

Tomáš Cirhan, Ph.D.

Post-doctoral Researcher, Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Political Studies, Prague, Czech Republic

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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MAIN RESEARCH INTERESTS

new anti-establishment parties in central eastern Europe, entrepreneurial parties, party organization, populism, Czech politics

EDUCATION

2014 - 2021 *Leiden University*, Leiden, Netherlands, PhD in Political Sciences

Thesis: Party Organization and Electoral Success of Anti-Establishment Parties

Supervisors: Professor Petr Kopecký and Dr. Maria Spirova

2012 - 2013 *University of Aberdeen*, Aberdeen, United Kingdom, MSc in Globalization (with commendation)

Thesis: Czechs and Poles living 'the British Dream' Comparative study of differences between Czech and Polish ways of integration into British society

Supervisor: Dr. Christopher Kollmeyer

2009 - 2012 *Robert Gordon University*, Aberdeen, United Kingdom, BA (Hons) in Applied Social Sciences (2.1 grade)

Thesis: 'Paying the Price': An Ethnography of Contemporary Workplace Control

Supervisor: Dr. Donncha Marron

2008 - 2009 *Banff and Buchan College*, Fraserburgh, United Kingdom, HNC (Higher National Certificate) in Social Sciences

2004 - 2008 *Business Academy and Language School*, Jihlava, Czech Republic, GCSE (A, A, A, B)

CURRENT POSITIONS

2023-2025 *Charles University*, Prague, Czech Republic

Post-doctoral fellow (AUTHLIB research project)

2022-2025 *Charles University*, Prague, Czech Republic

Researcher (SYRI research project)

2023-2024 *Charles University*, Prague, Czech Republic

Lecturer (course: Era of political entrepreneurs: a party capture by private interests)

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

2022 Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

Visiting Lecturer (course: Era of political entrepreneurs: a party capture by private interests)

2015 University of Exeter, Exeter, United Kingdom

External Research Assistant

2014 - 2021 Leiden University, Leiden, Netherlands

Researcher

2013 - 2014 University of Aberdeen, United Kingdom

Postgraduate Researcher

2013 - 2014 University of Aberdeen, United Kingdom

Course Tutor/Assistant Lecturer

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

2023-2025 Horizon AUTHLIB Project: 101060899 funded by the European Commission.

Neo-authoritarianisms in Europe and the liberal democratic response: data collection and empirical analyses. The research work aimed at the preparation of publications, drafting and submitting research reports for policymakers to defend and enhance liberal democracy against its challengers by understanding and explaining the nature of illiberal ideologies, processes, and policies.

2022-2025 Exceles SYRI Research Project: LX22NPO5101. PA5 Polarisation and populism: Analysis of populism and polarization in the Czech Republic during pandemic.

PUBLICATIONS

Stauber, Jakub and Cirhan, Tomáš. 2024. Leader vs the Party Dilemma: The Case of a Party Rebirth in Czechia in *East European Politics*.

Cirhan, Tomáš and Malý, Michal, 2024. New Breakaway Parties in Slovakia: Exploring Intra-party Democracy Shifts in *Czech Journal of Political Science*.

Cirhan, Tomáš and Kopecký, Petr, 2024. Fragmentation and anti-establishment politics: Czech party system in the 2020s' in Hofmeister, Wilhelm and Poguntke, Thomas, (eds.) 2024. *Political Parties and the Crisis of Democracy: Organization, Resilience, and Reform*. Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Cirhan, Tomáš. 2023. *Party Organization and Electoral Success of New Anti-establishment Parties*. Milton Park: Routledge.

Cirhan, Tomáš. 2021. *The role of party organization in the electoral success of anti-establishment parties: ANO in the Czech Republic*. PhD Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden.

Cirhan, Tomáš and Kopecký, Petr, 2020. From Ideology to interest driven politics: Václav Klaus, Andrej Babiš and two eras of party leadership in the Czech Republic in Ghergina, Sergiu, (ed.) 2020. *Party Leaders in Eastern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cirhan, Tomáš and Stauber, Jakub. 2018. Online Supporter and Registered Sympathiser as Alternatives to a Regular Party Member in *East European Politics* 34(4): 458–482.

Cirhan, Tomáš. 2018. Political-Firm or Political Party? An Analysis of ANO's Party Elites' Homogeneity in Wakounig, Marija and Kuhnel, Ferdinand (eds.) 2018. *East Central Europe at a Glance: People -Cultures - Developments*. Vienna: LIT VERLAG.

Cirhan, Tomáš and Kopecký, Petr, 2017. Career Backgrounds, Professional Network and Party Cohesion in *Czech Journal of Political Science*, 2:116-136.

PRESENTATIONS AT ACADEMIC CONFERENCES & WORKSHOPS

2024 *Società italiana di scienza politica (SISP)* conference in Trieste, Italy

Presentation: Comparing Anti-Establishment Challengers in Italy and the Czech Republic. An Analysis of Party Programmes and Strategies of FI, FdI, ANO and SPD

2024 American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting conference in Philadelphia, USA

Presentation: Polarization Dynamics: Anti-Pandemic Measures and Societal Impact in Czechia

2024 *European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)* General Conference in Dublin, Ireland

Presentation: Illiberal cultural policies in Central and Eastern Europe: A comparative analysis

2024 *European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)* General Conference in Dublin, Ireland

Presentation: Institutionalization of the Czech and Luxembourgian Pirate Parties: a comparative perspective

2024 *Council for European Studies (CES)* conference at Sciences Po Lyon in Lyon, France

Presentation: Comparing Anti-Establishment Challengers in Italy and the Czech Republic. An Analysis of Party Programmes and Strategies of FI, FdI, ANO and SPD

2024 *Council for European Studies (CES)* conference at Sciences Po Lyon in Lyon, France

Presentation: Illiberal Cultural Policies in Central and Eastern Europe: A Comparative Review

2024 *Council for European Studies (CES)* conference at Sciences Po Lyon in Lyon, France

Presentation: Between resilience and irreversible decline, the case of the crisis of KSČM

2024 *Crisis of Left in Post-communist Europe* conference of Université Libre de Bruxelles in Brussels, Belgium

Presentation: Between Resilience and Irreversible Decline: The Case of the Crisis of the Left in the Czech Republic (KSČM and ČSSD)

2023 Academic Workshop: Citizenship and Illiberalism in Turbulent Times, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

Presentation: Success of New Populist Anti-Established Parties as a Symbol of Illiberal Trend in CEE

2023 Europe's Periphery at the Core: Interdisciplinary Conversations on Central and Eastern Europe Workshop, University of Amsterdam in Amsterdam, Netherlands

Presentation: Trends in societal/political development in central-eastern European context – the question of illiberalism

2023 *Società italiana di scienza politica (SISP)* conference in Genoa, Italy

Presentation: Czech and Italian Anti-Establishment Challengers' survival: Analysis of party organization and leadership of FI, FdI, ANO and SPD parties

2023 *European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)* General Conference in Prague, the Czech Republic

Presentation: Personalization vs. Party Organization Dilemma: The case of a populist party rebirth in Czechia

2022 *Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA)* conference

Influence, Governance, Transparency and Accountability Workshop in Belgrade, Serbia

2021 Konrad Adenauer Foundation conference: Political parties and the crisis of democracy at Fundación Konrad Adenauer in Madrid, Spain

Presentation: Fragmentation and anti-establishment politics: Czech party system in the 2020s'.

2018 *ECPR Standing Group on Central and Eastern Politics*: Party Leaders in CEE: Roles, Actions and Consequences at Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Presentation: Party Leaders in the Czech Republic: A Tale of two Personalities.

2017 *Graduate Conference on Party Research (GraPa 2017)* in Düsseldorf, Germany

Presentation: Changing Trends in Party Membership: The Story of ANO and VV.

2017 Leiden University's Central and East European Studies Center: Round Table on Challenges to Liberal Democracy in Slovakia and the Czech Republic in Leiden, The Netherlands

Presentation: Challenges to Liberal Democracy: Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

2016 *European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)* General Conference in Prague, the Czech Republic

Presentation: Elite homogeneity and party cohesion in the light of ANO's Success in the Czech Republic: Career Backgrounds, Professional Network and Party Cohesion.

2015 Annual Convention of the Austrian Center Studies in Vienna, Austria

Presentation: Party elite Homogeneity: Explaining the success of Czech ANO.

PRESENTATIONS AT PUBLIC EVENTS

16.4.2024. Book presentation: Party Organization and Electoral Success of New Anti-establishment Parties for PhD students of Masaryk University in Brno, Czech Republic.

26.2.2024. Book presentation: Party Organization and Electoral Success of New Anti-establishment Parties at the Residence of Czech Ambassador to the Netherlands in The Hague, Netherlands.

5.12.2023. Book presentation: Party Organization and Electoral Success of New Anti-establishment Parties for Politologický klub FSV UK at Kampus Hybernská, Prague, Czech Republic.

8.11.2021. Czechia in the Heart of Europe, presentation and discussion about Václav Havel for students of De Haagse Hogeschool in The Hague, Netherlands.

MEDIA APPEARANCES

3.6.2024. Český rozhlas Plus. Science Plus. Trends in European politics: interview on the political developments across Europe ahead of the 2024 European Parliament elections.

29.5.2024. RTVS (Radio and Television of Slovakia). Recent developments in Dutch politics: interview on the formation of new Dutch government and the consequences of the appointment of PM Dick Schoof.

15.5.2024. ČT24. Pre-election Europe: interview on the political trends in Dutch politics ahead of the 2024 European Parliament elections.

https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/16321547246-evropske-volby-2024/224411033420515/?fbclid=IwZXh0bgNhZW0CMTAAR1gyv8H4F2yVzB9LyM1ZmpccSqQBjbfZR9MJwlrhB6G8THgcZW7GhSRzjQ_aem_Ad8XSJaY1Da9vdl4sQoBw6fykyF-BqDSN9xgwliMD7GxQyOmO0t8MZaoIY5q4zgDZ_Kovj035qsoIL4fBA0a-sle.

23.11.2023. Český Rozhlas. Dutch 2023 parliamentary elections.

https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-svet/nizozemsko-volby-geert-wilders_2311231609_mst

10.7.2022. CNN Prima NEWS. Dutch politics and the consequences of the protests of farmers.

7.7.2022. CNN Prima NEWS. The background of farmers' protests in the Netherlands.

19.12.2021. RadioŽurnál News. Pandemic situation in the Netherlands and the influence on Dutch politics.

30.11.2021. Český Rozhlas. Interview Plus. Anti-pandemic measures and lockdown consequences in the Netherlands.

https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-svet/nizozemsko-lockdown-protesty-covid-19-ockovani_2112010015_ern.

OTHER COMMENTARIES

25.1.2024. AUTHLIB blog article. Populist Anti-Establishment Success in the Netherlands.

<https://www.authlib.eu/populist-anti-establishment-success-netherlands/>

29.04.2024. SYRI blog article. Research of New Parties in Europe.

<https://www.syri.cz/pribehy-mladych-vedcu/mladeho-vedce-bavi-tema-novych-politickych-stran>

27.05.2024. SYRI blog article. Main topics resonating in European Parliament elections and their polarizing influence.

<https://www.syri.cz/tiskove-zpravy/hlavni-temata-eurovoleb-maji-polarizujici-charakter>

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

2023-2025 AUTHLIB (Neo-authoritarianisms in Europe and the liberal democratic response): the Horizon Europe research project funded by the European Commission

2022-2025 SYRI (The National Institute for Research on Socioeconomic Impacts of Diseases and Systemic Risks): Exceles: research group on Polarisation and Populism

2019-now PPDB (Political Party Database Project), prof. Susan Scarrow, University of Houston. Organizing the data collection of party data on Czech parties for an international party database.

COMPLETED RESEARCH PROJECTS

- 2014 - 2021 PhD related research: Electoral success and party organization of new anti-establishment parties in Central Eastern Europe
- 2017 Research Assistance: Connection between The Judiciary of the Czech Republic and Czech political Parties book, Prof.Petr Kopecký, Leiden University: Data collection and literature review
- 2015 Research Assistance: Research on multilevel party cooperation, Prof. Nicole Bolleyer, University of Exeter. Collecting party data of Czech parties for international research project
- 2014 Research Assistance: Political Corruption book, Prof. Petr Kopecký, Dr. Maria Spirova
Literature collection, media search of articles mapping examples of corruption scandals
- 2013 Master's thesis research: Integration of Czech and Polish migrants in the UK, Comparison of migrants' integration based on their language, social capital and religiosity
- 2012 Pilot Study for Master's thesis: Cultural integration of Central Eastern Europeans into the Scottish Society
- 2012 Bachelor's thesis research: Standardization of labour at workplace, impact of standardized procedures of employees, application of McDonaldization theory
- 2007 Comenius student exchange project: Study of ethnic minorities. Research of integration of Roma, Ukrainian and Vietnamese minorities into Czech Society
- 2019 Cirhan, Tomáš and Stauber, Jakub. Okamura as phoenix of Czech far-right: Analysis of the role of party leader personality in the rebirth of a failed party. Conference paper prepared for The 2020 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

PENDING PUBLICATIONS

- Cirhan, Tomáš, Mikola Bálint, Suchánek Jonáš, Zagorski, Piotr, Schafer Dean and Kevicky, Dominik. Cultural policies of populist governments in Central and Eastern Europe: A Comparative Review. *The International Journal of Cultural Policy*.
- Cirhan, Tomáš and Stauber, Jakub. Party preferences as a polarising factor during the COVID-19 crisis? The evidence from a panel survey in Czechia. *Party Politics*
- Cirhan, Tomáš and Stauber, Jakub. *Central Europe: Story of Post-communist Transition and its Challenges* in Lancaster, Thomas ed. Handbook of East European Politics, Milton Park: Routledge.
- Cirhan, Tomáš and Collini, Mattia. Czech and Italian Anti-Establishment Challengers' survival: analysis of party organisation and leadership of FI, FdI, ANO and SPD parties. *Czech Journal of Political Science*.
- Cirhan, Tomáš and Pršín Marek. Institutionalization of the Czech and Luxembourgish Pirate Parties: a comparative perspective. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft/German Journal of Comparative Politics*.
- Cirhan, Tomáš and Collini, Mattia. Between resilience and irreversible decline, the case of the crisis of the left in the Czech Republic (KSČM and ČSSD).
- Cirhan, Tomáš. Which party organisational aspects explain the success of entrepreneurial parties? Comparative analysis of ANO, Forza Italia, Team Stronach and Ol'aNO.

Cirhan, Tomáš, Michal Aleš and Suchánek, Jonáš. 2024. Mapping and understanding the surge of populist parties in the European parliament: A case study of Czechia.

OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE

2019 – present Booking.com, Amsterdam, Netherlands. Quality Advisor (office admin position, training new employees, quality control)

2016 – 2019 Booking.com, Amsterdam, Netherlands. Accommodation Service Specialist (Czech and Slovak markets)

2014 Leiden University, Leiden, Netherlands. Editing Assistant (preparing manuscript of European Women's Movement and Body Politics: The Struggle for Autonomy book for prof. Joyce Outshoorn)

2011 – 2014 Travelex, Aberdeen Airport, United Kingdom. Sales Consultant

2009 – 2011 TRG plc, Aberdeen Airport, United Kingdom. Duty Manager