Michele E. Commercio

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Academic Appointments

University of Vermont

Full Professor, Department of Political Science
 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science
 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science

University of Pennsylvania

2005-2006 Research Fellow, Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics

Georgetown University

2004-2005 Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for Eurasian, East European, and Russian Studies

Administrative Positions

University of Vermont

2023- Director of Undergraduate Studies and Transfer Affairs

2014- Director of Russian and East European Studies

Education

University of Pennsylvania 2004: Ph.D. Political Science

London School of Economics and Political Science

1995: M.Sc. Comparative Politics

University of Connecticut

1994: M.A. Soviet and East European Studies

Boston College

1991: B.A. Political Science, Magna Cum Laude

Works in Progress

Book manuscript on women's political participation in Kyrgyzstan

Peer-Reviewed University Press Books

Polygynous Marriages Among the Kyrgyz: Institutional Change and Endurance (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2022).

Russian Minority Politics in Post-Soviet Latvia and Kyrgyzstan: The Transformative Power of Informal Networks (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

- "Nastoiashchie Muzhiki and Depleted Masculinity in Kyrgyzstan," Central Asian Affairs 9, 2-3 (2022): 351-377. DOI:10.30965/22142290-bja10034.
- "Women in Kyrgyzstan Electorally Marginalized but Legislatively Influential: A Theory of Transactional Activism," *Politics and Gender*, 18, 3 (2022): 605-639. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X20000689
- "Don't become a lost specimen!" Polygyny and Motivational Interconnectivity in Kyrgyzstan," *Central Asian Survey* 39, 3 (2020): 340-360. DOI: 10.1080/02634937.2020.1777088.
- "Structural Violence and Horizontal Inequalities: Conflict in Southern Kyrgyzstan," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6, 4 (2018): 764-784. DOI: 10.1089/21565503.2017.1301822.
- "The Politics and Economics of 'Retraditionalization' in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 31, 6 (2015): 529-556. DOI: 10.1080/1060586X.2014.986870.
- "Emotion and Blame in Collective Action: Russian Voice in Kyrgyzstan and Latvia," *Political Science Quarterly*, 124, 3 (Fall 2009): 489-512.
- "Systems of Partial Control: Ethnic Dynamics in Post-Soviet Estonia and Latvia," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 43, 1 (January 2008): 81-100.
- "Exit in the Near Abroad: The Russian Minorities in Latvia and Kyrgyzstan," *Problems of Post-Communism*, 51, 6 (November/December 2004): 23-32.
- "The 'Pugachev Rebellion' in the Context of Post-Soviet Kazakh Nationalization," *Nationalities Papers*, 32, 1 (March 2004): 87-113.

Peer-Reviewed Book Chapters

- "The Infliction of Slow Violence on First Wives in Kyrgyzstan," in Shannon O'Lear, ed., *A Research Agenda for Geographies of Slow Violence: Making Social and Environmental Injustice Visible* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2021): 155-172.
- "A Woman Without a Man is a Kazan Without a Lid: Polygyny in Tajikistan," in Marlene Laruelle, ed., *Tajikistan on the Move: Statebuilding and Societal Transformations* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2018): 171-192.

Book Reviews

2021. "Toward Nationalizing Regimes: conceptualizing power and identity in the post-Soviet realm," by Diana T. Kudaibergenova. Review published in *Slavic Review*.

2020. "Islam in Central Asia and the Caucasus since the Fall of the Soviet Union," by Bayram Balci. Review published in *Nationalities Papers*.

2019. "Encounters at the Edge of the Muslim World: A Political Memoir of Kyrgyzstan," by Eugene Huskey. Review published in *Russian Review* (July): 537.

2018. "Azan on the Moon: Entangling Modernity Along Tajikistan's Pamir Highway," by Till Mostowlansky. Review published in *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review*, V. 45, 385-401.

2013. "Chaos, Violence, Dynasty: Politics and Islam in Central Asia," by Eric McGlinchey,. Review published in *Slavic Review*, Spring: 202-203.

1998. "Time and Revolution: Marxism and the Design of Soviet Institutions," by Stephen E. Hanson. Review published in *Newsletter, the American Political Science Association's Organized Section in Comparative Politics*, 9, no.2 (Summer): 22-23.

Other Publications

Invited Participant: "Otinchalar – 'Truly' Muslim?" in "Book Discussions: Svetlana Peshkova, Women, Islam, and Identity: Public Life in Private Spaces in Uzbekistan" *Central Asian Affairs* 3 (2016): 77-93. DOI: 10.1163/22142290-00301004.

"Conflict in Kyrgyzstan?" Occasional Paper #286, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, May 2004: 1-16.

Research Grants, PI for and sole recipient, *indicates peer-review selection process

*National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, Travel Grant, 2023 (\$2,500.00)

University of Vermont, Asian Studies Seybolt Award, 2021 (\$3,500.00)

*University of Vermont, REACH Grant Award, 2020 (\$5,000.00)

University of Vermont, Louis Rakin Foundation Grant, 2018 (\$2,000.00)

University of Vermont, Asian Studies Seybolt Award, 2018 (\$2,500.00)

*University of Vermont, Joan Smith Faculty Research Award, 2017 (\$7,000.00)

*University of Vermont, Humanities Center Summer Research Award, 2015 (\$5,000.00)

*University of Vermont, Small Grant Research Award, 2015 (\$3,000.00)

University of Vermont, Louis Rakin Foundation Grant, 2015 (\$3,000.00)

*International Research and Exchange Board, Short-Term Travel Grant, 2013 (airfare plus \$2,025.00)

*American Political Science Association, Small Research Grant, 2013 (\$2,100.00)

*National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, Travel Grant, 2013 (\$3,000.00)

*University of Vermont, RANSS Research Award for the Natural and Social Sciences, 2013 (\$2,500.00)

*University of Vermont, REACH Grant Award, 2013 (\$5,000.00)

University of Vermont, Louis Rakin Foundation Grant, 2013 (\$4,000.00)

*International Research and Exchange Board, Short-Term Travel Grant, Summer 2008

*American Political Science Association, Small Research Grant, Summer 2008

*National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, Travel Grant, Summer 2005 (research conducted Summer 2007)

*International Research and Exchange Board, Short-Term Travel Grant, Summer 2005

University of Pennsylvania, School of Arts and Sciences Dissertation Fellowship, 200-

*United States Institute of Peace, Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellowship, 2000-2001

Middlebury College, The Russian School, Middlebury Grant, 1999

*David L. Boren Graduate Fellowship, 1999

*National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant, 1999

*Institute of International Education, Professional Development Fellowship, 1999

*United States Institute of Peace, Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellowship, 1999 (Declined)

Ford Foundation, Pre-Dissertation Fellowship related to *Problematics of States and Identities*, a workshop held at the University of Pennsylvania, 1997

Research Skills

Qualitative Methods (extensive interview experience) Professional fluency in Russian

Field Research (conducted in Russian)

2023 (Kyrgyzstan: Bishkek): Research on women's political participation

2018 (Kyrgyzstan: Bishkek): Research on polygyny

2015 (Kyrgyzstan: Bishkek, Osh): Research on polygyny

2013 (Kyrgyzstan: Bishkek): Research on 'the woman's question,' or women's issues

2007, 2008 (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan): Research on women and Islamic education

2005 (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Latvia): Follow-up dissertation research on the Russian minority

1999-2000 (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Latvia): Dissertation research on the Russian minority

1997 (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan): Pre-dissertation research

1994 (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan): Initial visit to Central Asia:

Extensive travel throughout the former Soviet Union: Russia, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan

Invited Research Presentations

University of Wisconsin, CREECA (Center for Russia, East Europe, Central Asia), March 31, 2022: *The Political Economy of Polygynous Marriages among the Kyrgyz*

Indiana University, Inner Asian and Uralic National Resource Center, March 9, 2021: *Sticky Gender Norms and Polygynous Marriages in Kyrgyzstan*

Workshop on Women and Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia (organized by George Washington University's Central Asia Program, IERES), Washington D.C., October 2018.

Conference on Tajikistan: Approaches, Fieldwork, and Topics (organized by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs and the George Washington University's Central Asian Program (CAP), Stockholm, June 2016.

The Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University, April 2016: *The Rise of Polygamy in Kyrgyzstan: A Consequence of the Country's Post-Soviet Islamic Revival?*

Elder Education Enrichment, Vermont, February 2015: Women's Activism in Kyrgyzstan

Invited Discussant: Conference on Informal Practices and Structures in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, University of Fribourg, Switzerland, 2013

Unitarian church of Lincoln Nebraska, Winter Lecture Series on Russia and the post-Soviet States: January 2011: declined invitation due to pregnancy

Elder Education Enrichment, Vermont, February 2009: Muslim Women in Central Asia

Elder Education Enrichment, Vermont, September 2008: The Russian Question in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, 28 June 2007: Diverging and Converging Experiences of the Russian Minorities in Post-Communist Central Asia

Kennan Institute, March 2005: Exit and Voice in the Near Abroad: Russian Minority Populations in Kyrgyzstan and Latvia

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., September 2005: *Baltic Accession to the EU and Russian Residents of the Baltic States*

Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies, Georgetown University, Fifteenth Annual Nava'i Lecture in Central Asian Studies, December 2004: *Kazakhstan's Pugachev Rebellion: Ethnic Russians in Central Asia*

U.S. Department of State, Conference on ethnic Russians in the former Soviet Union, 2002: *The Impact of Ethnic Russians on Kazakhstani and Kyrygzstani Domestic Politics*

Research Presentations at Scholarly Conference Papers (peer-reviewed selection method)

Central Eurasian Studies Society, October 2022, University of Indiana, Bloomington: *Don't become a lost specimen!*

Association for the Study of Nationalities, May 2019, Columbia University, New York: *Understanding the role of civil society in the establishment of Kyrgyzstan's gender quota*

Central Eurasian Studies Society, October 2018, University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: *Women's Activism in Kyrgyzstan*

Association for the Study of Nationalities, May 2017, Columbia University, New York: *Polygynous Marriages in Kyrgyzstan: a route to gender violence or gender respectability?*

Central Eurasian Studies Society, November 2016, Princeton University, New Jersey: Second Wives in Kyrgyzstan: The Role of Agency in Polygynous Marriages

Central Eurasian Studies Society, October 2015, George Washington University, D.C.: *The Rise of Polygyny in Kyrgyzstan: A consequence of the country's post-Soviet Islamic revival?*

Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 2015, Columbia University, New York: *Polygyny and Islam in Kyrgyzstan: A view from the inside*

Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 2013, Columbia University, New York: Retraditionalization in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan: rejected by elites, embraced by young women

Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 2011, Columbia University, New York: Creating a Replica of the Ideal Soviet Woman in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan

Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 2008, Columbia University, New York: Women's Proclivity Toward Islamic Education in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan: A Backlash Against Communist Gender Equality?

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, November 2007, New Orleans, Louisiana: *The Role of Islam in Identity Formation: Education Policy in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan*

American Political Science Association, September 2007: The Role of Islam in Identity Formation: Education Policy in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan

Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 2007, Columbia University, New York: *The Role of Islam in Identity Formation: Education Policy in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan*

American Political Science Association, September 2005: The Legacies of Soviet Nationality Politics and Divergent Patterns of Post-Soviet Ethno-Political Mobilization: Russian Minorities in the Baltics and Central Asia

The Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 2005, Columbia University, New York: Will the Russians Rebel? The Absence of Conflict in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan

Kennan Institute Workshop, 2003, Washington D.C.: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Conflict in the Former Soviet Union

American Political Science Association, September 2003: Minority Responses to the Collapse of the Soviet Union: The Russian Diaspora in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Latvia

Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 2003, Columbia University, New York: Secession, Autonomy, or Passivity in Central Asia: The Odd Case of the Pugachev Rebellion in Ust'-Kamenogorsk, Kazakhstan

Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 2002, Columbia University, New York: From Settlers to Immigrants? Russian Emigration from Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Latvia

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, November 2002, Pittsburgh: *Nation-Building and its Effects on the Russian Populations of Kyrgyzstan and Latvia*

University Service

Director of Undergraduate Studies and Transfer Affairs, Department of Political Science (Fall 2022 -)

Academic Studies Committee, Social Science representative (Fall 2020-Spring 2022)

Committee for review of Economics Department Chair (2018)

Russian East European Studies, Director (September 2014 -)

Boren Scholarships Committee (2014, 2015)

REACH Scholarship Committee (2014)

College Honors Committee (2008-2011)

Fulbright Scholarship Committee (2015)

Department Service

Self-Assessment Committee (2016-2017) International Relations Prize Committee (2013-2016) Ad hoc committee on advising (2013) Comparative Politics Prize Committee (2012) International Relations Search Committee (2011, 2015)

Curriculum Committee (2011)

Professional Service

Oriente Moderno (2020)

Editorial Board, Government and Opposition (2014 –

Tenure file reviews University of New Hampshire (2014) Indiana University East (2020)

Grant proposal reviews
American Council Title VIII Research Program (2017)
National Science Foundation (2006)
United States Institute of Peace (2005)

Anonymous reviews for the following peer-reviewed academic journals

Central Asian Studies (2024)
Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion (2023)
International Quarterly for Asian Studies (2023)
Journal of Peace and War Studies (JPWS, 2022)
International Labor and Working-Class History (2022)
Politics, Groups, and Identities (2022)
Politics, Groups, and Identities (2021)
Politics and Gender (2021)
Acta Via Serica (2021)

Problems of Post-Communism (2020)

Central Asian Survey (2020)

Post-Soviet Affairs (2019)

International Journal of Qualitative Methods (2019)

Journal of Eurasian Studies (2019)

Central Asian Affairs (2019)

Post-Soviet Affairs (2018)

Perspectives on Politics (2018)

Problems of Post-Communism (2018)

Religion, State, & Society (2017)

Nationalities Papers (2016)

Post-Soviet Affairs (2016)

Social Sciences (2016)

Central Asian Survey (2016)

Slavic Review (2015)

Central Asian Affairs (2015)

Government and Opposition (2014)

Problems of Post-Communism (2014, 2012)

Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe (2011)

Political Research Quarterly (2010)

Comparative Politics (2009)

Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism (2008)

Nationalities Papers (2008, 2007)

Comparative Political Studies (2003)

Anonymous referee for Cornell University Press: Regine Spector book manuscript (2015)

Service associated with the Association for the Study of Nationalism (ASN)

Program Committee Chair, Eurasia Section 2006-2008, 2012-

Advisory Board Member, 2013-

Huttenbach Prize Committee, 2017-

Service associated with the Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS)

Graduate Paper Award Committee 2018, 2019

Expert Witness for the following political asylum cases

2023 Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Kyrgyzstan for attorney Vanessa Caruso, who represented an individual from Osh, Kyrgyzstan seeking political asylum on the basis of his refusal to conform to his family's interpretation of Islam.

Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Russia for attorney Omar Abuzir, who represented an individual from Kazan, Tatarstan (Russia) seeking political asylum on the basis of membership in Hizb ut Tahrir.

- Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Uzbekistan for attorney Alexey Tarasov, who represented an individual from Uzbekistan seeking political asylum on the basis of his refusal to participate in systemic state corruption.
- 2019 Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Kyrgyzstan for attorney Erin Cipolla, who represented an individual from Kyrgyzstan seeking political asylum on the basis of fear of bride abduction.
- 2017 Provided affidavit and oral testimony in Phoenix, Arizona regarding country conditions in Tajikistan for attorney Benjamin Wiesinger, who represented an individual from Tajikistan seeking political asylum on the basis of political persecution resulting from online activities occurring in the U.S.
- 2015 Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Ukraine for attorney Arif Haque, who represented a family from Ukraine seeking political asylum on the basis of anti-Semitism persecution.
 - Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Uzbekistan for attorney Alexey Tarasov, who represented a family from Uzbekistan seeking political asylum on the basis of criminal accusations made by the Uzbek state against a relative.
- 2013 Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan for attorney Donald Brown, who represented a Kazakh Christian woman seeking political asylum on the basis of religious persecution.
 - Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Tajikistan for attorney Mike Usher, who represented a Tajik family seeking asylum on the basis of religious persecution.
- 2011 Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Turkmenistan for attorney Gilyana Bovaeva, who represented a gay man seeking political asylum on the basis of sexual orientation persecution.

Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Tajikistan for attorney Murat Berdyev, who represented a husband and wife seeking asylum on the basis of ethnic minority persecution.

Provided affidavit and oral testimony regarding country conditions in Kyrgyzstan for attorney Murat Berdyev, who represented a Kyrgyz woman seeking asylum on the basis of domestic violence.

Provided affidavit and oral testimony regarding country conditions in Uzbekistan for attorney Murat Berdyev, who represented an Uzbek woman seeking asylum on the basis of domestic violence.

2010 Provided affidavit and oral testimony regarding country conditions in Uzbekistan for attorney Murat Berdyev, who represented a Russian couple from Uzbekistan seeking political asylum.

- **2009** Provided affidavit and oral testimony regarding country conditions in Uzbekistan for attorney Andre Sobolevsky, who represented a Russian from Uzbekistan seeking political asylum.
- **2008** Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Kyrgyzstan for attorney Lisa Hurlbutt, who represented a Russian from Kyrgyzstan seeking political asylum.
- **2007** Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Estonia for attorney Matthew Baxter, who represented a Russian lesbian from Estonia seeking political asylum.
- 2006 Provided affidavit and oral testimony in New York City regarding country conditions in Latvia for a political asylum case presented by attorney Dan Pell.
- 2005 Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Latvia for attorney H. Raymond Fasano, who represented a Russian from Latvia seeking political asylum.

Provided affidavit and oral testimony in New York City regarding country conditions in Uzbekistan for a political asylum case presented by attorney Andre Sobolevsky.

Provided affidavit and oral testimony in New York City regarding country conditions in Uzbekistan for a political asylum case presented by attorney Andre Sobolevsky.

2004 Provided affidavit regarding country conditions in Uzbekistan for attorney Albert C. Lum, who represented a Meskhetian Turk from Uzbekistan seeking political asylum.

Public Service – Interviews

WDEV radio, interview with Ric Cengeri on the situation surrounding Ukraine (March 7, 2022)

BBC Russian, "Ne odna. Pochemy zhenshchiny v Kyrgyzstane soglashaiutsia na rol' vtoroi zheny." 'Not alone. Why women in Kyrgyzstan agree to the role of second wive.' Article written by Nargiza Ryskulova, (April 3, 2021): https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-56595200.

Central Asian Analytical Network, "Poligamiia v Tsentral'noi Azii: vzgliad c raznykh uglov," 'Polygamy in Central Asia: opinions from different corners." (May 11, 2016): https://www.caa-network.org/archives/7076.

WCAX Television Interview, April 17, 2014; UVM Today (April 2, 2014)

"Ukraine and the Crimean Crisis - Teach In and Panel Discussion," (March 26, 2014)

National: *Voice of America in Washington* (2014)

Foreign Policy (August 3, 2010) Council on Foreign Relations (June 23, 2010) Correio Braziliense (April 8, 2014)

El Mercurio (June 24, 2010)

Milliyet (June 18, 2010)

Teaching Experience

University of Vermont, Department of Political Science

Courses taught: Introduction to International Relations, Politics and Society in the Russian Federation, Central Asian Politics, Post-Soviet Ethnic Conflict

Georgetown University, Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies,

Courses taught: Nationalism and Ethnicity in Post-Soviet Conflicts, Contemporary Central Asian Politics

University of Pennsylvania, Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics,

Courses taught: International Politics, Russian Politics, Introduction to Comparative Politics, Post-Soviet Ethnic Conflict

Graduate Student Advising

External Reviewer, Nazarbaev University MA Theses Committees (2018-2019, 2019-2020, 2020-2021)

Professional Association Memberships

American Political Science Association Association for the Study of Nationalities Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies Central Eurasian Studies Society