

# Shairbek Dzhuraev

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## EMPLOYMENT

- Since 2018      **Crossroads Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan**  
Co-founder and president
- Since 2006      **Independent consultant**  
Development programmes, peacebuilding and related
- Since 2020      **American University of Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan**  
Associate Professor, International and Comparative Politics, part-time
- 2015-18        **University of St Andrews, United Kingdom**  
Marie Skłodowska-Curie research fellow
- 2012-15        **OSCE Academy in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan**  
Deputy director
- 2007-12        **American University of Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan**  
• Director, Central Asian Studies Institute (2011-2012);  
• Dean of academic development (2009-2011);  
• Chair, International and Comparative Politics department (2008-2009);  
• Assistant Professor, International and Comparative Politics department (2007-2011).
- 2005-07        **Institute for Public Policy, Kyrgyzstan**  
Research director

## EDUCATION

- 2020            **University of St Andrews, UK**  
PhD in International Relations
- 2005            **London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), UK**  
MSc in International Relations
- 2004            **American University in Central Asia, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan**  
BA in International and Comparative Politics

## SELECTED CONSULTING AND AD HOC PROJECTS

- 2021            **UN Development Programme**  
Survey to support scenario planning for the Common Country Analysis
- 2021            **UN Peacebuilding Fund**  
Needs assessment on cross-border cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan
- 2021            **Hanns Seidel Stiftung**  
An in-depth country research and assess Kyrgyzstan's Covid-19 anti-

	pandemic strategy and implementation
2021	<b>OSCE Academy in Bishkek</b> A five-day graduate-level module on Central Asia and the USA
2020-21	<b>UN Peacebuilding Fund</b> Evaluation of the Learning and Adaptation approach in the PVE programme in Kyrgyzstan
2020-21	<b>EU Delegation in Bishkek</b> Supporting the consultations process with civil society, private sector and Development Partners on multi-annual indicative programme of the EU for Kyrgyzstan
2020	<b>European Neighbourhood Council</b> Consultant to lead survey (qualitative interviews) in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan on media consumption in the context of Covid-19 pandemic, and to co-author the final report
2020	<b>OSCE Academy in Bishkek</b> A five-day graduate-level course on Russia and Central Asia
2020	<b>V-Dem (Varieties of Democracy)</b> Country expert for Kyrgyzstan
2017-20	<b>Freedom House</b> Consultant to prepare country report for annual Nations in Transit report for years 2017, 2019
2014-20	<b>University of Wisconsin-Madison</b> Overseeing surveys on “Housing and stability in Kyrgyzstan”, “Housing & economic migration in Kyrgyzstan”, “Firms, Kinship and Economic Growth in the Kyrgyz Republic”
2019	<b>OSCE Academy in Bishkek</b> A five-day graduate-level course on Russia and Central Asia
2009-14	<b>Soros Foundation Kyrgyzstan</b> Member of expert commission of <i>East-East: Partnership without Borders</i> (2009-11) and <i>Public Administration</i> (2012-2014)
2011	<b>European University at St Petersburg</b> A four-week graduate-level course on Central Asian Politics and Society
2008-10	<b>DFID Office in Bishkek</b> National political and policy consultant
2007-08	<b>Delegation of the European Commission, Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic</b> Election expert to support analysis of December 2007 parliamentary elections.
2006	<b>Democracy International</b> National consultant to evaluation of USAID-funded project on political parties

## RESEARCH GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS

2020-2023	Postdoctoral fellowship, Volkswagen Foundation, coordinated by TU Dortmund, hosted by OSCE Academy in Bishkek
2019	International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP), The Department of State of the USA
2019-21	Grant for a project “International Relations in Central Asia” to organize an international workshop and produce 12 policy papers by region’s experts, Hollings Center for International Dialogue.
2015-2018	Marie Curie Fellowship (European Union) for doctoral programme at University of St Andrews (UK)
2009-2012	Research grant “Central Asia Data-Gathering and Analysis Network”, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)
2011	Research grant “Regional Competence Building for Think Tanks in the

- South Caucasus and Central Asia”, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). The grant support research on “Governance Challenges in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan: The Externalization and Parochialization of Political Legitimacy”.
- 2007-2009 Returning Scholar Fellowship from the Academic Fellowship Program, Open Society Institute, to support teaching and research at American University of Central Asia.
- 2008 Research grant “Regional Competence Building for Think Tanks in the South Caucasus and Central Asia”, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). The grant supported research on “Electricity Sector Reform in Kyrgyzstan: Policies, Actors and Implications”.
- 2004-2005 Michael Peacock Foundation scholarship for master’s programme at London School of Economics and Political Science (UK).
- 2001-2002 The US State Department grant for non-degree undergraduate exchange program at University of Mississippi.

## JOURNAL ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- Juraev, Shairbek. 2021. “Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy in Central Asia.” In *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Central Asia*, edited by Rico Isaacs and Erica Marat, 1st ed., 279–85. Routledge. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-77489-9\\_15](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-77489-9_15).
- Kluczewska, Karolina, and Shairbek Juraev. 2020. “The EU and Central Asia: Nuances of an Aided Partnership.” In *Managing Security Threats along the EU’s Eastern Flanks*, edited by Rick Fawn, 225–52. Cham: Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-26937-1>.
- Owen, Catherine, Shairbek Juraev, David Lewis, Nick Megoran, and John Heathershaw. 2017a. “Illiberal Peace and Authoritarian Conflict Management: Empirical and Theoretical Contexts.” In *Interrogating Illiberal Peace in Eurasia*, edited by Catherine Owen, Shairbek Juraev, David Lewis, Nick Megoran, and John Heathershaw. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Owen, Catherine, Shairbek Juraev, David Lewis, Nick Megoran, and John Heathershaw, eds. 2017b. *Interrogating Illiberal Peace in Eurasia*. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2017. “Still Post-Soviet: The Challenges of Education in Kyrgyzstan.” In *Central Asia at 25: Looking Back, Moving Forward*, edited by Marlene Laruelle and Aitolkyn Kourmanova, 58–61. Washington, D.C: Central Asia Program.
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2015. “The Evolving Role of Political Parties in Kyrgyz Politics.” In *Kyrgyzstan Beyond Democracy Island and Failing State: Social and Political Changes in a Post-Soviet Society*, edited by Marlene Laruelle and Johan Engvall. Lexington Books.
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2014. “Comparing the EU and Russia Engagements in Central Asia.” *L’Europe En Formation* 374 (4): 77. <https://doi.org/10.3917/eufor.374.0077>.
- Cummings, Sally N., Shairbek Juraev, Alexander Pugachev, Azamat Temirkulov, Medet Tiulegenov, and Bermet Tursunkulova. 2013. “State, Regime, and Government in the Kyrgyz Republic (1991–2010): Disaggregating a Relationship.” *East European Politics* 29 (4): 443–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2013.831347>.
- Dzhuraev, Emilbek, and Shairbek Dzhuraev. 2013. “The Kazakh and Kyrgyz Sides of Afghanistan: So Near and Yet So Far.” In *The Regional Dimensions to Security: Other Sides of Afghanistan*, edited by Aglaya Snetkov and Stephen Aris. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Juraev, Shairbek. 2012. "Pipes, Roads and Rivers: Different Faces of Eurasia's Central Asia." *Caucasus International* 2 (3).
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2008. "Kyrgyz Democracy? The Tulip Revolution and Beyond." *Central Asian Survey* 27 (3-4): 253-64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634930802536464>.

## REPORTS

- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2021. "Kyrgyzstan's Fight Against COVID-19." Asia Fighting COVID-19. Hanns Seidel Stiftung.
- Vesterbye, Samuel Doveri, Shairbek Dzhuraev, and Andreas Marazis. 2020. "Socio-Economic Impact of COVID-19 and Media Consumption among Vulnerable Communities in Central Asia." European Neighbourhood Council. <http://www.encouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/2020-I-1205-ENC-Publication-COVID-19-Media-Consumption-in-Central-Asia-00852-Report.pdf>.
- "Threat Perceptions in the OSCE Area." 2014. Co-authored as part of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions.
- Aminov, Kakhor, Victor Jensen, Shairbek Juraev, Indra Overland, Dmitry Tyan, and Y Uulu. 2011. "Language Use and Language Policy in Central Asia." *Central Asian Regional Data Review* 2 (1). <http://osce-academy.net/upload/file/CADGAT3.pdf>.

## POLICY PAPERS, OPINION ARTICLES

- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2021. "The Corona Pandemic in Central Asia." In *Between Peace and Conflict in the East and the West*, edited by Anja Mihr, 279-85. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2021. "Peace on the Brink in Central Asia." *Azerbaijan Today* (blog). May 3, 2021. <https://azerbaijantoday.az/2021/05/03/peace-on-the-brink-in-central-asia/>.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2021. "New president, old presidentialism? Kyrgyzstan at the crossroads between reform options and further instability." *Zentralasien-Analysen*, no. 145 (January): 6-10. <https://doi.org/10.31205/ZA.145.02>.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2020. "Na vyborah ne svergnut' (The October events in Kyrgyzstan: the trap of street power?)." IPG. November 5, 2020. <https://www.ipg-journal.io/regiony/azija/na-vyborakh-ne-svergnut-1179/>.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2020. "Turbulence in Kyrgyzstan: A Hijacked Revolution or Business as Usual?" *Crossroads Central Asia* (blog). October 12, 2020. <https://www.crossroads-ca.org/turbulence-in-kyrgyzstan-a-hijacked-revolution-or-business-as-usual/>.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2019. "Grand Strategies for Small States: What Connectivity for Central Asia?" Around the CASPIAN. January 10, 2019. <http://caspianet.eu/2019/01/10/grand-strategies-for-small-states-what-connectivity-for-central-asia/>.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2019. "Taking Stock: One Year of Jeenbekov's Presidency in Kyrgyzstan." Around the CASPIAN. January 10, 2019. <http://caspianet.eu/2019/01/10/taking-stock-one-year-of-jeenbekovs-presidency-in-kyrgyzstan/>.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2018. "The Elections and Kyrgyz-Kazakh Complications." Center for Social Sciences. *Eurasia Democratic Security Network* (blog). January 22, 2018. <http://edsn.css.ge/?p=274>.

- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2018. "The European Union and Central Asia: Notes for the New Strategy." In *EUREN Central Asia Workshop: Reader*.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2017. "Kyrgyzstan Elections: Phony War with Real Implications." Center for Social Sciences. *Eurasia Democratic Security Network* (blog). October 13, 2017. <http://edsn.css.ge/?p=39>.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2017. "Necessary Nationalism? Kyrgyzstan's Relations with the West." Around the CASPIAN. May 24, 2017. <http://caspiant.eu/2017/05/24/necessary-nationalism-kyrgyzstans-relations-west/>.
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2017. "A Smooth Succession: Uzbekistan's Second President." Around the CASPIAN. May 14, 2017. <http://caspiant.eu/2017/05/14/smooth-succession-uzbekistans-second-president/>.
- Juraev, Shairbek, and Karolina Kluczevska. 2017. "Threats to Stability in Central Asia: What Role for the EU?" In *Threats to Stability in Wider Europe: Expert and Academic Analysis*, edited by Samuel Doveri Vesterbye and Rick Fawn.
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2015. "The OSCE Academy: Working for Long-Term Comprehensive Security in Central Asia." In *OSCE Yearbook 2014*, 20:287–98. Yearbook on the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE).
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2013. "Three Key Challenges for Central Asia." *EUCAM Watch*, no. 15 (March): 4–5.
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2012a. "Central Asia's Cold War? Water and Politics in Uzbek-Tajik Relations." *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, no. 217 (September).
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2012. "Is Kyrgyzstan's New Political System Sustainable?" *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, no. 210 (July).
- Dzhuraev, Shairbek. 2012. "Governance Challenges in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan: The Externalization and Parochialization of Political Legitimacy." Working Paper 5. Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2010. "The Third Restart: Challenges for Democracy in Post-Bakiyev Kyrgyzstan." In *Kyrgyzstan: Recovery and Reformation*, edited by Alexander Schmemmann and Cory Welt, 13–17. Washington, D.C.: PONARS Eurasia.
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2010. "The Third Restart: Challenges for Democracy in Post-Bakiyev Kyrgyzstan." *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, no. 107 (August).
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2010. "Back on Track? Kyrgyz Authoritarianism after the Tulip Revolution." *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, no. 95 (March).
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2009. "The Logic of Kyrgyzstan's Base Policy." *PONARS Policy Memo*, no. 72 (September).
- Juraev, Shairbek. 2009. "Energy Emergency in Kyrgyzstan: Causes and Consequences." *EUCAM Policy Brief*, no. 5 (February).
- Bekbolotov, Kumar, and Shairbek Juraev. 2006. "The Dangers of Property Redistribution." *Kyrgyzstan Brief* 1 (2).

## BOOK REVIEWS

2015. "Migration and Social Upheaval as the Face of Globalization in Central Asia," Marlene Laruelle, ed., reviewed in *Central Asian Survey* 34 (3): 392–94. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2015.1049794>.
2014. "State Erosion: Unlootable Resources and Unruly Elites in Central Asia," by Lawrence Markowitz, reviewed in *Central Asian Affairs* 1 (2): 305–8. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22142290-00102008>.

## TALKS AND CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- “Kyrgyzstan’s Fight against Covid-19.” 2021. Online: Hanns Seidel Foundation.
- “Policy Paper Writing.” 2021. Lecture for the “OSCE Online Academy.” Online: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.
- “Understanding the Kyrgyz-Tajik Border Conflict.” 2021. Online: Davis Center (Harvard University) and the Oxus Society for Central Asian Affairs.
- “Key Political Issues in Kyrgyzstan in 2021.” 2021. Round Table on “New Constitution and Local Governance in Kyrgyzstan: What Is New?” Bishkek: Hanns Seidel Foundation.
- “U.S. Foreign Policy toward Central Asia after Election 2020.” 2021. Online: Kazakh-German University, Almaty.
- “Politics in Kyrgyzstan.” 2020. Lecture for the “Youth Academy in Kyrgyzstan.” Online: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- “COVID-19 Impact on International Relations in Central Asia.” 2020. Conference on “The COVID-19 Crisis and Its Impact on Post-Soviet Central Asia.” Online: OSCE Academy in Bishkek.
- “Roundtable on Economic and Business Environment in Central Asia.” 2020. Online: Central Asian Productivity Research Center.
- “Mass Upheaval in Belarus and Kyrgyzstan, the War in Nagorno-Karabakh and Ukraine: Isolated Conflicts or an Emergent Pattern in Post-Soviet Space?” 2020. Online: University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- “Cooperation in a Crisis: What Is the Future of Central Asian Cooperation?” 2020. Online: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- “The Impact of Coronavirus on Central Asia’s Development.” 2020. Online: Chatham House and Institute for War and Peace Reporting.
- “Sliding to Extremes: Domestic Roots of Foreign Policy in Kyrgyzstan.” 2019. Conference on “Central Asian Security in the Current World Disorder Challenges and Opportunities.” Almaty: Dortmund Technical University.
- “Addressing Regional Challenges through Prevention and Cross-Border Cooperation.” 2019. EU-Central Asia Forum. Bishkek: Office of the EU Special Representative for Central Asia.
- “The European Union and Central Asia: Notes for the New Strategy.” 2018. EU-Russia Expert Network Conference on “The EU, Russia and Central Asia.” Vienna: Austrian EU Presidency.
- “Power Transition in Kyrgyzstan: Implications for Democracy and Conditionality.” 2018. Conference on “The Future of Conditionality in Eastern Europe and Eurasia: Perception and Policies. Tbilisi: Center for Social Sciences.
- “Elections in Kyrgyzstan: Implications for Democratisation and Regional Stability.” 2017. MECACS Event. Online: University of St Andrews.
- “The Politics of Foreign Policy in New States: The Case of Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan.” 2017. Joint ESCAS-CESS Conference. Bishkek: Central Eurasian Studies Society.
- “Politics and Foreign Policy Making in Georgia and Kyrgyzstan.” 2017. Works in Progress Series. Tbilisi: The Caucasus Research Resource Centers.
- “Foreign Policy Making in Georgia and Kyrgyzstan: Parallels and Divergences.” 2017. Tbilisi: Caucasus International University.
- “The EU – Central Asia Relations, Quo Vadis?” 2017. Brussels: Office of the EU Special Representative for Central Asia.
- “Prospects for Peace Research in Central Asia Between Discourses of Danger, Normative Divides and Global Challenges.” 2016. Hamburg: University of Hamburg.
- “Whose Security? States, Regimes and Human Rights in Central Asia.” 2016. Conference on “Global Security Trends and Their Impact on Central Asia: 2016 and On.” Bishkek: OSCE Academy in Bishkek.

- “Expert Group Meeting on Mechanisms for Collecting Data and Information Related to Gender Equality.” 2014. Vienna: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.
- “Implications of Afghanistan’s Transition for the Wider Neighbourhood.” 2014. London: Chatham House.
- “The OSCE’s Role in Promoting Security in Central Asia.” 2014. Istanbul: Aydin University.
- “Promoting Asian Security Architecture Building through Win-Win Cooperation.” 2014. Shanghai: Shanghai Institutes for International Studies.
- “Regional Stability & Lessons Learned in Regional Peace Building.” 2014. Islamabad: National Defence University of Pakistan and the Royal Danish Defence College.
- “Political Regimes and Foreign Policy Making in Kyrgyzstan.” 2014. Conference on “Social Mobilisations and Geopolitics in Central Asia.” Paris: SciencesPo.
- “Conflict Resolution and Security Challenges in Central Asia.” 2014. Conference on “Prospects of EU-Central Asia Relations.” Almaty: Institut für Europäische Politik.
- “CICA Shanghai Summit: Challenges and Opportunities Ahead.” 2014. Shanghai: Shanghai Institutes for International Studies.
- “Constitutions, Power-Sharing and Informal Practices before and after Revolutions in Kyrgyzstan.” 2013. ASEES Convention. Boston: Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies.
- “Central Asia’s Regional Challenges.” 2013. Istanbul: Hollings Center for International Dialogue.
- “Trends in Political Islam Post-Arab Spring.” 2013. Istanbul: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies.
- “Kyrgyzstan Since 2010: Progress, Problems, and Opportunities.” 2013. Brussels: Atlantic Council.
- “Political Parties and the Changing Patterns of Power Legitimacy in Kyrgyzstan.” 2012. Conference on “Kyrgyzstan beyond ‘Island of Democracy’ and ‘Failing State’: Factoring Social and Political Changes in a Post-Soviet Society.” Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- “Natural Resources, Energy and the Environment.” 2012. Tbilisi: Volkswagen Foundation.
- “Central Asia’s Cold War? Water and Politics in Uzbek-Tajik Relations.” 2012. PONARS Eurasia Policy Conference. Washington, D.C.: George Washington University.
- “Model of Interaction of the Expert Community with Government Authorities.” 2012. Issykkul: Soros Kyrgyzstan Foundation.
- “How Sustainable Is the Political Regime in Kyrgyzstan?” 2012. PONARS Conference on “Continuity and Change: Examining Regime Trajectories and Security in East Europe and Eurasia.” Tartu: University of Tartu.
- “Afghanistan Regional Brainstorming Workshop.” 2012. Istanbul: Chatham House.
- “Externalization and Parochialization of Political Legitimacy in Kyrgyzstan: The Governance Challenges of a Weak Regime in a Small State.” 2011. Conference on “Successes and Failures of the Last Two Decades of Development in Post-Soviet Countries.” Chisinau: The National Association of Young Historians of Moldova.
- “Central Asian Republics and Their International Partners.” 2011. Enstone: The Ditchley Foundation.
- “(How) Does International Cooperation in Research and Education Contribute to the Development of Central Asia?” 2011. Bishkek: Giessen University and Central Asian Institute for Applied Geosciences.
- “Twenty Years of Nation-Building: Kyrgyz ‘Revolutions’ and Their Implications.” 2011. The 8th Annual KIMEP International Research Conference. Almaty: KIMEP University.
- “How Central Is Central Asia?” 2010. Harriman Institute. New York: Columbia University.

- “The Third Restart: Challenges for Democracy in Post-Bakiyev Kyrgyzstan.” 2010. PONARS 2010 Policy Conference. Washington, D.C.: George Washington University.
- “Back on Track? Kyrgyz Authoritarianism after the Tulip Revolution.” 2010. PONARS Conference on “Democracy Promotion after the Color Revolutions.” Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University.
- “The Logic of Kyrgyzstan’s Base Policy.” 2009. PONARS Annual Conference. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University.
- “Interstate Energy Relations in Central Asia.” 2009. PONARS Conference on “Emerging Transnational Developments in Eurasia.” Istanbul: Georgetown University.
- “Law or Politics? Kyrgyzstan’s Battle for a New Constitution.” 2007. Central Eurasia Project. New York: Open Society Institute.
- “Development of Political Institutions in Kyrgyzstan.” 2007. Conference on “Political Dynamics in Central Asia.” Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- “Regional and Clan Politics in Kyrgyzstan.” 2006. Conference on “Kyrgyzstan at the Cross Roads.” Oxford: University of Oxford.

## **OTHER PROFESSIONAL ENGAGEMENT**

- Member of PONARS Eurasia, international network of scholars in politics and international relations of Eurasia, based at George Washington University ([www.ponarseurasia.org](http://www.ponarseurasia.org)), since 2009.
- Advisory group member, EUCAM (EU-Central Asia Monitoring) (<http://www.eucentralasia.eu>), since 2017.
- Member of academic council, the European Neighbourhood Council (<http://www.encouncil.org/academic-council>), since 2020.
- Member of the editorial board of *Kyrgyz Almanac*, Central Asia Program at George Washington University (<https://www.centralasiaprogram.org>), since 2021.
- Chairperson/member of undergraduate thesis defence commission, International and Comparative Politics department, American University of Central Asia in 2021, 2019, 2017, 2014.
- Member of the Board of Trustees, Media Policy Institute, Bishkek, 2009-2013.

## **LANGUAGES**

Kyrgyz, English, Russian