

Kathleen A. Collins
Arlene C. Carlson Professor of Political Science
Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota
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1. Education

- Stanford University, Ph.D., M.A., Department of Political Science
- University of Notre Dame, B.A., Government/International Studies and Russian Language and Literature; *Summa Cum Laude*; Honors Program; *Phi Beta Kappa*

2. Academic Appointments

- University of Minnesota, Professor of Political Science, April 2024 - present
- University of Minnesota, Associate Professor of Political Science, with tenure, 2008-present; untenured, July 2005- April 2008
- University of Notre Dame, Assistant Professor of Political Science, September 2001- June 2005, tenure-track
- Dartmouth College, Assistant Professor of Government, 2001, tenure-track
- Postdoctoral Fellow, Harvard University, Davis Center for Russian Research, 2000

3. Published Academic Research

3.1. Books

Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Afghan and Syrian Jihads (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023, hardback and paperback), 584 pages (nominated for a dozen awards)

Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia (New York: Cambridge University Press, February 2006, 2009), 397 pages

- Recipient of the Central Eurasian Studies Society Award 2008, for the best book in the social sciences on Central Eurasia, published in the previous two years
- Nominated for the Luebbert Award, Wilson Prize, Democratization section award, Qualitative Methods section award of APSA, the Hewett Prize of AAASS, the Vucinich Prize of AAASS

Johannes Linn, Kathleen Collins, et al., ***Bringing Down the Barriers: Regional Cooperation for Human Development and Human Security, Central Asia Human Development Report 2005*** (Bratislava, Slovakia and New York, NY: UNDP, 2005), 268 pages.

3.2. Articles and Book Chapters

- 1) Kathleen Collins, "Uzbek Foreign Fighter Groups in the Syrian Jihad: The Evolution of KIB and KTJ from 2011-2015," *Counter Terrorism Center Sentinel*, September 2025
- 2) Kathleen Collins, "Corruption, Clientelism, and Clans: The Political Economy of Informal Politics in Central Asia," in Reuel Hanks and Dilshod Achilov, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Central Asian Politics*, 1st ed., (London: Routledge, 2023), invited, reviewed by editors (in press, 2025).
- 3) Kathleen Collins, "Building a Social Base through Islamic Ideas and Spiritual Authority: The Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan, 1999-2015," special issue, *Percorsi costituzionali*, (Italy), 1-3.2020: 95-126.
- 4) Kathleen Collins, "Christian repression and survival in post-Soviet central Asia," in Daniel Philpott and Timothy Shah, eds., *Under Caesar's Sword*, Cambridge University Press (March 2018).
- 5) Kathleen Collins, "Corruption and Popular Support for Democracy and Government in Transitional Contexts: The Case of Kyrgyzstan," with Robert Gambrel, *Europe-Asia Studies* (October 2017), blind refereed.
- 6) Kathleen Collins, "Faith and Reason: Explaining Christians' Political Behavior in Central Asia," *Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2017, special issue, reviewed by journal editors.
- 7) Kathleen Collins, "The Limits of Cooperation: Central Asia, Afghanistan, and the New Silk Road," *Asia Policy* (January 2014), invited, reviewed by journal editors
- 8) Kathleen Collins, "Islamic Religiosity and Regime Preferences: Explaining Support for Democracy and Political Islam in Central Asia and the Caucasus," with Erica Owen, *Political Research Quarterly* 65, 3 (September 2012), 499-515, blind refereed.
- 9) Kathleen Collins, "After the Kyrgyz Spring: Challenges to Democratic Deepening," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* (Winter 2012), 21-44 (lead article) invited and refereed by journal editors
- 10) Kathleen Collins, "Kyrgyzstan's Latest Revolution," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 22, no. 3 (July 2011), blind refereed.
- 11) Kathleen Collins, "Economic and Security Regionalism among Patrimonial Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of Central Asia," *Europe-Asia Studies* (March 2009, volume 61, issue 2), 251-283, blind refereed.
- 12) Kathleen Collins, "Ideas, Networks, and Islamist Movements: Evidence from Central Asia and the Caucasus," *World Politics* Vol. 60, No.1 (October 2007): 64-96, blind refereed.

- 13) Kathleen Collins, "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories," *World Politics* Vol. 56, no. 2 (January 2004): 224-261, blind refereed.
- 14) Kathleen Collins, "The Political Role of Clans in Central Asia," *Comparative Politics* (January 2003): 171-190, blind refereed.
- 15) Kathleen Collins, "Clans, Pacts, and Politics in Central Asia," *Journal of Democracy* vol. 13, no. 3 (July 2002), 137-52, blind refereed.
- 16) Kathleen Collins, "Tajikistan: Bad Peace Agreements and Prolonged Civil Wars," book ch., in Chandra Sriram, ed., *The Prevention of Violent Conflict*, (Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 2003): 267-306, blind refereed.
- 17) Kathleen Collins, "Central Asia: Defying Great Game Expectations," with William Wohlforth, book chapter, *Strategic Asia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003): 291-317, blind refereed.
- 18) Kathleen Collins, "Central Asia: Defying Great Game Expectations," with William Wohlforth, in K Santhanam and Ramakant Dwivendi, eds., *India and Central Asia: Advancing the Common Interest*, Asia Security Series, Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (New Delhi, India: Anamaya Publishers, 2004), refereed, reprint.
- 19) Kathleen Collins, "The Transformation of Central Asia's Post-Soviet Regimes: The Rise of Clan Politics," book chapter, in Edmund Herzig and Annette Bohr, eds., *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Modern Age* (London: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), blind refereed.

3.3. Other Academic Publications

- 21) Kathleen Collins, "Islamic Revivalism and Political Attitudes in Uzbekistan," Working Paper, National Council for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Research, Washington, DC (December 2007)
- 22) Kathleen Collins, Book Review of Shoshanna Keller, *To Moscow Not Mecca* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001), in *Political Science Quarterly*, (2003)
- 23) Kathleen Collins, "Central Asia's Postcommunist Transitions," in Terry Karl, Larry Diamond, Gail Lapidus, and Mike McFaul, eds., *Workshop on Regime Transitions: Transitions from Communist Rule in Comparative Perspective* (Stanford: The Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law Institute, 2003).
- 24) Kathleen Collins, Book Review of Douglass Greenberg, Stanley Katz, et al., eds. *Constitutionalism and Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), in *Stanford Journal of International Affairs* (1994)

4. Awards

Research Awards

- 1) Fulbright Global Scholar Award, 2025-2027
- 2) Arlene C. Carlson Chair in Political Science, University of Minnesota, 2025-
- 3) Recipient of the Central Eurasian Studies Society Book Award for the Social Sciences, for the best book award in the social sciences on Central Eurasia, published from 2006 to 2008.
- 4) University of Minnesota McKnight Land-Grant Professor Award, 2007-2008
- 5) Carnegie Scholar Award: one of “Thirteen Scholars Chosen for Innovative Scholarship in Education, International Development, Strengthening U.S. Democracy, and International Peace and Security,” 2003, national award given by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.
- 6) The Notre Dame Junior Chair in Comparative Politics, College of Liberal Arts, 2003, awarded to a junior faculty member on the basis of promising research
- 7) The S.M. Lipset Award for the Best Comparativist Dissertation in Comparative Politics or Sociology (national dissertation award, awarded from the Society for Comparative Research, Yale University), 2000

Teaching Award:

- 1) Red Motley College of Liberal Arts Teaching Award, University of Minnesota, 2023

5. Grants and Fellowships

- 1) Fulbright Global Scholar Award, 2025-27, project on post-communist military reform
- 2) Social Science Research Grant, University of Minnesota, 2025-26, \$15,000, project on post-communist military reform
- 3) Grant in Aid research grant, awarded 2022-2023 for new book project on Islam, illiberalism, and democracy, \$49,683
- 4) McMillan Travel/Research Grant, University of Minnesota, 2021
- 5) GRRI-Templeton Foundation, book completion grant, 2018
- 6) McMillan Travel/Research Grant, University of Minnesota, 2017
- 7) Research scholar, Under Caesar’s Sword: Christian Response to Persecution, Research Scholar, the Center for Civil and Human Rights at the University of

- Notre Dame and the Religious Freedom Project at the Berkley Center at Georgetown University, funded by the Templeton Religion Trust, (PIs: Daniel Philpott, Timothy Shah), 2015-16
- 8) Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, 2015 Visiting Fellowship (declined due to family medical issues)
 - 9) University of Minnesota Sabbatical Supplement (competitive award), 2014-15
 - 10) McMillan Travel/Research Grant, University of Minnesota, 2014
 - 11) McMillan Travel/Research Grant, University of Minnesota, 2012
 - 12) Grant in Aid, University of Minnesota, 2011-2013, \$29,000, July 2011-July 2014
 - 13) University of Minnesota McKnight Land-Grant Professor Research Award, \$30,000 plus salary, 2007-10
 - 14) UMN College of Liberal Arts Single Semester Leave Award, 2007
 - 15) UMN Institute for Advanced Study Fellowship, awarded for fall 2007 (declined)
 - 16) Carnegie Scholars Grant, 2003, \$100,000 (deferred to 2005-07 because of move to the UMN and maternity leave)
 - 17) National Council for Eurasian and East European Research Grant, \$35,000 (2004-2005)
 - 18) United States Institute for Peace Grant, \$40,000 (2003-2004)
 - 19) International Research and Exchange Board, Individual Advanced Research Opportunity, \$28,000 (declined total amount; accepted \$8,150), (2003-04)
 - 20) Notre Dame, Graduate Research Opportunity Grant, \$10,000 (2003)
 - 21) U.S. Department of Education, Course Development Grant (with Emily Osborne), (2004-2005)
 - 22) Kellogg Faculty Grant for Working Group on "Islam and Politics," \$5900 (2002)
 - 23) Dartmouth Burke Award for Junior Faculty Research, for Islam in Central Asia and Caucasus project, \$20,000 (2000-01)
 - 24) Harvard University Center for Russian Studies Postdoctoral Fellowship (1999-2000)
 - 25) Kellogg Institute for International Studies Visiting Fellowship (1999, declined; 2000)

- 26) MacArthur Foundation Predoctoral Dissertation Fellowship (1998-1999)
- 27) Stanford Institute for International Studies Summer Research Grant (1998)
- 28) United States Institute for Peace Jennings Randolph Dissertation Fellowship (1997)
- 29) Foreign Language Area Studies Summer Grant (1996)
- 30) MacArthur Foundation Summer Research Grant (1996)
- 31) Center for Russian/East European Studies Grant (1995)
- 32) Center for International Security and Arms Control Research Grant (1994)
- 33) Berkeley/Stanford Post-Soviet Program Summer Research Grant (1994)
- 34) Foreign Language Area Studies Summer Grant (1994)
- 35) National Endowment for the Humanities Junior Scholar Thesis Research Grant (1992-1993)

6. Research in Progress

- 1) Reforming Red Armies: Explaining Postcommunist Military Reform: Book Project (2024-present)
 - This is a new project that I have been developing for the past two years. This project examines the role of military culture, national identity, and democratic values, as well as the Russian threat, in influencing postcommunist military reform, particularly the effective adoption of NATO military standards and implementation of international norms of military conduct and just war. The project builds on my experience working in Kyrgyzstan on the Partnership for Peace program with NATO in the 1990s.
 - I have made several field research trips to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Georgia, as well as Kyrgyzstan. I will be in Poland, Estonia, and Kazakhstan on a Fulbright Global Scholar Award in 2026-2027.
 - Other grant applications are pending.
- 2) “The Use of Propaganda to Mobilize Central Asian Foreign Fighters,”
 - This article examines the role of ideational propaganda, sacred authority and networking in motivating Central Asian foreign fighter groups, building on a database of foreign fighter propaganda that I have collected.

- 3) Explaining popular support for sharia in Kyrgyzstan, journal manuscript in progress
 - This article is an analysis of two original national surveys which I conducted in Kyrgyzstan, together with focus groups, journal manuscript in progress (material removed from my Oxford book due to length).
- 4) Long-term Consequences of Repression of Islam in the Chechen and Dagestani Regions of the USSR, archival research at Hoover Institution, GRPP grant
- 5) Islam, Illiberalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Eurasia
 - I received a GIA grant in 2022 to fund field work for a project on the Islamization and illiberal democracy in post-communist Eurasia (including cases in the post-Soviet Caucasus and post-communist Eastern Europe), on hold due to research visa issues
- 6) Islamic revival and illiberalism in Azerbaijan, journal manuscript in progress, draws on ethnographic field work and original, national surveys in Azerbaijan, which I prepared and conducted with in-country survey groups (material cut out of my Oxford book), on hold due to research visa issues

Collaborative Work-in-Progress with Graduate Students

- 7) Democratic support, shari`a, and illiberalism in Indonesia and Eurasia, (supported by Dickenson grant, with Selcuk Koseoglu, 2023-2025)
- 8) Explaining Popular Support for Jihad in Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan, survey analysis in progress (GRPP grant with Liu Peng, 2023-)
- 9) Legacies of Communism and Famine, research in progress with Maya Mehra; on hold, because we had planned research in Ukraine in 2022-2023

7.1 Policy Writing

- 1) "Trends in Political Islam and Democracy," 2005, U.S. government report.
- 2) "Islamic and Secular Influences on the Educational System and Youth in Uzbekistan," published in the National Bureau of Asian Research Working Paper series, 2004, and report for U.S. government.
- 3) "Clans and Clan Politics in Uzbekistan," published in the National Bureau of Asian Research Working Paper series, 2004, report for U.S. government.
- 4) "Human Security and Transition in Central Asia," Report for the United Nations Commission on Human Security in Central Asia, April 2002.
- 5) "Promoting Peace-building and Reconstruction in the Sudan," United Nations Development Program, internal report, July 2002.
- 6) "Civil Society in Central Asia," Report for Price Waterhouse/USAID, internal report, December 2001.
- 7) Assessing USAID and Democratization in Kyrgyzstan, June 2013 (USAID).

7.2 Public Outreach / Op-Eds/Opinion Articles

Recent Public Outreach

- 1) Keynote address, “Ukraine: War and Resistance” State Capitol, event with Sen. Amy Klobuchar, St. Paul, Minnesota, February 24, 2025
- 2) Speech at the "Stand with Ukraine" Rally at the Minnesota State Capitol, March 6, 2022
- 3) Ukraine’s Counteroffensive and the West, Panel organizer and speaker, Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN, November 2023, In cooperation with Ukrainian-American Community
Guest speakers from Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, and Sen. Klobuchar’s office
- 4) Rebuilding Ukraine, Panel Speaker, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, February 13, 2024
- 5) Russia’s War on Ukraine, Event Organizer, Panel speaker, Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN, guests from Ukraine, March 3, 2022, Zoom, over 400 participants, from the U.S. and Europe
- 6) Russia’s Seizure of Crimea, Event Organizer and Panel Speaker, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, March 1, 2014
- 7) Russia’s Invasion of Georgia, Co-organizer and Panel Speaker, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, September 2008

Op-Eds/Opinion Articles

“Biden’s Ukraine Policy Needs to be Fixed, Not Ended,” *Twin Cities Pioneer Press*, Sunday Edition (print and online), July 9, 2023

“The Dangers of Ceding Territory for Peace in Ukraine,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, July 7 (online), Saturday weekend edition, July 8 (print), 2023

“The Dangers of Ceding Territory for Peace in Ukraine,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, Saturday weekend edition, July 8 (print), 2023

“Support Ukraine’s victory out of moral necessity and for national security,” *Twin Cities Pioneer Press*, March 21, 2023

“Afghanistan One Year Later,” *Tokyo News*, August 30, 2022

“Putin's invasion of Ukraine has been a long time building,” *Twin Cities Pioneer Press*, March 5, 2022

[“Q&A with Kathleen Collins on Afghanistan,”](#) Department of Political Science, College of Liberal Arts, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, December, 10, 2021

“Arguments justifying total withdrawal from Afghanistan are wrong,” *Twin Cities Pioneer Press*, August 21, 2021

“Will Obama Support Democracy in Kyrgyzstan?,” *Christian Science Monitor*, May 3, 2010

“Kyrgyzstan’s Revolution and U.S. Interests,” *ISLAM, ISLAMISM, AND POLITICS IN EURASIA REPORT*, Monterey Institute of International Studies, No. 13, April 23, 2010

“The Endgame in Central Asia,” *The Wall Street Journal*, Asian edition, October 18, 2001

Recent Interviews about Ukraine and Afghanistan

Television (Minnesota)

Kare11; KSTP (multiple interviews with correspondent Richard Reeve)

Radio (Minnesota)

MPR, interviews with John Daley (twice)

“Al in the Afternoon” (multiple times)

“The Travis Show” (multiple times)

Podcasts

[The Pete Turner Podcast](#) (interview about book; follow-up scheduled for 2023)

Newspapers

***Tokyo News*, [Interview with Professor Collins on US Withdrawal from Afghanistan](#) (most opened article in the paper, August 30, 2022)**

Interviews by journalists for expert background analysis and/or quotations in articles 2001-

The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, The Atlantic Monthly, U.S. News & World Report, Businessweek, Mother Jones, Minneapolis Star Tribune, Twin Cities Pioneer Press, The Boston Globe, Forum 18, The Epoch Times (NY), BBC, Central Asia Newswire, Bilim Yol (Azerbaijan, in Russian), Caucasian Knot (Azerbaijan, in Russian), Rosblat.ru (Russia), Pravda (Slovakia)

Interviews about Central Asia, the Arab Spring, and Russia 2001-

Television

Kare11 (MN); Fox 9 (MN); WABC (NY); WNDU (IN); TV16 (IN); TV 22 (IN);

CBS News Toronto; *Al Jazeera* (English; Washington, DC)

Radio

NPR; *Voice of America*; *Radio Free Liberty*/*Radio Free Europe*; Minnesota Public Radio;

Op-Ed under consideration:

Kathleen Collins with Batu Kutelia, “Trump’s Golden Opportunity in Ukraine,” October 9, 2025

8. Invited Presentations/Talks

In addition to regular conference presentations, in recent years, I have delivered invited presentations in the U.S., Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Russia, Turkey, Great Britain, and France, at universities, research institutes, think tanks, and to the general public, as listed below. (*I also had other invitations to present my work in 2006-2015 in Canada, India, Sweden, Italy, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Great Britain, Germany, Taiwan, and China, as well as in the US, but I had to decline them because of my teaching schedule or parental/caretaker commitments*).

Upcoming Talks:

Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” Columbia University, Department of Political Science, October 15, 2025

Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakif University, Istanbul, Turkey, tbd, 2026.

Panel presenter, US Policy and the War in Ukraine, War Studies University, Poland, November 2025

Postcommunist Military Reform: The Case of Poland, University of Tartu, June 2026

Postcommunist Military Reform: The Case of the Baltics, War Studies University, May 2026

Completed Invited Talks:

- 1) Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” Columbia University, Harriman Institute, New York, NY, December 11, 2023.
- 2) Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” University of Notre Dame, September 26, 2025.
- 3) Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” Georgetown University, Doha, February 2024.

- 4) Presenter, “Democratization in the Post-communist Region and U.S.-Georgian Relations,” Tbilisi Ivane Javakhishvili State University, Tbilisi, Georgia, December 2024.
- 5) Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” Indiana University, Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies, November 7, 2024
- 6) Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” University of California, Berkeley, March 2024.
- 7) Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., January 31, 2023.
- 8) Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” Central European University, Vienna, Austria, October 17, 2023.
- 9) Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy and Research Center, Vilnius, Lithuania, October 9, 2023
- 10) Presenter, “Politicizing Islam in Central Asia: From the Russian Revolution to the Syrian Jihad,” Institute of Foreign Affairs, Budapest, Hungary, October 18, 2023.
- 11) “Islamist Movements in Central Asia: From the Soviet Union to the Afghan and Syrian Jihads,” War Studies University and NATO, Warsaw, Poland, May 16, 2023.
- 12) “Russia’s War for Ukraine,” Air Force, Navy and Marine Battalion, University of Minnesota, April 15, 2022.
- 13) Participant, Panel on Ukraine with Prof. Yoshiko Herrera, CPC, University of Minnesota, March 18, 2022, zoom
- 14) “Russia’s War on Ukraine,” Panel organizer and speaker on Russia’s Expansionist Foreign Policy, March 1, 2022
- 15) “Russia, China, and Afghanistan: Before and After the Fall of Kabul,” Navy and Marine Battalion, University of Minnesota, December 10, 2021
- 16) “Explaining Islamist Emergence and Mobilization: The Case of Tajikistan,” University of Wisconsin, Madison, invited talk, October 29, 2020
- 17) “Explaining Islamist Emergence and Trajectories in Eurasia,” invited talk, University of Kansas, Lawrence, December 9, 2019
- 18) “Explaining Islamist Emergence and Trajectories in Eurasia,” invited talk, John F. Kennedy School, Harvard University, April 19, 2018

- 19) Invited research presentation, U.S. State Department, Office of International Religious Freedom, Bureau of South and Central Asia, and Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, on “State Repression and Political Islam in Central Asia,” 10 AM, November 8, 2018, Washington DC
- 20) Invited Panel Presentation, The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission), “MOSQUE AND STATE IN CENTRAL ASIA: Can Religious Freedom Coexist with Government Regulation of Islam?” December 17, 2018, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
- 21) “Communist Legacies, Religion and Civil Society in Muslim Eurasia,” keynote talk, Wheatley Institution, BYU, November 8, 2017
- 22) Freedom House, Expert Panel on Civil and Political Liberties in Central Asia and Azerbaijan, November 14, 2017
- 23) “Religious Repression in Central Asia,” Helsinki Commission, Washington D.C., November 15, 2017
- 24) “Christian Responses to Religious Repression in the Middle East and Central Asia,” panel chair and member, National Press Club, Washington, DC, April 20, 2017
- 25) Freedom House, New York, Expert Panel on Civil and Political Liberties in Central Asia and Azerbaijan, October 2016
- 26) Johns Hopkins, SAIS, University of Bologna, “Religious Repression and the Emergence of Islamism in Tajikistan,” October 18, 2016
- 27) “The Emergence and Mobilization of Islamism in Eurasia: Tajikistan in Comparative Perspective,” The University of Notre Dame, Kellogg Institute, April 26, 2016.
- 28) “Religious Repression and Societal Reaction: The Case of Christians in Central Asia,” Pontifical Urban University, Rome, Italy – December 13, 2015
- 29) Freedom House, New York, Expert Panel on Central Asia and Azerbaijan, November 6, 2015
- 30) Institute for Islamic, Ottoman Studies, CNRS, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, “Explaining the Emergence and Trajectory of Political Islam in Tajikistan,” April 11, 2015
- 31) University of California, Santa Barbara, “Explaining Islamist Mobilization in Eurasia: Repression, Revival and Mobilization in Tajikistan,” University of California Santa Barbara Department of Political Science – February 5, 2015

- 32) Freedom House, New York, Expert Commentator, Panel on Central Asia and Azerbaijan, October 24, 2014
- 33) Islamic Trends in Central Asia, US Government, Washington DC, August 26, 2014
- 34) "Islam and Democracy In Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan," Humphrey Institute, February 25, 2014
- 35) "Democratization in the Muslim World," Nobel Prize Forum, Minneapolis, MN, March 10, 2013
- 36) "Imams, Political Theology and Political Preferences in Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan," Exeter, University of Exeter, November 24, 2012
- 37) "Autocratic Diffusion in Central Asia: Russia and the SCO," European University Institute, June 22, 2012 (invited but declined)
- 38) "Panel on Clan Politics: Twenty Years After the Soviet Collapse," Berlin, Germany, December 2011 (invited but declined)
- 39) "Islamic Revival and Support for Democracy in Central Asia," University of Virginia, April 2011
- 40) "Ethnicity and Politics: Explaining the Kyrgyz-Uzbek Violence of 2010," University of Lincoln-Nebraska, April 2011
- 41) "The Causes of Kyrgyzstan's 2010 Revolution," National Endowment for Democracy, April 17, 2010, Washington DC
- 42) Panel on Russia as a Great Power in Asia, and Democratization in Asia, National Bureau of Asian Research, Asia Policy Forum, Washington DC, June 17-18, 2010, invited panel member
- 43) "Post-Soviet Identity in Central Asia," and "Russia and Central Asia: the Post-Imperial Space," Booz-Allen Hamilton, Washington DC, April 2009
- 44) "Energy, Islam, and Politics in Central Asia," Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, June 2009
- 45) "Clans and Network Politics: Decision-Making in the Central Asian States," Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, June 2009
- 46) "Post-Colonialism, Failed Ideologies and the Rise of Islamism: Eurasia in Comparative Perspective," presentation at Cornell University, September 28, 2008

- 47) "Disillusionment with Democracy: The Rise of Islamic Activism in Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan," US government, December 18, 2007.
- 48) "Methods for Studying Islam," June 18, 2007, and "Islamic Resurgence in Central Asia and Azerbaijan," Carnegie Corporation, Moscow, Russia, June 19, 2007.
- 49) "Islamic Resurgence in Central Asia and Azerbaijan," University of Wisconsin, Madison, CREECA Program, April 26, 2007.
- 50) "Islam and the West," Panel Discussion, William Mitchell School of Law National Security Forum, UBS Forum with Minnesota Public Radio, April 17, 2007.
- 51) "Political Trends and Islamic Activism in Azerbaijan: Implications for US-Azeri Relations," CENTRA Technology, presentation to US government officials, September 18, 2006
- 52) "Islamic Trends in Azerbaijan," US government, July 26, 2006
- 53) "Political Challenges to Regional Cooperation in Central Asia," Brookings Institution and UNDP, March 27, 2006
- 54) "Uzbekistan After Andijan," US government, Washington DC, February 17, 2006
- 55) "Islamic Politics in Central Asia and the Caucasus," Carnegie Endowment, research presentation, New York, February 2006
- 56) "Political Islam and Stability in Uzbekistan," Miami University of Ohio, November 7, 2005
- 57) "Islam and Politics in Central Asia and the Caucasus," Women's Foreign Policy Group," Washington DC, September 19, 2005
- 58) "The Development of Political Islam in Uzbekistan," Workshop for the US government, September 9-10, 2005.
- 59) "Authoritarianism and Islamic Mobilization in Central Asia," Upsaala University Workshop on Authoritarianism, Istanbul, Turkey, May 30, 2005
- 60) "Islamic Mobilization, Political Opposition and Regime Durability in Central Asia," Panel Presentation, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, May 3, 2004
- 61) "Clan Politics and the Regime in Uzbekistan," presentation, policy working group of National Bureau of Asian Research, April 1, 2004
- 62) "Clan Politics and Regime Transformation in Central Asia," book presentation, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, April 5, 2004

- 63) "U.S. Policy Responses to Political Islam in Central Asia," panel presenter, policy workshop, CENTRA Technology, September 19, 2003
- 64) "Critical Factors in Islamist Mobilization," panel presenter, policy workshop, DFI International, Washington, DC, July 2003
- 65) "Sources of Terrorism in Central Asia," presentation, policy workshop, Policy Futures, Washington, DC, July 31, 2003
- 66) "Regional Powers and Energy Competition in Central Asia," panel discussant, the University of Washington and National Bureau for Asian Research, April 28, 2003
- 67) "Great Power Politics in Central Asia," paper presentation, CREES Program, University of North Carolina, April 14, 2003
- 68) "Clans as Informal Organizations," paper presentation, Barnard College, Cross-Regional Workshop on Informal Institutions, April 5, 2003
- 69) "The US, Russia and Central Asia," presentation, National Bureau for Asian Research, Washington, DC, February 27, 2003
- 70) "Political Change in Central Asia," book presentation, Department of Political Science and Program on Middle East and Central Asia, University of California at Santa Barbara, February 17, 2003
- 71) "Theories of Regime Transition and the Central Asian Cases," paper presentation, Institute for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University, November 15, 2002
- 72) "U.S. Policy in Central Asia After September 11," paper presentation, Center for Russian and East European Studies, Stanford University, November 14, 2002
- 73) "Oil and Central Asia," panel, University of Michigan, November 8-9, 2002
- 74) "Central Asia After September 11," lecture, University of California Berkeley, Center for Russia, East Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus, April 2002
- 75) "Human Security in Central Asia," paper presentation, United Nations Commission on Human Security, April 18, 2002
- 76) "Clans as Informal Institutions," paper presentation, Harvard University, Informal Institutions Conference, April 5, 2002
- 77) "Transition to What? Central Asia Ten Years Later," Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, April 29, 2001

- 78) "Clan Politics and Repercussions for the State in Central Asia," Conference panel, Department for Near Eastern Studies, Univ. of California, Berkeley, April 22, 2001
- 79) "The Tajik Civil War: How Not to Make Peace Agreements," paper presentation, International Peace Academy, New York, January 19, 2001
- 80) "Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia," King's College, Cambridge University, Cambridge, England, February 2000
- 81) "The Post-Soviet Politics of Central Asia," lecture to a Workshop on the Former Soviet Union, World Affairs Council, San Francisco, January 8, 1998
- 82) "Civil Society in Central Asia," panel presentation, School for Advanced International Studies Conference, Johns Hopkins University, March 30, 1998
- 83) "Islam and Politics in Post-Soviet Central Asia: A View from the Ferghana Valley," panel presentation, Berkeley-Stanford Annual Conference on Post-Soviet Studies, Stanford University, March 16, 1998
- 84) "Islam and the Post-Soviet Transformation of Uzbekistan," Institute for Strategic Studies, Tashkent, Uzbekistan, October 10, 1997
- 85) "Constitutionalism and Democracy," Kyrgyz National University, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, December 8, 1994

9. Field Research and Languages

- Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Russia, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Sudan, Turkey, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Poland, Romania
- Surveys in Kyrgyzstan (2006, 2010), Azerbaijan (2006, 2009)
- Foreign languages studied: Russian (5 years, near fluent reading/ speaking); Uzbek (2 years, intermediate); Turkish (2 years, intermediate); Kyrgyz (6 months, basic); French (5 years, advanced); Latin (3 years); Polish (beginning)

10.1 Policy Work

- 1) United Nations Development Program, Human Security initiative (throughout Central Asia 2001-2002)
- 2) United Nations Development Program, Khartoum, Post-conflict preparation, Sudan (June-July 2002)
- 3) USAID-Price Waterhouse, civil society in Central Asia, 2002

- 4) Consultant on various projects and presentations for the US government, 2001-2005
- 5) National Bureau for Asian Research, Islamic/secular education in Central Asia, 2003-04
- 6) National Bureau for Asian Research, clans in Central Asia, 2003-04
- 7) National Bureau for Asian Research, tracking Islamist movements, 2003-04
- 8) International Crisis Group, Central Asia report, 2003
- 9) Adviser and expert witness on human rights, women's rights, and political asylum cases from Central Asia and Azerbaijan (2001-2023, *pro-bono*)
- 10) Principal Investigator, Jewish Community Center/UMN Project on Civic Engagement of Russian-Speaking Immigrants in Minneapolis, 2007-2008, grant for \$47,500 (includes arranging talks and seminars on various topics for Russian-speaking immigrants and UMN students, and civic engagement programs, such as voter education, for Russian-speaking immigrants)

11. Teaching Summary

11.1. Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, courses offered:

- 1) Theoretical Approaches to Identity Politics in the Middle East and Eurasia, Ph.D. seminar
- 2) Theories of Religion and Politics, Ph.D. seminar
- 3) Case Studies and Methods in Comparative Politics, Ph.D. seminar
- 4) Islam and Democracy: The Debate about Compatibility, freshman seminar
- 5) Islamist Politics: Political Islam in the Middle East, Eurasia, and Africa, advanced undergrad lecture
- 6) Soviet and Post-Soviet Russian Politics, advanced undergrad lecture and writing/research course
- 7) Communism, Democracy and Islamism in Central Asia, freshman
- 8) Afghanistan's Endless Wars, advanced undergrad lecture
- 9) Dictatorship and Violence in Central Asia, advanced undergrad lecture
- 10) Dictatorship and Violence in Central Asia, freshman seminar
- 11) Religion, Ethnicity, and Conflict, advanced undergrad lecture course
- 12) Cold War to Hot War: Eastern Europe, Ukraine, and Russia, 1945-Present
- 13) The Military Under Democracy and Authoritarianism, spring 2026

11.2 University of Minnesota Undergraduate Research Advising, 2010-2023:

Since keeping track, from 2010 through 2023, I have supervised over sixty undergraduate individual research projects (theses, directed readings, DURPs); the complete list for 2005-2009 is unavailable.

1. Honors paper: Lolla Muhammed Nur (2010)
2. Honors thesis adviser: Shana Holmes (2010-11)
3. Honors paper: Brittany Libra (2011)

4. Honors thesis committee, Alexander Stephenson (2011)
5. UROP adviser Caroline Abadeer, 2010-11
6. Senior paper: Kodi Nottingham-Halverson, spring 2011
7. Honors thesis chair/adviser: Ahmad Qais Munzahim (2011-12)
8. Honors thesis committee: Justin Wallestad (2011-2012)
9. Honors thesis chair/adviser: Maggie Lefkowitz (2011-2012)
10. Honors paper adviser: Bryna Godar, spring 2012
11. UROP adviser, Adam Casey, summer 2012
12. UROP adviser, Miranda Ehrlich, fall 2012
13. Senior Paper (1 credit), Emily Larson Fall 2012
14. Directed Reading, "The Arab Spring," Joanna Miller, spring 2012
15. Thesis committee, Levi Phelps (William Beeman as adviser), 2011-12
16. IDIM paper reader, Anthony Giancana (Martin Sampson as adviser), spring 2012
17. IDIM summer paper adviser/reader, Teri Robin Aruza, summer-fall 2012
18. Honors thesis chair/adviser, Alec Albright, spring 2012-13
19. Directed Reading, "Chechnya: Islamism & Nationalism in Russia," Adam Casey, fall 2012
20. Directed Reading, Enid Swaggert, "Central Asian Politics," Spring 2013
21. Honors thesis chair/adviser, Adam Casey, 2013-14
22. Honors thesis chair/adviser, Marissa Kramer, 2013-14
23. Honors thesis chair/adviser, Tyler Hubler, 2013-14
24. Honors thesis committee, Khader Badel, 2013-14
25. Honors thesis committee, Ellen Day, 2013-14
26. Honors thesis committee, Samuel Simon, 2014
27. Honors thesis committee, Jennifer Adrian, 2016
28. Senior paper, Shawn Stefanick, spring-summer 2016
29. Shawn Stefanick, DURIP, fall 2016
30. SPAN paper reader, Lucas Szulczynski, summer-fall 2017
30. Freshman Honors Independent Research Initiative, Margaret Granath, Fall 2017
31. DURIP, Alisher Kassym, fall 2016
32. DURIP, Alisher Kassym, spring 2017
33. DURIP, Niamh Yee, fall 2017, spring 2018
34. Dean's Freshman Research Initiative, Kaitlyn Chambers, spring 2018
35. Honors Independent Study, Margaret Granath, Spring 2018
36. Directed reading, "Islamist Politics," Chris Borg, spring 2018
37. DURIP, Daniel Perno, Spring 2018
38. Directed Reading, Niamh McIntosh Yee, 2018-19
39. DURIP, Azhar Akesh, Fall 2018
40. Honors Independent Study, Margaret Granath, Fall 2018
41. Directed Reading, Azhar Akesh, Chinese Gulag, Spring 2019
42. Directed Reading, Mitchell Walstead, Anti-Gay State Policies in the Middle East, Spring 2019
43. DURIP, Niamh McIntosh Yee, Spring 2019
44. Directed Reading, State Policy and Uighur and Chechen Nationalism, Spring 2019
45. Directed Reading, Mitchell Walstead, Islamist Mobilization, Spring 2019
46. Kamaan Richards, DURIP fall 2020
47. Zehra Khan, DURIP, spring 2021
48. Zehra Khan, DURIP, fall 2021

49. Hana Abdelhamid, DURIP, fall 2021
50. Ethan Hoeschein, DURIP, fall 2021
51. Maya Mehra, Honors Research opportunity, fall 2021
51. Hana Abdelhamid, DURP, spring 2022
52. Ethan Hoeschein, DURP, spring 2022
53. Maya Mehra, DURP, spring 2022
54. Luke Dykowski, Senior Honors Thesis, History, spring 2022
55. Corey Lawson, DURP, fall 2022
56. Natalie Melms, DURP, fall 2022, spring 2023
57. Natalie Melms, Senior Honors Thesis, 2022-2023
58. Maracrio Ramierz, DURP, 2023-24
59. James Cook, Senior Honors Thesis Committee, DURP, 2023-25
60. Garrett Berkowitz, 2024-25 (DURP)
61. Elilli Ebisso, 2024 (DURP)
62. Zoe Pietrowiak, 2025- (directed reading, paper adviser)

11.3. Graduate Advising: University of Minnesota students (*since 2010*)

- 1) M.A. paper (Humphrey) co-adviser: Sean Gallivan (2010)
- 2) Ph.D. Orals Committee and Thesis Co-Adviser: Esen Kirdis, 2006-11, defended 2011, tenured at Rhodes College
- 3) Ph.D. Orals Committee and Thesis Co-Adviser: Laura Thaut Vinson, 2007-2013, defended 2013, tenure-track job, Oklahoma State University, tenured, Lewis & Clark University
- 4) Ph.D. Adviser: Robert Asaadi, 2009-2016, defended 2016
- 5) Ph.D. Orals and Dissertation Committee: Ismail Yaylaci, defended 2014, tenure-track job, İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi
- 6) Ph.D. Ph.D. Adviser: Matt Jacobs (2011-2016)
- 7) Ph.D. Dissertation Committee: Arie Beitman (2011-2015)
- 8) Ph.D. 1st year Adviser, Dissertation Committee: Qais Munhazim, 2012-2019, defended
- 9) Ph.D. Prelim Committee (history), Wesley Lumus, 2012-2015
- 10) Ph.D. Dissertation Committee (sociology), Jack Delahunty, defended, 2013-2019
- 11) M.A. Committee member (geography), Ding Fei, 2012-13
- 12) Ph.D. Ph.D. Committee, Lucas Franco, 2014-2020
- 13) Ph.D. Adviser: Malina Toza, 2014-2020
- 14) Ph.D. Adviser: Patrick Snyder, 2015-2021, defended, NSF dissertation grant recipient
- 15) M.A. Adviser: Saida Mikhailova, 2016-2018
- 16) Ph.D. Directed Reading, Chelsea Cervantes, Geography, Identity and Nation in Central Asia and Azerbaijan, Fall 2016
- 17) Ph.D. Directed Reading, Chelsea Cervantes, Migration and Identity in Central Asia, Spring 2017
- 18) Ph.D. 1st Year Adviser (2017-2018): Arman Appleby
- 19) Ph.D. adviser, Selcuk Koseoglu, 2019-present
- 20) Ph.D. oral exam committee, Berika Ozcan, 2021
- 21) Ph.D. oral exam committee, Ezgi Ozcelik, 2022
- 22) Ph.D. Adviser (2022-25), Otabek Akromov, Australia National University

- 23) Ph.D. Committee, Ibrahim Oker, 2019-2025, defended, Union College
- 24) Ph.D. Adviser, Erik Meuller, 2023-present
- 25) Ph.D. Adviser, Ibrahim Chui, 2022-present
- 26) Ph.D. Adviser, Alexandra Zhuravel, 2024-present
- 27) Ph.D. Adviser, Liu Peng, 2020-2025, defended, Tenure-track, Peking University

11.4. Graduate Students funded with my grants:

- Erica Owen, Ph.D. candidate (Minnesota)
- Oliver Anderson, Ph.D. candidate (Minnesota)
- Matt Jacobs, Ph.D candidate (Minnesota)
- Robert Gambrel, Ph.D. candidate (Minnesota)
- Zamira Yusufjonova, M.A. (Notre Dame)
- Liu Peng (Minnesota)
- Selcuk Koseoglu (Minnesota)

11.5. Undergraduates funded with my grants:

- Adam Casey
- Kamaan Richards

11.6. Department of Political Science, Tenure-track, University of Notre Dame, Courses offered (2001-2005):

- 1) "Post-Soviet Politics of Eurasia," advanced topics lecture
- 2) "Islam and Politics," senior research and writing seminar
- 3) "Nationalism and Conflict in Eurasia," senior research and writing seminar
- 4) "Soviet and Post-Soviet Russian Politics," advanced lecture course
- 5) "Theories of Identity and Conflict," graduate seminar
- 6) "Intro to Comparative Politics," freshmen level intro lecture
- 7) "Intro to Comparative Politics," sophomore level intro lecture
- 8) Directed Readings
 1. "Theories of Comparative Politics," with Ozlem Khayam, fall 2004
 2. "Political Islam," with Alisher Khamidov, spring 2002
 3. "Nationalism and Identity Politics," with Alexei Zakharov, spring 2003
 4. "Theories of Post-communist Politics," with Linda McCabe, fall 2003
 5. The Development of Hizb ut-Tahrir," Alisher Khamidov, M.A. Thesis committee, 2002-03

11.7. Department of Political Science, Tenure-track, Dartmouth College (2001)

Courses offered:

- 1) "Islam and Politics: Between Tradition and Modernity," freshman writing seminar
- 2) "Theories of Identity, Nationalism, and Ethnic Conflict in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union," senior topics and intensive writing seminar
- 3) Senior Thesis advising

11.8. Other Teaching Experience

- Visiting Lecturer, University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Uzbekistan (1997),

“Political Transition, Democratization and State-Building,” (one Russian language section and one English language section)

12. Service: Departmental, College of Liberal Arts, and University

12.1. University of Minnesota

1. Organizer and Speaker, Panel on Ukraine, November 2023
2. Organizer and Speaker, Panel on Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine, February 29, 2022
3. Comparative Politics Proseminar, speaker (talk on research and discussion of field work challenges for grad students), May 2008
4. Organized film and guest speaker, *Burnt by the Sun*, Jan 2008, for students interested in Russian/post-Soviet politics, history, and language
5. Organized panel on inter-religious dialogue (Jewish-Muslim-Christian) for students and faculty, April 2008
6. Responded to over two dozen students who contacted me regarding applying to the graduate program
7. Speaker arrangements for the Comparative Politics Pro-seminar and Humphrey Institute, 2008
8. Member of the CLA Islamic Studies Taskforce – 2008-09
9. Co-organizer of the Global Studies Islamic Speaker Series in spring 2008 and fall 2008 – we organized 4 guest talks for fall 2008; 7 are planned for spring 2009
10. Co-applicant / co-recipient of CLA speaker grant to fund the new Islamic speaker series for 2008-09 (\$2500)
11. Humphrey Institute Panel on the Russian-Georgian Conflict, December 12, 2008 -- I assisted in organizing the panel and gave a talk
12. University outreach/ Public Outreach: received JCC/JCA grant (\$45,000) for 2007-08, for “Civic Engagement of Russian-Speaking Immigrants”
13. JCC/JCA grant renewal for 2008-09 (about \$45,000)
14. Department secretary, fall 2005
15. Department representative to university graduations, 2005-06
16. Islamic Societies and Cultures initiative, faculty participant, 2006-2007
17. Participant, panel on field research/funding for grad students, Pro-seminar, spring 2007
18. Department representative to university convocation, 2007
19. Panel of Russian-Georgian War, Humphrey Institute, panel speaker
20. Department secretary 2009-10
21. MAC committee, fall 2010; spring 2011
22. Freshman Seminar speaker for incoming honors students, March 2011
23. Chair of the Grievances and Academic Freedom Committee, Fall 2011
24. Drafted Unit Report for tenure case, fall 2011
25. Reviewer of junior faculty teaching, 2011
26. Comparative Politics graduate comprehensive exam committee, spring 2012
27. Gold Carpet Days, seminar speaker for incoming honors students, February 2012
28. Distinguished McKnight Professorship Selection Review Committee, 2012
29. Chair, Academic Freedom committee, 2012-13
30. Humphrey Institute search committee 2012
31. Merit Advisory Committee, 2013-14
32. UROP committee 2014

33. UGWC, 2013-14
34. Turner Scholarship committee, 2014
35. CLA Showcase presentation, February 2014
36. Humphrey Institute Panel on Ukraine Crisis (I instigated the panel, organized, and was a speaker), March 2014
37. Comparative Politics Proseminar, panel on grant applications for graduate students, 2016
38. Organizer, Comparative politics book forum (Samuels/Ansell), spring-fall, 2016
39. Undergraduate Work/Scholarship Committee – 2014-2016
40. Co-organized visiting talk, Humphrey and Political Science, April 2016
41. Departmental Conditions Committee, 2016-17
42. M.A. Admissions committee, 2015-17
43. Search Committee, Religious Studies/Interdisciplinary, 2016-17
44. Tenure case worker, 2016
45. Co-organized visiting talk by Professor Larry Diamond, Political Science Comparative Proseminar, December 2016
46. Departmental Conditions Committee, 2017-18
47. Academic Grievances committee 2017-18
48. Graduate Work Committee, including Admissions committee, 2018-19
49. Guest Lecture for Capstone Course, March 11, 2019
50. Political Theory job search Fall 2021-spring 2022
51. Departmental Conditions Committee, spring-fall 2021
52. MAC spring 2021
53. CP exam reader committee, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025
54. Grad Student Work Committee, 2023-24
55. Grad Student Recruitment committee, 2024-2026
56. CP Field Chair 2021-2025
57. MAC Committee, 2025-26

12.2. University of Notre Dame Department of Political Science Service

1. Affirmative Action Committee, 2005
2. Senior Thesis Award Committee, 2005
3. Organizer and Co-Adviser (with Eileen Hunt Botting) “Women in Political Science” Student Group (2002-2005)
4. Comparative Politics APSA Newsletter, executive committee (2002-2004) and book review editor (2002-2004)
5. Comparative Politics Quantitative Search Committee and Comparative Politics Super-Committee, Notre Dame (fall 2002)
6. Affirmative Action Committee, Notre Dame (2002-2003)
7. Graduate Admissions Committee, Notre Dame (2001-2002)
8. Graduate Policy Committee (fall 2003)
9. Comparative Politics Search Committee (2003-2004)
10. Department Representative to the Admissions Open House (spring 2003)
11. Thesis Award Committee (comparative and international relations fields), (spring 2003)
12. Speaker, Faculty Intellectual Autobiography Series (April 2003)
13. Kellogg Institute Faculty Committee 2004-2005

14. Kellogg Institute International Scholars Program Director, 2005
15. Notre Dame/IU/Purdue Project on Inter-religious Dialogue, Program in Osh, Kyrgyzstan, 2003-2004
16. Affirmative Action Committee, 2004
17. Freshman Convocation Committee and Speaker, "Is There a Clash of Civilizations?", (September 2003)
18. Kellogg Institute Faculty Advisory Committee (2002-present)
19. Kellogg International Studies Honors Program (2003-2005)
 - assisted in organization of the program
 - faculty mentor to honors student
20. Kellogg Task force on undergraduate education
21. Kellogg Visiting Fellows Application Screening (2001, 2002)
22. Kellogg Graduate Student Summer Grant Committee (2002)
23. Kellogg Institute USIFL committee member (2002-2003)
24. Chair of Kellogg Institute Working Group on "Islam and Politics," (2002-2003)
25. Kroc Institute, "Week of War and Peace," November 2001
26. Kroc Institute, panel speaker, "Russia and Central Asia After 9/11," (February 26, 2002)
27. Kroc Institute, panel chair, "War in Iraq," (fall 2002)
28. Kroc/Kellogg Institute, participant in developing initiative on Islam and democracy (with Purdue and Indiana University), (2002-present)
29. Undergraduate Student Scholarship Nomination Committee, (spring 2002)

12.3. Professional Service

- Referee for articles for journals and presses, including: *World Politics*; *Comparative Politics*; *Comparative Political Studies*; *American Political Science Review*; *Europe-Asia Studies*; *Journal of Politics*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*; *Slavic Review*; *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Asia Policy*; *Oxford University Press*; *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*; *Religion, State, and Society*; *Terrorism and Political Violence*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *British Journal of Political Science*, *Polity*, *Chatham House (UK)*, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*; *Journal of Politics*; *Polity*; *Third World Quarterly*; *Religion, State and Society*, *Third World Thematics*, *Journal of Church and State*
- National Science Foundation – grant reviewer, 2012, 2013
- National Endowment for Democracy – grant reviewer
- United States Institute of Peace – grant reviewer
- American Councils for International Education: ACTR/ACCELS Title VIII -- grant reviewer
- APSA Dissertation Award, Committee member-- Juan Linz Award for Best Dissertation in the Field of Democratization Studies, 2005
- APSA Best Paper Award, Committee Member -- Comparative Politics Democratization Section, 2007-2008
- National Bureau of Asian Research Fellowship Selection Committee, 2009-10
- Central Eurasian Studies Society, Best Graduate Student Paper Award committee, fall 2011
- Open Society Institute, Europe Foundation, CARTI Program Mentor for OSI Fellow, Esenkul Momunkulov, from Kyrgyzstan, 2011-2013
- Freedom House, reviewer of Central Asia and Azerbaijan reports, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017

- National Bureau of Asian Research Fellowship Selection Committee, 2018-19
- Chatham House, periodic reviewer
- ASEES, Academic Freedom Committee, 2025-

Journal Editorial Board Membership/Service:

- *Polity*, 2016-
- *Comparative Political Studies*, 2013-
- *Asia Policy*, 2019-
- *Journal of Islamic Studies and Education* (Indonesia), 2023-
- *Strategic Impact, Scientific Journal of the Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies, National Defence University 'Carol I', Romania*, 2024-
- *Hadtudomány (Hungarian Military Science), Journal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Hungary*, 2025-

13.1. Conference Participation and Presentations (not updated)

- 1) APSA, August 2014, panel organizer and presentation, "Islamicization and Social Movement Theory: The Case of Tajikistan"
- 2) ASN, Columbia University, "Corruption and Democratic Support in Central Asia," April 2014
- 3) AAASS, November 2013, "Islamic Revival in Central Asia," panel organizer
- 4) Freedom House, invited panelist, Central Asia and the Caucasus Annual Nations in Transit Review Panel, New York, November 15, 2013,
- 5) CEES, October 2013, panel organizer
- 6) "Religiosity and Regime Preferences in Central Asia and the Caucasus," ASN Conference, Columbia University, New York, April 2013
- 7) Islam and Politics in Central Asia, Book Panel, invited discussant, ASN Conference, Columbia University, New York, April 20, 2012
- 8) "International Factors in Democratization in Eurasia," invited panel discussant, Conference for European Studies, Boston, March 22, 2012
- 9) "A Theory of Islamist Mobilization: The Uzbek and Tajik Cases," ASN, Columbia University, New York, April 2010
- 10) "Explaining Islamist Mobilization: Comparing Uzbekistan and Tajikistan," APSA Annual Convention, Toronto, September 2009
- 11) "Islam and Regime Preferences: Religiosity and Support for Democracy and Political Islam in Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan," AAASS Annual Conference, Boston, November 2009
- 12) "Do Muslims Support Democracy? Explaining Political Preferences in Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan," CEES Conference, Georgetown University, September 20, 2008
- 13) "Islam and Democracy: Shifting Social Attitudes in Central Asia and the Caucasus," ASN, Columbia University, April 11, 2008
- 14) "Perspectives on Islamic Revival in Central Asia," Panel organizer and discussant, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, New Orleans, November 2007
- 15) "New Foreign Policy Concerns and Strategies in Central Asia," Roundtable Organizer, Central Eurasian and East European Studies, Seattle, October 2007

- 16) "Explaining the Relative Success/Failure of Islamist Mobilization in Central Asia and the South Caucasus," American Political Science Association Annual Convention, Chicago, September 2007
- 17) "New Security Issues in Central Asia," Panel organizer, American Political Science Association Annual Convention, September 2006
- 18) "The Globalization and Localization of Islamic Movements in Central Asia and the Caucasus: Explaining the Dynamics of Islamist Politics," Middle East and Central Asia Conference, Salt Lake City, September 9, 2006
- 19) "Islam and Democracy in Uzbekistan," Association for the Study of Nationalities Convention, Columbia University, March 2006
- 20) "Explaining the Decline of Clan Politics: A Comparative Historical Perspective," American Political Science Association Annual Convention, Washington, DC, September 3, 2005
- 21) "Explaining Patterns of Islamist Mobilization," Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2005.
- 22) "Islam and Political Opposition in Central Asia," paper presentation, Association for the Study of Nationalities Special Convention, Warsaw, July 19, 2004
- 23) "Hizb ut-Tahrir: A Case Study in Islamic Mobilization," paper presentation, Central Eurasian Studies Society Annual Conference, Harvard University, October 3-5, 2003
- 24) "Threats and Responses to Weapons of Mass Destruction in Central Asia," panel discussant, Central Eurasian Studies Society Annual Conference, October 3-5, 2003
- 25) "Clans, State-Society Relations, and Political Trajectories," paper presentation, American Political Science Association Annual Convention, August 31, 2003
- 26) "Soviet Central Asia: The Informal Dynamic Between Clans and the State," paper presentation, (also panel chair and panel organizer), American Political Science Association Annual Convention, August 29, 2003
- 27) "Islamic Mobilization in Central Asia," paper presentation, Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Conference, Columbia University, April 2003
- 28) "The Economic Implications of Clan Politics," paper presentation, Dartmouth College, Political Economy of Asia Conference, May 10, 2002
- 29) "Security in Central Asia: Before and After 9/11," paper presentation, Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Conference, Columbia University, April 2002
- 30) "Informal Institutions and Social Order," paper presentation, American Political Science Association Annual Convention, September 2001 (also panel organizer)
- 31) "Islamic Identity and Social Mobilization: Chechnya and Tajikistan," paper presentation, AAASS conference, and roundtable "Islam and Geopolitics in Central Asia," November 16, 2001 (panel organizer; cancelled due to 9/11)
- 32) "The Politics of Islam: Comparing Post-Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus," (panel organizer with Russian Academy of Sciences), *Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques*, Paris, July 2001
- 33) "Informal Institutions: Explaining Non-Conflict in Central Asia," American Political Science Association Annual Convention, paper presentation, August 31, 2001
- 34) "Conceptualizing Clans as Social Networks and Identities," American Association for Slavic Studies Annual Convention, November 11, 2000

- 35) "Undermining the State: Clan Patronage in Central Asia and the Caucasus," paper presentation, Harvard University, Central Asia Forum, May 1, 2000
- 36) "Social Stability and Collective Identity: Why Not Ethnic and Religious Conflict in Central Asia?," paper presentation, Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, April 14, 2000
- 37) "Clans, Networks, and Identity: Explaining Post-Soviet Regime Trajectories in Central Asia," paper presentation, American Political Science Association, September 3, 1999
- 38) "Geopolitics of Energy in the Caspian Region and Central Asia," panel discussant, Stanford University, Institute for International Studies, May 15, 1999
- 39) "Clan Pacts and Political Transition in Central Asia: the Conditions of Regime Viability," paper presentation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, March 20, 1999
- 40) "Multiple Identities and Social Action: Ethnicity, Islam, and Clans in Central Asia," paper presentation, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Annual Convention, September 25, 1998
- 41) "Clans, Parties and Politics: the Failure of Political Parties in 'Democratic' Kyrgyzstan," paper presentation, Harriman Institute Conference, Columbia University, March 28, 1998
- 42) "Ethnicity and Islam in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan," paper presentation, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, March 14, 1998
- 43) "Clans and the Failure of Parties: Problems for Democratization in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan," paper presentation, Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Convention, Columbia University, May 6, 1996
- 44) "Tajikistan and Regional Security of Central Asia," panel presentation, Russia Program, University of Washington, April 28, 1996
- 45) "Kyrgyzstan: a Delegative Democracy?," paper presentation, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, March 20, 1995
- 46) "The Failure of Democratic Elections in Kyrgyzstan," paper presentation, Post-Soviet Studies Program, University of California at Berkeley, April 1, 1995

14. Policy Work Experience

- *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kyrgyz Republic*, Intern for Roza Otunbayeva (1994-1995)
 - Development of Kyrgyz-NATO relations and the Partnership for Peace Program
 - Planning of Kyrgyz participation in United Nations and CIS peacekeeping
 - Development of Kyrgyz policy on a Central Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone
- *United Nations Development Programme*
 - Projects in Central Asia and Sudan, 2001-2005
- *Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University*, Research Assistant to Professor David Holloway (1995-1999)
 - Project on civil conflict and state collapse in the former Soviet Union and Africa
 - Project on nationalism and ethnic conflict in the Caucasus and Central Asia
 - Project on geopolitics, energy, and conflict in the Caspian Basin and Central Asia
- *Powers and Powers, LLC, One World Trade Center, New York, NY* (1993-1994),

- Russian translator, research assistant, and publications editor during college and graduate school
- *Russian Language Undergrad Teaching Assistant* University of Notre Dame (1992-93)
- *Russian Language Tutor* (Stanford, CA, 1999)

15. Volunteer Work:

- Pro bono asylum testimony, 2001-present
- Student fundraising for Ukraine, 2022-present
- Adviser, student group for tutoring refugees, 2024-present
- Nativity Parish, St. Paul, MN, 2005-present
- Occasional talks/presentations on Islam, Central Asia, Russia, and Ukraine at schools in South Bend, IN; Greenwich, CT; St. Paul, MN

16. Personal:

- FMLA and 50-100% *unpaid* parental leaves and family leaves per university policy, 2007-2014

Contact information

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