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Employment and Affiliations

Marshall D. Shulman Professor of Post-Soviet Foreign Policy, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 2009 -

Director, Harriman Institute, Columbia University. 2009-

Director, Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, Higher School of Economics. Moscow, Russia. 2011-

Associate Editor, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2010-

Member, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY. 2010 -

Professor, Department of Political Science. Columbia University. 2006-

Faculty Associate, Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, Columbia University. 2006-

Associate Professor. Department of Political Science. Ohio State University. 2003 -2005.

Assistant Professor. Department of Political Science. Ohio State University. 1997-2003.

Visiting Assistant Professor. Department of Political Science/SIPA Columbia University. 2002-03.

Education

Ph. D. Political Science. Columbia University. 1997.

M. A. School of International & Public Affairs (SIPA) Columbia University. 1991.

Certificate Harriman Institute, Columbia University, 1992.

Fellow Wallis Institute of Political Economy. University of Rochester. 1992-93.

B.A. Middlebury College. Russian Language and Literature. 1986.

Books

Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy. 2010. Cambridge University Press.

Awarded Best Book published in 2010 by the Comparative Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association.

Winner of the 2011 Hewett Prize for outstanding publication in political economy given by the Association for Slavic, Eurasian, and East European Studies.

Brokers and Bureaucrats: Building Market Institutions in Russia. 2000. University of Michigan Press.
Winner of the 2001 Hewett Prize for outstanding publication in political economy given by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.

The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing U.S. Policy toward Russia. 2010. Co-edited with Timothy Colton and Robert Legvold. American Academy of Arts and Sciences: Cambridge, MA.

Academic Articles

“Everybody Hates Privatization, but Why? Survey Evidence from the Postcommunist World.” Feb. 2012. With Irina Denisova, Markus Eller, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. *Journal of Comparative Economics.* 40:1, 44-61.

“In From the Cold: Causal Inference and Postcommunist Studies.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2012, vol. 15. E-version, January 2012, print version, June 2012.

“Government Directors and Business State Relations in Russia.” *European Journal of Political Economy*, June, 2011. With Ichiro Iwasaki. 27(4), 2011, pp. 642-658

“Who Wants to Revise Privatization? The Complementarity of Market Skills and Institutions.” *American Political Science Review*, May 2009, Irina Denisova, Markus Eller and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. Honorable Mention, National Prize in Applied Economics, 2010. Russia.

“The "Other" Russian Economy: How Everyday Firms View the Rules of the Game in Russia.” *Social Research*. Spring 2009. With Andrei Yakovlev and Yevgeny Yasin.

“Original Sin, Good Works, and Property Rights in Russia.” *World Politics*. July 2006. (accepted July 2007)

“Ownership, Voting, and Job Creation in Russia.” *European Journal of Political Economy*. June 2006.

“Credible Commitment and Property Rights: Evidence from Russia.” *American Political Science Review*. August 2004.

“Timing is Everything: Elections and Trade Liberalization in the Post-Communist World.” *Comparative Political Studies*. With Edward D. Mansfield. May 2004.

“Fragmenting Protection: The Political Economy of Trade Policy in the Post-Communist World.” *British Journal of Political Science*. With Edward D. Mansfield. Fall 2003.

“Markets, Democracy, and New Private Business in Russia.” *Post-Soviet Affairs*. January 2003.

“Capture or Exchange? Business Lobbying In Russia.” *Europe-Asia Studies*. November 2002.

“The Perils of Polarization: Economic Performance in the Post-Communist World.” *World Politics*. April 2002.

“Private Protection in Russia and Poland.” *American Journal of Political Science*. June 2002.

“Rackets, Regulations, and the Rule of Law.” *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*. With Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. October 2000. [Reprinted in *Economic Approaches to Law*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Series Editors, Richard A. Posner and Francesco Parisi, forthcoming.]

“The Politics of Post-Communist Economic Reform.” *Transition Report 1999*. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. London. With Simon Commander.

“Governing the Russian Equities Market.” *Post-Soviet Affairs*. November 1997.

“A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies.” *Comparative Political Studies*. Oct. 1997.

“The Invisible Hand and the Grabbing Hand: Private Shops in Moscow and Warsaw.” *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings*. June 1997. With Andrei Shleifer. [Reprinted in *Economic Approaches to Law*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Series Editors, Richard A. Posner and Francesco Parisi.]

“Ethnicity, Sovereignty and Transitions From Non-Democratic Rule.” *Journal of International Affairs*. Spring 1992.

Chapters in Edited Volumes

“The Politics of Chinese Investment in the US.” In *Investing in the US: Is the US Ready for FDI from China?* Ed. Karl P. Sauvant. Edward Elgar. Cheltenham, UK, 2010. With Pablo M. Pinto

“Economic Transformation and Comparative Politics.” *Oxford Handbook of Political Science*. eds. Susan Stokes and Carles Boix. Oxford University Press, 2007.

“Governing the Banking Sector.” *The State after Communism: Governance in the New Russia*. eds., Timothy J. Colton and Stephen Holmes. Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

“Presidents, Parliaments, and Democracy: Insights from the Post-Communist World.” *The Architecture of Democracy*. ed. Andrew Reynolds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

“Keeping Shop: The Value of the Rule of Law in Moscow and Warsaw.” *Assessing the Value of the Rule of Law in Transition Economies*. ed. Peter Murrell. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2001.

“Privatization and the Limits of Credible Commitment.” *The Political Economy of Property Rights*. ed. Dave Weimer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

“Credible Commitment and Property Rights: The Role of Strategic Interaction between Political and Economic Actors.” *The Political Economy of Property Rights*. ed. Dave Weimer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. with D. Diermeier, J. Ericson, and S. Lewis.

“Contracting in the Shadow of the State: Private Arbitration Courts in Russia.” *The Rule of Law and*

Economic Reform in Russia. ed. Jeffrey Sachs. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

“Caveat Emptor: Institutions, Credible Commitment, and Commodity Exchanges in Russia.” *Institutional Design*, ed. Dave Weimer. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1995.

General Interest Publications

“Corruption and the Rule of Law in Russia.” *Russia after the Global Crisis*. Ed. Anders Aslund, Sergei Guriev, and Andrew Kuchins, Peterson Institute. Washington, D.C. 2010.

“Promoting Property Rights in Russia: The Value of Private Solutions,” National Council on Eurasian and East European Research Working Paper, 2009.

“Vladimir Putin and the Succession Dilemma,” *Problems of Postcommunism*, November-December 2007.

“Reformy v Rossii Glazami Biznesa” *Pro I Kontra*, Carnegie Center Moscow, July-October 2007.

“Show Stoppard. A Review of *The Coast of Utopia*.” *American Interest*, July-August 2007.

“Bucking the Trend: Democracy and Economic Reform in the Postcommunist World.” *Harvard International Review*, December, 2006.

“Insiders, Outsiders, and Corporate Governance in Russia and Bulgaria.” U.S. Agency for International Development. 2004. with A. Yakovlev, T. Dolgopyatova, V. Golikova, B. Belev, V. Goev, P. Iliev and V. Minchev.

“The Two Faces of Russian Courts: Evidence from a Business Survey in Russia.” *East European Constitutional Review*. Winter/Spring 2002.

“Corruption: The Polish and Russian Experiences.” *Economic Perspectives*. An Electronic Journal of the US Information Agency. Volume 3:5. November 1998.

Book Reviews

My Perestroika. For *Problems of Postcommunism*, June 2012.

Stephen Collier, *Post-Soviet Social: Neoliberals, Social Modernity, Biopolitics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, *Journal of Inter-Disciplinary History*, 2012.

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, *Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia*. Cambridge University Press. *Slavic Review*. Fall 2007.

Thane Gustafson. *Capitalism Russian-Style*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000. *The American Political Science Review*. Fall 2000.

Ray Taras, ed. *Post-Communist Presidencies*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. *The American Political Science Review*. September 1998.

Itai Sened. *The Politics of Property Rights*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. *The Political Science Quarterly*. March. 1998.

Corruption and the Rule of Law

Property Rights and Property Wrongs in Russia. This book-length project examines how state and private institutions shape property rights using six original surveys of business elites conducted in Russia between 1996 and 2006. Specific chapters examine the institutional roots of secure property rights, the influence of reputation on trade, the impact of regulation on economic development, and the sources of private protection rackets in contemporary Russia. Taken together these chapters provide insights into the roots of state capacity in Russia.

“Property Rights and Property Wrongs: A Mass Survey on the Legitimacy of Privatization in Russia.” Using a survey of 1600 residents of Russia in October 2006, I find that the original sin of a flawed privatization is difficult to expunge, but that businesspeople can improve the perceived legitimacy of property rights by doing good works, such as investing in the firm and by providing public goods for the region.

“Reputation and the Rule of Law in Russia.” Do private or public institutions provide stronger incentives to trade? What is the relative importance of each? Are private and public institutions that support trade complements or substitutes? This essay focuses on the impact of a private institution, reputation, and a public institution, state courts, on property rights. Surveys conducted in Russia in 2005 and 2008 indicate that reputation has a powerful impact on the propensity to trade. Courts also influence the decision to trade, but their impact is weaker. In addition, experimental evidence and a multivariate analysis of decisions to give credit find that good courts and a good reputation are best seen as complements rather than substitutes. Finally, the survey based-experiments indicate that a bad reputation deters trade far more than a good reputation promotes it.

Chinese Foreign Investment in the US

This project examines the politics of Chinese foreign investment in the United States via a case study of voting patterns in the US congress on issues related to FDI from China in the United States and a survey of the US mass public on attitudes toward investment from China in the US. Pablo Pinto and I seek to examine the extent to which concerns about economics, security, race, and human rights practices drive public attitudes in the US about FDI from China.

Globalization and Russia

“Are Russians Mercantilists Or Liberals on Trade?” This project uses a survey of 1600 residents of Russia and 660 business managers to examine whether Russians view foreign trade primarily through the lens of national security or economic advantage. It finds considerable support for free trade, foreign direct investment, and somewhat less support for immigration. However, support for these policies depends heavily on whether the trading partner is perceived as a security threat. These effects are prevalent among the mass public and business elites alike.

“Who Shapes Public Attitudes Toward Foreign Trade in Russia?” This essay finds that reminding businesspeople in Russia that Prime Minister Putin supports Russian membership in the World Trade Organization increases support for joining the WTO by 20 percentage points relative to

reminding them that President Medvedev holds a similar position. This suggests that elites in Russia can play a great role in shaping public opinion on economic integration.

Regional Governance in Russia. With John Reuter, Noah Buckley, David Szakonyi, Israel Marques. This project examines promotion patterns among regional bureaucrats in Russia. One main line of research examines whether regional bureaucrats, including governors and vice governors are promoted based on meritocratic or cronyistic principles. Others lines of research examine the impact of governor turnover on foreign direct investment, public spending, and firm behavior. A key source of data for this project is a data-base including detailed biographic and occupational data on all governors in Russia from 1991 to the present and all vice-governors from 2000 to the present.

Experimental Studies of the Police. With Scott Gehlbach, Noah Buckley, Lauren McCarthy, Alexis Belyanin and Leonid Kosals.

This project examines relations between citizens and the police in Russia. One element of this project is a November 2011 survey of 1600 residents of Moscow that seeks to identify the conditions under citizens will trust in and cooperate with the police.

Legality and Economic Behavior, with Andrei Yakovlev.

This project explores the influence of legality and violence on economic behavior. This effort includes a survey of 1000 firms in 15 regions in Russia conducted in December 2012 that probes how firms choose between formal and informal means for resolving disputes. Another project uses data on crimes against entrepreneurs across regions to explore how political and economic factors shape relations between business and the police.

Work Place Voter Mobilization in Russia. With John Reuter and David Szakonyi.

This project uses evidence from two surveys in Russia from December 2011 and March 2012 to identify how autocrats use workplace mobilization to mobilize voters when party organization is weak.

Selected Recent Invited Talks

Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2011.

Princeton University, Sept. 2010.

Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C. December 2009.

Ohio State University, May 2009

Princeton University, September 2008.

Higher Economics School, Moscow, Russia, April 2007.

University of California-Berkeley, February 2007.

Stanford University, February 2007.

University of Texas, February 2007.

University of Wisconsin, February 2007.

University of Illinois, Chancellors Conference, Chicago, IL. October 2006.

Duke University, Department of Political Science, February 2005.

World Bank, Policy Research and Economic Management, October 2004.

Yale University, Department of Political Science, March 2004.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Political Science, February 2004.

Selected Academic Awards and Grants

Director, Center for Study of Institutions and Development, Higher School of Economics, 2011-
Approximately \$1,800,000 over three years.

Visiting Scholar, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, 2007-08.

Policy Research Fellowship. National Council on East European and Eurasian Research, 2007-09.

Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, 2007, \$8,000 (with Pablo Pinto).

William Davidson Institute Research Grant, 2003-2004. \$25,000.

Olin Faculty Fellowship for Junior Professors, 2000-2001. \$75,000.

Policy Research Fellowship. National Council on East European and Eurasian Research, 1999, 2000.

Post-Doctoral Fellowship. Social Science Research Council, 1999-2001. \$11,000

Research Grants. The Mershon Center at Ohio State University, 1998-2005, \$11,000-19,000.

The Ohio State University Seed Grant. 1999-2001. \$15,000

Post-Doctoral Fellowship. Harriman Institute. Columbia University. Spring, 1997.

Fellow. Social Science Research Council. 1993-94, 1994-95.

Fellow. Wallis Institute of Political Economy. University of Rochester. 1992-93.

Fellow. Kosciuszko Foundation. 1991-92, 1992-93.

Languages

Russian Fluent, Polish Fair.

Selected Professional Activities in Political Science

Member, Committee to select the Lifetime Achievement Award, Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 2010-

Chair, Best Article Award. Political Economy Section, American Political Science Association, 2009.

Chair, Best Article Award, European Politics, Section, American Political Science Association, 2006-07.

Chair, Almond Dissertation Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2005-06.

Section Head. Politics of Communist and Former Communist Countries, Annual Meeting of the

American Political Science Association, September, 2005.

Section Head. Politics of Communist and Former Communist Countries, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 2005.

Reviewer. American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, World Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Journal of Comparative Economics, Economics of Transition, Journal of Law and Economics, Cambridge University Press, University of Michigan Press, Cornell University Press, Princeton University Press, National Science Foundation, Social Science Research Council, Foreign Language Area Studies, Global Development Network, World Development.

Professional Activities Outside Political Science

Director, Harriman Institute, July 2009-

Manage a staff of 13 for the oldest Institute for the study of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with an annual budget of 2.5 million dollars.

Director, Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2011-

Manage 12 Russian and American scholars on research projects ranging from bureaucratic reform in Russia's regions to the determinants of trust in the police as part of a three-year grant from the Russian government.

Consultant, World Bank, Report on *Twenty Years of Transition, 1989-2009*. Wrote background chapter on the politics of economic reform in the postcommunist world with a special emphasis on the impact of the global economic crisis in 2008. 2008-2009.

Consultant, Bloomberg Foundation, New York City. Helped design a political strategy for advancing anti-tobacco legislation and for reducing tobacco use in Russia. 2008.

Consultant. Think-Tank Partnership Program, United States Agency for International Development and the Institute for Research on Informal Sector, University of Maryland, 2002-03, 2007-2008. Conducted research on corporate governance and the rule of law with think tanks in Russia and Bulgaria.

Consultant. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, London. Wrote chapter on the politics of economic reform for *Transition Report, 1999*. 7-9/1999.

Consultant, Securities and Exchange Commission, Russian Federation. Conducted surveys of brokers on Russian equities market to guide policy on the development of the National Association of Securities Market Participants (NAUFOR). 6-8/1995, 2-8/1996.

Temporary Foreign Service Officer. U. S. Department of State. Guide for the U.S. Information Agency, "Information-USA" Exhibit. Tbilisi, Tashkent, Irkutsk, Magnitogorsk, Leningrad, and Minsk, USSR. 9/1987-1/1989.