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EDUCATION

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Ph.D.                       | Harvard University, Department of Government, 1995          |
| Diploma in Russian Language | Plekhanov Institute of Economics, Moscow, 1988              |
| M.A.                        | Harvard University, Department of Government, 1988          |
| B.A.Hons. (first class)     | Oxford University, Politics, Philosophy and Economics, 1986 |

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

|                                    |                    |   |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| Professor                          | July 2004-present  | University of California, Los Angeles,<br>Department of Political Science |
| Associate Professor                | July 2000-Jun 2004 | University of California, Los Angeles,<br>Department of Political Science |
| Assistant Professor                | July 1996-Jun 2000 | University of California, Los Angeles<br>Department of Political Science  |
| William C. Bark<br>National Fellow | Sep 1998-Jun 1999  | Hoover Institution,<br>Stanford University                                |
| Post-Doctoral<br>Research Fellow   | Sep 1995-Jun 1996  | Harvard University,<br>Russian Research Center                            |

OTHER AFFILIATIONS

Interim Director, Center for European and Russian Studies, UCLA, 2023-4.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, September 2021-May 2022.

Member, International Advisory Board, International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 2021-2 .

Board Member, Free Russia Foundation, 2018-.

Member, International Advisory Board, *Russian Journal of Economics*, Moscow, 2015-.

Member, Editorial Board, *Politeia (Полития)*, Moscow, 2013- .

Acting Director, Center for European and Eurasian Studies, UCLA, Jan-June 2013.

Visiting Fellow, *Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen* (Institute for Human Sciences), Vienna, September 2010 – July 2011.

Member, International Advisory Board, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 2010-21.

Member, Editorial Board, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2013- .

Associate Editor, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, July 2010-Jan 2013.

Research Associate, National Bureau of Economic Research, April 2009- .

Co-editor, *American Political Science Review*, July 2008-July 2010.

Lead Editor, *American Political Science Review*, July 2007-June 2008.

Member, Editorial Board of *Comparative Political Studies*, 2005-07.

Member, Editorial Board of *American Political Science Review*, 2004-07.

Associate Editor, *Economics and Politics*, 2004-10.

Editor, *APSA-CP*, Newsletter of the APSA Organized Section in Comparative Politics, (2000-02). Associate Editor (1998-2000).

#### SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS

Prix Guido et Maruccia Zerilli-Marimò de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Paris, 2023, for *Spin Dictators*.

Arthur Ross Book Prize Bronze Medal, New York, 2023, for *Spin Dictators*.

Elected to membership of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2023-.

Andrew Carnegie Fellowship, 2022-4.

Fellowship, Center for Advanced Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, 2021-2.

Keynote Address, International Conference on “Belarus 2020 and Beyond,” Vilnius University, October 2021.

Keynote Lecture, Stockholm School of Economics, December 2019.

Sage Prize 2018, for best paper in comparative politics presented at the 2017 APSA Annual Meetings, for “Democracy by Mistake.”

Honorable Mention, Best Paper Award, 2018, Comparative Democratization Section, APSA, for “Democracy by Mistake.”

Sage Prize 2016, for best paper in comparative politics presented at the 2015 APSA Annual Meetings, for “Misperceiving Inequality,” with Vladimir Gimpelson.

“Best Paper Award,” 2016, Public Policy Section, APSA, for best paper on comparative public policy presented at the 2015 APSA Annual Meetings, for “Misperceiving Inequality,” with Vladimir Gimpelson.

“Best Article Award,” 2016, Comparative Democratization Section, APSA, for best article on comparative democratization published in previous year, for “Income, Democracy, and Leader Turnover.”

Honorary Lecture, Higher School of Economics, April 2016.

Keynote Lecture, Reed College, Conference on “Understanding Putinism,” April 2016.

Two-year Grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York to organize an international team of scholars to conduct research on “The Logic of Power in Russia’s Changing Political Order,” 2014-16, (\$600,000).

Keynote Lecture, International Institute of Public Finance Annual Meeting, Taormina, Italy, August 2013.

Keynote Lecture, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Symposium on Economic Governance in China, June 2013.

Plenary Panel Participant (with Russian Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev), Krasnoyarsk Economic Forum, Krasnoyarsk, Russia, February 2013.

Keynote Lecture, Sixth Workshop on Political Economy, Institute for Economic Research, Dresden, December 2012.

Honorary Lecture, XIIth Annual Research Conference of the Higher Economic School, Moscow, April 2011.

Honorary Lecture, XIth Annual Research Conference of the Higher Economic School, Moscow, April 2010.

Distinguished Lecture, 23<sup>rd</sup> Annual New Economic School Research Conference, Moscow, June 2008

Invited plenary lecture, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, December 2004.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, 2002-3.

German Marshall Fund Fellowship, 2002-3.

Honorable Mention, Sage Prize for best paper on comparative politics presented at the 2000 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Honorable Mention, Gregory Luebbert Award for best book in comparative politics 1998-9, American Political Science Association, Comparative Politics Organized Section, for *After the Deluge*.

Honorable Mention, Sage Prize for best paper on comparative politics presented at the 1999 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Dean’s Marshal Award (for research and teaching), UCLA 1999.

Smith Richardson Foundation, research grant supporting work on “Russia’s Tax Crisis,” 1999-2000.

Hoover Institution, Stanford University, National Fellowship, 1998-9.

University of California, Los Angeles Career Development Award, 1997-8.

Senior Research Fellowship, US Institute of Peace, 1996-7 (declined).

"Best Paper" Award of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Organized Section, American Political Science Association, 1996 (best paper on federalism and intergovernmental relations presented at 1995 APSA annual meeting).

PUBLICATIONS

*Books and Monographs*

*Spin Dictators: The Changing Face of Tyranny in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, with Sergei Guriev, Princeton University Press, April 2022. Among:

- Financial Times* ' "Best Political Books" of 2022
- New Yorker*'s Best Books of 2022
- Foreign Affairs* ' Best Books of 2022.
- The Atlantic* "Books That Made Us Think," 2022
- Moment magazine* "12 Books That Made Us Think in 2022."

Winner of Prix Guido et Maruccia Zerilli-Marimò de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Paris.

Winner of Arthur Ross Book Prize Bronze Medal, New York.

Translated into 14 languages (Spanish, French, Japanese, Portuguese (Portugal), Portuguese (Brazil), Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Kazakh, and Uzbek).

*The New Autocracy: Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia*, ed. Daniel Treisman, Brookings Institution Press, 2018.

*The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev*, The Free Press, 2011. (One of *Financial Times* ' "Best Political Books" of 2011). Paperback edition 2012. Russian edition: *История России. От Горбачева до Путина и Медведева*, Moscow: Eksmo, 2012.

*The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

*Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia*, with Andrei Shleifer, 2000, MIT Press. Paperback edition, September 2001.

*After the Deluge: Regional Crises and Political Consolidation in Russia*, 1999, University of Michigan Press. Paperback edition 2001.

*Subnational Budgeting in Russia: Preempting a Potential Crisis*, with Lev Freinkman and Stepan Titov, Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1999.

*The Russian Economy in Transition*, with Andrei Shleifer, OECD Development Centre, November 1997.

*Peer-Reviewed Articles and Book Chapters*

"Globalization, Government Popularity, and the Great Skill Divide," with Cevat G. Aksoy and Sergei Guriev, *Journal of Politics*, forthcoming.

"Psychological Biases and Democratic Anxiety: A Comment on Little and Meng (2023)," *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 2024: 1-4. doi:10.1017/S1049096523000768.

"How great is the current danger to democracy? Assessing the risk with historical data," *Comparative Political Studies*, 2023, 56(12).

“The Popularity of Authoritarian Leaders: A Cross-national Investigation,” with Sergei Guriev, *World Politics*, October 2020, 72(4).

“Democracy by Mistake: How the Errors of Autocrats Trigger Transitions to Democracy,” *American Political Science Review*, 2020, 114(3), pp.792-810.

“A Theory of Informational Autocracy,” with Sergei Guriev, *Journal of Public Economics*, 186, June 2020. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0047272720300220>.

“Economic Shocks and Authoritarian Responses: Putin’s Strategy after the Global Financial Crisis of 2008–9,” with Natalia Lamberova, in Victor Shih, ed., *Economic Shocks and Authoritarian Stability*, University of Michigan Press, 2020, pp.97-118.

“Introduction: Rethinking Putin’s Political Order,” in Daniel Treisman, ed., *The New Autocracy: Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin’s Russia*, Brookings Institution Press, 2018, pp.1-28.

“Crimea: Anatomy of a Decision,” in Daniel Treisman, ed., *The New Autocracy: Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin’s Russia*, Brookings Institution Press, 2018, pp.277-98.

“Misperceiving Inequality,” with Vladimir Gimpelson, *Economics and Politics*, March 2018.

“Jurisdiction Size and Local Government Policy Expenditure: Assessing the Effect of Municipal Amalgamation,” with Jens Blom-Hansen, Kurt Houlberg, and Søren Serritzlew, *American Political Science Review*, November 2016.

“Income, Democracy, and Leader Turnover,” 2015. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(4): 927-42.

“Presidential Popularity in a Hybrid Regime: Russia under Yeltsin and Putin,” 2011. *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (3): 590-609.

“Pricing Death: The Political Economy of Russia’s Alcohol Crisis,” *Economics of Transition*, Spring 2010.

“Political Decentralization and Policy Experimentation,” with Hongbin Cai, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 1, 2009.

“Political Decentralization and Corruption: Evidence from Around the World,” with C. Simon Fan and Chen Lin, *Journal of Public Economics*, 93, 1-2, 2009.

“Did Government Decentralization Cause China’s Economic Miracle?” with Hongbin Cai, *World Politics*, July 2006.

“Evaluating Exchange Rate Management,” in Timothy J. Colton and Stephen Holmes, eds., *The State after Communism: Governance in the New Russia*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006, pp.187-224.

“Explaining Fiscal Decentralization: Geography, Colonial History, Economic Development, and Political Institutions,” *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 44, 3, November 2006, pp.289-325.

“Decentralization, Fiscal Incentives, and Economic Performance: A Reconsideration,” July 2006, *Economics and Politics*, 18, 2.

“Does Competition for Capital Discipline Governments? Decentralization, Globalization, and Public Policy,” with Hongbin Cai, *American Economic Review*, June 2005.

“Fiscal Politics in ‘Ethnically-Mined’, Developing Federal States: Central Strategies and Secessionist Violence,” book chapter, with Eduardo Aleman, in Philip Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds., *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*, Cornell University Press, 2005, pp. 173-216.

- “Stabilization Tactics in Latin America: Menem, Cardoso, and the Politics of Low Inflation,” *Comparative Politics*, July 2004, 36, 4, pp.399-420. Reprinted in Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger, eds., *Readings in Comparative Politics*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 2005.
- “Rational Appeasement,” *International Organization*, Spring 2004, 58, 2, pp.345-73.
- “State Corroding Federalism,” with Hongbin Cai, *Journal of Public Economics*, March 2004, 88, pp.819-43.
- “Fiscal Games and Public Employment: A Theory With Evidence From Russia,” with Vladimir Gimpelson, *World Politics*, 54, 2, January 2002, pp.145-83.
- “Political Business Cycles and Russian Elections, or the Manipulations of ‘Chudar’,” with Vladimir Gimpelson, *British Journal of Political Science*, 31, April 2001, pp.225-46.
- “Decentralization and Inflation: Commitment, Collective Action, or Continuity?” *American Political Science Review*, 94, 4, December 2000, pp.837-57.
- “The Causes of Corruption: A Cross-National Study,” *Journal of Public Economics*, 76, 3, June 2000, pp.399-457. Reprinted in Erik Berglöf and Gérard Roland, eds., *The Economics of Transition*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- “Russia’s Federal System of Public Finance: Trends, Politics, and Pressing Issues,” in Jean-Jacques Dethier, ed., *Governance and Development in India, China and Russia*, Kluwer, 2000.
- “Russia’s Tax Crisis: Explaining Falling Revenues in a Transitional Economy,” *Economics and Politics*, July 1999.
- “Political Decentralization and Economic Reform: A Game Theoretic Analysis,” *American Journal of Political Science*, April 1999.
- “Deciphering Russia’s Federal Finance: Fiscal Appeasement in 1995 and 1996,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, July 1998.
- “Fighting Inflation in a Transitional Order: Russia’s Anomalous Stabilization,” *World Politics*, January 1998.
- “Dollars and Democratization: The Role and Power of Money in Russia’s Transitional Elections,” *Comparative Politics*, November 1998.
- “Fiscal Redistribution in a Fragile Federation: Moscow and the Regions in 1994,” *British Journal of Political Science*, January 1998.
- “Russia’s ‘Ethnic Revival’: The Separatist Activism of Regional Leaders in a Post-Communist Order,” *World Politics*, January 1997.
- “The Politics of Intergovernmental Transfers in Post-Soviet Russia,” *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 26, 3, July 1996, pp.299-335.
- “The Politics of ‘Soft’ Credit in Post-Soviet Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.47, No.6, September 1995.

*Other Scholarly Publications*

- “What is predictable? A commentary on Tetlock et al. (2023),” *Futures & Foresight Science*, 2023, e166. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/ffo2.166>.

“Informational Autocrats,” with Sergei Guriev, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, November 2019, 33(4): 100-27. <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/jep.33.4.100>.

“Economic Development and Democracy: Predispositions and Triggers,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2020, Vol. 23, 2020, pp. 241-57. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050718-043546>.

“Triggering Democracy,” *Annals of Comparative Democratization* 16(3), September 2018, 32-6.

“Foreword,” in Alexei Navalny and Adam Michnik, *Opposing Forces: Plotting the New Russia*, London: Egret Press, 2016, ix-xxii.

“Russia’s Billionaires,” *American Economic Review (Papers and Proceedings)*, May 2016.

“What Does Cross-National Empirical Work Reveal About the Causes of Corruption?” in Paul Heywood, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption*, 2015.

“Twenty-five Years of Market Reform: The Political Economy of Change After Communism,” in Anders Aslund and Simeon Djankov, eds., *The Great Rebirth: Lessons from the Victory of Capitalism Over Communism*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2014.

“Putin’s Popularity Since 2010: Why Did Support for the Kremlin Plunge, Then Stabilize?” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2014 30(5): 370-88.

“Can Putin Keep His Grip on Power?” *Current History*, 2013, October, 112(756): 251-6.

“Corruption in the Post-Communist Transition,” in Paul G. Hare and Gerard Turley, eds., *Routledge Handbook on Transition*, 2013, pp.209-16.

“Inequality: The Russian Experience,” *Current History*, October 2012, 111(747): 264-9.

“Twenty Years of Political Transition,” in Gérard Roland, ed., *Economies in Transition: The Long-Run View*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp.109-33.

“Russia’s Political Economy: The Next Decade,” in Maria Lipman and Nikolay Petrov, eds., *Russia in 2020*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011, pp.149-64.

“Political Economy of Climate Change Policy in the Transition Region,” with Franklin Steves and Alexander Teytelboym, in Alex Chirmiciu, Sam Frankhauser, and Jeromin Zettelmeyer, eds., *The Low Carbon Transition*, London: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2011, pp.56-70.

“Loans for Shares’ Revisited,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 26, 3, July-September 2010, 207-27.

“Is Russia Cursed by Oil?” *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 63, no. 2, Spring/Summer 2010, pp.85-102.

“Russian Politics in a Time of Economic Turmoil,” chapter in Andrew Kuchins and Anders Aslund, eds., *Russia After the Financial Crisis*, Washington, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2010. Russian language edition: “Rossiiskaya politika vo vremena ekonomicheskikh potryaseniy,” in *Rossia posle krizisa*, Moscow: Alpina Business Books, 2011.

“What Have We Learned About the Causes of Corruption from Ten Years of Cross-National Empirical Research?” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol.10, June 2007.

-reprinted in Bo Rothstein, ed., *Political Corruption*, Edward Elgar, 2015.

“*Opyt stran, razvivayushchikhsya v usloviakh vysokoi vovlechenosti gosudarstva v ekonomiku* [The experience of countries developing with high involvement of the state in the economy],” in E.G. Yasin, ed., *Modernizatsia ekonomiki i gosudarstvo* [Economic Modernization and the State], Moscow: Publishing House GU-VSHE, 2007, pp.152-61.

“A Normal Country: Russia After Communism,” with Andrei Shleifer, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19, 1, Winter 2005, pp.151-74 (shorter version published in *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2004).

“Patterns of Corruption in the Postcommunist World: Evidence from the 2002 BEEPS Survey,” in E.G. Yasin, ed., *Modernizatsia ekonomiki i vyrashchivanie institutov* [Economic Modernization and the Development of Institutions], Moscow: Publishing House GU-VSHE, 2005, pp.418-428.

“Cardoso, Menem, and Machiavelli: Political Tactics and Privatization in Latin America,” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 2003, fall, 38, 3, pp.93-109.

“Postcommunist Corruption,” chapter, in Jan Fidrmuc and Nauro Campos, eds., *Political Economy of Transition and Development: Institutions, Politics, and Policies*, Kluwer, 2003, pp.201-26.

“Fiscal Pathologies and Federal Politics: Understanding Tax Arrears in Russia’s Regions,” chapter, in John McLaren, ed., *Institutional Elements of Tax Design and Reform*, Washington, DC: World Bank, 2003.

“Interenterprise Arrears and Barter in the Russian Economy,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 16, July-Sept 2000.

“Between the Extremes: Moderate Reform and Centrist Blocs in the 1993 Election,” 1998, in Timothy J. Colton and Jerry Hough, eds., *Growing Pains: Russian Democracy and the Election of 1993*, Brookings Institution Press.

“The Financial Environment of Russian Industrial Enterprises: Are Budget Constraints Hardening?” in Gernot Nerb, Karl Heinrich Oppenlander and Gunter Poser, eds., *Application of Business Surveys for Macroeconomic Analysis*, Munich: Ifo Institute for Economic Research, 1995.

#### *Current Affairs and Policy Journals, Popular Press*

“Prigozhin seemed to be living on borrowed time,” *CNN.Com*, August 24, 2003, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/08/24/opinions/wagner-chief-prigozhin-borrowed-time-putin-treisman/index.html>.

“Welcome to the ‘looking-glass’ world of Putin’s Russia,” *CNN.Com*, July 10, 2023, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/07/10/opinions/putin-russia-law-navalny-prigozhin-treisman/index.html>.

“What could bring Putin down?” *Foreign Affairs*, November 2, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/what-could-bring-putin-down>.

“Gorbachev didn’t set out to open the door to democracy,” *Washington Post (The Monkey Cage)*, September 2, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/09/02/gorbachev-reform-putin-russia/>.

“Six lessons the West has learned in the six months after Russia's invasion of Ukraine,” *CNN.Com*, August 23, 2022, <https://www.cnn.com/2022/08/22/opinions/putin-russia-invasion-ukraine-treisman/index.html>.

“What Putin and Xi Don’t Get About ‘Messy Democracy,’” *CNN.Com*, June 27, 2022, <https://www.cnn.com/2022/06/25/opinions/putin-xi-biden-west-g7-nato-democracy-ukraine-treisman/index.html>.

“Putin Unbound: How Repression at Home Presaged Belligerence Abroad,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-04-06/putin-russia-ukraine-war-unbound>.



“In Words and Deeds, Putin Shows He’s Rejecting Even Soviet-era Borders,” *Washington Post (The Monkey Cage)*, February 25, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/02/25/words-deeds-putin-shows-hes-rejecting-even-soviet-era-borders/>.

“Putin Isn’t Likely to Stop Here,” *CNN.Com*, February 24, 2022, <https://www.cnn.com/2022/02/22/opinions/putin-russia-ukraine-plan-donbas-treisman/index.html>.

“Putin and Biden Are Already Locked in a War of Words,” *CNN.Com*, March 18, 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2021/03/18/opinions/joe-biden-vladimir-putin-russia-us-tensions-treisman/index.html>.

“Putin Is under Pressure,” *Tortoisemedia.com*, February 17, 2021, <https://www.tortoisemedia.com/2021/02/17/daniel-treisman-putin-is-under-pressure/>

“The Belarus Crisis is a Problem for Moscow. Here’s how Putin Might Respond,” *LA Times*, August 21, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2020-08-21/belarus-protests-russia-vladimir-putin>.

“A Sovereignty Full of Holes: Russian Perspectives on Putin’s Russia,” *LA Review of Books*, February 3, 2020, <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/a-sovereignty-full-of-holes-russian-perspectives-on-putins-russia/>.

“Why Vladimir Putin is shaking up Russia,” *CNN.Com*, January 15, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/01/15/opinions/putin-constitutional-changes-treisman/index.html>.

“Information Autocrats,” with Sergei Guriev, *Research Briefs in Economic Policy*, Cato Institute, No.183, October 2, 2019, <https://www.cato.org/publications/research-briefs-economic-policy/information-autocrats>.

“Is Democracy Really in Danger? The Picture is Not as Dire as You Think,” *Washington Post (The Monkey Cage)* June 19, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/06/19/is-democracy-really-in-danger-the-picture-is-not-as-dire-as-you-think/?utm\\_term=.f1af8a3a1884](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/06/19/is-democracy-really-in-danger-the-picture-is-not-as-dire-as-you-think/?utm_term=.f1af8a3a1884).

“Globalisation, Government Popularity, and the Great Skill Divide,” with Cevat Giray Aksoy and Sergei Guriev, [www.voxeu.org](http://www.voxeu.org), May 8, 2018.

“How Putin's Regime is Both Authoritarian and Incompetent,” *Washington Post (The Monkey Cage)* March 14, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/03/13/russia-has-two-political-systems-normal-chaos-and-putins-override/?utm\\_term=.ed5c8a89b0e1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/03/13/russia-has-two-political-systems-normal-chaos-and-putins-override/?utm_term=.ed5c8a89b0e1).

“Putin's Pivot: Four New Features of Russian Foreign Policy,” *Russia Matters.org*, March 14, 2018, <https://www.russiamatters.org/analysis/putins-pivot-4-new-features-russian-foreign-policy>.

“Why the Poor Don't Vote to Soak the Rich,” *Washington Post (The Monkey Cage)*, February 27, 2018, , [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/02/27/why-the-poor-dont-vote-to-soak-the-rich/?utm\\_term=.f5463480d12d](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/02/27/why-the-poor-dont-vote-to-soak-the-rich/?utm_term=.f5463480d12d).

“Democracy by Mistake,” [www.voxeu.org](http://www.voxeu.org), November 26, 2017.

“Putin: Trump’s Most Dangerous Best Friend,” *CNN.com*, December 11, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/12/11/opinions/troubling-relationship-russia-america-treisman/>.

“Deal with Russia, But Don’t Be Too Eager,” *The National Interest*, December 6, 2016, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/deal-russia-dont-be-too-eager-18632>.

“Кризис обновления: отворачивается ли мир от демократии? [Crisis of renewal: Is the world turning away from democracy?]” *RBK.ru*, November 3, 2016, [www.rbc.ru/opinions/politics/02/11/2016/5819b8879a79471ccb741352](http://www.rbc.ru/opinions/politics/02/11/2016/5819b8879a79471ccb741352).

“Does More Wealth Mean Less Political Corruption,” *Washington Post*, May 6, 2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/in-theory/wp/2016/05/06/does-more-wealth-mean-less-political-corruption/?tid=a\\_inl](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/in-theory/wp/2016/05/06/does-more-wealth-mean-less-political-corruption/?tid=a_inl).

“Why Putin Took Crimea: The Gambler in the Kremlin,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2016-04-18/why-putin-took-crimea>.

“For Vladimir Putin, What’s at Stake in the Metrojet Investigation?” CNN.com, November 6, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/11/06/opinions/treisman-putin-stakes-in-place-crash/index.html>.

“Searching for the Roots of Russia’s Aggression,” *The Washington Post*, September 25, 2015 (review of books by Marvin Kalb, Walter Laqueur, and Steven Lee Myers), <http://wapo.st/1iQpnCu>.

“Misperceiving Inequality,” with Vladimir Gimpelson, *Research Briefs in Economic Policy*, Cato Institute, No.32, August 12, 2015, <http://www.cato.org/publications/research-briefs-economic-policy/misperceiving-inequality>.

“The New Dictators Rule by Velvet Fist,” with Sergei Guriev, *The New York Times*, May 25, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/25/opinion/the-new-dictators-rule-by-velvet-fist.html>.

“The New Authoritarianism,” with Sergei Guriev, [www.voxeu.org](http://www.voxeu.org), March 21, 2015.

-in Russian, “Avtoritarizm v vek informatsii,” *Vedomosti*, March 25, 2015.

-in Spanish, “El Nuevo Autoritarismo; por Sergei Guriev y Daniel Treisman,” *Prodavinci.com* (Venezuela), March 28, 2015.

-in Polish, “Autorytaryzm naszych czasów,” *Obserwator Finansowy*, April 10, 2015.

“‘Red Notice’ by Bill Browder, the bullish investor brought down by the Russian bear,” *Washington Post*, February 13, 2015, [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2015/02/13/29443218-abf2-11e4-9c91-e9d2f9fde644\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2015/02/13/29443218-abf2-11e4-9c91-e9d2f9fde644_story.html).

“Normal Countries: The East 25 Years After Communism,” with Andrei Shleifer, *Foreign Affairs*, November-December, 2014, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139360/andrei-shleifer-and-daniel-treisman/normal-countries%E2%80%A9>.

-in Russian, “Normalnie Strany,” *Rossia v globalnoi politike*, Moscow, December 2014, <http://www.globalaffairs.ru/number/Normalnye-strany-17197>.

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“Putin i Zapad: shag navstrechu ili priem dzyudo? [Putin and the West: Stepping closer or a judo move?]” *Forbes.ru* (in Russian), December 27, 2013, <http://www.forbes.ru/mneniya-column/vertikal/249211-putin-i-zapad-shag-navstrechu-ili-priem-dzyudo>.

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“Recycling Old Soviet Chestnuts,” *Open Democracy*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/daniel-treisman/recycling-old-soviet-chestnuts>, May 10, 2013.

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“The Other Russia: Discontent Grows in the Hinterlands,” with Mikhail Dmitriev, *Foreign Affairs*, September-October, 2012, 91: 59-72. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/137836/mikhail-dmitriev-and-daniel-treisman/the-other-russia>.

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“Why Russia Protects Syria’s Assad,” CNN.com, February 2, 2012, <http://www.cnn.com/2012/02/02/opinion/treisman-russia-syria/index.html>.

“A Runoff in March Could Help Legitimize Putin,” *The Moscow Times*, December 22, 2011, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/a-runoff-in-march-could-help-legitimize-putin/450304.html>.

“Vote May Mark Beginning of the End for Putin,” CNN.com, December 6, 2011, [http://www.cnn.com/2011/12/06/opinion/treisman-russia-putin-vote/index.html?hpt=op\\_t1](http://www.cnn.com/2011/12/06/opinion/treisman-russia-putin-vote/index.html?hpt=op_t1).

“Putin and Medvedev, Trading Places,” CNN.com, September 26, 2011, [www.cnn.com/2011/09/26/opinion/treisman-putin-medvedev/index.html?hpt=op\\_t1](http://www.cnn.com/2011/09/26/opinion/treisman-putin-medvedev/index.html?hpt=op_t1).

“Does Russia Need a Tom Sawyer Strategy for Economic Growth?” published as:

- "Russia's Tom Sawyer Strategy," *IWM-Post* (Vienna), Jan-Mar 2011;
- "Politika innovatsii: Sindrom Toma Soyera," in *Moskovskie Novosti*, April 4, 2011;
- "Russland greift zur Tom-Sawyer-Strategie," in *Die Presse* (Vienna), May 6, 2011;
- "Strategia lui Tom Sawyer," *Dilema Veche* (Bucharest), August 18-24, 2011.

"Beyond Horror and Mystery," *IWM-Post* (Vienna), 2010-11.

"Moscow Bombing Weakens Putin's Standing," CNN.com, January 27, 2011,  
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"Medvedev and Putin, Brothers Under the Skin," CNN.com, January 7, 2011,  
<http://edition.cnn.com/2011/OPINION/01/07/treisman.medvedev.putin/?hpt=Sbin>.

"Why Moscow Says No: A Question of Russian Interests, not Psychology," with Andrei Shleifer, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan-Feb 2011, 90. 1. Russian version: "Pochemu Moskva Govorit Nyet," *Rossia v Globalnoy Politike*, 14 February, 2011, [www.globalaffairs.ru/number/Pochemu-Moskva-govorit-net-15104](http://www.globalaffairs.ru/number/Pochemu-Moskva-govorit-net-15104).

"What Keeps the Kremlin Up All Night," *The Moscow Times*, February 18, 2008. *The St Petersburg Times*, February 19, 2008, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/what-keeps-the-kremlin-up-all-night/302046.html>.

"*Ekonomika i populiarnost: korni reitinga Putina* [Economics and popularity: The roots of Putin's rating]," *Vedomosti*, No.21, 6 February, 2008.

"Putin's Silovarchs," *Orbis*, Winter 2007.

"The Putin Factor," *Worth*, June 2004.

"A Normal Country," with Andrei Shleifer, *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2004, 83, 2.

Shorter versions published as:

"Next to its peers, Russia is 'normal'," *International Herald Tribune*, February 28, 2004.

"Russia: A Normal Country," *The Moscow Times*, March 4, 2004.

"*Rossia—normalnaya strana*," *Rossia v globalnoi politike*, Moscow, March-April 2004.

"*Svremenna Rusia—edno zakonomerno ikonomicheskoe razvitie*," *Media Times Review*, Bulgaria, April-May 2004.

"*Diagnoz: Rossia: nichego osobennogo*," *Vedomosti*, Moscow, 5 March, 2004.

"Globalization and Its Discontents," review of book by Joseph Stiglitz, *East European Constitutional Review*, Spring 2003. Republished in Russian in *Konstitucionnoe Pravo: Vostochnoevropeiskoe Obozrenie*, Moscow, 2, 43, 2003, pp. 202-06.

"Russia Renewed?" *Foreign Affairs*, November-December 2002.

"Revolutionary Russia: Review of Mau and Starodubrovskaya's *The Challenge of Revolution*," *East European Constitutional Review*, Fall 2002.

"Blaming Russia First," *Foreign Affairs*, November 2000.

"After Yeltsin Comes... Yeltsin," *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1999.

"Russia's Taxing Problem," *Foreign Policy*, September 1998.

"Why Yeltsin Won," *Foreign Affairs*, September-October 1996.

"Russia: Contemplating a Post-Election Financial Crisis," *Transition*, 4 October 1996.

"Moscow's Struggle to Control Regions Through Taxation," *Transition*, 20 September 1996.

Additional articles in *The New Republic* (Washington), *The Times* (London), *Daily Telegraph* (London), *The European* (London), *The Wall Street Journal Europe* (Brussels), *The Miami Herald* (Miami).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

"Why Dictators Love Elections," paper, August 2018.

"Globalization, Government Popularity, and the Great Skill Divide," with Cevat Aksoy and Sergei Guriev, paper, June 2018.

"Democratization Over Time," paper, August 2013.

"The Geography of Fear," NBER working paper 16838, February 2011.

"Embezzlement vs. Bribery," with Simon Fan and Chen Lin, NBER working paper 16542, November 2010.

"Decentralization and the Quality of Government," paper.

"Defining and Measuring Decentralization: A Global Perspective," paper, 2004.

#### SELECTED TALKS AND PRESENTATIONS (SINCE 2000)

"How Democracy Won in the West,"

- Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, February 2022.
- Stanford University, Political Science Department, May 2022.
- Brown University, Economics Department, May 2022.
- Barcelona School of Economics, June 2022.
- University of Texas, Austin, December 2022.
- Annual meeting of the APSA, Los Angeles, September 2023.

"From Fear to Spin: How Dictatorship is Changing,"

- Georgetown University Business School, March 2022.
- Stanford University, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, April 2022.
- Harvard University, Davis Center, April 2022.
- LA Times Festival of Books, April 2022.
- UCLA, International Institute, May 2022.
- Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Berlin, Feb 2023
- Open University, Tel Aviv, Feb 2023

"Putin's Global Ambitions in the Face of a New US Administration,"

- UCLA, Burkle Center for International Relations, May 2021.

"The Postcommunist transition at 30,"

- University of Pennsylvania, November 2019.
- Gorbachev Foundation, Moscow, December 2019.

"Understanding Russia: The Last 30 Years,"

- Wende Museum of the Cold War, LA, October 2019.

"Putin's Fourth Term,"

- Georgetown University, September 2018.

- “Authoritarian Elections as Inoculation,”  
-American Political Science Association Convention, Boston, August 2018.
- “Is Democracy In Danger: A Quick Look at the Data,”  
-Yale University, May 2018.  
-University of Southern California, April 2019.
- “Putin 4.0: Decisionmaking for What Kind of Decisions?”  
-Georgetown University, April 2018.
- “Informational Autocracy in Russia,”  
-Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, December 2017.  
-UCLA Center for European and Russian Studies, May 2018.  
-New York University, Jordan Center and Political Science Department, February 2019.  
-University of Maryland, Economics Seminar, November 2019.  
-Columbia/Hunter Economics of Media Seminar, New York, November 2019.  
-University of California, Berkeley, November 2019.  
-Nottingham University, Economics Seminar, December 2019.  
-Stockholm School of Economics, December 2019.  
-Georgia Institute of Technology, February 2021  
-National Taiwan University, Hong Kong Baptist University, National University of Singapore,  
and China Europe International Business School Joint Economics Seminar, June 2021.
- “Globalization, Government Popularity, and the Great Skill Divide,”  
-Beijing Forum, Beijing, November 2017.  
-European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, June 2018.  
-Fudan University, August 2018.  
-University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 2022.
- “Democracy by Mistake,”  
-American Political Science Association Convention, San Francisco, September 2017.  
-American Political Science Association Convention, Washington, DC, August 2014.  
-Higher School of Economics, Moscow, December 2017.
- “A Crisis of Democracy?”  
-Valdai Club Meeting, Sochi, Russia, October 2016.
- “What Makes Governments Popular?”  
-Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2016.  
-Society for Institutional and Organizational Economics, Annual Meeting, Paris, June 2016.  
-American Political Science Association annual meeting, Philadelphia, September 2016.
- “Putin and Crimea: Anatomy of a Decision”  
-UCLA Emeriti Association, March 2016.  
-Reed College, April 2016.
- “Russia’s Billionaires”  
-Annual Meeting of American Economic Association, San Francisco, January 2016
- “Russian Public Opinion on Ukraine”  
-Annual Meeting of American Economic Association, San Francisco, January 2016
- “The Russian Economy and its Influence on Politics”  
-Camden Conference, Camden Maine, February 2015.

“Misperceiving Inequality”

- George Mason University, April 2018.
- Gaidar Forum, Academy of the National Economy and Public Service, Moscow, January 2015.
- Columbia University, April 2015.
- American Political Science Association annual meeting, San Francisco, September 2015.
- Claremont College, October 2015.
- Northwestern University, Comparative Politics Workshop, February 2016.
- Princeton University, Comparative Politics Colloquium, March 2016.
- Yale University, Leitner Seminar in Political Economy, March 2016.
- University of Warwick, Economics Department, May 2016.
- Sciences Po, Paris, May 2016.

“Dealing with Russia,”

- German Marshall Fund of the US briefing for US and German members of parliament, Laguna Beach, December 2014.

“Russia’s Path,”

- Seminar for Future Leaders, Moscow School of Civic Education, Golitsyno, Russia, June 2014.

“Twenty-five years of economic reform: The political economy of postcommunist transformation,”

- Conference on “Transition in Perspective, Budapest, May 2014.

“History and Economic Policy: Legacies of Postcommunism,”

- Gaidar Forum, Academy of the National Economy and Public Service, Moscow, January 2014.

“The US and Russia: Is the Bear Resurgent?”

- Pacific Council on International Policy, Annual Meeting, Santa Monica, October 2013.

“Putin’s Popularity Since the Global Financial Crisis,”

- Workshop on “Russia’s Winter of Discontent,” University of Upsala, Sweden, September 2013.

“Democracy Over Time”

- Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Wisconsin, Madison, March 2014.
- Annual meeting of American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 2013.
- Annual Convention of the International Society for New Institutional Economics, Florence, June 2013.

“Putin’s Russia: Back to the USSR?”

- Hammer Forum, Hammer Museum, LA, April 2013, panel with Russian journalist Masha Gessen.

“Economic Modernization and Opposition Protests in Russia,”

- University of Washington, February 2013.

“Challenges and Threats to Russia’s Long-Term Development,”

- Krasnoyarsk Economic Forum (with Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev) Krasnoyarsk, Russia, February 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nrKdsq95bw8>.

“Can Russia Become a Global Policy Leader,”

- Gaidar Forum 2013, Academy of the National Economy and Public Service, Moscow, January 2013.

“Income, Democracy, and Leader Turnover,”

- University of Pennsylvania, Comparative Politics Workshop, October 2013.
- International Institute of Public Finance Annual Meeting, Taormina, Italy, August 2013.
- Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, June 2013

- IFO Institute, Dresden, Workshop on Political Economy, Dec 2012
- University of Chicago, Comparative Politics Workshop, Nov 2012
- Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University, May 2012.
- International Society for New Institutional Economics, Annual Conference, University of Southern California, June 2012.

“US-Russia Relations After the Election,”

- American-Russian Business Council, Los Angeles, April 2012.

“Russia in World Affairs in 2011,”

- Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Annual Convention, Washington DC, November 2011.

“The Post-Soviet Economies at Twenty,”

- UCLA Conference on “Assessing the Fall of the Soviet Union Twenty Years Later,” October, 2011
- George Washington University, Conference on “Two Decades of Post-Soviet Independence: What Have We Learned?” December 2011
- Institute for International Applied Systems Analysis, Vienna, Conference on “The Post-Soviet Economies—20 Years On.” January 2012
- Harvard University, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, April 2012
- Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk, Russia, February 2013

“Embezzlement vs. Bribery,”

- Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, June 2013
- invited plenary lecture, Institute for Economics of Barcelona, June 2011

“Russia and the US: Interests Rather Than Psychology,”

- Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, May 2011
- Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, January 2011.

“The Geography of Fear,”

- Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2011
- UCLA, Marshak Colloquium, December 2011.

“Does Russia Need a Tom Sawyer Strategy for Economic Growth?”

- Moscow, Academy of the National Economy Conference, March 2011

“The Putin-Medvedev Mystique,”

- Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue, Vienna, conference on “Is Russia on the Edge of Change?”, February 2011

“Yeltsin and the Economy,”

- Moscow, conference on “President Yeltsin and the New Russia,” February 2011

“Russia’s Return,”

- Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, January 2011.
- Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, January 2011
- Moscow Carnegie Center, February 2011

“Is Russia Cursed by Oil?”

- Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, November 2010

“Russian Politics in a Time of Economic Turmoil,”

- Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, December 2009
- Loyola Marymount University, February 2010



- Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2010
- “Twenty Years of Political Transition,”
  - UN University, Helsinki, September 2009
  - UC Irvine, Conference on “1989: Twenty Years After,” November 2009
- “Elections in Russia, 1991-2008”
  - Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2009
  - Institute for Law and Public Policy, Moscow, April 2009
- “Rethinking Political Decentralization,”
  - invited “Distinguished Lecture,” 23<sup>rd</sup> Annual New Economic School Research Conference, Moscow, June 2008
- “The Popularity of Russian Presidents,”
  - New Economic School and Higher School of Economics, Moscow, May 2008
  - Columbia University, March 2009
- “One Puzzle of Russia’s Political Geography,”
  - Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2007
- “Researching the Postcommunist Transition,”
  - Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2007
- “Russia under Putin: from Oligarchy to Silovarchy,”
  - University of Southern California, April 2006.
  - University of California, Berkeley, October 2007
- “Russia in 2006,”
  - UCLA Center for European and Eurasian Studies, March 2006.
- “The State in Economic Modernization: Russia in Comparative Perspective,”
  - Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2006.
- “Political Decentralization and Policy Experimentation,”
  - Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, May 2008
  - Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2007
  - Columbia University, February 2006;
  - University of California, San Diego, January 2006.
- “Corruption in the Post-Communist World,”
  - Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2005.
- “Russian Studies and Political Science: Is Russia *sui generis* or just another country?”
  - Invited plenary lecture to the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, December 2004.
- “Russia and Iraq,”
  - American Enterprise Institute, Washington DC, October 2004.
- “Fiscal Brinkmanship in 1990s Russia,”
  - Yale University, April 2004.
  - Columbia University, January 2003.
- “Decentralization and Political Development,”

- Conference on “After the Washington Consensus,” University of California, San Diego, Nov 2003.
- “Rotten Boroughs,”
  - Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 2003.
- “Multilevel Government,”
  - Cambridge University Press Seattle Seminars, University of Washington, June 2003.
- “Putin’s Russia in Comparative Perspective,”
  - University of Washington, June 2003.
- “Political Decentralization: A Formal Analysis,”
  - Princeton University, April 2003.
- “Postcommunist Corruption,”
  - University of Chicago, November 2002.
  - Stanford University, conference on clientelism and patronage, May 2002;
  - University of Bonn, May 2002.
- “Does Competition for Capital Discipline Governments?”
  - Georgetown University and IMF conference on Political Economy of International Finance, October 2002.
- “Rational Appeasement,”
  - Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 2002;
  - Stanford University, Graduate School of Business, November 2001;
  - University of California, Berkeley, Political Science Department, Nov 2001.
- “Stabilization Tactics in Latin America: Menem, Cardoso, and the Politics of Low Inflation,”
  - Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 2002.
- “Fiscal Games and Public Employment: A Theory With Evidence from Russia,”
  - Stanford University, Hoover Institution Seminar on Collective Choice, January 2002;
  - University of California, Berkeley, Economics Department Seminar on Transition Economies, November 2001.
  - Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2001.
- “When is Delegation Credible? Resolving Time-Inconsistency in Economic Policy and Democratic Government,”
  - Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2001.
- “Public Employment in Russia’s Regions,”
  - Harvard University, March 2001.
  - OECD and Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, Moscow, January 2001.
- “Decentralization and the Quality of Government,”
  - Yale University, Conference on Political Development, March 2001.
  - International Monetary Fund, Washington, November 2000.
- “The Theory of Two-Level States: Exploitation, Redistribution, and Democratic Stability,”
  - Yale University, Political Economy Seminar, September 2000.
  - Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, September 2000.
- “Decentralization, Tax Evasion and the Underground Economy,”
  - University of California, San Diego, June 2000.

-Columbia University/World Bank conference on “Institutional Elements of Tax Design and Reform,” February 18-19, 2000, Columbia University.

“Russia After the Elections,”

-Center for European and Russian Studies, UCLA, April 26, 2000.

#### TEACHING

##### *Undergraduate*

Government and Politics of Russia  
Political Economy of Postcommunist Reform  
The Roots of Democracy

##### *Graduate*

Topics in the Political Economy of Reform  
Survey of Political Economy  
Comparative Politics Field Seminar  
Political Institutions and Property Rights

##### *Advising*

Member of 31 dissertation committees (27 successfully completed).

Chair of 9 (5 successfully completed).

#### PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Member, Robert A. Dahl Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2018-19.

Chair, Best Paper Prize Committee, Comparative Democratization Section of APSA, 2018-19.

Member, Best Paper Prize Committee, Comparative Politics Section of APSA, 2018-19.

Chair, Best Journal Article Prize Committee, Comparative Democratization Section of APSA, 2016-17.

Member Committee on the Edward Hewitt Book Prize in Political Economy, Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, 2013.

Acting Director, Center for European and Eurasian Studies, UCLA, Jan-June 2013

Grant reviewer, European Institutes for Advanced Studies, Paris, 2010, 2011.

Member, International Advisory Board, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 2010-20.

Member, Academic Committee for the National Prize in Applied Economics (Russia), from 2009.

Member, Jury of the National Prize in Applied Economics (Russia), 2013-14.

Organizer of Division on Communist and Post-Communist Politics, 2006 APSA Convention.

Reviewing for *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Journal of Public Economics*, *American Economic Review*, *Journal of Economic Literature*, *Journal of Development Economics*, *European Economic Review*, *Review of Economic Studies*, *Journal of Comparative Economics*, *Cambridge University Press*, *Oxford University Press*, *MIT Press*.

Member, Award Committee of APSA Section on Political Economy selected to choose the best dissertation in political economy 2000-2001.

Reviewer, German Marshall Fund of the US Research Fellowship Program, 2003-4 and 2004-5.

Chair, Faculty Advisory Committee, Center for European and Eurasian Studies, UCLA.

Member, UCLA Committee on European Studies.

Member, UCLA Committee on Global Studies.

Member, UCLA International Institute Faculty Advisory Committee.

Member, UCLA Faculty Career Development Award Committee, 2006-7, 2010.

Member, Ad Hoc Committee, UCLA College of Arts and Sciences, 2005-7.

Vice Chair for Academic Personnel, UCLA Department of Political Science, 2005-6.

Chair, Recruitment Committee (IR) UCLA Department of Political Science, 2005-6.

#### CONSULTING

Consultant to European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, co-author of chapter of a report on the political economy of climate change policy, 2010.

Participant in group writing Amicus Curiae brief to US Supreme Court on international experience of campaign finance legislation, 2003. Expert testimony in one other case.

Short-term consultant to World Bank on Reform of Regional Fiscal System in Russia, 1998.

Participant in working group on fiscal federalism in Russia, under USAID, 1997, preparing policy recommendations for Russian government agencies.

January 2024