MARIANNA CHAROUNTAKI

CURRICULUM VITAE

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Foreign Policy (of US, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, NSAs), Non-State Actors, Kurdistan Region, US- Kurdish relations, Turkish- Iranian relations, International Relations Theories and/ in the Middle East, EU-Kurdish relations, GCC- Kurdish relations, State-Building.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

Senior Lecturer in International Politics, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lincoln, 2019- Present

Lecturer in Kurdish Politics and International Relations, School of History, Politics and International Relations, University of Leicester, 2016-2019

Post-Doctoral Fellow and Sessional Lecturer in International Relations, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Reading, 2012-2016

Consultant, Embassy of the Republic of Iraq in Athens, 2011-2012

Researcher and Teaching Fellow, Panteion University of Athens, 2010-2011

EDUCATION

M.A., Postgraduate Certificate in Academic and Professional Practice (PG-Cert), Higher Education Academy, (Level 7, 30 credits), Learning Institute, University of Leicester, 2019

PhD, Middle East Studies, University of Exeter, Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies, 2009

M.A., International Relations, University of Sussex, 2005

B.A., International and European Studies, Panteion University of Political and Social Sciences of Athens, Greece, 2004

AWARDS AND HONOURS

BISI, Research Grant, 2024-2025

GRC, Conference Grant, 2024

BISA, Conference Grant, 2024

KRI, Research Grant, 2022-2023

BISA, Conference Grant, 2023

BISA, Conference Grant, 2019

Honorarium, Uppsala University, 2018

The British Institute for the Study of Iraq (BISI), Conference Grant, 2018

LSE, Travel Mobility Grant, 2018

KRG, Iraq, Research Grant, 2017

MBI Al Jaber Foundation, Mobility Grant, 2014

Honorarium, RAND Institute, USA, 2013

International Initiatives Fund, University of Reading, 2013

CBRL Academic Arabic Award Programme, Council for British Research in the Levant, 2013

Governmental Scholarship for Arabic language, Government of Jordan, University of Jordan (Amman), 2009-2010

European Consortium for Political Research Travel Grant, 2007

Al Waleed Scholarship for Field Work in Iraq, Exeter University, IAIS, 2006

The Greek State Scholarship Foundation (IKY), Scholarship for PhD Studies, 2005

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Iran and Turkey: International and Regional Engagement in the Middle East. I.B. Tauris. 2018. Translated into Arabic by Al Farabi (Lebanese Publishing House) and into Kurdish by Aras Publishing House. 2022.

The Kurds and US Foreign Policy: International Relations in the Middle East since 1945. Routledge. 2010. Translated in Kurdish (Sorani) by Aras Publishing House. Erbil, 23 July 2011. In Arabic by Al Farabi (Lebanese Publishing House). 2012.

Edited Volumes

A Century of State-Making in Iraq: Baghdad, Kurdistan, and the Development of the Constitution. Palgrave Macmillan. March 2025.

Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy Agency: Insights from Area Studies. Springer. March 2024.

Mapping Non-State Actors in International Relations. Springer. February 2022.

Book Chapters

"A State in the Making: Persistent Impediments to State Cohesion in Iraq" in *A Century of State-Making in Iraq: Baghdad, Kurdistan, and the Development of the Constitution*. Palgrave Macmillan. March 2025.

"Security, Legitimacy, and State Building in Contemporary Iraq: International Intervention and Regional interference in the case of Sinjar" co-authored chapter in *A Century of State-Making in Iraq: Baghdad, Kurdistan, and the Development of the Constitution*. Palgrave Macmillan. March 2025.

"Institutionalising Foreign Policy-Making between Non-State Actors: From Reactive to Proactive Relations between the EU and the KRI." in *Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy Agency: Insights from Area Studies*. March 2024, pp. 65-81.

"The Roadmap to Peace: A Comparative Analysis of Iraq and Turkey." in *The Roadmap to Peace: Critical Perspectives on the Speeches of President Nechirvan Barzani*. Berdan, Istanbul, 2023. pp. 162-84.

- "Conceptualising Non-State Actors in International Relations." in *Mapping Non-State Actors in International Relations*. Springer, 2022. pp. 1-16.
- "States-to-Be as Foreign Policy Actors." in *Mapping Non-State Actors in International Relations*. Springer, 2022. pp. 95-110.
- "Non-State Actors as Agents of Foreign Policy: The Case of Kurdistan." in *Kurdish Autonomy and US Foreign Policy: Continuity and Change*. Peter Lang, 2019. pp. 13-32.
- "The Kurdish Factor in Turkish politics: Impediment or Facilitator to Turkey's European Prospects?" in *Perspectives on Kurdistan's Economy and Society in Transition*, Nova Science, New York, 2012. pp.163-192. Translated into Kurdish (Sorani), *Wata Journal*, 29, 2013.

Articles

- "Discontinuities in Greece's Middle Eastern Foreign Policy Practice." *International Politics*, 60 (2023), pp. 1071-92.
- "Non-State Actors and Change in Foreign Policy: The Case of a Self-Determination Referendum in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq." *The Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 33.3 (2019), pp. 385-409.
- "From Resistance to Military Institutionalisation: The Case of the Peshmerga versus Islamic State." *Third World Quarterly*, 39.8 (2018), pp.1583-603. Translated into Kurdish (Sorani) by Kurdistan Conflict and Crisis Research Center (KCCRC), 2015.
- "State and Non-State Interactions in IR: An Alternative Theoretical Outlook." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 45.4 (2018), pp. 528-42.
- "The GCC in Kurdish Politics." *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 6.2 (2016), pp.201-15.
- "Kurdish Policies in Syria under the Arab Uprisings: A Revisiting of IR in the New Middle Eastern Order." *Third World Quarterly*, 36.2 (2015), pp. 337-56.
- "US Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice: From Soviet-Era Containment to the Era of the Arab Uprisings(s)." *Journal of American Foreign Policy Interests*, 36.4 (2014), pp. 255-67.
- "Turkish Foreign Policy and the Kurdistan Regional Government." *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, 17.4 (2012), pp. 185-208.

Book Review

"Blood and Belief by Aliza Marcus." Political Studies Review Journal, 6.2 (2008). pp. 143-275.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

British International Studies Association, Trustee and Co-Convenor of the Foreign Policy Working Group

British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, Trustee

Soran University (Kurdistan Region, Iraq), Research Fellow

Salahaddin University-Erbil (KRI/ Iraq), Cultural and Social Center, Cultural and Academic Fellow

PROFESSIONAL RECOGNITION

Fellow of Advance HE (formerly the HEA), University of Leicester, 2018-2019

Associate Fellow of Advance HE (formerly the HEA), University of Leicester, 2017-2018

Peer-Reviewer for Routledge, The European Journal of Development Research, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Defence Studies Journal, Journal of Contemporary European Studies, Journal of Intervention and State Building, and British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies

ADMINISTRATIVE ROLES

Programme Leader for International Relations (MA), University of Lincoln, 2024-2025.

Outreach and Marketing Officer, University of Lincoln, 2023-2024.

Deputy Programme Leader for Politics and International Relations (BA), University of Lincoln, 2019-Present.

Director of the Kurdistan International Studies Unit, University of Leicester, 2016-2018.

TEACHING

Undergraduate

Independent Study (POL3002M)

University of Lincoln

Researching Politics and International Relations (IST 2006M)

Global Conflicts and Contexts (IST1100M)

Thinking International Relations (IST2004M)

International Relations of the Middle East (IST2014M)

Foreign Policy Analysis

Foreign Policy Analysis (PL2022)

University of Leicester

International Relations and Strategic Studies (PO1IRS)

University of Reading

Modern International Relations (PO2MIR)

Turkey: Social Structure and Political Systems

Panteion University

Turkish Foreign Policy

Postgraduate

Theories and Concepts in IR (IST9006)

University of Lincoln

Mapping NSAs in IR (NEW)

MA Dissertations (IST 9004)

US Foreign Policy (PL7076)

University of Leicester

SUPERVISION AND EXAMINATION (INDICATIVE)

Ph.D. Soran University (Iraq-KRI); Virginia Tech (US), 2021 – Current Supervision University of Kent/University of Loughborough, 2022, External Examiner University of Leeds, 2020 – External Examiner

MA Australian National University (Centre for Arab & Islamic Studies), External Examiner

University of Kurdistan, (KRI), External Examiner

BA University of Leicester, Distance Learning MA dissertations

Reviewer, Publishing Houses (i.e. Routledge) and Journals (e.g. The European Journal of Development Research, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Defence Studies Journal, Journal of Contemporary European Studies, Journal of Intervention and State Building, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies and others), ESRC grant applications.

ENGAGEMENT AND OUTREACH

Article. "Confederalism in Iraq: In Search of a New Political Order". *Gulan Media*. March 2025. In Kurdish published in *Gulan* Magazine. No 1454. (10.03.2025). Pp. 26-31.

Commentary "Europe can play an important role in Northeast Syria" DeFacto. November 2024.

Interview "Changes in the EU foreign policy towards the KR" *Gulan Magazine*. No.1825. pp.13-16. August 2024.

"The Triangular Relationship between Iran, Israel and the US: An Ongoing Crisis". *LSE Blog*. May 2024.

"Washington's Middle East Policy at Crossroads". Zenith Magazine. November 2023.

Interview. Gulan Magazine. November 2023.

"Call for International Dialogue: Considerations of IR." BISA. September 2023.

"Towards a Holistic Foreign Policy? Another Dimension." *HuffPost* blog (Greek). October 2022.

Television Interview, Iran and Turkey. *Rudaw*. April 2022.

Interview. KurdistanIn, Radio Podcast, Non-State Actors in IR. April 2022.

"The Kurdish Case in Turkish Politics: A Return." The New Arab. December 2021.

"The Trump Phenomenon and the Exercise of (Foreign) Policy." *HuffPost* blog (Greek). January 2021.

"The US- Kurdish problematique". Russian International Affairs Council. May 2020.

"On a knife edge". *HuffPost* blog (Greek). October. 2019.

"The Evolution of the Peshmerga vs the Case of Islamic State in Iraq." *Russian International Affairs Council*. April 2018.

"The Washington-Erbil-Moscow triangle through the prism of the 25 September Referendum". *LSE* blog. April 2018.

"The Aftermath of the Kurdish Referendum and its Historic Connotations." *Harvard International Review*, 39.1 (2018), pp. 37-38.

"The Kurdish dialogue between Baghdad and Erbil. (Greek newspaper) *Η εφημερίδα των συντακτών* [The newspaper of the Authors]. October 2017. p.16.

Zerin Efe. *Peyamakurd*. Röportaj 'Kürdistan Referandumu'. August 2017 (in Turkish) republished in English *Bas News*. Interview. 'Kurdistan Referendum'. August 2017.

"The 25th September Kurdish Referendum and its rationales". The Armenian Interest. July 2017.

- "Astana Summit: Kurdish Unity Determines External Behaviour". *BasNews* (Kurdish Newspaper). Kurmaji Version, *BasNews*. January 2017. p.3.
- "Will the Battle for Mosul Change the Power of the Kurds in Iraq?" *E-International Relations*. November 2016.
- "The unresolved internal struggle beyond the Turkish coup". *E-International Relations*. August 2016. Translated into Kurdish (Sorani) *Bas Newspaper*. Issue 297. August 2016. p.8.
- "US foreign policy vis-à-vis the Kurdish Independence Referendum". *KPRC* Kurdish Policy Research Center. July 2016. translated into Kurdish (Sorani) *Bas Newspaper*. Issue 294. July 2016. p.22.
- "The Syrian Crisis: Aleppo and the Kurds in international geopolitics". *The Washington Review of Middle Eastern and Eurasian Affairs*. April.2016.
- "A European Union without Greece would be a much diminished force". *The London School of Economics EUROPP- European Politics and Policy* blog. July 2015.
- "Middle Eastern Politics through the Prism of IS: A Brief Assessment." *The London School of Economics' Middle East Centre Blog.* February 2015.
- "Kurdistan: Why International Support is Crucial". *Bianet* (Turkish electronic newspaper). December 2014.
- "Why Turkey Continues to Hold Back from Full Involvement in the Conflict in Kobane." *The London School of Economics' European Politics and Policy Blog*. October 2014 (translated into Bosnian and published in *Preporod*. 21.1031, p. 24).
- "The Conflict in Iraq has Highlighted the Benefits for Turkey in Accepting a Stable Kurdistan." *The London School of Economics' European Politics and Policy Blog.* August 2014.
- Television Interview, "Iraq: Refugees and Oil," BBC Newsnight. August 2014.
- "Turkish- KRG relations in a changing Middle East". World Bulletin. June 2014.
- "The increasing importance of Iran". Your Middle East. online newspaper. December 2013.
- "A battle that should not be lost". *Today's Zaman*. November 2013.
- "Syria: a considerable factor in a regional crisis". *Today's Zaman*. September 2013.
- "Peace talks: the die has been cast". Today's Zaman. June 2013.
- "Road to autonomy and the Kurdish factor: Help or hurdle for Turkey's EU bid?" *Sunday's Zaman*. March 2013. p. 14.
- "Conceptualizing US foreign policy towards the Kurds. published in English". *Today's Zaman*. May 2012. p. 14 and republished in Arabic, Asharq Alawsat newspaper.
- "Understanding the Kurdish Issue". The Journal of Turkish Weekly. March 2012.
- "The US Policy of 'Containment': Iraq versus Iran." *Today's Zaman*. Turkish newspaper. January 2012, p. 14.
- Interview. *Yeni Özgür Politika* newspaper (Kurdish/Turkish newspaper published in Germany). interview in Turkish 'Kürt-ABD ilişkilerine bakış' (View of the Kurdish-US relations) with Suna Alân, 16.12.2011. p.2.
- Interview. *Awena* newspaper (published in North Iraq/Kurdistan). Issue 296. interview in Kurdish with Ako Hamedrabe. 11.10.2011. p.5.
- "The role of the Kurds in the Middle East democratization process". E-journal: *Open Democracy*, 15.06. 2011, republished in Kurdish (Sorani), by *Rudaw* newspaper, Issue 164. 30.05.2011. p.18.

Interview. *Telgraf* newspaper (published in London), Issue 262, interview inn Turkish with Hasan, Uşak, 26.04.2011, p.23, republished inn English *Rudaw* newspaper.

Interview. *Lvin* magazine (published in North Iraq/Kurdistan), Issue 157, interview in Kurdish with Kamal Chomani, 1.04.2011, pp.34-37.

Interview. *The Kurdish Globe* newspaper. No285. interview in English with Wirya Rehmany, 19.12.2010. p.14.

Interview. AK News& Bizaw newspapers (Kurdistan Region, Erbil), interview in Kurdish with Raber Y. Aziz, 13.10.2010.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (* DENOTES PANEL ORGANISATION)

Co-convenor. 3rd Annual Conference of BISA Foreign Policy Working Group. "Critical Reflections on Contemporary Foreign Policy Analysis". Cambridge July 2024.

"Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy Making: A Change in Progress." ISA conference, Nashville, USA, April 2022*

"What Next for the US Foreign Policy Towards Turkey and the Middle East?" Foreign Policy Talks roundtable, November 2020

"Knowledge, Power and Middle East Studies." BRISMES conference, University of Kent, June 2020.

"The International Workshop: Kurdistan in International and Regional Affairs." Lebanese French University, Iraq, September 2019*

"Sovereignties in Contention: Nations, Regions and Citizens in Europe." Council for European Studies Conference, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, June 2019*

"A Century of State-Making in Iraq: The Middle East in Transition." BISI, University of Leicester, April 2019*

"Non-State Actors as Factors of Change." EISA: 12^{th} Pan-European Conference on IR, Prague, September 2018*

"Cooperation and Contestation in World Politics." International Studies Association, University of Bologna, June 2017)

"Current Issues of Domestic and Middle Eastern Politics." University of Kurdistan, Erbil, May 2017

"The Role of the Kurds in the Middle East and Beyond: Regional and International Interactions." Keynote Speech, University of Leicester, March 2017

"The Middle East and the Arab Spring: Change, (in)stability and (dis)order." University of Reading, June 2013*

"The Kurds in the Changing Middle East." Kurdish Academic Forum, University of London (SOAS), November 2012

Second Scientific World Kurdish Congress (WKC2012), paper presentation, (Erbil, 11-15.10.2012).

The '16th Roundtable with the Government of Greece: transforming uncertainty into stability, wisdom and growth' Economist Conference, (Athens, 2-3.07.2012).

10th Annual International Conference on Politics and International Affairs, (Athens, 18-19.06.2012).

CHP Conference, 'Seasons in change: the Arab people's march toward democracy and freedom', (Istanbul, 28-29.04.2012).

First Scientific World Kurdish Congress (WKC2011), paper presentation, (Rotterdam, 7-9.10.2011).

Middle East Studies Association (MESA), paper presentation, (Boston, 21-24.11.2009).

Second World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES 2), paper presentation, (Amman, 11-16.05.2006).

European Consortium for political research (ecpr), paper presentation, (Pisa, 6-8.09.2007).

'The Kurds in International Affairs', Chatham House, (London, 19.12.2007).

WORKSHOP AND SEMINAR ORGANISATION

The 14th Gulf Research Meeting, Workshop No2 The GCC between the Kurdistan Region and Iraq, Cambridge, July 2024

British International Studies Association, Foreign Policy Working Group virtual seminar series:

Conflict resolution and foreign policy: The case of Shingal, October 2024

What's next? Foreign policy, warfare, and emerging technologies, September 2024

The Utilisation of Drones as tool of (foreign) policy, April 2024

The Foreign Policy of the Republic of Cyprus and the European Acquis, February 2024

New Trends in the study of foreign policy in Europe, June 2023

Laying the ground for Italian foreign policy analysis, November 2023

Foreign Policy Aspects of International Law, May 2023

Dis-Information as a Foreign Policy Tool April 2023

Women in Foreign Policy Making, March 2023

Understanding Emerging World (Dis)Orders, February 2023

Foreign Policy in Times of Conflict: Research without Field-Work, December 2022

International and Regional Foreign Policies in Action: Armenia and the EU, November 2022

Women in Foreign Policy Research and Beyond, March 2022

The Role of Think-Tanks in Foreign Policy-making, February 2022

Foreign Policy Analysis in the Middle East, October 2021

Leadership and Foreign Policy: Nuanced Approaches, September 2021

Foreign Policy and Genocide, June 2021

Critical Approaches to Foreign Policy, May 2021

Navigating Post-Pandemic Geopolitics, March 2021

Networking Event, February 2021

British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, Lebanese French University, and Rojava University, International Workshop, September 2022

Foreign Affairs Institute, Greece, Kurdish seminar series:

The Kurdish Role in a Changing Region, October 2021

Non-Arab Foreign Policies towards the KRI, October 2021

Syria Under Revision: The Kurdish Perspective, September 2021

British International Studies Association, Understanding Foreign Policy Making within Area Studies Workshop, December 2019.

University of Leicester, Global Links, British Foreign Policy Group, and Midlands Economic Forum Soft Power Perspective workshop, February 2019.

Institute of International Economic Relations. 3rd Workshop: Security and Stability in the Mediterranean and the Middle East workshop, November 2018.

University of Leicester and University of Kurdistan, The Role of the Kurds in the Middle East and Beyond Annual Symposium, March 2017.

University of Leicester, International Seminar and Public Lecture Series:

Commemorating Anfal: Genocide and Reconciliation. Speaker: Nadhim Zahawi, British Minister of Education, March 2017.

Iraq Casualties of the War Against Islamic State: Treatment and Prevention. Speaker: Dr Saleh Husain, Ambassador of the Republic of Iraq in London, February 2017

Kurdish Independence and EU Aspects. Speaker: Dellawar Ajgeiy, KRG Head of Mission to European Union, November 2016

The Role of the Kurds in Syria: The Model of Self Governance. Speaker: Salih Muslim, Cochair of the Democratic Union Party, PYD/Kurdish party in Syria, November 2016
The Struggle of Yazidis Against IS, Speaker: Nadia Murad, Yazidi activist and Nobel Prize Nominee, November 2016.

The Henry Jackson Society, Iran's Ambitions in Iraq, Speaker: Mithul Al Alusi, Leader of the Iraqi Ummah Party, House of Commons, January 2016.

Iraq's Foreign Policy in a Changing Middle East, Chatham House, February 2013.

INVITED TALKS

"The Kurdish issue (s) after the Gaza war". Centre for Mediterranean, Middle East and Islamic Studies (CEMMIS) (University of Peloponnese). November 2024.

"Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy – Insights from Area Studies." BISA FPWG, Book Launch, November 2023.

"Understanding Non-State Actors' Roles in Foreign Policy: Insights from Area Studies." ISA, June 2023

"New Trends in the Study of Foreign Policy in Europe." BISA Foreign Policy Working Group, European International Studies Association, and Italian Standing Group on IR. June 2023

"Rethinking the Roles of NSAs in IR." Sapienza University, Rome, November 2022

"Critical Approaches to Foreign Policy." BISA, May 2021

"The Kurdish Issue and New Regional Dynamics in the Middle East." Center for Foreign Policy Cooperation, E.M. Primakov, and the Russian International Affairs Council, April 2021

"The Future of the Middle East." Tuesday Club, London, February 2021.

Diplomacy and Global Affairs Research Seminar Series. Leiden University, February 2021

Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Policy Briefing. May 2019.

"How to Publish your Work in High-Impact Journals." Soran University, August 2019

"Russia and The Middle East." The Evgeny Primakov Centre for International Cooperation, August 2019

"A Year of Trump." University of Leicester, March 2018

"The Future of the KRI's International Relations." LSE's Middle East Centre, March 2018

"Determinants of Foreign Policy: The Cases of Iran and Turkey." Nottingham Trent University, March 2018

"The GCC State's Foreign and Security Policies after the Arab Spring." Gulf Research Centre, Cambridge, August 2014

"Foreign and Security Policies after the Arab Spring", Cambridge, 25-28.08.2014.

"Turkey's regional policy at a crossroads", LSE, 28.04.2014.

"The future of the Kurds: independence, autonomy and interconnectedness", RAND Institute, Washington D.C., 28.06.2013.

Dohuk University, KRG, 28.02.2012.

Soran University, KRG, 19.09.2011.

Aras Publishing House, Book Launch, Erbil, 15.09.2011.

'The Kurds and US foreign policy', SOAS, 17.03.2011.

FIELD-WORK

5th session of the National Iraqi Dialogue Initiative, The European Institute for Dialogue and Development (EIDE), Baghdad, January 2024

Fact-Finding Mission to the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, September 2017

Iraq (KR), 2007- Present

Athens, Greece, 2018-2019

Qandil Mountain, 2013

Turkish Parliament, Ankara, March 2013

Department of Law and Political Science, Salahaddin University, Iraq, Official Invitation for Research, 2010

Washington D.C., 2008

International Peace and Conflict Resolution Institute, American University, Washington D.C., 2007 KRG, Official Invitation for Research, 2007

CERTIFICATES

Certificate. Programme Leader (Skills Bootcamp for Reasonable Management (Sustainability) skills bootcamp. (University of Lincoln, 2025).

Certificate: Webinar Series 'Teaching Politics and IR Online: Design Matters' co-organised by the PSA's Teaching and Learning Network and BISA (2020)

Associate Fellow, HEA (2018)

EISA (Prague, 2018)

Certificate in 'Learning and Teaching in Higher Education', British Royal Academy of Education (Exeter University, 2007)

French Diploma (Delf I, 2003)

Spanish Diploma (Bàsico/advanced, 2003)

English Teaching Certificate, Greek Ministry of Education, 2002 English Language Proficiency Certificate Cambridge University, 2001 English Language Proficiency Certificate Michigan University, 2001

LANGUAGES

Greek; English; Arabic (intermediate)