

CYNTHIA S. KAPLAN

Department of Political Science
University of California, Santa Barbara
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Education Columbia University Ph.D. 1981, M. Phil 1975
New York, NY M.A. 1974

University of Chicago B.A. 1972
Chicago, IL Honors College & Department
of Political Science

Languages Russian (fluent), German (fluent), English (native),
Estonian (professional), Tatar (reading), Turkish (elementary),
Kazakh (intermediate, reading)

Research

Theoretical Fields Comparative Politics, Ethnic Identity, Social Movements and Cultural
Framing, Political Participation, Transitions & Democratization,
Comparative Methods

Methods Survey Research, Events Data, Focus Groups, Discourse Analysis

Fieldwork Russia, Estonia, Tatarstan, Kazakhstan

Employment Vice Chair 2018-
Professor 2006-
Associate Professor 1989-2006
Dept. of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara,
Santa Barbara, CA

Affiliate, Department of History, UCSB 2014-

Assistant Professor 1983-1989
Dept. of Political Science, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL

Assistant Professor 1980-1983
Dept. of Political Science, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA

Instructor 1978-1980

Publications

Books:

Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union. (With Henry E. Brady) Forthcoming, Cambridge University Press.

The Party and Agricultural Crisis Management in the USSR. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Articles and Book Chapters:

“Причины и факторы образовательной миграции из Казахстана” (Reasons and Factors in Educational Migration from Kazakhstan), w/Gulnar Nasimova, Kadyrzhan Smagulov and Kirill Kartashov. *Central Asia and the Caucasus*. (Forthcoming, September 2020).

“Research Note: Methods in Studying University Youth in Kazakhstan.” w/ Gulnar Nasimova and Henry Brady. *Journal of Philosophy, Culture and Political Science* no4 (66), 2018: 126-130.

"Meaning-making of ethnicity in different contexts: Russians in Estonia, Russia and Kazakhstan."w/ Triin Vihalemm. In S. Kannike, M. Tasa and E.H. Vastrik, eds. (2017) *Body, Personhood and Privacy. Perspectives on Cultural Other and Human Experience. Approaches to culture theory* 7, 180-212 Univerity of Tartu Press, Tartu.

“Tatar and Kazakh Identity: Nation and State Status and its Effect on Subjective Group Identification.” w/ A. Zabirowa, R. Musina, G. Makarova, and G. Gabdrakhmanova. *Al-Farabi Zhurnal sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy*. No. 4 (56) 2016: 85-105.

“Conceptualizing and Measuring Ethnic Identity.” 2009. In Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Science Research. Edited by Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott. New York: Cambridge University Press: 33-71. (With Henry Brady)

“Setting the Political Agenda: Cultural Discourse in the Estonian Transition.” 2006. In Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World. Joseph W. Esherick, Hasan Kayali, and Eric Van Young, eds., Boulder Colorado: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.: 340-372.

Guest Editor, Special Issue, “Introduction: Transition and Consolidation: Shifting Behaviours, Meaning and Attitudes,” Journal of Baltic Studies XXXII (Winter 2001): 329-

333.

“Subjects to Citizens: From Non-Voting to Protesting, to Voting in Estonia During the Transition to Democracy,” Journal of Baltic Studies XXXII (Winter 2001): 347-378. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Categorically Wrong? Nominal versus Graded Measures of Ethnic Identity,” Studies in Comparative International Development 35 (Fall 2000): 56-91. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Ethnicity and Sovereignty: Insights from Russian Negotiations with Estonia and Tatarstan,” in The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict. David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 251-274.

“International Negotiations and Plural Societies: The Cases of Estonia and Tatarstan,” International Negotiation (1997), pp. 43-78.

"The Communist Party on the Eve of Collapse: Changing Patterns of Political Behavior," in The Legacy of the Soviet Bloc. Jane Zacek and Ilpyong Kim, eds. University Presses of Florida, 1997, pp. 52-72. (with Henry E. Brady)

“Political Culture in Estonia: The Impact of Two Traditions on Political Development,” in Political Culture and Civil Society in Russia and the New States of Eurasia, Vladimir Tismaneanu, ed., Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 227-267.

“Igaunija: divu kopienu raksturojums,” [Estonia: A Profile of Two Communities] in Politika Baltijas Valstia, Elmar Veber and Rasma Karklins, eds., Riga: “Zinatne”, 1995, pp. 7-36. (In Latvian) (With Henry E. Brady).

"Eastern Europe," in Referendums Revisited, David Butler and Austin Ranney, ed., Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1994, pp. 174-217. (with Henry E. Brady)

"New Forms of Political Participation." in Public Opinion and Regime Change: The New Politics of Post-Soviet Societies. Arthur Miller, William Reisinger, and Vicki Hesli, eds. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993, pp. 153-167.

"Estonia: A Plural Society on the Road to Independence." in Nations and Politics in Soviet Successor States. Raymond Taras and Ian Bremmer, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

"Rural Residents: Social Change and Evolving Perception," Studies in Comparative Communism XXIII, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 149-160.

"Studying Citizen Participation in the USSR and the USA," (with William Smirnov and Henry Brady) Political Science and Politics (March 1990): 110-113.

"The Emergence of New Attitudes in the Soviet Countryside." Communist Agriculture, vol. 1: Farming in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, edited by Gregory Grossman, Karl-Eugen Waedekin, and Roy Laird. London: Routledge, 1989, pp. 70-85.

Editor and Contributor, "Local Party Organizations in the Soviet Union," (Special Issue) Studies in Comparative Communism, vol. XXI, no.1, Spring 1988: 3-9.

"Introduction: The Emergence of Urban Life in the Soviet Union," Studies in Soviet Literature 23 (Spring 1987): v-xi.

"The Impact of World War II on the Party," in Susan Linz, ed., The Impact of World War II on the Soviet Union. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld, 1985, pp. 157-187.

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Local Policy Implementation." Journal of Politics 45 (February 1983): 2-27.

Selected Book Reviews:

Review of, Anu Mai Kõll. *The Village and the Class War: Anti-Kulak Campaign in Estonia*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013 in *Russian Review*. April 2014.

Review of Elise Giuliano. *Constructing Grievance: Ethnic Nationalism in Russia's Republics*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011 in *Slavic Review*.

"Why Elections Fail." Review of Regina Smyth. *Candidate Strategies and Electoral Competition in the Russian Federation: Democracy Without Foundation* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. in *Review of Politics* 70-71 (2008): 1-3.

Review of Regina Smyth. *Candidate Strategies and Electoral Competition in the Russian Federation: Democracy Without Foundation* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006 and Henry E. Hale. *Why Not Parties in Russia? Democracy, Federalism, and the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. in *Canadian Slavic Review*.

Review of Risto Alapuro, Ilkka Liikanen and Markku Lonkila. Eds. *Beyond Post-Soviet Transitions: Micro Perspectives on Challenge and Survival in Russia and Estonia*. Helsinki: Kikumora Publications, 2004. in *Slavic Review* 64 (Summer 2005): 435-436.

Review of Dmitry P. Gorenburg. *Minority Ethnic Mobilization in the Russian Federation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27 (September 2004): 833-835.

Review of Erik Andre Andersen. *An Ethnic Perspective on Economic Reform: The Case of Estonia*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24 (January 2001): 157-158.

Awards, Grants, and Honors

Senior Foreign Consultant, Migration and Education, Award from the Ministry of Education and Science, Republic of Kazakhstan, Department of Political Science, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan, 2018-2021.

Kazakhstan: A New Political Generation, Academic Senate, 2019-20

Youth in Kazakhstan, Academic Senate, 2017-18

Awarded the 80th Anniversary Medal of Al Farabi Kazakh National University for contributions to the development of the university. September 2016.

Senior Foreign Consultant, Formation of political culture of student youth of Kazakhstan as a strategic resource of the country. Award from the Ministry of Education and Science, Republic of Kazakhstan, Department of Political Science, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan, 2015-2018.

Academic Senate UCSB: Political Culture of Kazakhstan Youth, 2015-18.

Visiting Foreign Professor, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan December 2015, December 2018

Academic Senate UCSB: Ethnic Identity Change among Tatars: Statistical Analysis Using Unique Longitudinal Evidence from Surveys, 2014-15.

Visiting Research Scholar, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, Germany September-December 2014, September-December 2017.

Visiting Foreign Professor, Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan, March-April 2014.

Visiting Foreign Professor, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan March-April 2013

Academic Senate UCSB. Identity in Estonia, Tatarstan, and Kazakhstan. 2010-2013

Institute for Social and Behavioral Research, UCSB 2009-2010
Collaborative Research Grant: Testing Identity in Russia, Tatarstan, Kazakhstan, & Estonia: Second Stage Survey Preparation

Academic Senate Research Grant, UCSB 2009-2010
Religion, Nationalism, Independence – Ethnic Identity in Kazakhstan and
Tatarstan (Russia)

National Council for Eurasian and East European Research
Short-Term Research Travel Grant - Kazakhstan 2009

Co-Convener. Interdisciplinary Humanities Center, Research Focus Group
on Identity. 2008-2015. (With A.Edgar, M. Bucholtz, V. Wallace)

Academic Senate Research Grant, UCSB 2008-09
Measures of Ethnic Identity: Creation of Survey Questions (Estonia, Russia,
Tatarstan)

Policy Connect Collaborative Grant 2007-08
International Research and Exchanges Board
Research in Russia and Tatarstan.

Academic Senate Research Grant, UCSB 2007-08
Fieldwork in Estonia: In-depth Interviews and Focus
Groups on Identity.

J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship, Estonia 2005
Tartu University, Tartu, Estonia (September 2005-January 2006)

International Research and Exchanges Board: Short-Term Research
2004 Kazan, Tatarstan (Fall 2004)

Academic Senate Research Grants, University of California, Santa Barbara
1989-2004 (annual); 2005-2006 “Understanding Ethnic Identity and Its
Political Consequences in Russia, Tatarstan, and Estonia”

“Ethnicity: Empirical Tests of Competing Theories”
Institute for Social & Behavioral Research, UCSB 2003-04

Democracy at the Periphery
Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California
1999-2000

Explaining Political Behavior in Estonia 1983-1992
National Council for Soviet and East European Research
(with Henry E. Brady) 1997

National Science Foundation 1992-1995

(with Henry E. Brady)

Linking Nationalism and Democratization Through Political Event Coding
Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, U. of California
Faculty Grant Competition 1995-1997
(with Henry Brady)

International Research and Exchanges Board
Research Exchange: Estonia Fall 1994

Travel Grant: Kazan, Tatarstan, Russian Federation
Project: The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict
Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, U. of California 1994-95

U.S. Institute of Peace 1993-1995
(with Henry E. Brady)

Inter-Disciplinary Humanities Center 1991
University of California, Santa Barbara

Xerox Foundation 1990

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Grant for Project on Citizen Participation -Estonian Survey (with Henry
Brady) 1990-1991

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation 1989-1991
Grant for Project on Citizen Participation (with Norman H. Nie & Henry
Brady)

Participant, Soviet Nationalities Program, East-West Center, Duke University
Carnegie Foundation 1989-1993

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation 1988-1989
Grant for Project on Citizen Participation (with Norman H. Nie)

National Council on Soviet and East European Research
Washington, D.C. 1985-1987

International Research and Exchanges Board
USSR Exchange: January 1986 - July 1986

Post-Doctoral Mellon Research Fellowship Russian Institute
Columbia University, NY, NY 1982-1983

Summer Stipend National Endowment for the Humanities
Washington, DC 1982

Short-term Research Grant 1981
Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Smithsonian Institution
Washington, DC

International Research and Exchanges Board 1976-1977
Junior/Young Faculty USSR Exchange

IREX Preparatory Fellowship 1975-1976

National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship
1975-1976; 1974-1975; 1972-1973

President's Fellowship, Columbia University
1975-1976; 1974-1975; 1972-1973

Distinction: Comprehensive Examination 1975
Dept. of Political Science, Columbia University

Phi Beta Kappa, University of Chicago 1972

BA Honors, Dept. of Political Science and the College
University of Chicago 1972

Selected Professional Presentations:

“Research, Methods, Data: Some Reflections.” Suleyman Demirel University. December 12, 2019. Almaty, KZ.

Plenary Panel, Conference: “Values: What unites us and what differentiates us?” 7-8 October 2019, Sponsored by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, NurSultan, Kazakhstan.

“The Meaning of Young People’s Support for Democracy and Autocracy: The Role of the Socio-Political Context” Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Nationalities World Convention, New York, New York, May 3, 2019.

“Elite Division, Mobilized Publics, and Secessionist Projects in the USSR, 1987-1991.” (w/ Henry Brady). Paper prepared for delivery at the 2018 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, August 30-September 3, 2018.

“Democratic Values, Islam, and Patriotism among University Students in Kazakhstan.” (w/Gulnar Nasimova). Presentation prepared for the International Political Science Association Meetings, Brisbane, Australia, 22 July 2018.

“Historical Memory and Setting the Political Agenda in Literary Journals: A comparison of Kazakhstan and Estonia 1986-1991.” Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, May 4, 2018, New York City, NY.

“Popular Fronts in the USSR: Elite Division, Mobilized Publics, and Declining Support for the USSR, 1987-1991” (w/Henry Brady). Paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, 5-8 September 2018.

“Elite Division, Mobilized Publics, and Declining Support for the USSR, 1987-1991.” (w/Henry E. Brady). Paper prepared for delivery at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, August 31 – September 3, 2017.

“The Political Culture of University Youth in Kazakhstan: Do Values Explain Political Interest and Behavior?” (w/Gulnar Nassimova). Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York City, NY 5 May 2017.

“Soviet Political Identity, Ethnic Identity, and Attitudes towards the Breakup of the Soviet Union.” (w/Henry E. Brady). Paper presented at Midwest Political Science Association Conference in Chicago, Illinois—April 6-9, 2017.

Chair. Panel: Minorities and Identities contra State Politics in Europe, Western Political Science Association, Conference Theme: The Politics of Identity, Intergroup Bias, and Conflict and Cooperation, Vancouver, BC, Canada, April, 13, 2017.

“Ethnic Mobilization, Political Identity Hegemony, and the End of the Soviet Union: Dynamics of Regime and State Collapse Across the Fifteen Union Republics.” (w/Henry E. Brady). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 1-4, 2016.

“Testing Theories about Ethnic Diversity and the Break-up of the Soviet Union.” (w/Henry E. Brady). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 3 September 2015, San Francisco, CA.

“The Impact of Events on the Decline in Communist Party Membership in the Late Soviet Period.” (w/Henry E. Brady). Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2015, Chicago, IL.

“What Caused the Sudden Collapse of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? A Reassessment Using a New Consolidated and Linked Data Set.” (w/Henry E. Brady). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 28 August 2014, Washington, D.C.

“Tatar and Kazakh Identity: Nation and State Status and Its Effects on Subjective Group Identification.” (w/A. Zabirowa, R. Musina, G. Makarova, G. Gabdrakhmanova). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities. 26 April 2014. New York City, New York.

“What Caused the Collapse of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? A reassessment Twenty Years Later Using a New Consolidated and Linked Data Set.” (w/Henry Brady). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. 30 August 2013 Chicago, IL.

“The Decline of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – 1989 to 1991.” (w/ Henry Brady). Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association. 13 April 2013. Chicago, IL.

“Ethnic Identity and Political Opinions: Social Distance in Estonia 1991 & 2011.” (w/ Henry Brady and Triin Vihalemm) Paper presented at the 44th Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. 16 November 2012, New Orleans, LA.

“Political Opinion in the Collapse of the USSR: A Reassessment Twenty Years Later Using a New Consolidated and Linked Data Set.” (w/ Henry Brady) Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2012.

“A Least-Squares Spline Methods for Trends in Participation in Informal Political Groups in the Soviet Union from 1989-1992 Using Rolling Cross-Section Data.” (w/Henry Brady) Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL. 13 April 2012.

“Political Mobilization and Framing: Ethno-National, Ethno-Territorial, and Economic Movements.” Presentation at the Hokkaido Roundtable, “Comparative Analysis of Ethnic Political Mobilization,” Davis Center, Harvard University, 5 December, 2011.

“Public Opinion and Political Participation in the Collapse of the USSR: A Reassessment Twenty Years Later Using a New Rolling Cross-Section Data Set.” (w/Henry Brady) Paper presented at the conference, Twenty Years After 1991: The Reshaping of Space and Identity, Moscow, Russian Federation 29 September-1 October 2011.

“Public Opinion and Political Participation in the Collapse of the USSR: A Reassessment Twenty Years Later Using a New Rolling Cross-Section Data Set.” (w/Henry Brady) Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30, 2011, Seattle, WA.

“Constructed Identities based on In-Depth Interviews: Estonians, Russians, Tatars, and Kazakhs.” Paper presented at the VIII World Congress of the International Council on Central and East European Studies, 26-30 July, 2010, Stockholm, Sweden.

“Testing Constructivist Identity: Developing Empirical Indicators from In-depth Interviews.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, 15-17 April 2010, New York City, NY.

“False Dichotomies: Approaches, Methods, and the Logic of Causation.” Lecture presented at Uppsala University, October 20, 2009, Uppsala, Sweden.

“Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.” Lecture presented at Uppsala University, October 19, 2009, Uppsala, Sweden.

“Testing Constructivist Identity: Developing Empirical Indicators from In-depth Interviews.” Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2009, Toronto, Canada.

“Religion and the World.” Presentation at the International Conference: Kazakhstan Model of Inter-ethnic Relations and Inter-confessional Agreement: Reality and Perspectives, 2009. Almaty, Kazakhstan.

“The Development of Mass and Elite Cleavages During the Soviet Transition: 1987-1991.” With Henry Brady. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2008, Boston, MA.

“Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union – Formal Models of Transition.” With Henry Brady. Presentation at Center for Economic and Financial Research at the New Economic School (CEFIR). December 4, 2007. Moscow, Russia.

“Perestroika and Mass Public Opinion: The Dimensions of Public Support for Competing Elites.” With Henry Brady. Paper presented at the 7th Annual Aleksanteri Conference, Revisiting Perestroika – Processes and Alternatives.” December 1, 2007. Helsinki, Finland.

Participant. Round-Table. “Where Are the Political Scientists? Bringing Political Science Back in (to the AAASS).” National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, November 16, 2007.

“Multiple Methods in Solving a Single Problem: Political Mobilization in Estonia” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2007.

“Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.”

Collegium Civitas. March 2007, Warsaw, Poland.

“Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.” (w/Henry Brady) Kennan Institute, Smithsonian Institution. March 2007, Washington, D.C.

“Public Responses to Elite Changes in the Soviet Participatory Arena: A View from Below.” (w/Henry Brady) Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2007, Chicago, IL.

“Public Responses to Elite Changes in the Soviet Participatory Arena.” (w/Henry Brady) Paper presented at the 38th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. Washington, D.C. 16 November 2006.

“Public Responses to Elite Changes in the Soviet Participatory Arena.” (w/Henry Brady) Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1, 2006.

“Public Response to Elite Change in the Soviet Participatory Arena During the Early Transition.” (w/Henry Brady) Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 21, 2006, Chicago, IL.

“Buried Memories: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.” Presentation at Special Graduate Seminar, Department of Political Science, University of Latvia, Riga, Latvia, 8 December 2005.

“Teaching in an International Classroom.” Presentation at a Colloquium on Training Lecturers, Euro College, Tartu University, Tartu, Estonia, 29 November 2005.

Seminar on “Buried Memories: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.” Aleksanteri Instituuti, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland, 11 November 2005.

“Multi-Disciplinarity: Methods and Evidence from Estonia during the Transition.” Keynote Speaker. Plenary presentation at the Eesti Sotsiaalteaduste VI Aastakonverents, Tallinn University, Tallinn, Estonia, 4 November 2005.

“Buried Memories: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.” Presentation at Tartu University, Tartu, Estonia. 21 October 2005 (w/ Henry Brady).

“Buried Memories: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.” Presentation at Tallinn University, Tallinn, Estonia. 20 October 2005 (w/ Henry Brady).

“Identity and Measurement.” Seminar for doctoral candidates in the department of political science, Tartu University, Tartu, Estonia, 15 October 2005.

“Studying Russian Politics.” Talk before the International Relations Student Association, Tartu, University, 5 September 2005.

“Conceptualizing Ethnic Identity: Empirical Tests in Estonia, Tatarstan, and the Komi Republic.” Paper presented at the VII International Congress for Central and East European Studies, Berlin, Germany, July 25-30, 2005. (with Henry E. Brady)

“The Transition to Democracy in Estonia and the Collapse of the Soviet Union: Mechanisms and Counterfactual Possibilities.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science, Chicago, IL April 2005. (with Henry E. Brady)

“Conceptualizing and Measuring Ethnic Identity.” Paper presented at the Harvard Identity Conference, Cambridge, MA, December 9-11, 2004. (with Henry E. Brady)

“Competing Social Movements and Shifts in Public Attitudes During the Estonian Transition to Democracy: A Multi-Method Study.” Paper presented at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004. (with Henry E. Brady)

“The Emergence of Political Agendas: The Independence Movement in Estonia in 1985-1991.” Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, 15 April 2004, Chicago, IL.

“Competing Social Movements and Shifts in Public Attitudes during the Estonian Transition to Democracy: A Multi-Method Study.” Paper presented at the Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, February 19, 2004, Cambridge, MA. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Setting the Political Agenda: Cultural Discourse in the Estonian Transition”. Paper presented at the Empire to Nation Conference, UC San Diego, December 5-7, 2003.

“Russian Identity in Estonia at Independence: Media Choice and Cognitive Worlds.” Paper presented at the Special Convention: “Nationalism, Identity and Regional Co-operation: Compatibilities and Incompatibilities.” 5-9 June 2002 Forli, Italy.

“Preferences, Protests, and the Cost of Transition: A Probabilistic Model of Change.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 2002. (With Henry E. Brady and Scott Gehlbach)

Presenter, “Workshop on the ‘Measurement’ of Identity in the Social Sciences,” Harvard University, January 11-12, 2002.

“A Model of Transition: Central Authorities, Local Elites, and Mass Protest.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30-September 2, 2001. (With Henry E. Brady and Scott G. Gehlbach).

“Ethnicity and Political Behavior in Estonia”. Presentation at Conference to Evaluate the Project on Integration of Russians in Estonia. June 2001 Tallinn, Estonia.

“Conceptualizing Ethnic Identity: Empirical Tests in Estonia, Tatarstan, and the Komi Republic.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 20, 2001. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Ethnic Identity and Political Mobilization: The Case of Tatars, Estonians, and Komi.” Paper presented at the Sixth Annual World Convention, Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, New York, 5-7 April 2001. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Ethnicity and Support for Independence Among the Estonians, Tatars, and Komi.” Paper presented the Democracy at the Periphery Conference. University of California Santa Barbara. 2000. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Categorically Wrong? Nominal versus Graded measures of Ethnic Identity.” Paper presented at the VI World Congress for Central and East European Studies, Tampere, Finland, July 29-August 3, 2000. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Central Authorities, Local Elites, and Mass Political Behavior in the Transitions in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.” Paper presented at the 58th Annual National Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL April 27-30, 2000. (With Henry E. Brady and Scott Gehlbach)

“Ethnicity and Context Mass Mobilization During Transition.” Paper presented at the conference “Re-Thinking Democracy in the New Millennium,” Houston, Texas, February 16-19, 2000. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Political Participation, Political Events, and Social Mobilization in the United States and Estonia.” Paper presented at Duke University, October 1999. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Constructed Identity: Ethnicity, Values, and Political Behavior in a Time of Change.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Atlanta, Georgia, September 2-5, 1999. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Issue Framing, Elite Actions and Estonian Mobilization for Independence: 1988-1993.” Paper presented at the 57th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 15-17, 1999. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Political Parties in Estonia.” Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA., September 1998. (With Henry Brady)

“Pulling People Into Politics: How Political Context Fostered Political Participation During the Estonian Transition to Democracy.” Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science

Association Meeting, April 24, 1998, Chicago, IL. (With Henry Brady)

“Political Participation, Political Events, and Social Mobilization in the United States and Estonia .” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28, 1997, Washington, D.C. (With Henry Brady)

“Political Events and Survey Data in the Estonian Transition to Democracy.” Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 11, 1997. (With Henry Brady)

“Voting, Non-Voting, and Protesting in Estonia from 1983 to 1991.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, August 30, 1996. (With Henry Brady)

Invited Participant, “Nation Building in the Baltic States” Conference, Harris Graduate School of Public Policy University of Chicago, Chicago, IL May 1996.

“Civil Society and Political Participation in Estonia and the United States: A Comparative Test of the Civic Voluntarism Model.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Assn., April 20, 1996, Chicago, IL. (With Henry E. Brady)

“Ethnicity and Sovereignty: Insights from Russian Negotiations with Estonia and Tatarstan,” Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, August 1995.

“Civil Society and Political Participation in Estonia and the United States: A Comparative Test of the Civic Voluntarism Model.” Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, August 1995. (With Henry E. Brady)

"Russian Protest: Ethnic Relations and State Sovereignty" Paper presented at a conference sponsored by the International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict Project, IGCC, UC Davis, March 10, 1995 .

Participant, The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, U. of California 1993-95

"Russian Protest: Ethnic Relations and Political Transition." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, April 6, 1995, Chicago, IL.

"Political Culture in Estonia: The Impact of Two Traditions on Political Development. " Paper delivered at the Russian Littoral Project Workshop on Political Culture, Washington, D.C. October 1994.

"Citizen Participation in Estonia." Lecture presented at the School of Social Sciences, Tartu University, Tartu, Estonia, October 1994.

Lectures/Seminars on Survey Research and Event Coding. LEX University (International University of the Social Sciences) Tallinn, Estonia; Humanitaar Institut, Tallinn, Estonia; and Dept. of Political Science, Tartu University, Tartu, Estonia
Fall 1994

Participant, Soviet Nationalities Program, East-West Center, Duke University, Carnegie Foundation 1989-1993

"Estonia: A Profile of Two Communities." Paper presented at the Conference on Democracy and Ethnopolitics, Riga, Latvia, March 9, 1994. (With Henry E. Brady)

"Estonia: A Common Political Space." Paper delivered at the National Meetings of the American Association of the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii, November 1993. (With Henry E. Brady)

"Nationalism and Political Participation in Estonia from 1983-1991: Mobilized or Autonomous Participation?" Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 1993. (With Henry E. Brady)

"Nationalism and Political Participation in Russia and Estonia from 1983-1992." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political (With Henry E. Brady).

"Political Participation in Russia and Estonia," Paper presented at the National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Phoenix, AZ, November 1992. (With Henry Brady)

"Transition in Russia: Elite Cleavages and Political Organizations." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Palmer House, Chicago, IL September 3, 1992.
(With Henry E. Brady, William Smirnov, Vladimir Andreenkov)

"Soviet Survey Methodology Conference," Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, October 4-5, 1991. Ann Arbor, MI.

"Public Opinion Research: The Implications for Public Policy Formation in Azerbaijan," Paper prepared for the Conference: Azerbaijan and the World Community. Baku, Azerbaijan, September 12-18, 1991. (Conference sponsored by the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences and the International Research and Exchanges Board, Princeton, NJ.)

"The Baltic States," Defense Language Institute, Presidio of Monterrey, August 20, 1991.

"Civil Society in Estonia," Conference on the Sunset of Socialism in the Baltic States. 14-15 May 1991, Suurupi, Estonia.

"Citizen Participation in Politics: A Public Opinion Survey in the USSR," Lecture, Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet Studies, February 8, 1990, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.

"Survey Research in the USSR," Seminar. Institut fuer Demoskopie Allensbach, December 11, 1989, Allensbach, Federal Republic of Germany.

"A Survey of Citizen Participation in the USSR," presented at the Soviet Interview Project Conference, National Opinion Research Center, November 6-7, 1989 Chicago, IL

Selected Public & Professional Service:

Member, Foreign Editorial Board: Вестник КазНУ. Серия философия. Серия политология. Серия культурология (Bulletin Kazakhstan National University. Series philosophy. Series political science. Series culture.) 2016-

Member, Foreign Editorial Board: Журнал Казахстан -Спектр при Казахстанском институте стратегических исследований при президенте республики Казахстан (Journal Kazakhstan – Spektr, Kazakhstan Institute of Strategic Research of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan), 2016-

Round Table, “Democratization of the Education Model,” Kazakh-German University and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 18 October 2019, Almaty, KZ.

Committee Member, Best Poster in Public Policy, APSA 2016-17.

Member, Political Science Advisory Panel, National Science Foundation, 2014-2015, 2015-16, 2016-2017.

Member, Editorial Board, Politics, Groups and Identities, 2017-18

Selection Committee, Short-Term Travel Grants, International Research and Exchanges Board, 2015.

Screening Committee, IARO Grants, International Research and Exchanges Board, February 2014.

Visiting Foreign Professor, Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan, April 2014.

Research Presentation and Discussion, the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences, Division of Philosophy, Political Science, and Religion, Almaty, Kazakhstan. 9 April 2013.

Personnel Review, Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey January 2014.

“University and Business Relations in the US.” Taped Interview to be used at Conference on Relations between Business and Institutions of Higher Education sponsored by the Mayor of Almaty, Kazakhstan. April 2013.

“American Views of Religious Identity,” International Conference on Religious Accord in Kazakhstan”. Almaty, Kazakhstan, 19 April 2013.

“Different Meanings of Democracy,” Presentation at Mir and Nauk Initiative, Dept. of Political Science, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan. 18 April 2013.

Judge, Undergraduate Research Presentations, Mir and Nauk Initiative, Dept. of Political Science, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan. 18 April 2013.

Visiting Foreign Professor, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan March-April 2013.

Foreign Graduate Student Adviser, Department of Political Science, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan, 2010-2013.

Member of the Publications Committee, APSA 2009 to August 31, 2012.

Foreign Graduate Student Adviser, Department of Sociology, Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan May 2010.

Member of the Selection Committee for the 2008 Alexander L. George Award, Section Qualitative Methods, APSA. 2008

Presenter, Fulbright Orientation, (Estonia & Baltic States) 2006, 2007
Washington, DC

Member, Editorial Board, *Journal of Baltic Studies* (2002-2004)

Division Chair, Communist and Post-Communist States, 2002-03 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Selection Committee, US-East European University Joint Projects, US Department of State, Washington, DC. March 2002.

Selection Committee, National Endowment for the Humanities. Kluge Fellowships, Library of Congress, Washington, DC February 2002.

Presenter, Seminar on Estonia 1995, 1998
Briefing for US Ambassador Designate to Estonia, US Department of State

Foreign Service Training Institute, Arlington, VA

Expert Evaluator, Site Visit for Graduate Research Traineeship Project, National Science Foundation 1997

Study Center Director, Moscow, Russia
University of California Education Abroad Program in Russia 1995-1997

Steering Committee, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation
University of California Winter/Spring 1995, 1996-97

President, Lambda of California (UCSB), Phi Beta Kappa 1997-1999
Vice President, Lambda of California (UCSB), Phi Beta Kappa 1996-97

Member, Nominating Committee, American Political Science Association 1994-1996

Screening Committee - Political Science & Jurisprudence
National Endowment for the Humanities 1994

Fellowship/Grant Screening Committee, United States Institute of Peace 1992, 1993

Consultant, World Bank, Surveys in Russia 1992

Coordinator 1986-1990
Joint Commission on Citizen Participation in Government of the American
Council of Learned Societies and Soviet Academy of Sciences.

U.S. Delegate. USA-USSR Young Adult Leaders Exchange and Dialogue. AFS
International/Intercultural Programs. June 19-26, 1984, Indianapolis, IN.

Professional Memberships American Political Science Association, Midwest Political
Science Association, Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian,
Studies, Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies, Association for
the Study of Nationalities, Phi Beta Kappa

Foreign Research and Study

Research in Almaty, Kazakhstan and Oskemen, Kazakhstan, October-December 2019.

Visiting Foreign Professor, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, March 2018.

Visiting Research Professor, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, Germany
September-December 2017.

Visiting Foreign Professor, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University December 2015

Visiting Research Scholar, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, Germany
September-December 2014.

Visiting Foreign Professor, Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan, March-April 2014.

Al-Farabi Kazakh National University –University of California, Santa Barbara Exchange,
March-April 2013, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

Founder (w/A. Edgar) of Official Inter-University Exchange between UCSB and Al-Farabi
Kazakh National University

Collaborative Research Grant, Institute of Social and Behavioral Research, UCSB 2009-
2010.

Visiting Foreign Professor, Lecture Series: “The Sociology of Ethnicity.” Department of
Sociology, Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan. May 2010.

Kazakhstan, National Council on Eurasian and Eastern European Research, April 2009.

Estonia and Russia, UCSB Academic Senate Grant, March 2009

Cooperative Research Grant, International Research and Exchanges Board – 2007-08.
Kazan and Moscow, Russia Sept. 2007, Nov-Dec. 2007, March 2008, August 2008.

Academic Senate Research Grant, UCSB: Oct. 2007, Dec. 2007, March 2008. Tallinn,
Estonia.

Fulbright Scholarship Estonia Tartu, Estonia Fall 2005

International Research and Exchanges Board – Short-Term Grant, Kazan, Tatarstan, Russia
Fall 2004

Institute on Social and Behavioral Research, University of California, Santa Barbara 2003-
04(March 2004 Moscow, Russia; Kazan, Tatarstan; June 2004 Tallinn & Tartu, Estonia)

Academic Senate Research Grant, Research on Civil Society in Estonia, June-July 2001

Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California
Research Visits to Estonia (multiple visits 1995-1997)

Director, UC System-wide Education Abroad Study Center, Moscow, Russia
Fall 1995, Fall 1996.

The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict Project,
Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, U. of California .
Research trip to Kazan, Tatarstan, Russian Federation March-April 1995

International Research and Exchanges Board - Research in Tallinn, Estonia Sept. –Dec.
1994

Survey on Citizen Participation - 1991-1995: 9 Research Visits to Estonia and 8 Research
Visits to Russia 1991-1995

Joint Commission on Citizen Participation in Government, American Council of Learned
Societies and Soviet Academy of Sciences, USSR - 8 visits to Estonia and Russia 1989-91

National Council on Soviet and East European Research Federal Republic of Germany
July 1986

International Research and Exchanges Board: USSR Exchange: Leningrad, Moscow, and
Novosibirsk January-June 1986

International Research and Exchanges Board: USSR Exchange: Leningrad and Moscow
1976-1977

Leningrad State University Summer Language Program Leningrad, USSR 1972

Goethe Institute Grafrath, FRG Summer 1970

Selected University Service

University of California System-wide

Reviewer, UC Santa Cruz, personnel case, Full Professor 6. 2008.

Member – UC System-wide Review Committee for Moscow Center, Education Abroad
Program. Fall-Winter 2007-08.

Member - UC Office of the President 15 Year Review Committee for three Multi-Campus
Research Units 2002

Study Center Director, Education Abroad, Moscow, Russia (1995-1997).

Steering Committee of the multi-campus research unit, Institute on Global Conflict and
Cooperation (spring 1995, 1996, 1997)

University of California Santa Barbara Campus

Member, Graduate Council, Academic Senate, 2018-

Co-convenor, Interdisciplinary Humanities Center, Identity Research Focus Group, UCSB, 2008-2017 (Co-conveners include Prof. Adrienne Edgar, Mary Bucholtz, Vesna Wallace)

Vice- Chair, Academic Senate Committee on Research, UCSB, 2015-16.

Member, Council on Planning and Budget (2011-2015)

Chair, Committee on Academic Planning and Resource Allocation (2013-2015)

Member, Executive Committee, Center for Middle Eastern Studies 2013-15, 2017-

Member, Council on Research and Instructional Resources (Subcommittee on Research Policy and Procedures) 2008-2009, 2009-2010.

Faculty Grants Committee, 2009 (Evaluated and selected grants, Spring 2009)

Classroom Design and Renovation Committee (CDRD) 2009-2010

Central Recruitment Fellowship Committee: 2009-10.

Evaluator, Undergraduate Research Competition for URCA Grants, Fall 2007

Chair, Program Review Committee, Graduate Council 2006-07

Member, Graduate Council of the UCSB Academic Senate 2003-07

Member, Advisory Board of the Benton Survey Research Center

Member, Undergraduate Council of the UCSB Academic Senate 2002-03

Member, Executive Committee of the College of Letters and Science 1998-2000

Member, Regents Scholarship Committee 1998-2000

Member, Undergraduate Honors and Awards Committee 1995-2000

Affiliated Faculty, Center for Middle Eastern Studies

Selected Departmental Service

Vice Chair, 2018-20

Coordinator, Politics of Identity

Chair, Graduate Awards Committee 2017-18

Member, Graduate Admissions Committee 2014-15

Member, Undergraduate Committee, 2013-14

Chair, Graduate Admissions Committee 2011-12, 2012-13.

Graduate Committee: 2003-2004, 2008-09, 2009-2010

Facilitator of Outside Speakers Program: 2006-07; 2007-08.

Member, CP Search Committee 2007.

Selection Committee for Graduate Student Paper Awards 2004-2005

Selective Community Service

“What Endures? What are the Consequences? Russian Federation, Soviet Union, Russian Empire.” Lecture at General Assembly at the Cates School, March 16, 2015, Carpenteria, CA.

Member, Architectural Review Board, UCSB-West Campus Home Owners Association, 2015.