

Judith S. Kullberg

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Education

The University of Michigan, Ph.D. (1992)

Russian Language Program, Leningrad State University (1986)

Saginaw Valley State College, B.A., *magnum cum laude*, Political Science (1981)

Academic Positions

Professor, Department of Political Science, Eastern Michigan University (2013-present)

Faculty Associate, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan (2007- present)

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Eastern Michigan University (2007-2012)

Visiting Professor and Fulbright Scholar, Department of International Relations, Samara State University, Samara, Russian Federation (2007)

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Eastern Michigan University (2004-2007).

Visiting Scholar, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan (2004-2006)

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Marshall University (2002-2004).

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, and Faculty Associate, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan (1998- 2001).

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, the Ohio State University (1992-1998).

Instructor, Department of Political Science, the Ohio State University (1990-92).

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan (1988-1990).

Courses taught: *Russian Politics, Russian Foreign Relations, Model United Nations, American Foreign Policy Process, European Politics, "Poverty, Human Rights and Health," Introduction to International Relations, "Global Issues: Human Rights," and graduate courses in methods of social research.*

Publications

Articles and Book Chapters

"Bringing Neuroscience into Political Science: The Caregiving System and Human Sociopolitical Evolution" in Stephanie Brown, R. Michael Brown, and Louis A. Penner eds. *Moving Beyond Self-Interest: Perspectives from Evolutionary Biology, Neuroscience, and the Social Sciences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). With J. David Singer.

"The Persistence of Postcommunist Elites," in Larry Diamond, ed. *Democracy After Communism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002). With John Higley and Jan Pakulski.

"Politics and Markets," in William Zimmerman, *The Russian People and Foreign Policy: Elites, Mass Publics, and the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, 1993-99* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). With William Zimmerman.

"Liberal Elites, Socialist Masses, and Problems of Russian Democracy," *World Politics* 51 (April 1999), 323-358. With William Zimmerman.

"Preserving the Radical Stronghold: The Elections in Moscow," in Timothy J. Colton and Jerry F. Hough, ed., *Growing Pains: Russian Democracy and the Elections of 1993* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1998), pp. 311-348.

"Elites, Institutions, and Democratization in Russia and Eastern Europe," in Graeme Gill, ed. *Elites and Leadership in Russian Politics: Selected Papers from the 5th World Congress of Central and East European Studies* (New York: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 106-133. With John Higley and Jan Pakulski.

"The Persistence of Postcommunist Elites," *Journal of Democracy* 7:2 (April 1996), 133-147. With John Higley and Jan Pakulski.

"The Ideological Roots of Elite Political Conflict in Post-Soviet Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* (formerly *Soviet Studies*) 46:6 (September 1994), 929-953.

Occasional Papers

"The Post-Totalitarian Game: Structure and Agency in Transitions from Communism," *Studies in Public Policy*, Center for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, (December 2001), #353.

"Liberal Elites, Socialist Masses, and Problems of Postcommunist Democracy," National Council on Post-Soviet and Eurasian Research, November 1996. With William Zimmerman.

"The End of New Thinking: Elite Ideologies and the Future of Russian Foreign Policy," Mershon Center for International Relations, The Ohio State University, July 1993.

Reviews

Vicki L. Hesli and William M. Reisinger, *The 1999-2000 Elections in Russia: Their Impact and Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), in *Journal of Politics* 67:2 (May 2005), 603-606.

Paul Hollander, *Political Will and Personal Disbelief: The Decline and Fall of Soviet Communism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), in *Political Science Quarterly* 116:3 (Fall 2001), 470-473.

Gerald M. Easter, *Reconstructing the State: Personal Networks and Elite Identity in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), in *American Political Science Review* 94 (December 2000), 963-64.

"A Unified Theory of Democratic Change," review essay on Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (Johns Hopkins, 1996) in *Mershon International Studies Review* 42 (May 1998), 123-127.

Robert W. Orttung, *From Leningrad to St. Petersburg* (St. Martin's Press, 1995), in *Slavic Review* 56:4 (Winter 1997), 796-7.

Michael Rywkin, *Moscow's Lost Empire* (Sharpe, 1994), in *Nationalities Papers* (1996).

Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society* (Routledge, 1994), in *Russian History/Histoire Russe* (December 1995), pp. 230-32.

Conference Papers and Presentations

"Lenin Lives! Revolutionary Legacies and Resistance to Liberal Democracy in Russia and Cuba," paper to be presented at the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, April 3-6, 2013.

"Russia Without Putin: The Re-emergence of Russian Civil Society," paper presented at the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Michigan Political Science Association, Lake Superior State University, Sault Sainte Marie, MI, October 4-5, 2012.

"Elite Ideologies and Changing Conceptions of National Interest and Security in the Russian Federation," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 12-15, 2012.

"Bringing Neuroscience into Political Science: Altruism, Caregiving and Human Sociopolitical Evolution," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31-April 2, 2011

"The Development of Russian Civil Society: The Case of the Samara Region," paper presented at the Midwest Slavic Conference, The Ohio State University, Columbus, April 16-17, 2010

"Self Interest and Beyond: The Implications for Political Science," with J. David Singer, presented at the Workshop on the Scientific Study of Caregiving, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, July 20, 2009.

"The Development of Russian Political Institutions in Comparative Perspective," presentation at the Workshop on Russia and Its Place in World History, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, November 1, 2008.

"The Perils of Presidentialism: The Russian Presidency in Comparative Perspective," paper presented at the Michigan Conference of Political Scientists, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan, October 16-17, 2008.

"Militarism and the Political Power of Russian Women," paper presented at the Michigan Women's Studies Association Conference, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan, March 14-15, 2008.

"Hunting Them Down and Smoking Them Out: The Effects of U.S. Anti-terror Policy on Human Rights and the Prospects for Democracy in Authoritarian and Transitional States," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA, March 22-25, 2006.

"The Formation of Political Preferences: The Case of Post-Communist Russia," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association," Chicago, IL, April 15-18, 2004.

"The Post-Totalitarian Game: Structure and Agency in Transitions from Communism," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 2001.

"Remnants of the Past: The Marxist-Leninist Legacy in the Russian Transition to Democracy," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 2001.

"Counting the Votes: The Development of Russian Electoral Institutions, 1990-2000" paper presented at the conference on Democratization in Post-Authoritarian Countries: Ten Years After the Collapse of the Soviet Union, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, December 10-12, 2000.

"Structure and Agency in Postcommunist Transitions," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-17, 1999.

Discussant, panel on "Russian Elections: From the Past to the Future," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., August 28-31, 1997.

"From Leninism to Pluralism: Elites and Democratic Development in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union," presented at the Colloquium on Institutional Change, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, April 17, 1997.

"Bringing the Masses Back In: Societal Forces in Postcommunist Transitions," with William Zimmerman, presented at the 28th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, November 14-17, 1996.

"Liberal Elites, Socialist Masses and the Problems of Democratic Transformation in Russia," with William Zimmerman, presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1995. Also presented at conference on Elites in the Systemic Transformation of Central-Eastern Europe, Polish Academy of Sciences, Jablonna Palace, Poland, August 11-14, 1995.

"Post-Communist Elites and the Development of Local Democracy: Results of an Eleven Nation Study," presented at the V World Congress for Central and East European Studies, Warsaw, Poland, August 6-11, 1995.

"Elites, Institutions, and Regimes in East-Central Europe," with John Higley and Jan Pakulski, presented at the V World Congress for Central and East European Studies, Warsaw, August 6-11, 1995.

"Securing the Revolution: Structural Change and Local Democracy in Post-Communist Societies," with Samuel Eldersveld, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 6-8, 1995.

"Liberals or Neo-Bolsheviks?: Post-Soviet Elite Political Culture," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Philadelphia, November 17-20, 1994.

"In the Ruins of the CPSU: Elites and Party Formation in Russia" paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, September 1-4, 1994.

"The Crisis of Russian Liberal Democracy: Party Factionalism and Elite Fragmentation," paper presented at the workshop on "Party Factionalism and Democratization," European Consortium for Political Research, Palacio de Congresos, Madrid, Spain, April 17-22, 1994.

Research Projects

"The Development of Russian Civil Society." This project began in 2007 and has been supported by a Fulbright grant to conduct research in Samara, Russia. It seeks to assess the way in which various factors, including the state, international organizations, and access to resources affect the character and performance of non-governmental organizations in Russia. Collection of information about specific organizations was conducted in Samara in 2007 and supplemented through library and archival research at the University of Illinois in Summer 2009. A sabbatical leave award from EMU in 2011-2012 has provided the opportunity to complete a book manuscript on the path of democratic development in the Russian Federation.

"The Development of Russian Representative Institutions." Work on this project began in the early 1990s and is continuing at present. Data has been gathered from primary sources and through direct observation and interviews with actors in the field at both the national and local levels, including interviews with members of the St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly. The results of this project are presented in my book manuscript *From Soviets to Parliaments? The Development of Russian Legislative Institutions* which will be completed in 2012.

"Structural Change and Local Democracy in Post-Communist Societies." Coinvestigator: Samuel Eldersveld of the University of Michigan. The goal of the study is to examine the relationships between structural change, elite behavior, elite values, and the development of democratic institutions at the level of the local community in former communist societies. Data used in the analysis were gathered by the international research project

"Democracy and Local Governance," in which scholars in more than twenty countries have surveyed local elites across the last decade. Professor Eldersveld and I gathered data in the United States in 1984 and 1988.

"The Elite Paradigm and the Study of Transformations in East-Central Europe." The goal of this project is to construct a theoretical framework to account for variation in observed patterns of elite transformation. The central independent variable is the pre-transition institutional context. The first product of this work appeared in the April 1996 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*, the second in *Elites and Leadership in Russian Politics*, edited by Graeme Gill, and the third in the forthcoming *Studies in Public Policy* article.

Participant in the "The Russian Election Study" of the Harvard University Russian Research Center, directed by Timothy Colton and Jerry Hough, November-December 1993. During the election campaign, I conducted interviews, gathered party information and campaign material, and observed party meetings, rallies and public appearances of the candidates in Moscow. My analysis, "Preserving the Radical Stronghold: The Election in Moscow" was published in *Growing Pains*, edited by Colton and Hough.

"Elites, Political Parties, and Democratization in Contemporary Russia." This project examined alteration of elite structure, patterns of elite political behavior, and the nature and problems of political parties from the late *perestroika* period to the present. Supported by a Hoover Institution Title VIII post-doctoral fellowship.

"Domestic Political Attitudes and Foreign Policy Preferences of Soviet Elites," a collaborative project between a team from OSU (Charles Hermann, Sandra Jones, Judith Kullberg), scholars from the Soviet Peace Committee (Andrei Melville and Aleksandr Nikitin), and from the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Elena Bashkirova). Funded by the Mershon Center at Ohio State with support from the McArthur Foundation. Focus group interviews were conducted in Moscow during the second and third weeks of June 1991. Results appear in the *Europe-Asia Studies* article.

Grants and Fellowships

Josephine Nevins Keal Fellowship, Eastern Michigan University (2011)

Provost's International Stimulus Grant, Office of the Provost, Eastern Michigan University to develop internship programs and institutional partnerships in El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico (2010)

Summer Research Lab, US State Department Title VIII Grant, Russian, East European and Eurasian Center, University of Illinois (June 2009)

Dean's Program Development Initiative, College of Arts and Sciences, Eastern Michigan University (2008-09).

Fulbright Scholar, Council for International Exchange of Scholars (August-January 2007)

Quinlan Endowment Fund Grant, Marshall University (2004)

INCO Foundation Grant, Marshall University (2003)

Professional Development Grants, Ohio State University (1993, 1994, 1995, 1996)

Title VIII Postdoctoral Fellowship, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, (1994)

Research Grant, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, (1993)

Travel Research Grant, Ohio State University (1992)

Graduate Research Grant, Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan (1990)

University Fellow, Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan (1981-82).

Awards

Sabbatical Leave Award, Eastern Michigan University (2011-2012)

Provost's Research Award for New Faculty, Eastern Michigan University (2006)

Nominee, University Teaching Award, the Ohio State University (1996)

Excellent, Major Preliminary Examination in Comparative Politics, University of Michigan (1988)

"Outstanding Graduate in Political Science," Saginaw Valley State College (1981)

Who's Who Among American College and University Students (1981)

National Merit Scholar (1976)

Professional Service

Section Organizer, Political Sociology and Anthropology, Midwest Political Science Association, 2012 Annual Meeting.

Occasional reviewer for the National Science Foundation and for the journals *Comparative Politics*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Russian Review*, and *Journal of Comparative Politics*.

Reviewer for the Fulbright Program in Russia, 2008-2012.

Member, Michigan Conference of Political Scientists Board of Directors, 2008- 2010.

Social Science section organizer, 1997 Midwest Slavic Conference, Columbus, Ohio, April 1997.

Member, Westwood Press Award Committee of the Midwest Political Science Association, 1996-97.

Member of planning committee for conference on "The Post-Soviet Era: Politics and Society in the Newly Independent States," The Ohio State University, April 16, 1994

Social Science section organizer and planning committee member, 1992 Midwest Slavic Conference, Columbus, Ohio, May 1-3, 1992.

Member of conference planning committee, "Transition in Russia," held at the Ohio State University, April 1992, sponsored by the Center for Slavic and East European Studies.

Travel

Moscow, Russia. August 4- September 3, 2012. Research on the development of Russian civil society.

Cuba – June 2011, May 2012. Exploratory trip to develop institutional relationships and expansion of the "Poverty, Human Rights, and Health" study abroad program. Subsequent travel with students in the study abroad program in 2012.

El Salvador – August 2008, July-August 2010, February-March 2011, May 2012. Co-taught an EMU study abroad course on "Poverty, Human Rights, and Health" in 2008 and 2010 and co-led a winter break trip for the Office of Student Affairs in 2011.

Chatelénango, Guatemala and Chiapas, Mexico, August 2010. Meetings with various NGOs to explore the development of internship opportunities for students and institutional partnerships with EMU.

Samara, Russia – August-December 2007. Taught a course on international relations at Samara State University and conducted research on civil society in Samara Oblast’.

Chiapas, Mexico -- June 2006. Spanish language study, Instituto Jovel, San Cristobal de las casas.

St. Petersburg – May-June 2001. Conference on the “Future of Russian Democracy” and research on the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg

Moscow -- December 1995. 1995 Russian parliamentary elections

Warsaw, Poland -- August 1995, V World Congress of Central and East European Studies

Madrid, Spain -- April 1994, European Consortium for Political Research

Moscow -- November-December 1993, Russian Election Study

Moscow -- November-December 1992, political parties project

Moscow -- June 1991, Elite focus group interview project

Moscow -- October-November 1990, Guest researcher, the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences

Russia, Latvia, Ukraine, Moldova, and Armenia -- June-August 1986, Leningrad State University summer language program