7.1.\\_Discussion\\_Paper\\_May\\_2020.pdf](http://brave-h2020.eu/repository/D7.1._Discussion_Paper_May_2020.pdf)

2020, May 12	"Extremists strive in times of crisis: the COVID-19 pandemic is no exception," <i>Open Democracy</i> , Available at: <a href="https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/global-extremes/extremists-strive-times-crisis-covid-19-pandemic-no-exception/">https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/global-extremes/extremists-strive-times-crisis-covid-19-pandemic-no-exception/</a> .
2020, February 17	"Germany: Is banning far-right groups enough?," <i>Open Democracy</i> , Available at: <a href="https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/global-extremes/germany-banning-far-right-groups-enough/">https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/global-extremes/germany-banning-far-right-groups-enough/</a> . (Republished by Deutscher Präventionstag: <a href="https://www.praeventionstag.de/nano.cms/daily-prevention-news/details/4311">https://www.praeventionstag.de/nano.cms/daily-prevention-news/details/4311</a> )
2019, October 27	"Whither Poland? After the 2019 parliamentary elections," <i>Open Democracy</i> , Available at: <a href="https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/global-extremes/whither-poland-after-2019-parliamentary-elections/">https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/global-extremes/whither-poland-after-2019-parliamentary-elections/</a> .
2016, October 6	"Nationalism in Hungary's Constitution," <i>Eurasian Research and Analysis Institute</i> , Available at: <a href="http://www.erainstitute.org/nationalism-in-hungarys-constitution/">http://www.erainstitute.org/nationalism-in-hungarys-constitution/</a> .
2016, August 16	"The Last Domino: Germany and the Alternative für Deutschland," <i>Eurasian Research and Analysis Institute</i> , Available at: <a href="http://www.erainstitute.org/the-last-domino-germany-and-the-alternative-fur-deutschland/">http://www.erainstitute.org/the-last-domino-germany-and-the-alternative-fur-deutschland/</a> .
2016, July 17	"Promise and Peril: Crisis power delegations in Ukraine," <i>Eurasian Research and Analysis Institute</i> , Available at: <a href="http://www.erainstitute.org/promise-and-peril-crisis-power-delegations-in-ukraine/">http://www.erainstitute.org/promise-and-peril-crisis-power-delegations-in-ukraine/</a> .
2016, June 25	"Good-Bye to All That," <i>Eurasian Research and Analysis Institute</i> , Available at: <a href="http://www.erainstitute.org/good-bye-to-all-that/">http://www.erainstitute.org/good-bye-to-all-that/</a> .
2016, January 11	"The Labour Reshuffle: Auspice of the New Dynamism of British Politics," <i>Eurasian Research and Analysis Institute</i> , Available at: <a href="http://www.erainstitute.org/the-labour-reshuffle-auspice-of-the-new-dynamism-of-british-politics/">http://www.erainstitute.org/the-labour-reshuffle-auspice-of-the-new-dynamism-of-british-politics/</a> .
2015	"Democracy in the Post-Soviet Region: Ten years after the color revolutions." Available at: <a href="http://archivesicdt.demkk.hu/news/latest-news/papers-published-for-the-icdt-call-for-papers-20142015">http://archivesicdt.demkk.hu/news/latest-news/papers-published-for-the-icdt-call-for-papers-20142015</a> .
2014	with Floyd, M. M., & Abbott, J. (2014). "Living without Recognition: A case study of Burmese refugees in Malaysia." Center for Asian Democracy Paper, 1(1), 1-41. Available at: <a href="https://louisville.edu/asiandemocracy/homepage/research/LivingWithoutRecognition.pdf">https://louisville.edu/asiandemocracy/homepage/research/LivingWithoutRecognition.pdf</a>

### *Working papers*

2023	"Behind the ban: What are the conditions for proscribing German far-right groups?"
2023	with Krizsán, A., & Roggeband, C. "Implementing the Istanbul Convention: Patterns of progress and opposition."
2023	with Daphi, P. "Eventful protest and political polarisation."

## Conference Activities & Invited Lectures

### *Lectures and Presentations*

2022	"Far-right movement leadership: activities and shifts in Germany." Università degli Studi di Firenze, 5th COMFAS (International Association for Comparative Fascist Studies) Convention: Beyond the Paranoid Style: Fascism, Radical Right, and the Myth of Conspiracy, 16 September
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	<p>"Going Downhill: Demobilisation of the Ulrichsbergfeier." University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive conference: Post-War Anti-Fascism, the Radical Right and the Far Right: Emotion, Culture and Identity (on-line), 22 April.</p> <p>with Metodieva, A. "Leader-led or leaderless radicalisation: a configurational analysis of Balkan foreign fighters in Syria." Swiss Political Science Association Annual Congress (on-line), 4 February.</p>
2021	<p>"Studying the extra-parliamentary far right through protest event analysis." Early Career Research Network on the Extra-Parliamentary Far Right: BarCamp (on-line), 2 December.</p> <p><a href="#">"Proscribed Right-wing Extremist Organisations (PREO) Project."</a> EU Internet Forum: Senior Officials Meeting (on-line), 16 November.</p> <p>"Patterns of Demobilisation." European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Group on Extremism &amp; Democracy Summer School: 'Concepts and Methods for Research on Far-Right Politics' (on-line), 1 July.</p>
2020	<p>"The Demobilisation of Far-right Demonstration Campaigns: Patterns and processes from Germany, England, and Austria." Hochschule Düsseldorf's Forschungsschwerpunkt Rechtsextremismus/Neonazismus (FORENA) research seminar (on-line), 26 October.</p> <p>"The Demobilisation of Far-right Demonstration Campaigns: Patterns and processes from Germany, England, and Austria." Centre for the Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR) Organisation Research Unit (ORU) seminar (on-line), 18 September.</p> <p>"Far-right Demonstrations in Central and Eastern Europe: tactical importance and state and societal responses." RADPol Conference: Radicalisation in countries of Central and Eastern Europe - trends, challenges, and opportunities to interact: Poznan (on-line), 25 June.</p>
2019	<p>with Dufalla, J. "Persistent Citizen Engagement in Repressive Contexts: The Cases of Russia and Hungary." European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference: Wrocław, 6 September.</p> <p>"Rethinking Demobilisation: Concepts, causal logic, and the case of Russia's For Fair Elections movement." European Sociological Association (ESA) 14th Annual Conference: Europe and Beyond: Boundaries, Barriers and Belonging: Manchester, 22 August.</p> <p>"A Set-theoretic Approach to Radicalisation." University of Göttingen and Stiftung Adam von Trott International Graduate Workshop, Imshausen (Germany), 13 April.</p> <p>"QCA and Social Movement Studies: Existent applications, potential for studies of demobilisation, and prospects for methodological diversification." Central European University (CEU) Annual Doctoral Conference: QCA in Applied Political Science Workshop, Budapest, 27 March.</p>
2014	<p>with Floyd, M. &amp; Abbott, J. "The State of Suspension: Refugee life in absentia of global norms and models for resolution." ASIA Network Conference: Engaging Diversity, Chicago, 12 April.</p>
2013	<p>"Assessing the Role of International Networks of Support in Color Revolutions: Successes and failures in Georgia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia." Kentucky Political Science Association (KPSA) Conference: Lexington, KY (United States).</p>

### *Panels Chaired/Moderated*

2021	Discussant for Panel " <a href="#">Governance through civil society?</a> ," 16th Annual Doctoral Conference, Central European University, Budapest, 7-9 April.
2020	Chair for Panel " <a href="#">Right-Wing Violence. Charting the Field of Research</a> ," ECPR General Conference, on-line, 24-28 August.
2019	Section organiser " <a href="#">QCA in Applied Political Science</a> ," 14th Annual Doctoral Conference, Central European University, Budapest, 27-29 March.

## Honours & Awards

2020/2021	Central European University (CEU) <a href="#">Award for Advanced Doctoral Students</a>
2017 - 2020	Ph.D. Scholarship from the Central European University (CEU)
2017	Ph.D Scholarship from the Institute for Humane Studies (IHS)
2013 - 2015	Erasmus Mundus Scholarship for Graduate Studies
2013	Freeman Foundation ASIANetwork Student-Faculty Fellowship
2009 - 2013	McConnell Scholarship for Political Leadership, University of Louisville
2013	American Political Science Association (APSA) Howard Penniman Scholarship
2013	Phi Beta Kappa of Kentuckiana Outstanding Graduate Award
2013	Best Undergraduate Thesis Award, University of Louisville
2013	Jean & Eleanor O'Sullivan Award, Department of Political Science, University of Louisville
2011 - 2012	Boren Scholarship, National Security Education Scholarship (NSEP)
2011	Etscorn Summer Research Award, University of Louisville
2011	Hershberg Scholarship, World Affairs Council of Kentucky & southern Indiana
2011	International Studies Grant, Global Studies Foundation
2011	Charles Braver Language Exploration Grant, School of Russian & Asian Studies
2009	Trustees' Scholarship, University of Louisville

## Service to the Profession

### Reviewer for

American Political Science Review (APSR); Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics; Journal of Right-Wing Studies

### *Professional Affiliations*

Early Career Research Network on the Extra-Parliamentary Far Right

[Eurasia Foundation Young Professionals Network](#)

European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR), Standing Group on '[Participation & Mobilization](#)'

European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR), Standing Group on '[Political Methodology](#)'

European Sociological Association (ESA), [Research Network on Social Movements](#)

Far-Right Analysis Network (FRAN), Fellow

[Institut für Protest- und Bewegungsforschung](#) (ipb), member

Methods Excellence Network ([MethodsNET](#)), founding member

[Radicalisation Awareness Network](#) (RAN) Policy Support, European Research Community on Radicalisation, Affiliate



## Teaching Experience

### *Graduate-Level Courses*

2023	" <a href="#">Political Violence</a> ", Universität Bielefeld
	" <a href="#">Comparative Political Research</a> ", Universität Bielefeld
2022	" <a href="#">Far-right Politics and Protest</a> ", Universität Bielefeld
	" <a href="#">Case-based Methods for Social Science</a> ", Universität Bielefeld
2020	" <a href="#">U.S. Politics and Foreign Policy in the Age of Trump</a> ", with Prof. Levente Littvay and Prof. Erin Jenne, Central European University
	" <a href="#">Writing for Policy Audiences</a> ", with Dr. Kirsten Roberts-Lyer and Dr. Kata Orosz, Central European University
	" <a href="#">International Humanitarian Law for Public Policy Students</a> ", with Dr. Kirsten Roberts-Lyer, Central European University
	(short course) " <a href="#">Practical Legal Skills for Public Policy Students</a> ", with Dr. Kirsten Roberts-Lyer, Central European University
	" <a href="#">Rule of Law for Public Policy Students</a> ", with Dr. Kirsten Roberts-Lyer, Central European University
2019	" <a href="#">Comparative Political Research</a> ", with Prof. Dr. Carsten Q. Schneider, Central European University

### *Undergraduate-Level Courses*

2015	"Fundamentals of American Government", with Joseph Dablow, University of Louisville
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## Linguistic Proficiencies

English	Native
German	Proficient
Russian	Proficient
Hungarian	Basic
French	Basic

## Referees

<b>Name</b>	Prof. Dr. <a href="#">Carsten Q. Schneider</a>
<b>Institution</b>	Central European University
<b>Position</b>	Full Professor, Department of Political Science
<b>Contact</b>	<a href="mailto:schneiderc@ceu.edu">schneiderc@ceu.edu</a>
<b>Name</b>	Prof. Dr. <a href="#">Fabian Virchow</a>
<b>Institution</b>	Hochschule Düsseldorf
<b>Position</b>	Full Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies
<b>Contact</b>	<a href="mailto:fabian.virchow@hs-duesseldorf.de">fabian.virchow@hs-duesseldorf.de</a>