

## REGINA A. SMYTH

Department of Political Science  
Indiana University  
210 Woodburn Hall  
Bloomington, IN 474-5-7110

(812) 856-2822  
rsmyth@indiana.edu

### EDUCATION

Ph.D. Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, December 1997 Dissertation: *Building Democracy by Winning Votes? A Study of Politicians and Institutions in Transitional Russia*. Committee: John Aldrich, Robert Bates, Herbert Kitschelt, Brian Silver

M.A. Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, December 1994

B.A. State University of New York at Albany, Albany, New York, May 1983

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

2020 – Present Professor, Department of Political Science, Indiana University

2009 – 2019 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Indiana University

2016 – 2017 Founding Director, Russian Studies Workshop, Indiana University

2006 – 2009 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Indiana University

1996 – 2006 Assistant Professor, Pennsylvania State University

### RESEARCH ACTIVITY

#### BOOKS

With Jeremy Morris and Andrey Semenov, eds. *Urban Activism in Contemporary Russia*, Indiana University Press, Under Contract, 2021.

*Elections, Protest, and Regime Stability in Non-Democratic States: Russia 2008-2020*, Cambridge University Press, 2020.

*Candidate Strategies and Electoral Competition in the Russian Federation: Democracy Without Foundation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Series in Comparative Politics, 2006

## ARTICLES

“Constitutional Reform and the Value of Social Citizenship” with Sarah Sokhey, *Russian Politics*, 2021 forthcoming April 2021

“Russia’s 2020 Constitutional Reform: The Politics of Institutionalizing the Status-Quo,” with William Pomeranz, *Russian Politics*, forthcoming April 2021.

“Pandemic Politics in Eurasia: Roadmap for a New Research Subfield,” with Marlene Laruelle, Mikhail Alexseev, Cynthia Buckley, Ralph S. Clem, J. Paul Goode, Ivan Gomza, Henry E. Hale, Erik Herron, Andrey Makarychev, Madeline McCann, Mariya Omelicheva, Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, Sarah Wilson Sokhey, Mikhail Troitskiy, Joshua A. Tucker, Judyth Twigg, and Elizabeth Wishnick, *Problems of Post-Communism*, October 2020

“Disengagement, Non-Political Activism, and Anti-Regime Protest: A New Frontier in Authoritarian Research,” APSA *Comparative Politics Newsletter*, June 2020.

“The Bicameral Roots of Congressional Deadlock: Analyzing Divided Government Through the Lens of Majority Rule,” with William Bianco, *Social Science Quarterly*, June 2020.

“Legislative Rules in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of Hong Kong’s Legislative Council,” with William Bianco and Kwon Nok Chan, *Journal of Politics*, July 2019

“Legitimising Victories: Electoral Authoritarian Control in Russia’s Gubernatorial Elections,” with Rostislav Turovsky, *Europe-Asia Studies* 70/2 (2018): 182-201

“Considering the Orange Legacy: Patterns of Political Participation in the Euromaidan Revolution,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 34/5 (2018) 297-316

“Studying Russia’s Authoritarian Turn,” *Russian Politics* 1/4 (2016): 337-346

“Navalny’s Gamesters: Protest, Opposition Innovation, and Authoritarian Stability in Russia,” with Irina Soboleva, *Russian Politics*, 1/4 (2016): 347-371

"Mind the Gaps: Media Use and Mass Action in Russia," with Sarah Oates, *Europe-Asia Studies* 67/2 (2015): 285-305

“Predicting Majority Rule: Evaluating the Uncovered Set and the Strong Point,” with Jacob Bauer-Bir, William T. Bianco, Nicholas D’Amico, Christopher Kam, and Itai Sened, *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 27/4 (2015): 650-672

“Party Relevance and Party Survival in New Democracies,” with William Bianco, Christopher Kam, and Itai Sened, *International Area Studies Review*, 17/3 (2014): 251-261

“The Putin Factor: Personalism, Protest, and Regime Stability in Russia,” *Politics & Policy* 42/4 (2014): 567-592

“Looking Beyond the Economy: Pussy Riot and the Kremlin's Voting Coalition,” with Irina Soboleva, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 30/4 (2014): 257-275

“A Well-Organized Play,” with Anton Sobolev, and Irina Soboleva, *Problems of Post-Communism* 60/2 (2013): 24-39

“Political Preferences and Party Development in Post-Communist States,” *Demokratizatsia* 20/2 (2012): 113-132

“Explaining Transitional Representation: The Rise and Fall of Women of Russia,” with William Bianco, Christopher Kam, and Itai Sened, *Journal of East European and Asian Studies* 2/1 (2011): 137-62

“Ministerial Selection and Intra-Party Organization in the Contemporary British Parliament,” with Christopher Kam, William Bianco, and Itai Sened, *American Political Science Review* 104/2 (2010): 289-306

“Engineering Victory: Institutional Reform, and Formal Institutions and the Formation of a Hegemonic Party Regime in the Russian Federation,” with Anna Lowry and Brandon Wilkening, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 23/2 (2007): 118-137

“Strong Partisans, Weak Parties? Party Organizations and the Development of Mass Partisanship in Russia,” *Comparative Politics*, vol 38/2 (2006): 209-228

“Building State Capacity from the Inside Out: Parties of Power and the Success of the President’s Reform Agenda in Russia,” *Politics and Society*, 30/4 (2002): 555-578

“Programmatic Party Cohesion in Emerging Post-Communist Democracies: Russia in Comparative Context,” with Herbert Kitschelt, *Comparative Political Studies*, 35/10 (2002): 1228-1256

“Ideological vs. Regional Cleavages: Do the Radicals Control the RSFSR Parliament?” *Journal of Soviet Nationalities* 1:3 (1990)

## **BOOK CHAPTERS**

“Defining Urban Activism,” with Andrei Semenov and Jeremy Morris, in *Urban Activism in Modern Russia*, co-editor with Jeremy Morris and Andrei Semenov, eds, Indiana University Press, forthcoming 2021

“From Neighbors to Activists: Exploring the Building Blocks of Activism in the Moscow Renovation Program,” with Madeline McCann and Katherine Hitchcock, in *Urban Activism in Modern Russia*, co-editor with Jeremy Morris and Andrei Semenov, eds, Indiana University Press, Forthcoming 2021

“Defining Common Ground: Collective Identity in Russia’s Post-Election Protests and Rallies,” with Irina Soboleva, Luke Shimek and Anton Sobolev, in Cameron Ross, editor, *Civil Society Awakens? The Systemic and Non-Systemic Opposition in the Russian Federation: National and Regional Dimensions*, Ashgate Press, 2015

“The Uncovered Set and Its Applications,” with William Bianco, Christopher Kam, and Itai Sened, in Jac C. Heckelman and Nicholas Miller, eds. *Elgar Handbook of Social Choice and Voting*, Northampton, MA: Elgar, 2015

“Russia’s Political Parties Under Putin,” in Henry Hale and Ivan Kyrilla, editors, *Russia in the 2000s: Stereotypes and Viewpoints*, Moscow, Russian Federation: Planetka, 2011 (in Russian)

“Political Parties,” in Graeme Gill and James Young, editors, *Handbook of Russian Politics and Society*, Routledge Press, 2011

“The More Things Change: Coping with Transition in the New Russia,” Werner Schaie and Glenn Elder, editors, *Historical Influences on Lives and Aging*, New York: Springer Publishing, 2005

“The Ties that Bind: The Importance of Region in the Construction of Social and Political Citizenship,” with Cynthia Buckley, Blair Ruble, editor, *Fragmented Space: Russian Regions in Transition* Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001

“Political Ambition, Elite Competition, and Electoral Success in Saratov Oblast” in Timothy J. Colton and Jerry F. Hough, editors, *Growing Pains. Russian Democracy and the Election of 1993*, Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, 1998

“The Russian Parliament and Political Consolidation,” in Douglas Blum, editor, *Russia's Future: Consolidation or Disintegration*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993

## BOOK REVIEWS

The Quest for an Ideal Youth in Putin’s Russia I (Mijnssen) and The Quest for an Ideal Youth in Putin’s Russia II (Lassila), in *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 31/1 (2013), pp152-154

The Russian Democratic Party Yabloko: Opposition in a Managed Democracy, in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 44/3 (2010), pp 348-349

Politics and the Ruling Group in Putin's Russia, in *Slavic Review*, 69/1 (2010), pp 266-267

Russia Transformed: Developing Popular Support for a New Regime, in *Demokratizatsia* 15/5 (2008): 1024-1025

Smyth, R. (2006). “The Communist Legacy in Post-Soviet Elections: Looking Beyond Redemption-Anna M. Grzymala-Busse, Redeeming the Communist Past. The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, *Government and Opposition*, 40(3), 464-469

## WORK IN PROGRESS

Editor, Special Issue, Russian Constitutional Change, *Russian Politics*, forthcoming April 2021.

Pending Grant Proposal. Policy Processes, Authoritarian Responsiveness, and Political Change, The National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, December 31, 2020.

“Popular Response to Authoritarian Policy Initiatives: The Case of Moscow Housing” with Israel Marques, Ekaterina Borisova, and Alexei Zakharov.

“Blame and Credit in Authoritarian Contexts: The Role of Consultation” with Israel Marques, Alexei Zakharov, and Ekaterina Borisova.

“Unexpected Outcomes: Social Capital Accumulation in Authoritarian States,” with Ekaterina Borisova and Alexei Zakharov.

“Polarization in Multiparty Systems,” with William Bianco, Christopher Kam, Indridi Indridason, and Gyung-Ho Jeong

## PUBLIC INTEREST SCHOLARSHIP (POST-2009)

“Navalny Returns to Russia And Brings Anti-Regime Politics With Him,” *The Conversation*, January 31, 2021, <https://theconversation.com/navalny-returns-to-russia-and-brings-anti-putin-politics-with-him-153964>

“Russia’s Rigged Elections Look Nothing Like the US Election,” with Sarah Oates, *The Conversation*, November 10, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/russias-rigged-elections-look-nothing-like-the-us-election-they-have-immediate-unquestioned-results-there-149710>

“How Alexei Navalny Revolutionized Opposition Politics in Russia,” *The Conversation*, August 21, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/how-alexei-navalny-revolutionized-opposition-politics-in-russia-before-his-apparent-poisoning-144830>

“The Belarus Election and its Aftermath/An Expert Analysis,” *Insight and Analysis Series*, The Kennan Institute, August 12, 2020. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/belarus-election-and-its-aftermath-expert-analysis>

“With Prizes, Food, Housing and Cash, Putin Rigged Russia's Most Recent Vote,” *The Conversation*, July 2020, <https://theconversation.com/with-prizes-food-housing-and-cash-putin-rigged-russias-most-recent-vote-141867>

The Russian Power Vertical and the COVID-19 Challenge: The Trajectories of Regional Responses with Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, Timothy Model, and Aiden Klein, PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 646, April 2020, <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/russian-power-vertical-covid-19-challenge-trajectories-regional-responses>

The Reality of Russia's Constitutional Reform: Limited Institutional Change Masks a Profound Shift in Economic Policy, *Russia Analytical Digest*, February 13, 2020: 9-11. DOI: 10.3929/ethz-b-000398331

"The Opportunist in the Kremlin," *The Globe Post*, March 24, 2020, <https://theglobepost.com/2020/03/24/putin-coronavirus/>

"The Russian Cabinet Resigns and It's all Part of Putin's Plan," *The Conversation*, January 15, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/russias-cabinet-resigns-and-its-all-part-of-putins-plan-130030>

"Moscow's Municipal Elections Illustrate the Growing Political Crisis in Russia," *The Conversation*, September 19, 2019, <https://theconversation.com/moscows-municipal-elections-illustrate-the-growing-political-crisis-in-russia-123262>

"After Ten Years of Protest in Russia: What Have We Learned?" PONARS Audio Policy Memo, April 30, 2018, <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/node/9739>

"How the Kremlin Is Using the Moscow Renovation Project to Reward and Punish Voters," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 513, March 2018, <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/kremlin-using-moscow-renovation-project-reward-punish-voters>

"Is the growing Russia crisis another Cold War conflict? Nyet," *The Conversation*, March 30, 2018, <https://theconversation.com/is-the-growing-russia-crisis-another-cold-war-conflict-nyet-94093>

"Why Alexey Navalny is Important in Russia and the World," *Public Seminar*, March 15, 2018, <https://publicseminar.org/2018/03/why-alexey-navalny-is-important-in-russia-and-the-world/>

"This May Discredit Putin in the Next Election," in "The Russians Are Protesting! Why?" *Washington Post - Monkey Cage*, March 31, 2017. <https://jordanrussiacycenter.org/news/russians-protesting-monkey-cage-symposium/#.X3TdyS2z3q0>

"The Depiction of Russia at the Woman's Marches," *PONARS Eurasia Discussions*, January 27, 2017, <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/ponars-eurasia-discusses-depiction-russia-womens-marches-photos>

"The State of Russian Studies is Ascendant," *Here and Now, WBUR*, October 18, 2016, <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/smyth-state-russian-studies-ascendant-audio>

"Russia's 2016-2018 Election Cycle: Popular Engagement and Protest Potential," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 438, August 2016. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/russias-2016-2018-election-cycle-popular-engagement-and-protest-potential>

"Does the Russian Opposition Have a Political Future?" interview on *Two Guys Discussing Russia Over Pastries*, September 21, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d6U7pOJpyaA>

“Measuring Electoral Competition in Russia’s Regions: New Tools for Political Research,” with Rostislav Turovsky, Timothy Model, and Thomas Wonder, Working Paper Series, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, November 2014

“Support Education, Research To Help Understand Ukraine,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 19, 2014

“Beyond United Russia: The Kremlin’s Efforts to Engineer Ruling Majorities,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 302, September 2013. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/beyond-united-russia-kremlin’s-efforts-engineer-ruling-majorities>

“Thief or Savior? Contesting Personalism in Russia’s Rallies and Protests,” PONARS Policy Memo, September 15, 2013. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/thief-or-savior-contesting-personalism-russia’s-rallies-and-protests>

“Welcome to North Korea, Predicting the Effect of Russia’s New Protest Law,” *e-International Relations*, July 4, 2012. <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/07/04/welcome-to-north-korea-predicting-the-effect-of-russias-new-law-on-meetings-rallies-demonstrations-processions-and-pickets/>

“Russia’s Growing Opposition,” *Washington Post - Monkey Cage*, May 7, 2012. <https://themonkeycage.org/2012/05/russias-growing-opposition/>

“More on 2012 Russian Presidential Elections and Post-Election Protests,” *Washington Post - Monkey Cage*, March 6, 2012. <https://themonkeycage.org/2012/03/more-on-2012-russian-presidential-elections-and-post-election-protests/>

“The Complicated Views of Pro- and Anti-Putin Protestors,” *Washington Post - Monkey Cage*, March 2, 2012. <https://themonkeycage.org/2012/03/the-complicated-views-of-pro-and-anti-putin-protestors/>

“The Most Recent Anti-Putin Protest: Evidence of a Nascent Russian Civil Society,” *Washington Post - Monkey Cage*, February 5, 2012. <https://themonkeycage.org/2012/02/the-most-recent-anti-putin-protest-evidence-of-a-nascent-russian-civil-society/>

“The Complexity That Is Current Russian Politics,” *Washington Post - Monkey Cage*, December 9, 2011. <https://themonkeycage.org/2011/12/the-complexity-that-is-current-russian-politics/>

“On Potential Deals in the Super-Committee,” with William Bianco, *Washington Post - Monkey Cage*, November 8, 2011. <https://themonkeycage.org/2011/11/on-potential-deals-in-the-super-committee/>

“Putin 2012: More Expert Opinion,” *Washington Post - Monkey Cage*, September 27, 2011. <https://themonkeycage.org/2011/09/putin-in-2012-more-expert-analysis/>

“Problems of Political-Legal Culture and Civil Society,” in *The Russian Constitution at Fifteen: Assessments and Current Challenges to Russia’s Legal Development*, Occasional Paper #304, Washington,

DC: Kennan Institute, 2010. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/the-russian-constitution-fifteen-assessments-and-current-challenges-to-russias-legal>

"The Utility of Self-Governance: Elinor Ostrom's Contributions to Knowledge," with William Bianco, *Transnational Corporations Review* 2 (2010): 124-7

"Nobel Winner's Work Challenges LI on Consolidation," with William Bianco, *Newsday*, November 27, 2009.

<http://nebula.wsimg.com/7d9169c04b776f646cefc099c2f8f983?AccessKeyId=024A1C81788B7B1956CD&disposition=0&alloworigin=1>

"Global Research, Local Applications," with William Bianco, *The Journal Gazette*, December 11, 2009

## HONORS AND AWARDS

2021-2022 Fulbright Research Award (pending), St. Petersburg, Russia

2020-2021 Fellow, Kenan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center.

2020 "The Effect of COVID-related Policy on Moscow Politics," Tobias Center, Research Grant, (\$2500).

2020 "Institutionalization of the Russian Diaspora: Attitudes, Values, and Political Action," They Hayek Fund, Institute for Humane Studies, (\$2,500).

2020 "Institutionalization of the Russian Diaspora: Attitudes, Values, and Political Action," The Hayek Fund, Institute for Humane Studies, (\$2,500) and Indiana University Center for Student Research (\$15,000).

2020. "Authoritarian Responsiveness and Public Goods Provision: Housing and Pension Reform in Russia," Office of the Vice President for Research, (\$3,000).

2020 "For The Values-Based Legitimation In Authoritarian States: Top-Down Versus Bottom-Up Strategies, The Case Of Russia (Legitruus)," Expert Advisor, Norwegian Research Council.

2018 "Urban Activism and the Development of Civil Society in the Russian Federation: A Research Workshop," US-Russia Foundation, Principal Investigator (\$47,320)

2018 Indiana University Office of Vice President for International Affairs, Faculty Exchange with Higher School of Economics, Russia (\$4,000)

2018 Indiana University Ostrom Workshop Visiting Fellow Grant for Professor Leonid Polishchuk, Higher School of Economics Moscow and University of Uppsala, Sweden (\$5,100)



2017 “Protest and Political Participation in Non-Democracies,” Indiana University, Social Science Research Commons, Principal Investigator (\$15,000)

2017 “Exploring Social Support for Moscow’s Housing Renovation Policy,” Russian Studies Workshop, Indiana University, Principal Investigator (\$15,000)

2016 “Repression and Resilience in Russia’s Public Sphere,” College Arts and Humanities Institute, Indiana University, Principal Investigator, (\$6,600)

2016 Trustees Teaching Award, Indiana University

2016 Indiana University, Office of Vice President for International Affairs, Faculty Exchange with Higher School of Economics, Russia (\$4,000)

2016 “Strengthening Russian Studies at American Universities through the IU Russian Studies Workshop,” Carnegie Corporation of New York, Co-Principal Investigator (\$1,000,000)

2015 “From Maidan to Donbas: Protest Participation and Political Engagement in Ukraine,” Institute for Advance Study, Indiana University, Principal Investigator (\$9,900)

2015 “Political Protest and Stability in Hong Kong: Mapping the Space of Contentious Politics in the Umbrella Movement,” Indiana University Ostrom Workshop, Co-Principal Investigator (\$20,000)

2014 Trustees Teaching Award, Indiana University

2012 Indiana University Office of Vice President for International Affairs, Faculty Exchange with University of Zagreb, Croatia (\$4,000)

2012 “Subnational Electoral Competition and Regime Change in Russia, 1993-2013,” National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, Co-Principal Investigator (\$56,041)

2008 “Conference on Sustainable Democracy,” National Science Foundation, Co-Principal Investigator (\$49,792)

2006 “Characterizing Party Influence in Legislatures: A Cross-National Analysis,” National Science Foundation, Co-Principal Investigator (\$181,262)

2000 Smith Richardson Foundation, Principal Investigator (\$60,000)

2002 National Science Foundation, Small Grants for Exploratory Research, Principal Investigator (\$30,000)

1998 National Science Foundation Award, POWRE Program, Principal Investigator (\$98,000)

1999 CELT Teaching Grant, Penn State University, Co-Principal Investigator, (\$5,500)

1998 National Council for Soviet and East European Research, Co-Principal Investigator (\$35,000)

1997 Faculty Recognition Award, College of Liberal Arts, Penn State University

1997 National Council For Soviet and East European Research, Co-Principal Investigator (\$74,626)

1995 National Security Education Program, Graduate Enhancement Fellowship

1995 National Science Foundation, Dissertation Enhancement Grant

1995 International Research and Exchanges Board, Dissertation Field Research Grant

1995 Graduate School Conference Grant, Duke University

1994 Graduate Studies Fellowship, Department of Political Science, Duke University

1993 Travel Grant, Harvard University Research Project on the 1993 Elections in Russia

1992. Social Science Research Council, Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, Graduate Training Award

1991 Research Travel Grant, Carnegie Corporation of New York

1991 Olin Fellowship, Department of Political Science, Duke University

### **INVITED TALKS (Since 2012)**

The Russian Power Vertical and the Covid-19 Challenge: The Trajectories of Regional Responses. PONARS Eurasia Webinar, May 29, 2020 (online).

The Challenge of COVID-19 in Russia, NYU-Columbia Russia Public Policy Panel Discussion, May 14, 2020 (online).

Russian Regional Responses to COVID-19, Kings Russia Institute Online Series, Kings College London, May 11, 2020 (online).

The Unexpected Consequences of Policy: Social Capital Accumulation and the Moscow Housing Renovation Program, Ekaterian Borisov (HSE), Regina Smyth (Indiana University), Alexei Zakharov (HSE), Bank of Finland Seminar Series, May 5, 2020 (online).

“The Tools of Contemporary Autocratic Rule: Opportunities and Limits,” School of Public Policy, Tel Aviv University, Israel, June 2019

“Social Movements in Authoritarian Regimes,” Bates College (via teleconference), May 2019

“The Moscow Housing Renovation Program: Responsiveness, Redistribution, and Regime Stability in Russia,” Kings College, London, United Kingdom, March 2019.

“The Moscow Housing Renovation Program: Responsiveness, Redistribution, and Regime Stability in Russia,” University of Bath, United Kingdom, March 2019

“The Hybrid Election Equilibrium: Organized Opposition, Incumbent Regimes, and The Threat of Popular Engagement,” World Politics Research Seminar, Indiana University, February 2019

“Elections, Protest, and Regime Stability in Non-Democratic States: Russia, 2008 – 2018,” George Washington University, September 2018

“Russian Protest and its Challenges to the Russian State,” Russia, Iran, and the United States, Institute on Russia and Center for Strategic Studies, University of Southern Florida, April 2018

“Russia’s 2018 Presidential Elections through Regional Lenses,” King's College, London, United Kingdom, March 2018

“Launching the Informality Encyclopedia,” Roundtable, University College, London, United Kingdom, March 2018

“Russia’s Presidential Elections,” Roundtable, School of Global and International Studies, Indiana University, March 2018

“Russia After March 2018: Putin without Putinism?” Chappaqua Great Decisions Group (via teleconference), February 2018

“Symbolic Politics and Solving the Collective Action Dilemma in Authoritarian Systems,” Lecture in Jacob School of Music Graduate Seminar, February 2018

“Re-Electing President Putin: Protest, Elections and Regime Stability in Russia, 2011-2018”, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, October 2017

“US-Russia Relations in the Trump Era: Domestic Politics and International Goals,” Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland, August 2017

“Making Sense of US–Russia Policy: It’s Not All Bromance, Cyber-Security, and Kompromat,” Indiana University Mini-University, June 2017

“The Micro-foundations of Big Consequences: Broad Comparisons, New Methods, and Multi-Level Research,” Keynote Speech, Perm State University, Perm, Russia, June 2017

“Cybersecurity and the 2016 US Election,” Center for American Global Security, School of Global and International Studies, Indiana University, March 2017

- “Russian Politics and Electoral Authoritarianism,” Indiana Council on World Affairs, January 2017
- “The Implications of the US Election for US-Russia Relations,” US Embassy, St Petersburg, Russia (via teleconference), November 2016
- “Russian Elections 2011-2017,” Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Russia, October 2016
- “The US Election and Russia’s Interests,” European University in St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg Russia, October 2016
- “The Failure of Modernization Theory: Contemporary Autocracy and the Challenge to Political Science,” Keynote Address, October Readings, Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, October 2016
- “Political Protest and Stability in Russia, 2012-2016,” Center for Russian and East Europe, and Central Asia, University of Wisconsin, October 2016
- “Youth and Political Activism in Russia, 2011-2016,” Seminar, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 2016
- “Elections, Protest and Regime Stability in Russia,” Indiana University Summer Language Workshop, July 2016
- “Resolving the Authoritarian Dilemma: Policy Outcomes and Political Control in The Hong Kong Legislative Council,” Ostrom Workshop, January 2015
- “Russian Street Politics in Symbols and Discourse,” Visiting Fellows Seminar Presentation, Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, Finland, October 2013
- “Two Models of Mobilization: The Organization of Pro- and Anti-Regime Street Actions in Russia,” Oxford University, October 2013
- “Explaining Post-Election Protest in Russia,” Harriman Institute, Columbia University, January 28, 2013
- “Resurgent Russia,” Changing American National Security Priorities, 2013-2020, Indiana University Center on American Global Security, November 2012
- “Democracy Challenged: How to Counter the Erosion of Democracy,” Norwegian Helsinki Committee, Oslo, Norway, October 2012
- “Explaining Protest: Russia After the Elections,” PRIO, Oslo Norway, June 18, 2012

### **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (SINCE 2010)**

Consultation and Blame Attribution in Autocratic Regimes, Israel Marques (HSE), Regina Smyth (Indiana University), Ekaterina Borisova (HSE), Alexei Zakharov (HSE) American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, September 2020 (online).

The Popular Logic of Authoritarian Policymaking: Evidence from the Moscow Housing Reforms Israel Marques (HSE), Regina Smyth (Indiana University), Ekaterina Borisova (HSE), Alexei Zakharov (HSE), 9<sup>th</sup> Annual ICSID Conference, Comparative Perspectives on the Political Economy of Development, Moscow, June 9, 2020 (online).

“Protest Research Design: Cautionary Tales,” Competitive Authoritarian Protest Research Network Conference, University of Manchester, United Kingdom, June 2019

“The Moscow Housing Renovation Program: Responsiveness, Redistribution, and Regime Stability in Russia,” PONARS Eurasia Academic Conference, St. Petersburg, Russia, March 2019

“Contestation in Hybrid Regimes: Social Movement Theory and Individual Participation in Political Activism in the Russian Federation,” Regime Evolution, Institutional Change, and Social Transformation in Russia: Lessons for Political Science, Yale University, April 2018

“Russian Elections: Electoral Transparency, Popular Protest, Implications for Political System,” Conflict, Contestation & Peacebuilding in Eurasia, PONARS Eurasia, London, United Kingdom, March 2018

“Russian Elections 2016-2018: Political Change and Regime Stability,” Roundtable, ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2017

“Protest Legacies and Political Participation in Ukraine,” PONARS Eurasia Academic Workshop Kharkiv, Ukraine, June 2017

“Socio-Psychological Prerequisites of Contentious Mobilization,” Perm State University, Russia, June 2017

“Regional Competition and National Stability in the 2016-2018 Election Cycle,” Roundtable, ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2016

“Regional Political Machines and Electoral Control in Russia's 2016 National Elections,” PONARS Eurasia Annual Policy Conference, Washington DC, September 2016

“Movement Resilience and Patterns of Protest in Contemporary Autocracy,” PONARS Eurasia Annual Scholarly Conference, PONARS, GWU, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, June 2016

“Contesting Fraud: The Effect of Trusted Leadership in Post-Election Protest,” First Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies, University of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia, May 2016

“Religion and Politics,” Princeton University, May 2016

“The Unexpected Strength of Weak Oppositions,” NUPI Annual Conference, Oslo Norway, November 2015

“Exit, Voice & Loyalty in Post-Soviet Russia: Facts and Narratives about Protest and Participation,” with Irena Soboleva, ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2015

“Reginal Politics and Electoral Authoritarian Control,” Roundtable, ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2015

“Measuring Elusive Concepts: New Work on Corruption, Clientelism, Nationalism and Protest in Russia’s Regions,” Roundtable Organizer, ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2014

“Protest Legacies and Campaign Activism in Authoritarian Regimes,” ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2014

“Innovations in the Study of Russia’s Regions: New Data Collection Projects,” Roundtable, ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2013

“Religion and Politics in the Post-Communist Space,” Roundtable, ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2013

“Patterns of Discontent: Identifying the Participant Core in Russian Post-Election Protest,” Russia’s Winter of Discontent: Taking Stock of Changing State-Society Relationships, Uppsala University, Sweden, September 2013

“A Well-Organized Play: Symbolic Politics and the Effect of the Pro-Putin Rallies,” Explaining Contentious Politics in Russia: Innovations in Theory and Data Collection Conference, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation, June 2013

“Defining Common Ground: The Language of Network Mobilization in Russian Protests,” Cultures of Grievance in Eastern Europe and Eurasia Conference, Princeton University, March 2013

“Bounding Protest: Pussy Riot and the Battle for Political Participation in Russia,” Ready for Democracy? Religion and Political Culture in the Orthodox and Islamic Worlds, Indiana University Bloomington, February 2013

“Beyond Institutions: Explaining Regime Outcomes in Post-Socialist States,” ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2012

“Burning Down the House: Protest and Regime Change in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes,” ASEEEES Annual Meeting, November 2012

“Political Protest and Regime Stability,” PONARS Policy Conference, Washington, DC, September 2012

“Competition in Regional Elections in Semi-Authoritarian Systems,” Territorial Governance in States and Authoritarian Regimes: Challenges and Response, Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia, 2012

“The Failure (and Subsequent Success) of Institutional Engineering,” Presented at “Two Decades of Post-Soviet Independence: What Have We Learned?” PONARS Eurasia, IERES, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars’ Kennan Institute, December 2011

“The Uncertain Outcomes of Certain Elections,” Russia: Parties, Parliament and Power,” Annual Conference NUPI, Department for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Oslo, Norway, November 2011

“Losing Ground: The Decline of Women’s Participation in Post-Soviet Electoral Politics,” Presented at the conference Women in Russia: Politics and Policy, Loyola University of Chicago, 2010

### **PROFESSIONAL AND SERVICE ACTIVITIES (SELECTED)**

Member, Competitive Authoritarian Research Network, 2017 – present

Editorial Board and Associate Editor, *Russian Politics*, 2015 – present

International Advisory Board, Department of Political Science, Higher School of Economics – St. Petersburg, 2011 - present

Advisory Board, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, 2016 – 2020

National Science Foundation Political Science Panel, 2010, 2012 – 13, 2015

National Science Foundation IGERT Award Panel, 2009 – 10

Fulbright Selection Panel, 2011-12 (Russia), 2012 – 14 (US)

Member PONARS Eurasia, 1998 – present

Election Observer, National Democratic Institute, Russia, December 1999

Working Group on Russian Regional Development, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, 2009

Reviewer for *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Sociological Review*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *East European Politics and Society*, *Democratization*, *Demokratizatsiya*, *Electoral Studies*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Politics*,

*Legislative Studies Quarterly, Mobilization, Party Politics, Post-Soviet Affairs, Problems of Post-Communism, Russian Politics, Slavic Review, World Politics*

Reviewed proposals/applications for the National Science Foundation, National Security Education Program, Kennan Institute, National Academy of Sciences, Fulbright Scholars Program

### **University Service**

Co-Chair, “Themester: Democracy,” Indiana University College of Arts and Sciences Program, 2019-2021.

“Celebrating the Influence of the Bloomington School: Ten Years Since Elinor Ostrom’s Nobel Prize,” Indiana University Ostrom Grant Fund, Co-Principal Investigator, 2019 (\$5,000)

Founding Director, Indiana University Russian Studies Workshop, 2016-2018

University Academic Fairness Committee, 2014-15, 2015-16

Russian and Eastern European Institute Executive Committee, 2013-14, 2014-15

Ostrom Workshop Working Group to Develop IGERT on Sustainable Democracy (Co-Chair), 2008 – 11

Ostrom Workshop Advisory Committee, 2009 – 2011

### **COURSES TAUGHT (SINCE 2015)**

#### Introductory Courses

POLS 107 World Politics (Introduction to Comparative Politics)

POLS 200/209 Protest in a Global World

#### Upper-Level and Senior Seminars

POLS 300 Soviet Politics: From Revolution to Revolution

POLS 300 Trump, Putin and the New Cold War

POLS 332 Russian Politics

POLS 341 Contemporary Authoritarianism

POLS 490 Global Protest: 2010-2016

POLS 490 Global Protest: Russia 2011-2012

POLS 490 Global Protest: Ukraine’s Revolution of Dignity

#### Graduate Seminars

POLS 657 Electoral Authoritarian Regimes

POLS 657 Post-Communist Politics

POLS 657 Russian Protest



POLS 657 Contemporary Autocracy

POLS 757 Survey Research in Authoritarian States, Practicum