

Ruth Hanau Santini (PhD)
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EMPLOYMENT

Current Positions

Associate Professor of Politics and International Relations, since September 2019
L'Orientale University in Naples

Past Positions

Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Diponegoro, Indonesia (19 July-25 August 2024)

Visiting Fellow (Scholarship by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

World Food Programme, Rome (June 2020-April 2023)

Conflict Advisor for the Analysis and Early Warning Unit, Emergencies Division

L'Orientale University in Naples, Faculty of Social Sciences

Senior Assistant Professor, October 2016-October 2019

L'Orientale University in Naples

Assistant Professor, January 2012-September 2016

Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Europe, Bologna

Associate Fellow, October 2015-October 2016

German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF US), Washington D.C. (US)

Fellow at the Transatlantic Academy, March-June 2013

Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome (Italy)

Consultant to the Deputy Foreign Minister, January 2012-April 2013

The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C. (US) Center on the US and Europe (CUSE)

Visiting Fellow, January 2011-January 2012

Istituto Studi per la Politica Internazionale (ISPI), Milan (Italy)

Researcher on the Treccani Geopolitical Atlas project, July-December 2010

University of Warwick (UK), Department of Politics and International Relations

Garnet Research Fellow, January-June 2010

Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Brussels

Visiting doctoral fellow, January-July 2007

Stiftung für Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin

Visiting doctoral fellow, January-December 2006

Federico II University in Naples, Naples (Italy), Analysis and Interpretation of European society, 19th cycle. Thesis' title: "European policymakers threat perceptions in the wake of 9/11".

PhD student, September 2003-September 2007

EDUCATION

PhD in Political Science, Department of Political Science, Federico II University in Naples, September 2003– November 2008

Thesis: European policymakers' threat perceptions with regard to the MENA region since 9/11

Supervisors: Mauro Calise, Filippo Andreatta

Master of Arts in Near and Middle Eastern Politics, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, September 2001 – September 2002

Thesis: The logic behind WMD proliferation in the Middle East

Supervisor: Charles Tripp

Bachelor of International Relations, Università di Bologna (in Forlì)

September 1996-September 2001

110 Summa cum laude

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

2020

Limited Statehood and Informal Governance in the Middle East and Africa, with Abel Polese and Robert Kevlihan (eds.), Routledge. (October 2020).

<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9780429504570>

2019

With Abel Polese (Eds.), Rethinking statehood in the Middle East and North Africa. Security, sovereignty and new political orders. Routledge, pp. 234.

2018

Limited statehood in post-revolutionary Tunisia. Citizenship, economy, security, Palgrave.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

2025

Hanau Santini, R., & Prontera, A. (2025). Italy's foreign energy policy and the Mattei Plan: more than meets the eye? *Contemporary Italian Politics*, 1–22.

Hanau Santini, R. (2025). Securitisation and De-securitisation in the Middle East and North Africa: Relational Spatialisation within and beyond the Gulf. *The International Spectator*, pp. 1–16.

Hanau Santini, R., & Baldaro, E. (2025). Navigating the three circles: the politics of Italy's foreign policy under the Meloni government. *Contemporary Italian Politics*, pp. 1–15.

2024

"The Evolution of the Gulf: History and theories of a complex subregional system", with Wulzer, P. *Middle East Policy*, March.

2022

“Power mediators and the ‘illiberal peace’ momentum: ending wars in Syria and Libya”, With Irene Costantini. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 43, n.1

“Waiting for IR Godot? In search of transformative encounters between Middle Eastern Studies and International Relations”, With Irene Costantini. *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, vol.52, pp. 203-216

2021

“Applying Principal-Agent Theory to Security Force Assistance: the atypical case of post-2015 Tunisia”, With Giulia Cimini. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, vol. 15, n.5

2020

“Italian post-2011 foreign policy in the Mediterranean caught between status and fear: the case of Libya”, *Italian Political Science*, n. 15, vol. 1.

2019

“The State of Dis-Union: the EU and the MENA region since 2011”, *ORIENT*, German Journal for Politics, Economics and Culture of the Middle East, October.

“The politics of security reform in post-2011 Tunisia: assessing the role of exogenous shocks, domestic policy entrepreneurs and external actors”, with Giulia Cimini, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 55, n.1, pp. 225-241.

“Intended and unintended consequences of security assistance in post-2011 Tunisia”, with Giulia Cimini, *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, vol. 12, n.1, pp. 91-106.

2018

“Security Assistance in a Post-Interventionist Era: the impact on hybrid political orders in Tunisia and Lebanon”, with Simone Tholens, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, May.

“Limited statehood and its security implications on the fragmentation of political orders in the Middle East and North Africa”, with Abel Polese, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, May.

2017

“A New Regional Cold War in the Middle East and North Africa: Regional Security Complex Theory Revisited”, *The International Spectator*, November.

“Between hierarchy and heterarchy: Post Arab uprisings’ civil-military relations and the Arab state” with Francesco N. Moro, *Mediterranean Politics*, October.

2012

Transatlantic Democracy promotion and the Arab Spring, with Oz Hassan, *The International Spectator*, vol. 47, n.3, pp.65-82.

The Arab Spring and Euro-paralysis in the Levant and in the Gulf, *Swiss Political Science Review*, vol. 18, n.1, pp.120-123.

BOOK CHAPTERS & NON-PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES**2024**

“L’instabilità globale e l’insicurezza alimentare: diritti, politiche e interesse nazionale”, Approfondimento per la Camera dei Deputati, Febbraio. Link: [Approfondimento n. 211 \(parlamento.it\)](#)

2022

“Changing security dynamics in Tunisia: reconsidering the battle for Ben Gardane”, in Mohamed Zayani, ed., *Fledgling democracy: Tunisia after the Arab Uprisings*, London: Hurst.

2020

“The only game left in town: Tunisia Ennahda’s strategic weakness”, in: *The Tunisian exception. Profile of a unique political laboratory*, edited by Federica Zoja, ResetDOC, October 2020, pp. 37-45.

2019

“Informality and state-society relations in post-2011 Tunisia”, with Stefano Pontiggia, in Polese, A., A. Russo and F. Strazzari (eds.), *Governance beyond the law. The immoral, the illegal, the criminal*, Palgrave, April 2019.

“Saudi Arabia’s regional space-shaping: making or unmaking a region?”, with Irene Costantini, in: Serena Giusti and Irina Mirkina (Eds.), *The EU in a Trans-European space. External relations across Europe, Asia and the Middle East*. February 2019, Palgrave

2018

“The EU and post-Arab Uprisings’ citizenship: a fuzzy model or contrasting ideologies?”, in Meijer, R. and N. Butenschon (eds.), *The Middle East in transition: the centrality of citizenship*, Edward Elgar.

“Il 2011 e il re-balancing del Golfo arabo: trasformazioni geopolitiche della regione del Medio Oriente e Nord Africa”, *Civiltà del Mediterraneo*, numero monografico 2018.

2014

“Interregionalism: a Security Studies perspective”, with Sonia Lucarelli and Marco Pinfari, in: Francis Baert, Tiziana Scaramagli and Fredrik Soderbaum (eds.), *Intersecting Interregionalism*, Springer.

2013

“The EU’s democracy promotion in the Middle East and North Africa: compromising with security concerns?”, in Sonia Lucarelli, Luk van Langenhove and Jan Wouters (eds.), *The EU and Multilateral Security Governance*, Routledge, pp. 123-140.

SCHOLARSHIPS, GRANTS

Brookings Fellowship (Consiglio per le Relazioni Italia-Stati Uniti, Roma)

53000\$ Fellowship (January 2011-December 2011)

European Foreign and Security Studies Policy Program Fellowship (Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin; Volkswagen Stiftung, Germany; Riksbanken Jubieleumsfond, Stockholm)

Two year Fellowship funding the stay at Stiftung fur Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin (January 2006-December 2006) and at Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Brussels (January-August 2007)

Marie Curie pre-doctoral Fellowship (European Commission)

Doctoral year at University of Birmingham (September 2004-July 2005)

FUNDING ID

August 2025-August 2026: ITALINT: Principal Investigator of the Research project on the International politics of food security funded by the Unity of Analysis and Policy Planning (UAP) of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAECI): 16,000 euros. Partners: _University of Pavia, University of Parma, John Cabot University.

September 2023-June 2026 RAP-RISK: Project on political risk analysis, funded through Progetto di Ricerca di Ateneo (PRA) of Università di Napoli L'Orientale: 37,000 euros

2016-2019: STREETPOL- SIR project (Scientific Independence of Young Researchers), funded by the Italian Ministry of Higher Education
Overall funding: 347,000 euros.

2013-2016: EUSPRING: "The Middle East and North Africa since the Arab Awakening: challenges to US and EU foreign policies", Funded by Compagnia di San Paolo, Volkswagen Stiftung and Riskbanken Jubileumsfond, within the Program 'Europe and Global Challenges'. International consortium. Overall Funding: 500,000 euros.

2008-2009: FORITA: Italian Foreign Policy Dialogue, funded by Compagnia di San Paolo and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Overall funding: 40,000 euros

RECENT INVITED LECTURES, PRESENTATIONS

2025

- **Presenter at Annual conference of Italian Political Science (SISP)** of the paper
- co-authored with Andrea Prontera: "Italy's Foreign Energy Policy and the Mattei Plan: More than Meets the Eye?" within the Panel 7.19: "East, South and Up: New Frontiers for Italian Foreign Policy" (Naples, 4-6 September)
- **Presenter at Annual conference of Italian Political Science (SISP)** of the paper co-authored with Andrea Novellis): "The failure of Israeli early warning on October 7: what lies behind it?", in the panel "Future Studies Meet Political Risk Analysis: Issues and Challenges Between Disruption and Change (Naples, 4-6 September)
- **Chair and Presenter at Annual conference of Italian Political Science (SISP)** of the paper: Trading Places: Western Adaptation(s) in a Crowded Conflict Management Market" (co-authored with Giulio Levorato and Irene Costantini) in the Panel 7.4 "Multidimensional Competition in Contemporary Peace Dynamics"
- **Paper presenter at European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR)** of the paper co-authored with Simone Tholens: "Negative Lesson Drawing from the Barcelona Process and the Renationalization of European States' Israeli-Palestinian Policy", within the Panel: The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership at 30: Insights on Policy Learning and Substantive Change (Thessaloniki, 26-29 August)
- **Presenter at the annual conference of International Political Studies Association (IPSA) conference of the paper** (co-authored with Giulio Levorato and Irene Costantini): "Trading Places: Western Adaptation(s) in a Crowded Conflict Management Market"(Seoul, 12-14 July)
- **Paper presenter at International Public Policy Association (IPPA) conference.** Paper title (co-authored with Andrea Prontera): "Italy's energy policy in Africa: a difficult balancing act between fossil fuels and renewables" within the Panel: T16P05 Public policies on energy. Public-Private and Intergovernmental Synergies to Promote Energy Efficiency. Virtual presentation (Chiang-Mai, 2-4 July)

- **Chair and presenter at the annual conference of the Standing Group of Relazioni Internazionali (SGRI).** Chair and presenter in PANEL 1.1 Italy's Global Med Policy: More than Meets the Eye? (Milan, 12-13 June)
- **Presentation at Università Federico II** in the panel "The end of the Liberal International Order" within the PRIN one day workshop "Political Theory and The end of the Liberal World Order", organised by Pietro Maffettone (Naples, 16 June)
- **Presenter at the annual conference of the Standing Group of Relazioni Internazionali (SGRI) of the paper** (co-authored with Giulio Levorato and Irene Costantini): "Trading Places: Western Adaptation(s) in a Crowded Conflict Management Market" in PANEL 2.1 Contemporary Warfare and the Changing Character of Conflict: Actors, Spaces, and Resources (Milan, 12-13 June)
- **Participation at the Festival di Politica Internazionale NOI**, organised by the Department of Social and Human Sciences at Università di Napoli L'Orientale. Presentation in the panel "Atlantico, Europa, Mediterraneo: i cerchi della politica estera italiana"(Naples, 16 May)

2024

- **Speaker at University of Pavia** on: "Starvation as a weapon of war" (Pavia, 12 December)
- **Speaker at ESCP Business School** on "Political risk analysis" (6 hours) for the Core course of Geopolitics (Turin, 13 December)
- **Speaker at Workshop "Politica in Italia/Italian Politics. Edizione 2025"**, edited by Martin Bull and Laura Polverari. Presentation of the book chapter: "La politica estera: Atlantismo /Piano Mattei per l'Africa", with Edoardo Baldaro, at Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Europe (Bologna, 4 June)
- **Speaker at Sapienza University** on: "European far-right parties and Russia" (Roma, 7 November)
- **Presenter at closed-door workshop by Istituto Cattaneo- DAR-Johns Hopkins** on "The litmus test. European Far-right parties and the response to Russian aggressiveness" (Bologna, 18 October)
- **Presenter at Annual conference of Italian Political Science (SISP)** (Trieste, 12-14 September): "Convergence and divergence of key far-right parties over Russia since 2014"
- **Presenter at GeNS international conference** "Power asymmetries: class, ideology and democracy, a gender perspective" (Stintino, 4-7 September): European female far-right leaders and non-Western powers
- **Speaker at Camera dei Deputati** on "Il ruolo dell'Italia nell'Africa del future. Idee per il Piano Mattei" (Rome, 4th July)
- **Speaker at MBA Hong Kong University-Tel Aviv (HKU-TLV Innovation Hub)** on Historical and Geo-political overview of Italy, EU and wider region (Milan, 24 June)
- **Organiser and Speaker at a workshop** at Università di Napoli L'Orientale with Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Europe: Taking stock of conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa and implications for Europe (Napoli, 12 June 2024)
- **Speaker at Festival di geopolitica e relazioni internazionali** at UNINT university (Rome, 22 May 2024)
- **Speaker at conference in Parma** on: "Sustaining Food security in the XXI century" (Parma, 7 May)

2023

- **Speaker at Annual Reset Conference:** The failure of Democracy in the Arab context: the Tunisian case, Reset and University of Palermo (invited, 15 December)
- **Speaker at Conference at John Cabot University:** Food security after Ukraine: a transatlantic perspective, John Cabot University (invited, 4 December)
- **Speaker** on "Conflitti e insicurezza alimentare" at **Università di Parma** (29 November)

- **Teacher** of 4 classes at **Università di Trento** (8 hours): Political risk analysis and early warning (October)
- **Chair and Presenter at Annual conference of the Italian Political Science Association (SISP)**, in Genova of the panel "Italy in the enlarged Mediterranean: muddling through, or a new strategic front of Italian foreign policy?". Presentation of the paper: "Italy's increasing role in the enlarged Med: status driven, contingency driven or bureaucratic politics?" (14-16 September)
- **Paper presenter at Conference organized by TWAI**, ChinaMed Roundtable on "The Persian Gulf and the US- China rivalry"(Rome, July 7)

2022

- **Conference at John Cabot University**, Worse than the Cold War? Euro-Mediterranean perspectives on Sino-American rivalry (17 October)
- **Invited speaker at the Department of Sociology and Social Research at the Università di Trento**. Lecture on: "Reflections on Food Security". (2 May)
- **Seminar at Luiss University**, Spiegare la Guerra in Ucraina: punti di vista dalla scienza politica (8 April)
- **Online webinar SGRI** (Standing Group di Relazioni Internazionali): La guerra in Ucraina tra teoria e pratica (10 March)

2021

- **LUISS**, Master in Affari Strategici (invited): European and Italian foreign policy theories and practices in the Mediterranean (12 October)
- **Bologna Peacebuilding Forum** and Johns Hopkins University SAIS Bologna Center: Peacebuilding and climate change conference (18-19 May)
- **University of Trento** (invited): Understanding food security (19 April)
- **EUI-Pomeps workshop**. Presentation: An Anthropology of the Post-2011 Arab State: Weak, Fierce or Marginal (on Zoom, 19 March)
- **Milan, ISPI winter school**. Keynote speaker on "Food security in the Sahel" (15 March)

2020

- **Reset Dialogues on Civilization**, "An Arab winter? The Tunisian exception in context" (on Zoom, 16 December)
- **Università di Napoli L'Orientale**, "L'America del 2020", intervento su: "La maledizione del Medio Oriente e l'impossibilità del pivot" (15 December)
- **IEPN Israeli-European Policy Network**, "Discussing Annexation scenarios" (on Zoom, 16 September)

2019

- **Workshop** "Hybrid Governance and Limited Statehood in the MENA region", European University Institute (11th October)
- **Keynote speech** on "Results of the 2019 European Elections and implications for EU-MENA Relations", Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Tel Aviv (23rd September)
- **Paper giver at Annual conference** of the Italian Political Science Association, Lecce (September 12-14)
- **Paper giver at BRISMES conference**, Panel organizer "States of contention: imagining the State from below" (Leeds, 24-26 June)
- **Paper giver at CEEISA-Isa Joint conference**, Panel organizer and paper giver on "Rethinking regional orders between hierarchies and heterarchies" (Belgrade, 17-19 June)
- **Speaker at Università di Firenze**, "Regional security in the Middle East" (21 February)
- **Book presentation**, EUI Discussing Limited Statehood in post-revolutionary Tunisia (12th February 2019):

2018

- **Paper giver at conference** on "Security Force assistance in fragile states", organised by the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). Paper title: "Security assistance in post-2011 Tunisia: how the international-domestic nexus has favoured performance over normative change" (Oslo, 5-7 December)
- **Speaker at Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Tel Aviv on** "The Iran Deal revisited-consequences of the US withdrawal in EU-Israel relations". (Tel Aviv, 7-8 November):
- **Paper giver at the American University of Beirut**-Project of Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) "Europe in the post-2011 Middle East: changing interventionist paradigms" (Beirut 30 October):
- **Paper giver at the European International Studies Association (EISA)** (Prague, 11-13 September)
- **Paper giver at the Annual conference of the Italian Political Science Association**, (Turin 6-8 Sept)
- **Teacher at the University of Sant'Anna (4 hours)**, "Explaining changes in the regional order in the Middle East" (Pisa, 18-19 April)
- **Guest speaker at the University of St. Andrews**, "A New regional cold War: the post-2011 regional order" (18 February)
- **Paper giver at the Institute of International Affairs**, Rome (invited, 16 January): Diagnosing the Mediterranean. Where is the region heading to in 2018? Presentation of the IEMed Yearbook.

2017

- **Università di Trento** (invited, 19 May). Paper presentation: "Changing notions and practices of region and security in the Middle East".
- **Joint Workshop** organised with Université Libre de Bruxelles and Technical University of Tallinn on "**Deconstructing Unitary Statehood: hybrid governance in comparative perspective**", Procida (5-6 May).
- **European Workshops in International Studies (EWIS), Cardiff** (7-10 June 2017) "States of mediation: analysing the state of the informal sector in Tunisia", paper written with Stefano Pontiggia.
- **Standing Group of International Relations (SGRI) of the Italian Association of Political Science, Trento** (June 29-July 1st). Organizer and Chair of the Panel: National and Transnational Actors reshaping (in)security dynamics in the Middle East.
- **European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR), Oslo** (6-9 September). Organizer of the Panel: Authoritarian stability and instability in the Middle East and Africa. Paper presentation: Rethinking civil-military relations in the post-2011 Middle East and North Africa.
- **11th Pan-European Conference in International Relations (EISA), Barcelona** (14-16 September). Organizer of the Panel: National and Transnational Actors reshaping (in)security dynamics across MENA and the Sahara-Sahel. Paper Presentation: "A New Regional Cold War in the Middle East Security Complex".

LANGUAGES

	Speaking	Understanding	Writing
Italian	Mother tongue	-	-
English	Fluent	Fluent	Fluent
French	Fluent	Fluent	Fluent

Spanish
German
Arabic*

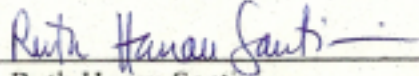
intermediate
intermediate
Basic

Fluent
Fluent
Basic

intermediate
intermediate
Basic

** Modern Standard*

September 2025



Ruth Hanau Santini