

Marlene LARUELLE

Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES), The George Washington University,
1957 E Street, NW, Suite 412, Washington D.C., 20052, USA

laruelle@gwu.edu

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8289-2695>

Web of Science ResearcherID AAN-1443-2020

International Standard Name Identifier <http://isni.org/isni/0000000119469413>

EDUCATION

Habilitation Political Science, Sciences-Po, Paris (2008)
Ph.D. History, National Institute of Oriental Languages and Cultures, INALCO, Paris (2002)
M.A. Department of Central European Studies, INALCO, Paris (1998)
M.A. Department of Post-Soviet Studies, INALCO, Paris (1997)
B.A. Department of Post-Soviet Studies, INALCO (1994), Political Science at Paris II-Assas (1996), and History at Paris VII-Jussieu (1996)

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Current position

2020- Director, Illiberalism Studies Program, IERES, GW
2019- Director of the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES)
2016- Co-director of PONARS-Eurasia, IERES, GW
2015- Associate Director, IERES, GW
2012- Director of GW's Central Asia Program, IERES, GW
2011- Research Professor of International Affairs, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University

Previous positions

2010-11 Senior Research Fellow, The Russian and Eurasian Studies Program, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C.
2007-10 Senior Research Fellow, The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, Joint Center affiliated with Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, Washington D.C., and Institute for Security and Development Policy, Stockholm

FUNDINGS

Ongoing

2021-24 PI, "Conceptualizing Hierarchy and Resilience in Global Power Politics," Minerva Initiative.
2020-22 PI, "Russia and China as Service Providers for Illiberal Governance," DECUR, Minerva Initiative.
2020-22 Co-PI, "Building Socio-Ecological Resilience through Urban Green, Blue and White Space," Belmont Forum and National Science Foundation.
2018-22 Project Director, "Islam in Russia, Russia in the Islamic World" Initiative, Henry Luce Foundation.

- 2017-21 Co-PI, "Russian, Chinese, Militant, and Ideologically Extremist Messaging Effects on United States Favorability Perceptions in Central Asia," funded by the U.S. Department of Defense and the U.S. Army Research Office/Army Research Laboratory under the Minerva Research Initiative.
- 2016- Project Co-Director, "PONARS-Eurasia," Carnegie Corporation of New York and MacArthur Foundation, with Henry Hale.
- 2016-22 Co-Principal Investigator, "PIRE: Promoting Urban Sustainability in the Arctic," National Science Foundation.
- 2014- Principal Investigator, "Transnational History of the Far Right," Anonymous donor.
- 2013- Project Director, "Central Asia Program and Fellowship," Open Society Foundations.

Finished

- 2015-19 Co-Principal Investigator, "Anthropogenic Heat Islands in the Arctic (HIARC) - Windows to the Future of the Regional Climates, Ecosystems and Societies," Belmont Forum
- 2015-18 Co-Principal Investigator, "Supporting Scholars and Scholarship in Russia," MacArthur Foundation.
- 2015-17 Co-Principal Investigator, "Multiscale synthesis of land cover and land use, climatic and societal changes in drylands of Central Asia," NASA LCLUC (Land-Cover and Land-Use Change).
- 2014-18 Project Director, "Central Eurasia - Religion in International Affairs" Initiative, Henry Luce Foundation.
- 2013-17 Co-Principal Investigator, "Arctic Research Coordination Network. Building a Research Network for Promoting Arctic Urban Sustainability," National Science Foundation. Team leader for the WP "Social Urban Sustainability in Russia's Arctic Regions."
- 2013-16 Co-Principal Investigator, ARCSUS (ARctic Urban SUstainability in Russia), Tromso University, Norwegian Research Council. Team leader, WP "Social Urban Sustainability in Russia's Arctic Regions."
- 2013-15 Project Director, "Women and Water in South and Central Asia: Building International Social Capital for Sustainable Peace and Development," The U.S. State Department and GW Global Gender Program.
- 2013-14 Project Director, "Kazakhstan Initiative," Kazakhstan Embassy, United States.
- 2012-18 Project Director, "Observatory of Central Asia," French Defense Ministry (DGRIS).
- 2012-13 Principal Investigator, "Reassessing Afghanistan's Neighborhood: Regional Perceptions and Strategies, and US Interests," The Smith Richardson Foundation.
- 2012 Principal Investigator, International conference "Afghanistan's Stability and Regional Security Implications for Central Asia," The NATO Science for Peace and Security Program.
- 2010-11 Principal Investigator, "The Kremlin's Arctic Dreams: Geo-Strategic Implications for Russia and the World in 2040," The Office of Net Assessment.
- 2010-11 Co-Investigator, "Russian Economic Trends Study until 2030," The Office of Secretary of Defense, Hudson Institute, with Richard Weitz and Clifford Gaddy.
- 2010 Principal Investigator "Beyond the 'Clans' War' Hypothesis: Deciphering the Complexity of Kremlin Networks," The Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 2010 Co-Investigator, "The Challenges of Development in Central Asia," The French Agency for Development.
- 2010 Co-Investigator, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and perspectives of regional security in Central Asia," French Defense Ministry, Foundation for Strategic Research, with Isabelle Facon and Emmanuel Puig.

- 2009 Principal Investigator, "Inside and Around the Kremlin's Black Box: the New Nationalist Think Tanks in Russia," Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 2009 Co-Investigator, "Russia in a 10-20 years perspective," The Swedish Armed Forces HQ, ISDP, with Anna Jonsson, and Fredrik Erixon.
- 2008 Principal Investigator, "Coping with the Russo-Chinese Competition in Central Asia: Local Perspectives and Strategies," The Smith Richardson Foundation.

AWARDS

- 2019 Michael E. Brown Elliott School Research Prize

RESEARCH GRANTS AND VISITING POSITIONS

- 2018- Senior Associate Researcher (non-resident) at IFRI (Institut français des relations internationales, Paris).
- 2017-18 Senior Research Fellow, "Reassessing Russian Influence in France," Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, New York.
- 2011-12 Research Fellow, "Reshaping Everyday Citizenry: Migrants in Moscow, Kiev, and Astana," William and Helen Petrach Program on Ukraine, IERES, The Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University (September 2011-June 2012).
- 2011 Visiting Research Fellow, The Uppsala Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Uppsala University.
- 2009 Visiting Research Fellow, The Aleksanteri Institute, Helsinki.
- 2009 Visiting Research Fellow in India, Foundation Maison des Sciences de l'homme and Indian University Grant Commission.
- 2009 Visiting Research Fellow, The Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education.
- 2007 Non-resident Research Fellow, "Euphemizing Antisemitism. Conspiracy Theories in Russia's New Academic Disciplines," The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- 2006-07 Research Fellow, "Eurasianism, an Ideology of Empire," The French National Center of Publications.
- 2006 Informal Visiting Fellow, The Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, Sapporo, Japan.
- 2005-06 Research Fellow, "Nationalism and the Academia in Russia," The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C.
- 2002-05 Post-Doctoral Fellow, The French Institute for Central Asian Studies (IFEAC), Tashkent, Uzbekistan.
- 2001 Visiting Fellow, The French Institute of Anatolian Studies, Istanbul, Turkey.
- 2000-02 Lavoisier Fellow, The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Russia, Moscow and St Petersburg.
- 1998-2000 Doctoral Fellow, The French Institute for Central Asian Studies, Tashkent.
- 1997-98 Doctoral Fellow, The French Institute of Social Sciences in Prague, Czech Republic.

PUBLICATIONS

Monographs

- 2021 *Is Russia fascist? Unraveling Propaganda East West*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- 2020 *Memory Politics and the Russian Civil War. Reds versus Whites*, London: Bloomsbury, co-authored with Margarita Karnysheva.
- 2018 *Russian Nationalism. Imaginaries, Doctrines and Political Battlefields*, London: Routledge, available in [Open Access](#).
- 2018 *Understanding Russia. The Challenges of Transformation*, Lanham, Boulder, New York: Rowman & Littlefield, co-authored with Jean Radvanyi.
- 2014 *Russia's Arctic Strategies and the Future of the Far North*, New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- 2013 *Globalizing Central Asia. Geopolitics and the Challenges of Economic Development* New York: M.E. Sharpe, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2012 *The 'Chinese Question' in Central Asia. Domestic Order, Social Changes and the Chinese Factor* London, New York: Oxford University Press, and Hurst, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2009 *In the Name of the Nation. Nationalism and Politics in Contemporary Russia* New York: Palgrave/MacMillan.
- 2008 *Russian Eurasianism. An Ideology of Empire*, Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, paperback 2011.

Edited volumes

- 2019 *The Nazarbayev Generation. Youth in Kazakhstan*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- 2018 *Entangled Far Rights. A Russian-European Intellectual Romance in the 20th century*, Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press.
- 2018 *Mass Media in the Post-Soviet World. Market Forces, State Actors, and Political Manipulation in the Informational Environment after Communism*. Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, with Peter Rollberg.
- 2018 *Being Muslim in Central Asia: Practices, Politics, and Identities*. London and Leiden: Brill.
- 2018 *Constructing the Uzbek State. Narratives of the Post-Soviet Years*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- 2017 *The Central Asia–Afghanistan Relationship. From Soviet Intervention to the Silk Road Initiatives*, Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- 2016 *Kazakhstan in the Making. Legitimacy, Symbols and Social Changes*, Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- 2016 *New Mobilities and Social Changes in Russia's Arctic Regions*, London: Routledge.
- 2015 *Kyrgyzstan beyond 'Democracy Island' and 'Failing State': Social and Political Changes in a Post-Soviet Society*, Lanham, MD: Lexington, co-edited with Johan Engval.
- 2015 *Eurasianism and European Far Right: Reshaping the Europe-Russia Relationship*, Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- 2015 *Between Europe and Asia. The Origins, Theories and Legacies of Russian Eurasianism*, Pittsburgh University Press, co-edited with Mark Bassin and Sergey Glebov.
- 2013 *Migration and Social Upheaval as the Face of Globalization in Central Asia*, London: Brill.
- 2012 *Russian Nationalism, Foreign Policy and Identity Debates*, Stuttgart: Ibidem Press.
- 2011 *Mapping Central Asia: Indian Perceptions and Strategies*, Farnham, UK: Ashgate, co-edited with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2010 *China and India in Central Asia. A new "Great Game"?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, co-edited with Jean-François Huchet, Sebastien Peyrouse, Bayram Balci.
- 2009 *Russian Nationalism and the National Reassertion of Russia*, London: Routledge, hardcover, paperback 2010.

Edited ebooks

- 2020 *New Voices from Central Asia: Societal Transformations*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program.
- 2019 *Russia's Islamic Diplomacy*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program.
- 2019 *Russia's Policy in Syria and the Middle East*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program.
- 2018 *Eurasia on the Move. Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Dynamic Migration Region* Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program and Nazarbayev University, co-edited with Caress Schenk.
- 2018 *China's Belt and Road Initiative and its Impact in Central Asia*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program and Nazarbayev University.
- 2017 *Urban Sustainability in the Arctic. Visions, Contexts, Challenges*, Washington DC: IERES, co-edited with Robert Orttung.
- 2017 *New Voices from Central Asia. Political, Economic, and Societal Challenges and Opportunities*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program, 2 volumes.
- 2017 *Kyrgyzstan: Political Pluralism and Economic Challenges*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program.
- 2017 *Kazakhstan: Nation-Branding, Economic Trials, and Cultural Change*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program.
- 2017 *Tajikistan: Islam, Migration, and Changes*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program.
- 2017 *Turkmenistan: Changes and Stability under Berdimuhamedow*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program.
- 2017 *Uzbekistan: Political Order, Societal Changes, and Cultural Transformations*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program.
- 2017 *Strategic Nodes and Regional Interactions in Southern Eurasia*, Washington DC: GW's Central Asia Program.
- 2017 *Central Asia at 25. Looking Back Moving Forward. A Collection of Essays from Central Asia*, Washington D.C.: GW's Central Asia Program, co-edited with Aitolkyn Kourmanova.

Art catalog

- 2015 *Old Patterns, New Order. Socialist Realism in Central Asia* (Exhibition organized by GW's Central Asia Program and the GW Museum/Textile Museum, October 10, 2015-May 29, 2016).

Guest editor (special issues)

- 2019 "The Donbas Conflict," *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 5.
- 2019 "Indigenous Peoples, Urbanization Processes, and Interactions with Extraction Firms in Russia's Arctic," *Sibirica. The Journal of Siberian Studies*, no. 3.
- 2019 "Polar Islam. The Rise of Islam in Russia's Far North." *Problems of Post-Communism*.
- 2017 "A truly Arctic city. A Multidisciplinary Approach on Norilsk, Russia," *Polar Geography*, no. 4, with Nikolai Shiklomanov.
- 2016 "Transformations of Far Right and Far Left in Europe," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 30, no. 1-2.

- 2015 "Envisioning a Region. The US 'Silk Road' as an Object of Academic Enquiry," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 56, no. 4.
- 2015 "The Media Landscape in Central Asia," *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 23, no.3, with Peter Rollberg.
- 2015 "Patriotism from Below in Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 1, with Francoise Dauce.
- 2012 "Patronal Politics in Central Asia," *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 20, no. 4.
- 2009 "Central Asian Perceptions of China," *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 7, no. 1, with Sebastien Peyrouse.

Articles in peer-reviewed journals

- 2021 "A New Wave of Research on Civilizational Politics," *Nationalities Papers*, co-authored with Henry Hale.
- 2020 "Accusing Russia of Fascism. Polemics around Russia's Belonging to Europe," *Russia in Global Affairs*, December.
- 2020 "Pandemic Politics in Eurasia: Roadmap for a New Research Subfield," *Problems of Post-Communism* 68, no. 1, collective article.
- 2020 "Making Sense of Russia's Illiberalism," *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 3: 115-129.
- 2020 "Ideological Complementarity or Competition? The Kremlin, the Church, and the Monarchist Idea in Today's Russia," *Slavic Review* 79, no. 2, 345-364.
- 2020 "Rethinking Civilizational Identity from the Bottom Up: A Case Study of Russia and a Research Agenda," *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 3: 585-602, co-authored with Henry Hale.
- 2020 "Ideological or Pragmatic? A Data-Driven Analysis of the Russian Presidential Grant Fund," *Russian Politics* 5: 29-51, co-authored with Laura Howells.
- 2020 "Urban Regimes in Russia's Northern Cities: Testing a Concept in a New Environment," *Arctic* 73, no. 1, 53-66.
- 2019 "Back From Utopia: How Donbas Fighters Reinvent Themselves in a Post-Novorossiia Russia," *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 5, 719-733.
- 2019 "Arctic cities as an anthropogenic object: a preliminary approach through urban heat islands," *The Polar Journal*, with Igor Esau, Martin Miles, Victoria Miles, Anna N. Kurchatova, Sergej A. Petrov, Andrey Soromotin, Mikhail Varentsov & Pavel Konstantinov.
- 2019 "Postcolonial Polar Cities? New Indigenous and Cosmopolitan Urbanness in the Arctic," *Acta Borealia* 36, no. 2, 149-165.
- 2019 "The Three Waves of Arctic Urbanization. Drivers, Evolutions, Prospects." *Polar Record*, April.
- 2019 "Polar Islam: Muslim Communities in Russia's Arctic Cities." *Problems of Post-Communism*, co-authored with Sophie Hohmann.
- 2019 "A Booming City in the Far North. Demographic and Migration Dynamics of Yakutsk, Russia," *Sibirica. The Journal of Siberian Studies*, no. 3, 9-28, co-authored with Svetlana Sukneva.
- 2019 "Untangling the puzzle of "Russia's influence" in Kazakhstan," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 60, no 2, 211-243, co-authored with Dylan Royce and Serik Besseybayev.
- 2019 "Kazakhstani Public Opinion of the United States and Russia: Testing Variables of (Un)favorability." *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 2: 197-216, co-authored with Dylan Royce.

- 2019 "Commemorating 1917 in Russia: Ambivalent State History Policy and the Church's Conquest of the History Market," *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no 2: 249-267.
- 2017 "Biography of a Polar City: Population Flows and Urban Identity in Norilsk," *Polar Geography* 40, no 4: 306-323.
- 2017 "Is Nationalism a Force for Change in Russia?" *Daedalus* (American Academy of Arts and Sciences) 146, no. 2 (2017): 89-100.
- 2016 "The Izborsky Club, or the New Conservative Avant-Garde in Russia," *The Russian Review* 75, no. 4: 626-644.
- 2016 "Why No Kazakh Novorossiia? Kazakhstan's Russian Minority in a Post-Crimea World," *Problems of Post-Communism*
- 2015 "The Iuzhinsky Circle: Far-Right Metaphysics in the Soviet Underground and Its Legacy Today," *The Russian Review* 75, no. 4: 563-580.
- 2015 "The US Silk Road: geopolitical imaginary or the repackaging of strategic interests?" *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 56, no. 4: 360-375.
- 2015 "Russia as a 'Divided Nation,' from Compatriots to Crimea: A Contribution to the Discussion on Nationalism and Foreign Policy," *Problems of Post-Communism* 62, no. 2: 88-97.
- 2015 "In Search of Kazakhness: The Televisual Landscape and Screening of Nation in Kazakhstan," *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 23, no. 3: 321-340.
- 2015 "The Three Colors of Novorossiia, or the Russian Nationalist Mythmaking of the Ukrainian Crisis," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 32, no. 1: 55-74.
- 2015 "Patriotic Youth Clubs in Russia. Professional Niches, Cultural Capital and Narratives of Social Engagement," *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 1: 8-27.
- 2014 "Resource, state reassertion and international recognition: locating the drivers of Russia's Arctic policy," *The Polar Journal* 4, no. 2: 253-270.
- 2014 "Alexei Navalny and challenges in reconciling 'nationalism' and 'liberalism,'" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 30, no. 4: 276-297.
- 2014 "The "Russian Idea" on the Small Screen: Staging National Identity on Russia's TV," *Demokratizatsiya. The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 22, no. 2: 313-333.
- 2014 "Assessing Uzbekistan's and Tajikistan's Afghan Policy: The Impact of Domestic Drivers," *Central Asian Affairs* 1, no. 1: 108-132.
- 2012 "Larger, Higher, Farther North ... Geographical Metanarratives of the Nation in Russia," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 53, no. 5: 557-574.
- 2012 "Conspiracy and Alternate History in Russia: A Nationalist Equation for Success?" *The Russian Review* 71, no. 4: 656-580.
- 2012 "Discussing Neopatrimonialism and Patronal Presidentialism in the Central Asian Context," *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 20, no. 4: 301-324.
- 2012 "The Paradigm of Nationalism in Kyrgyzstan. Evolving Narrative, the Sovereignty Issue, and Political Agenda," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, no. 1-2: 39-49.
- 2011 "Negotiating History: Memory Wars in the Near Abroad and Pro-Kremlin Youth Movements," *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 19, no. 3: 233-252.
- 2010 "The Ideological Shift On The Russian Radical Right: From Demonizing The West To Fear Of Migrants," *Problems of Post-Communism* 57, no. 6: 19-31.
- 2008 "The Concept of Ethnogenesis in Central Asia: Political Context and Institutional Mediators (1940-50)," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9, no. 1: 169-188.

- 2008 "Alternative Identity, Alternative Religion? Neo-Paganism and the Aryan Myth in contemporary Russia," *Nations and Nationalism* 14, no. 2: 283-301.
- 2007 "Religious Revival, Nationalism and the 'Invention of Tradition': Political Tengrism in Central Asia and Tatarstan," *Central Asian Survey* 26, no. 2: 203-216.
- 2007 "The Return of the Aryan Myth: Tajikistan in search for a Secularized National Ideology," *Nationalities Papers* 35, no. 1: 51-70.
- 2004 "The Two Faces of Contemporary Eurasianism. An Imperial Version of the Russian Nationalism," *Nationalities Papers* 32, no. 1: 115-136.

Articles in non-peer reviewed journals

- 2016 "The Notion of Eurasia. A Spatial, Historical and Political Construct," in edited by Edward Holland and Matthew Derrick, eds, *Questioning Post-Soviet* (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars), 127-142.
- 2013 "Nationalism and Anti-Nationalism in Eurasianism: the Pax Eurasiana," *Transactions of the Association of Russian-American Scholars in the USA XXXVII*: 255-280.
- 2011 "Russian Military Presence in the High North: Projection of Power and Capacities of Action," in S. Blank, ed., *Russia in the Arctic* (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute), 63-89.
- 2011 "International Law and Geographical Representations: The Russian Stance on Territorial Conflicts in the Arctic," in L. Salmela, ed., *Nordic Cooperation and the Far North* (Helsinki: National Defence University), 15-36.
- 2011 "The United States in Central Asia: Reassessing a Challenging Partnership," *Strategic Analysis* 35, no. 3: 427-438, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2010 "National Narrative, Ethnology, and Academia in post-Soviet Uzbekistan," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1, no. 2: 102-110.
- 2008 "'The White Tsar': Romantic Imperialism in Russia's Legitimizing of Conquering the Far East," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 25: 113-134.
- 2009 "The Militarization of the Caspian Sea: 'Great Games' and 'Small Games' Over the Caspian Fleets," *The China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 7, no. 2: 17-35, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2009 "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Successes and Challenges," *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Kashmir University XVIII, no. 1: 1-14, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2009 "Cross-Border Minorities As Cultural And Economic Mediators Between China And Central Asia," *The China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 7, no. 1: 93-119, with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2007 "Central Asian Labor Migrants in Russia: The 'Diasporization' of the Central Asian States?" *The China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 5, no. 3: 101-119.
- 2007 "The Struggle for the Soul of Tatar Islam," *Current Trends in Islamist Ideologies* 5: 26-39.
- 2004 "The Discipline of Culturology: A New 'Ready-made Thought' for Russia?" *Diogenes*, no. 204: 21-36.

Chapters in edited volumes

- 2020 "Warmer Climate of Arctic Cities," in O. Pokrovsky et al. eds, *The Arctic: Current Issues and Challenges*, Hauppauge, NY: NOVA Publishers, co-authored Esau I, Varentsov M., Miles M.W., Konstantinov P., Soromotin A., Baklanov A. A. and Miles V. V.

- 2019 "Mirror Games? Ideological Resonances between Russian and US Conservatism," in Mikhail Suslov, Dmitry Uzlaner, eds, *Contemporary Russian Conservatism. Problems, Paradoxes, and Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill), 177-203.
- 2019 "Reductio ad Hitlerum as a New Frame for Political and Geopolitical Conflicts," in Sergei Samoilenko, Eric Shiraev, Martijn Icks, and Jennifer Keohane, eds, *The Routledge Handbook of Character Assassination and Reputation Management*. London: Routledge, 307-319.
- 2019 "Character Assassination as Strategic Communication in EU-Russia Relations," in Evgeni Pashentsev, ed., *Strategic Communication in EU-Russia Relations* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan), 135-160, co-authored with Sergei Samoilenko.
- 2019 "Alexander Dugin and Eurasianism," in Mark Sedgwick, ed., *Key Thinkers of the Radical Right: Behind the New Threat to Liberal Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 155-169.
- 2019 "The Nazarbayev Generation: A Sociological Portrait," in Marlene Laruelle, ed, *The Nazarbayev Generation. Youth in Kazakhstan*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 1-21.
- 2018 "National Identity and the Contested Nation," in Richard Sakwa, Henry E. Hale, Stephen White, eds., *Developments in Russian Politics 9*, Durham: Duke University Press, 67-79.
- 2018 "Kazakhstan's Dilemma on Eurasian and Central Asian Integrations," in Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, eds, *Central Asia in the Era of Sovereignty. The Return of Tamerlane?* Lanham, MD: Lexington, 395-414.
- 2018 "Looking West more than East: Russia's World War II Commemorations," in Daqing Yang, Mike Mochizuki, and Akira Iriye, eds, *Memory, Identity, and Commemorations of World War II – Anniversary Politics in Asia Pacific* (Lanham: Lexington, 2018), 127-140.
- 2018 "The Nation Narrated: Uzbekistan's Political and Cultural Nationalism," in Marlene Laruelle, ed., *Constructing the Uzbek State. Narratives of the Post-Soviet Years*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 261-282.
- 2017 "When Eurasia looks East: Is Eurasianism Sinophile or Sinophobe?" in Mark Bassin, Gonzalo Pozo, eds, *The Politics of Eurasianism. Identity, Popular Culture and Russia's Foreign Policy*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 145-160.
- 2017 "Assessing Social Sustainability. Immigration to Russia's Arctic cities," in Robert Orttung, ed., *Sustaining Russia's Arctic Cities. Resource Politics, Migration, and Climate Change*, Berghan Books, 88-111.
- 2016 "Trajectory of a City. Murmansk and its Transforming Diversity," in Marlene Laruelle, ed., *New Mobilities and Social Changes in Russia's Arctic Regions*, London: Routledge, co-authored with Sophie Hohmann, and Alexandra Burtsveva, 158-175.
- 2016 "Which Future for National-Patriots? The Landscape of Kazakh Nationalism," in Marlene Laruelle, ed., *Kazakhstan in the Making. Legitimacy, Symbols and Social Changes*, Lanham, MD: Lexington, 155-180.
- 2016 "Russia as an anti-liberal European civilization," in Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud, eds., *The New Russian Nationalism: Between Imperial and Ethnic* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 275-297.
- 2016 "Digital Geopolitics Encapsulated. Geidar Dzhemal between Islamism, Occult Fascism and Eurasianism," in Mikhail Suslov and Mark Bassin, eds, *Eurasia 2.0. Russian Geopolitics in the Age of New Media* (Lanham: Lexington), 81-100.
- 2015 "Kyrgyzstan's Nationhood: From a Monopoly of Production to a Plural Market," in Marlene Laruelle, Johan Engval, eds, *Kyrgyzstan beyond 'Democracy Island' and 'Failing State': Social and Political Changes in a Post-Soviet Society* (Lanham, MD: Lexington): 165-184.

- 2015 "Dangerous Liaisons. Eurasianism, The European Far Right, and Putin's Russia," in Marlene Laruelle, ed, *Eurasianism and European Far Right: Reshaping the Europe-Russia Relationship* (Lanham, MD: Lexington): 1-32.
- 2015 "Conceiving the Territory. Eurasianism as a Geographical Ideology," in Marlene Laruelle, Mark Bassin and Sergey Glebov, eds, *Between Europe and Asia. The Origins, Theories and Legacies of Russian Eurasianism* (Pittsburgh University Press): 68-83.
- 2015 "Factoring the Foreign Policy Goals of the Central Asian States," in David Denoon, ed., *China, the United States and the Future of Central Asia* (New York: New York University Press), 75-98.
- 2015 "The Ukrainian Crisis and its Impact on Transforming Russian Nationalism Landscape," in Agnieszka Pikulicka-Wilczewska and Richard Sakwa, eds, *Ukraine and Russia People Politics Propaganda and Perspectives* (E-IR Publishers), 123-128.
- 2015 "Negotiating Social Activism. National Minorities Associations in Kazakhstan, or the Other Face of 'Civil Society'," in Charles E. Ziegler, ed., *Civil Society and Politics in Central Asia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky), 111-133.
- 2014 "The Three Discursive Paradigms of State Identity in Kazakhstan. Kazakhness, Kazakhstanes and Transnationalism," in Mariya Omelicheva, ed., *Nationalism and Identity Construction in Central Asia. Dimensions, Dynamics and Directions* (Lanham: Lexington Books), 1-20.
- 2013 "Russia in Afghanistan. Enduring Interests, Domestic Challenges and Regional Strategies," in A. Snetkov and S. Aris, eds., *The Regional Dimension to Security. Other Sides of Afghanistan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 136-151.
- 2013 "Space as a Destiny. Legitimizing the Russian Empire through Geography and Cosmos," in S. Turoma, and M. Waldstein, *Empire De/Centered. New Spatial Histories of Russia and the Soviet Union* (Fanhm: Ashgate), 85-101.
- 2013 "Kazakhstan: Central Asia's New Migration Crossroads," in M. Laruelle, ed., *Migration and Social Upheaval as the Face of Globalization in Central Asia* (London: Brill), 87-108.
- 2013 "Friendship with Moderation. The Central Asian Point of View on the SCO," in M. Fredholm, ed., *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Eurasian Geopolitics* (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies), 229-251, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2013 "Kyrgyzstan: conflict and prospects for peace," in D. Aurobinda Mahapatra, ed., *Conflict and Peace in Eurasia* (London: Routledge), 119-133 co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2012 "Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Hopes amid Hurdles," in P.L. Dash, ed., *India and Central Asia. Two Decades of Transition* (Oxford, New Delhi: Oxford University Press), 76-87, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2012 "Moscow's China dilemma: evolving perceptions of Russian security in Eurasia and Asia," in R.E. Bedetski and N. Swanström, eds., *Eurasia's Ascent in Energy and Geopolitics. Rivalry or partnership for China, Russia, and Central Asia?* (London: Routledge), 76-91.
- 2012 "Olzhas Suleimenov," in S. Norris, and W. Sunderland, eds., *Russia's People of Empire: Lives Stories from Eurasia, 1500 to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 319-325.
- 2012 "Totalitarian Utopia, The Occult, And Technological Modernity In Russia: The Intellectual Experience Of Cosmism," in B. Menzel, M. Hagemeister, and B. Glatzer Rosenthal, eds., *The New Age of Russia. Occult and Esoteric Dimensions* (Munich: Kubon & Sagner), 238-258.

- 2012 "The *Rodnoverie* Movement: The Search For Pre-Christian Ancestry And The Occult," in B. Menzel, M. Hagemester, and B. Glatzer Rosenthal, eds., *The New Age of Russia. Occult and Esoteric Dimensions* (Munich: Kubon & Sagner), 293-310.
- 2012 "The Challenges of Human Development in Central Asia," in Ramses Amer, Ashok Swain and Joakim Öjendal, eds, *The Security-Development Nexus. Peace, Conflict and Development* (Anthem Press), 137-160, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2011 "Foreign Policy and Myth-making: Great Game, Heartland, and Silk Roads," in M. Laruelle, and S. Peyrouse, eds., *Mapping Central Asia: Indian Perceptions and Strategies* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate), 7-20.
- 2011 "Managing Regional Geopolitical Uncertainty," in M. Laruelle, and S. Peyrouse, eds., *Mapping Central Asia: Indian Perceptions and Strategies* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate), 145-160, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2011 "Academia and the Rewriting of National Identity in Central Asia: The Soviet Union and Colonialism Issues," in H. Komatsu, S. Karasar, T. Dadabaev, and G. Kurmangaliyeva Ercilasun, eds., *Central Eurasian Studies: Past, Present and Future* (Istanbul: Maltepe University), 215-224.
- 2010 "Why Central Asia? The Strategic Rationale of Indian and Chinese Involvement in the Region," in M. Laruelle, J.-F. Huchet, S. Peyrouse, and B. Balci, eds., *China and India in Central Asia. A new "Great Game"?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 1-16.
- 2010 "Russia Facing China and India in Central Asia: Cooperation, Competition, and Hesitations," in M. Laruelle, J.-F. Huchet, S. Peyrouse, and B. Balci, eds., *China and India in Central Asia. A new "Great Game"?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 9-24.
- 2010 "'Tengrism' in Kyrgyzstan: in search of New Religious and Political Legitimacy," in I. Charleux, G. Delaplace, and R. Hamayon, eds., *Representing Power in Ancient Inner Asia: Legitimacy, Transmission and the Sacred* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University), 55-96, co-authored with Aurélie Biard.
- 2010 "Russia and Central Asia," in E. Kavalski, ed., *The New Central Asia. The Regional Impact of International Actors* (New Jersey, London: World Scientific), 149-176.
- 2009 "Rethinking Russian Nationalism: Historical Continuity, Political Diversity, And Doctrinal Fragmentation," in M. Laruelle, ed., *Russian Nationalism and the National Reassertion of Russia* (London: Routledge), 13-48.
- 2006 "The Orient in Russian Thought at the Turn of the Century," in D. Shlapentokh, ed., *Russia between East and West. Scholarly Debates on Eurasianism* (Leiden/Boston: Brill), 9-38.

Policy papers

- 2020 "Russia's Arctic Policy: A Power Strategy and Its Limits," *Russie.NEI.Visions*, no. 117, April.
- 2019 "Russia/Eurasia," chapter for *Global Trends*, Strategic Futures Group, National Intelligence Council.
- 2019 "Russia's activities in Central Asia," chapter 10 of *SMA TRADOC Russia White Paper*.
- 2019 "Collusion or Homegrown Collaboration? Connections between German Far Right and Russia," *Political Capital* (Budapest), April, co-authored with Ellen Rivera.
- 2019 "Imagined Geographies of Central and Eastern Europe. The Concept of Intermarium," *IERES Occasional Papers*, no. 1 (March), co-authored with Ellen Rivera.
- 2019 "Russia's Militia Groups and their Use at Home and Abroad," *Russie.Nei.Visions* no. 113, IFRI, April.
- 2019 "Envisioning Opportunities for U.S.-Russia Cooperation in and with Central Asia," *Working Group on the Future of US-Russia relations Papers*, Harvard University, April.

- 2018 "Russian Soft Power in France: Assessing Moscow's Cultural and Business Para-Diplomacy," Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, January.
- 2017 "Assessing Russia's Normative Agenda in Central Asia," Bishkek Project, Eurasianet.org, March.
- 2017 "Putin's Regime and the Ideological Market: A Difficult Balancing Game," *Carnegie Papers*, March 2017
- 2017 "Kadyrovism: Hardline Islam as a Tool of the Kremlin," *IFRI Notes, Russie. NEI.Vision*, 99.
- 2016 "How Islam will change Russia," *Jamestown Foundation Paper*, September 2016.
- 2016 "The European Union in a Reconnecting Eurasia. Foreign Economic and Security Interests," *CSIS Reports*, April 2016.
- 2015 "From Paris to Vladivostok. The Kremlin's connections of the French far right," Political Capital Institute (Budapest), December 2015, co-authored with Loran Gyori, Peter Kreko, Dora Haller, Rudy Reichstadt.
- 2015 *Women and Water in Central Asia and South Asia Building a Sustainable Future*, December 2015, Final Policy Report, co-authored with Deepa Ollapally, Ariana Leon and Julia Collins.
- 2015 "The 'Russian World'. Russia's Soft Power and Geopolitical Imagination," *Center for Global Interests Papers*, May.
- 2014 "Russia's Policy in Central Asia," *EUCAM European National Policy Series*, no. 17, September.
- 2014 "Russia's National Identity and Foreign Policy toward the Asia-Pacific," *The Asan Forum*, January.
- 2014 "The impact of the 2014 ISAF forces' withdrawal from Afghanistan on the Central Asian region," European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs, January, with Jos Boonstra and Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2013 "The Afghanistan-Central Asia relationship: What role for the EU?" *EUCAM Working Papers* no. 13, February, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse and Vera Axyonova.
- 2012 "Regional Organisations in Central Asia: Patterns of Interaction, Dilemmas of Efficiency," *University of Central Asia's Institute of Public Policy and Administration Working Paper* No. 10, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.
- 2012 "Security and development in Central Asia. The EU compared to China and Russia," *EUCAM Working Paper* No. 11, May, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse and Jos Boonstra.
- 2011 "Russia's Perceptions and Strategies in Afghanistan and their Consequences for NATO," *NATO Research Paper*, No. 69, November.
- 2010 *Into Eurasia Monitoring the EU's Central Asia Strategy. Report of the EUCAM Monitoring*, February, co-authored with M. Emerson, J. Boonstra (*rapporteurs*), N. Hasanova, and S. Peyrouse.
- 2009 "Inside and Around the Kremlin's Black Box: the New Nationalist Think Tanks in Russia," *Stockholm Papers*, October.
- 2009 "Russia in a 10-20 Year Perspective," *Stockholm Papers*, October, co-authored with Anna Jonsson, and Fredrik Erixon.
- 2009 "Russia in Central Asia: Old History, New Challenges?," *EUCAM Policy Papers*, No. 3, September.
- 2009 "Beyond the Afghan Trauma: Russia's Return to Afghanistan," *Jamestown Occasional Paper*, August.
- 2009 *China as a Neighbor. Central Asian Perspectives and Strategies*, Washington, D.C.: The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Silk Road Monograph, April, co-authored with Sebastien Peyrouse.

- 2008 “Russian Policy on Central Asia and the Role of Russian Nationalism,” *Silk Road Papers*, Washington, D.C.: The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, April.
- 2008 “Russo-Turkish Rapprochement Through the Idea of Eurasia: Alexander Dugin’s Networks in Turkey,” *Jamestown Occasional Papers*, April.
- 2006 “Aleksandr Dugin: A Russian Version of the European Radical Right?” *Kennan Institute Occasional Papers*, No. 294.

Commentaries, op-eds, and memos

Op-eds for: *Foreign Affairs*, *The National Interest*, *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, *The Moscow Times*, *Open Democracy*, *The Diplomat*, *Owl in the Olive Tree*.

Policy comments in: *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, *Russian Analytical Digest*, *Current History*, *Baltic Rim Economies*, *German Marshall Fund’s Wider Europe*, *SAIS’ Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst*, *Jamestown Foundation’s Eurasia Daily Monitor*, *The Arctic Institute*, *ISDP Policy Brief*, *EUCAM Commentaries*, *FRIDE Policy Briefs*, *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

Publications in other languages

8 single- or co-authored monographs, 5 edited volumes, about forty articles in French
 2 single- or co-authored monographs, 5 edited volumes, about twenty articles in Russian
 Some articles translated in Spanish, Italian and German.

SELECTED TALKS (last 5 years)

Policy Briefings and Hearings

- 2019 *Russian and Chinese Activity in Central Asia*, SMA Speaker Series, Washington DC, Defense Department. September 18.
- 2019 *Russia and China in Central Asia*, Testimony for U.S.-China Commission Hearing, “An Emerging China-Russia Axis? Implications for the United States in an Era of Strategic Competition,” Congress, March 21.
- 2019 *Russia and NATO: Next Generation Warfare?*, “GW Senior Manager Course in National Security Leadership,” George Washington University, Washington DC, February 28.
- 2019 *Russia’s Tools of Influence in Europe*, Defense Studies Institute, Andrew Base, January 30.
- 2018 *Russia’s Arctic Policy—Sovereignty and Governance Aspects*, “Arctic Futures: Arctic States Responding to Shifting Trends,” Office of Analytic Outreach Bureau of Intelligence and Research, October 23.
- 2018 *Afghanistan and Its Neighbors: Coalition-Building Challenges*, “GW Senior Manager Course in National Security Leadership,” George Washington University, Washington DC, February 28.
- 2017 *Assessing Russia’s Soft Power in Europe*, Workshop “Russian Relations with Europe,” U.S. Department of State Bureau of Intelligence and Research and the National Intelligence Council, Washington DC, November 29.
- 2017 *Youth in Central Asia: Social Challenges and Changes in Values*, World Bank Central Asia Team Meeting, Washington DC, April 19.
- 2016 Report launch, *The Kremlin’s Trojan Horses*, Atlantic Council, Washington DC, November 16.

- 2016 *The Russia-China Military-Industrial Complex Rapprochement*, French Ministry of Defense, Paris, France, June 15.
- 2016 *The Drivers of Russia's Arctic Policy*, Congressional Seminar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., April 15.
- 2015 *Russian Nationalists and the Kremlin after the Ukrainian Crisis*, Russia and Eurasia Department, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, France, December 18.
- 2015 *No war, no peace...Challenges in Eurasia* (roundtable), Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) conference, Joint Andrew Base, Virginia, October 28.
- 2015 *Testimony*, "Looking West: China and Central Asia," U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Congress, Washington D.C., March 18.
- 2015 *Silk Roads projects and narratives*, Foreign Service Institute, Washington D.C., February 24.
- 2015 *US Silk Road Policy, Opportunities and Challenges*, Global Ties US, Department of State's International Visitor Leadership Program, Washington D.C., February 6.
- 2015 Executive Analytic Exchange on Turkmenistan for Ambassador Allan P. Mustard, U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Washington D.C., January 13.
- 2014 *The Impact of the Ukrainian Crisis in Central Asia*, Briefing for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff, Washington D.C., July 4.
- 2014 *Some Recommendations for the US Chairmanship of the Arctic Council*, The Future of Arctic Cooperation, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington D.C., June 25.
- 2013 *Assessment of the Impact on the Central Asian Region of the 2014 Withdrawal of NATO/ISAF forces from Afghanistan*, Committee on Foreign Affairs, European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, December 18.
- 2013 *Russia's Arctic Strategy. Opportunities and Challenges*, Harvard US-Russia Security Program, Washington, DC, November 12.
- 2013 *Russia's Futures*, Testimony before the Finnish Parliament's Committee for the Future, Helsinki, Finland, October 25.
- 2012 *Is the 'New Silk Road' a Comprehensive Drawdown Policy?*, Conference "Security, Supply Lines and Sustainable Development: Afghanistan and Central Asia towards 2014 and beyond," organized by FRIDE, EUCAM and the Open Society Foundation's Central Eurasia Project, Bundestag, Berlin, Germany, November 29.
- 2012 *Domestic Situation in Tajikistan after the Khorog Events*, EUCAM seminar, EU Finnish Permanent Representation, Brussels, Belgium, September 21.
- 2012 *Domestic Security Challenges in Kazakhstan*, Public Hearing of the European Parliament, "The Challenges of the EU-Kazakhstan Partnership," Brussels, Belgium, September 19.
- 2012 *Discussing 'Extremism' in Russia*, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Senior Executive Seminar, Garmisch, Germany, September 10.
- 2012 *Assessing Future Trends of China's and Russia's Involvement in Central Asia*, Workshop "The Growing Influence of China in South Asia and the Future Impact on Russia and the Near Abroad," The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, Laurens, MD, August 29.
- 2012 *Identifying the Real 'Security Threats' in Central Asia*, Workshop "Central Asia after NATO Troop Withdrawal from Afghanistan," NATO Defense College, Rome, Italy, July 9.
- 2012 *Uzbekistan: Relations with Neighbors and Role in the Afghan Puzzle of Regional Stability*, Annual seminar of the OSCE School for Border Management, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, May 16.

- 2012 *Changing Power Balance in the Caspian Region*, Conference “Prospects for Prosperity in the Caspian Basin: Energy, Reform, and 20 Years of Diplomatic Relations with the United States,” Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington D.C., March 27.
- 2012 *The Future of Central Asia and the Trans-Atlantic Partnership*, Workshop “Global Trends 2030: Security Challenges to the Trans-Atlantic Partnership,” The U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research, The National Intelligence Council, and The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Washington D.C., March 26.
- 2011 *Impacts of China’s Growing Influence in Central Asia*, Conference “China’s Evolving Role in Central Asia,” Foreign Service Institute, Washington D.C., December 9.
- 2011 *Putin’s Third Act: Challenges, Changes, and Stagnation in Russia*, Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), Ottawa, Canada, November 22.
- 2011 *Is China Winning on Russia in Central Asia?* German Marshall Fund of the United States Trilateral Strategy Group Fifth Meeting, “Geopolitics and Strategy in Revolutionary Times,” Warsaw, Poland, November 13-15.
- 2011 *Cooperation and Competition Patterns of Europe and Russia in Central Asia*, EUCAM Conference “Europe and Central Asia: an Evolving Partnership in Security and Development,” Parliament of Finland, Helsinki, Finland, October 24.
- 2011 *The Military and Security Services as Political Players*, Conference “Russian Presidential Succession,” The U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Washington D.C., September 27.
- 2011 *Reassessing ‘Security’ In Central Asia: The Weight of Neighboring Afghanistan*, Conference “Contemporary Issues in International Security: U.S-Russian-European Views 2011,” U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA, September 26-27.

Invited talks

- 2019 “Russian, Chinese, and Militant Messaging Effects on U.S. Favorability Perceptions in Central Asia.” Minerva Meeting and Program Review, Washington, DC, September 26.
- 2019 *Kazakhstan’s Semi-Transition*, Ed. A. Hewett Forum on Former Soviet Affairs, Brookings Institution, May 6.
- 2019 *Russia’s Ideological Ecosystems: What Are the Interactions between Nationalists and the Kremlin?* Kennan Institute, Washington DC, February 21.
- 2019 *New Generations in Central Asia: Opportunities and Challenges of Transformation*, Second Annual Edward Allworth Distinguished Lecture on Central Asian Studies, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, February 11.
- 2018 *Making Sense of Russia: Putin’s Fourth Term and its Implications for Russia and the World*, SUNY Geneseo Kenneth Roemer Lecture on World Affairs, Geneseo, March 22.
- 2018 *Russia’s Arctic Ambitions: Domestic Factors and Foreign Policy Strategies*, ARCUS Arctic Research Seminar Series, Washington DC, March 6.
- 2018 *Kazakhstan’s Nationhood: Politics and Society on the Move*, “Nava’i Nalle Lecture,” Georgetown University, Washington DC, February 8.
- 2018 *Fashisty! The War in Ukraine and the Semantics of Fascism and Conservatism in Russia*, Harvard Ukrainian Research Center, February 5.
- 2017 *Social Changes and Their Impact on Central Asia*, Toronto University, Canada, March 1.
- 2016 *Social Changes and Their Impact on Central Asia*, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York, November 10.
- 2016 *What do we Know about Central Asia’s Public Opinions?*, Center for Russian, East Europe, and Central Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI, February 25.

- 2016 *The Other Face of the Arctic: Urban Culture in a Polar Environment*, Geography Department, George Washington University, Washington D.C., January 22.
- 2015 *Central Asia In and Out. Globalizing factors*, 2015 Paul Bergne Memorial Lecture, Antony's College, Oxford, United Kingdom, May 13.
- 2015 *The US Silk Road: Geopolitical Imaginary or the Repackaging of Strategic Interests?*, Critical Silk Roads Seminar, Georgetown University, April 30.
- 2015 *Nation-building in Central Asia. State narratives and their Challengers*, Davis Center, Harvard University, MA, February 11.
- 2014 *An Evolving Identity Framework. The Rise of Russian Ethnonationalism and its Mobilizing Potential*, Russian Studies Department, Manchester University, United Kingdom, April 1.
- 2013 *Aleksei Navalny and the National-Democrats. Failures and Successes to reconcile Nationalism and Liberalism*, NEORUSS Seminar, Oslo, NUPI and University of Oslo, Norway, November 28.
- 2013 *Russian Nationalism: A Look through Politics, Society and Culture*, Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies, Miami-Oxford University, OH, November 11.
- 2012 *The 'Chinese Question' in Central Asia*, Nazarbayev University, Astana, Kazakhstan, December 6.
- 2011 *Reassessing Russia's Decisionmaking Community: Intra-elite Conflicts, Political and Business Networks, and Ideological Constructions*, Kennan Institute Seminar, Washington D.C., March 21.
- 2011 *Soviet Racial Ideology and Politics after Stalin. New Perspectives*, with Sarah Fainberg, Georgetown Program for Jewish Civilization and the Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University, Washington D.C., March 2.
- 2010 *Russian Policy in the Arctic: Ambitions, Dreams, and Strategies*, Russian and Eurasian Studies Program, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C., November 3.
- 2010 *Reassessing Russian Nationalism: The Search for a Social Consensus*, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, March 12.
- 2010 *Perspectives et stratégies de la Russie en Afghanistan et en Asie centrale* [Perspectives and Strategies of Russia in Afghanistan and in Central Asia], Laval University, Quebec City, Canada, January 29.

Conferences

- 2019 *Russia's Conservative Playbook*, International Conference "Russia in the Global Cultural Wars," Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and world Affairs, Georgetown University, October 17-18, 2019.
- 2019 *Russia as a Conservative Avant-Garde? A Cartography of the Russian "Rights,"* Workshop "Taking Far-Right Thinkers Seriously," Notre Dame University, May 1.
- 2019 *Russia's Soft Power in the Muslim World*, International Conference "Russia's Islamic Diplomacy. Institutions, Informality, and Believers," IERES, George Washington University, Washington DC, April 29.
- 2019 *EAEU and BRI: Regional Integration Grand Designs Challenged*, CERES Conference "Energy & Economics in Central Asia," Georgetown University, April 8.
- 2019 *Kazakhstan's Youth, National Identity Transformations and their Political Consequences*, Central Asia Security Workshop, George Washington University, Washington DC, March 18.
- 2019 *Populism and Character Assassination in European Context: A Comparative Approach*, International Conference "CARP 2019: Character Assassination and Populism: Challenges and Responses," George Mason University, March 16.

- 2019 *Why Asking If "Russia Is Undermining Democracy in the West" Is Asking the Wrong Question,* Conference "Is Russia Undermining Democracy in the West?" Penn State, Philadelphia, March 14.
- 2019 *Theorizing Central Asia: State of the Field,* Central Asia and Caucasus Seminar, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, February 20.
- 2019 *"Conservatism" in Russia and in Europe. Gaps and Overlaps,* International Conference "Conservatism and Reaction in Contemporary Politics," Bard College, Gagarin Center at the Smolny College (Saint-Petersburg), and the Harriman Institute, Columbia University, February 11-13.
- 2019 *Beyond Putin: Russia's Generations Y and Z,* PONARS Spring Annual Policy Conference, George Washington University, Washington DC, February 1.
- 2018 *Cultural Studies and their Role in Understanding Russia's Political Regime,* Conference "Regime Evolution, Institutional Change, and Social Transformation in Russia," Yale University, April 27-28.
- 2018 *Kazakhstani Perceptions of External Powers. Unexpected Findings of Survey Analysis,* International Conference "Central Asia Security Workshop," George Washington University, Washington DC, March 5.
- 2017 *Indicators of an Arctic Urban Social Sustainability Index,* 5th international conference of the Arctic Research Coordination Network "Building a Research Network for Promoting Arctic Urban Sustainability," Anchorage, Alaska, May 15-16.
- 2017 *Studying Russian Media Context, Challenges and New Directions for Research,* PONARS Eurasia Workshop "Revisiting Research on Russian Media," George Washington University, Washington DC, April 28.
- 2017 *Labor migration to Russia and its impact on Central Asian societies,* Conference "US-Central Asia Relations," Georgetown University, Washington DC, April 20.
- 2017 *Revisiting 'Conservative' values. Is Illiberalism the New Mainstream for Central Asian Societies?* International Conference "Central Asia Security Workshop," George Washington University, Washington DC, March 6.
- 2017 *Reductio ad Fascism. Character Assassination of Putin's Regime through the Labeling of 'Fascism',* International Conference "Character Assassination in Theory and Practice," George Mason University, Washington DC, March 4.
- 2016 Book launch, *25 Years of Independence: Questioning Post-Soviet,* Kennan Institute, Washington DC, December 6.
- 2016 *Changes in the Social Fabric of Russia's Arctic Cities,* First PIRE international conference, George Washington University, Washington DC, October 20.
- 2016 *Debating Islam and Russia's National Identity,* International Conference "The Image of Islam in Russia," Uppsala Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Uppsala, Sweden, October 6-8.
- 2016 *Social Changes and New Mobilities in Norilsk,* International Conference "Russia's Arctic Cities' Sustainable Development and Challenges," George Washington University, and the Russian Geographical Society, Lenin Icebreaker, Murmansk, Russia, June 27-28.
- 2016 *'Nationalism', 'Conservatism'? Competition and Overlaps in the Kremlin's Narrative,* International Conference "The State and Political Discourse in Today's Russia," George Washington University and Reset-Dialogues on Civilizations conference, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, Italy, June 17-18.
- 2016 *Tajikistan's Quest for a National Storytelling. Ambivalences, Blank Spaces, and Discontinuities,* International Conference "Tajikistan. Approaches, Fieldworks and Topics," George Washington University and the Swedish Institute for International Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden, June 13-14.

- 2016 *Assessing Russia's Normative Agenda in Central Asia*, International Conference "The Great Powers and Central Asia after Western Drawdown from Afghanistan," OSCE Academy and Columbia University, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, June 6-7, 2016.
- 2016 *Is Nationalism a Force of Change in Russia?*, Daedalus authors' workshop, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, MA, May 31-June 2.
- 2016 Arctic Social Sciences Workshop, NSF-funded workshop of Arctic Horizons, Brown University, MA, June 1-2.
- 2016 *Izborsky Club: Nationalism, Stalinism, Conservatism?*, International Conference "Nation-building and nationalism in today's Russia," Tallinn, Estonia, April 28-29.
- 2016 *How Nation-Building Interact with Regime Legitimacy*, Workshop "Understanding Regime Legitimacy in Central Asia," University of Glasgow's CRCEES and George Washington University, Washington D.C., April 13.
- 2016 *Can we Map the Production of 'Ideologies' in Contemporary Russia?*, International conference "Locating 'Conservative Ideology' in Today's Russia," George Washington University, Washington D.C., March 31-April 1.
- 2016 Roundtable *Confronting Far-Right Extremism in Europe*, Atlantic Council, Washington D.C., March 22.
- 2016 *Capturing Russian Media Influence in Central Asia*, Workshop "Third Central Asia Security Workshop," George Washington University, Washington D.C., March 8.
- 2016 *Soil and Bones. The Search Movement in Russia*, Workshop "The Culture of Memory and Commemoration in Contemporary Russia," George Washington University, Washington D.C., February 26.
- 2016 *Russia's Arctic Policy. Setting the Scene*, Conference "U.S.-Russia Relations in the Arctic," Harriman Institute and SIPA Center on Global Energy Policy, Columbia University, February 12.
- 2015 *Russia's Celebration of V-Day: Great Politics and Domestic Legitimacy*, International Conference "Anniversary Politics: Commemorations of WWII in the Asia Pacific in 2015," Sigur Center for Asian Studies, George Washington University, Washington D.C., September 10.
- 2015 *The New Ice Curtain: Russia's Strategic Reach to the Arctic*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington D.C., August 27.
- 2015 *The 'Xenophobic Empire'. Multinationality, Ethnicity and Empire in State Narratives in Russia*, International workshop "The Evolution of Russian Political Thought after 1991," Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Berlin, Germany, June 22-23.
- 2015 *Academia and the National Identity Narrative in Uzbekistan. Structure and Evolution*, International conference "Uzbekistan beyond the 'Curtain'. Approaches, fieldworks and topics," George Washington University and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden, June 11-12.
- 2015 *Why the Eurasian Union is not Eurasianist*, International conference "The Politics of Eurasianism," Sodertorn University, Stockholm, Sweden, May 14-15.
- 2015 *The Economic Crisis in Central Asia and the Relationship to Russia*, Conference "Central Asia. What's next?" Georgetown University, Washington D.C., March 30.
- 2015 *Russia's Arctic Policy in the post-Ukraine Situation*, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C., March 25.
- 2015 *The Eurasian Economic Union and Central Asia*, Seminar "What Future for the Eurasian Economic Union?" Columbia University, New York, March 3.
- 2014 *Russia, China, India. Convergences and Conflicts of Interests*, Workshop "India, China, Russia: Incentives and Limits of Cooperation," Carnegie Endowment for International Affairs, Washington D.C., May 14.

- 2014 *Russian Nationalism and the Ukrainian Crisis*, Seminar “The Role of Ultra-Nationalism in Conflict and Crisis: Russia, Ukraine and the EU,” Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., November 12.
- 2014 *The Water/Energy Nexus in Central Asia. Do we ask the Right Questions?* Workshop “The Third Central Asia Fellowship Seminar,” George Washington University, Washington D.C., June 24.
- 2014 *The Rise of Kazakh Nationalism: Internet Sociability, Youth Ideology, and National Myths*, International Conference “Kazakhstan beyond Economic Success. Exploring Social and Cultural Changes in Eurasia,” George Washington University and the Uppsala Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies (UCRS), Uppsala University, Sweden, June 13-14.
- 2014 *Is Eurasia winning over Eurasianism? Trajectories of a Concept*, Workshop “The Vision of Eurasia,” Sodertorn University, Sweden, June 9.
- 2014 *Norilsk Urban Landscape: Migrants, Social Stratification and Symbolic Hierarchy*, Arctic Research Coordination Network, Second Workshop, Saint-Petersburg, Russia, June 5-7.
- 2014 *Mahalla as an object of Western Scholarship*, Workshop “Mahallas in Uzbekistan and the status of self-governing bodies,” George Washington University, Washington D.C., May 29.
- 2014 *Russia’s Arctic Policy. Domestic and International Drivers*, Federal Conference “Sovereignty, Security and Governance in the Arctic,” Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., May 21.
- 2014 *Convergences and Conflicts of Interests Seen from Russia*, Workshop “India, China, Russia. Incentives and Limits of Cooperation,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., May 14.
- 2014 *“Silk Road”: Historical Metaphor, Ideology, Wishful Thinking?*, Workshop “The Second Central Asia Security Workshop,” George Washington University, Washington D.C., February 24.
- 2014 *Kazakhstan as a Migration Pole: Regional Opportunities, Domestic Challenges*, International Conference “Soft Security Challenges in Central Asia and Kazakhstan,” George Washington University, Washington D.C., February 4.
- 2013 *Russia’s Futures*, Plenary Panel, “Russia and the World,” 13th Annual Aleksanteri Conference in Helsinki, Finland, October 23-25.
- 2013 *Research on National and Political Identity in Russia: New Developments and Ideas*, Centenary Conference of Slavic Studies, Leiden University, Netherlands, October 11.
- 2013 *Patriotism, Memory and Culture. Kul’tura, Zvezda and Spas Broadcasting Narratives*, Workshop “Media and Democratization in post-Soviet Nations, George Washington University,” Washington D.C., September 25.
- 2013 *US Policy towards Central Asia*, International conference “Islam in Eurasia. Policy Conference,” David Center for Russian Studies and Kennan Institute, Washington D.C., June 6-7.
- 2013 *Central Asian Migrants as New Actors in Russia’s Arctic Urban Landscape*, Arctic Urban Sustainability Conference, George Washington University, Washington D.C., May 30-31.
- 2013 *A “Regional Solution” for Afghanistan? Perspectives from Afghanistan’s Northern Neighbors*, Workshop “Afghanistan after 2014,” George Washington University, the Kennan Institute and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars’ South Asia Center, Washington D.C., May 1.
- 2013 *Women and Water in South and Central Asia*, Workshop “Water Resource Management, Human Rights and Environmental Security in South/Central Asia.

- Gilgit-Baltistan: A Case Study," Central Asia Program, in partnership with GW International Development Program, The Foundation for Democracy and Rule of Law for Regions in Conflict, and The Institute of Gilgit-Baltistan Studies, Washington D.C., April 25.
- 2013 *Changing Patterns of Identity Debates in Russia and Ukraine: from Memory Wars to the Migration Issue*, International Conference "Russian and Ukrainian Nationalism: Entangled Histories," Harriman Institute, Columbia University Press April 22-23.
- 2013 *Deconstructing the 'Spillover' Narrative*, "Central Asia Security Workshop," Central Asia Program, George Washington University, Washington D.C., March 25-26.
- 2013 *The Chinese Question in Central Asia: Perceptions, Politics and Social Change: A Conversation with authors Marlene Laruelle and Sebastien Peyrouse, Moderated by Alexander Cooley*, Harriman Institute and Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University, New York, March 6.
- 2012 *Framing the Nation and the Sociology of Academia in Kyrgyzstan*, International conference "Kyrgyzstan Beyond 'Democracy Island' And 'Failing State': Factoring Social and Political Changes in a Post-Soviet Society," George Washington University and UCRS, Uppsala, Sweden, December 17-18.
- 2012 *Central Asian Workers in the Arctic*, Workshop "Russia's Arctic Cities: State Policies, Resource Development, and Climate Change," Washington D.C., George Washington University, November 19.
- 2012 *Nomadism as a Nation-Building tool in Contemporary Kazakhstan*, Workshop "Nomadic Life Styles and Narratives in Kazakhstan: Then and Now," George Washington University and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., November 9.
- 2012 *Debating "Patronal Politics in Central Asia."* A *Demokratizatsiya Special Issue*, with Slavomir Horak, Erica Marat, Lawrence Markowitz, and Sebastien Peyrouse, George Washington University, Washington D.C., September 25.
- 2012 *Repenser la race par la culture : la raciologie dans la Nouvelle Droite russe et française* [Affirming race through culture : Raciology in the Russian and French New Rights], International Conference "L'imaginaire raciologique en France et en Russie aux XIX^e - XX^e siècles [Racial Imaginary in France and Russia, 19th-20th centuries]," Russian State University in the Humanities, Moscow, Russia, May 25-27.
- 2012 *Uzbekistan, a Key and Uncertain Actor for the Future of Afghanistan and the Regional Order in the Wider Central Asia*, International conference "Afghanistan's Stability and Regional Security Implications for Central Asia," George Washington University and EUCAM, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, May 17-18.
- 2012 *Reassessing 'Regional Solutions' for Post-2014 Afghanistan*, Conference "Afghanistan 2014: Impacts on Global Security Identities," The University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, April 25.
- 2012 *Russian Think Tanks: A Look on Ideas' Diversity in Russia and its Impact on the Decision-making Circles*, Conference "New President, New Russia? What's Next?" Aleksanteri Elections Seminars, Aleksanteri Institute, Helsinki, Finland, March 14.
- 2012 *Integration of Central Asian Migrants in Russia: the Micro-Scale Level*, International Conference "Labor Migration in the Post-Soviet World (Impetus, Experience, Effects, Policy)," Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York, March 1.
- 2012 *Armed Xenophobia in Eurasia*, Forum "Armed Xenophobia. The Global War against Immigrants," The Center for the History of the New America, University of Maryland, Washington D.C., February 16.

- 2012 *Factoring the Foreign Policy Goals of the Central Asian States*, International conference “The U.S., China, and the Future of Central Asia,” The China-U.S. Studies Center, New York University, February 6-8.
- 2012 *Opportunities and Disillusions of the “Look North” Policy. Indian Perceptions of and Strategies in Central Asia*, Joint Seminar, Sigur Center for Asian Studies and IERES, Elliott School for International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington D.C., January 23.
- 2012 *Patterns of Globalization in Central Asia: Integrating the World Economy*, International Seminar “Governance in Central Asia: The ‘Other’ Mapping of Energy Resources,” Barcelona University, Spain, January 19-20.
- 2011 *Russia*, International conference “The Other Sides of Afghanistan: a Regional Perspective on Security Issues in Afghanistan,” The Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland, November 3-4.
- 2011 *Evolving Pattern of Migration from Central Asia to Russia. Shuttle Migration and Long-Term Emigration*, International Conference “The Resilience of People in motion: Processes of immigration, transmigration, and remigration in the wider Europe today,” Trier University, Germany, October 13-15.
- 2011 *Apprendre à être patriote : les clubs patriotiques pour adolescents* [Learning to be patriot: Patriotic clubs for teenagers], Conference “Russie: Le patriotisme en pratique(s),” [Russia: Patriotism in Practice], CERCEC/CERI/MSH, Paris, France, May 12-13 (video-conference).
- 2011 *A Russian Look on the Arctic Future*, Conference “The Future of the Arctic,” SAIS, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C., February 2.
- 2011 *National Minorities’ Associations in Kazakhstan: Renegotiating Social Activism?* International Workshop “Civil Society in Kazakhstan and Central Asia,” Kennan Institute, Washington D.C., January 20-21.

Conventions

Quasi-annual participations to the Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), the Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS), the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN), and PONARS Eurasia Policy Conference.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

The Rise of the Far Right (GW, Graduate, Fall 2021)
 Illiberalism and Populism in Europe, Eurasia, and the US (GW, Graduate, Spring 2021)
 Central Asia between West and East (GW, Undergraduate, Fall 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)
 The Arctic in International Affairs (GW, Undergraduate, Fall 2018)
 Reemerging Nationalisms in Eurasia (GW, Graduate, Spring 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018)
 Central Asia: Society, Security, Economy, (GW, Graduate, Fall semester 2013, 2014, 2015)
 Politics of Post-Soviet Eurasia (GW, Graduate, Fall 2016)
 Islam and Ethnicity in Central Asia (GW, Graduate, Spring 2016)
 Junior Lecturer at the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Cultures, Paris (2001-02)

Thesis and PhD Supervision

Two PhD students at GW, Political Science Department
 Two French PhD students, Paris-Science Po and INALCO
 Undergrad and grad thesis supervision (7 students supervised, 2014-16)

Member, Pedagogical Team, Post-Soviet Studies Department, *Sciences Po* (the Institute of Political Studies) Paris, (2006-). Co-supervision of PhD students.

Invited Supervisor, Departments of Eurasian Studies and of Political Science, Gumilev University, Astana, Kazakhstan (2011-13, 2017-18). Co-supervision of PhD students.

SERVICE TO FIELD

Scholarly leadership

- 2018-21 President, Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS) (three-year term with three rotating presidents).
- 2015-18 Member, GW's Research Advisory Board.
- 2014-16 Board Member, Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS), and lifetime member.
- 2011- Women in International Security (WIIS).
- 2006- Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN).
- 2004 French Center for Post-Soviet Societies Studies (INALCO, Paris).
- 2003- Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), lifetime member.

Editorships

- 2015- Director, book series "Contemporary Central Asia. Societies, Politics and Cultures," Lexington, Imprint of Rowman & Littlefield.
- 2014- Editor in chief, *Central Asian Affairs*.
- 2015- Member, Editorial Board, *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society*
- 2011- Member, Executive Editorial Board of *Demokratizatsiya. The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*.
- 2009-10 Member, Editorial Board, *The China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*
- 2007-10 Member, Editorial Board, *The Central Eurasian Reader*
- 2007- Member, Editorial Board, *Nationalities Papers*
- 2007-14 Co-director, book series "Sociétés postsoviétiques en mouvement," Petra, Paris, with Virginie Symaniec.
- 2005- Editorial Board Member, book series "Eurasian Study Library," Brill Publishers (London), "Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics & Society," Verlag-Ibidem (Stuttgart).
- 2003-07 Editorial Board Member, *Cahiers d'Asie centrale*

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

- 2011- Member, PONARS (Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia)
- 2009- Member, EUCAM (Europe-Central Asia Monitoring)
- 2011-15 Associate Researcher at FRIDE (Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior), Madrid
- 2011-13 Contributor, Oxford Analytica
- 2010- Subject Matter Expert, ISAF Strategic Assessment Group, NATO Central Intelligence
- 2011-15 Member, International Advisory Board of MYPLACE (Memory, Young, Political Legacy and Civic Engagement), European Commission FP7 Collaborative Large-scale integrating project, consortium of 16 research institutions, 14 European countries, 14 stakeholder public institutions
- 2008-16 Associate Fellow, Post-Soviet Studies Department, Institute of Political Studies (IEP), Paris

2002 Associate Fellow, Center for Russian, Caucasian and East-European Studies (CERCEC),
School of Advanced Social Sciences Studies (EHESS), Paris

LANGUAGES

French: Native

English, Russian: Fluent

Czech, German: working knowledge