

# ORA JOHN REUTER

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Milwaukee, WI 53201

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- Academic Positions**
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|---|-----------|
| Assistant Professor<br>Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee                     | 2013-     |
| Senior Researcher, Center for the Study of Institutions and Development<br>Higher School of Economics, Moscow | 2011-     |
| Post-Doctoral Fellow, Skalny Center<br>Department of Political Science, University of Rochester               | 2012-2013 |
| Post-Doctoral Fellow, Havighurst Center, Miami University   | 2011-2012 |
| Post-Doctoral Fellow, Harriman Institute, Columbia University   | 2010-2011 |
- Education**
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|--|------|
| Emory University, Ph.D, Political Science  | 2010 |
| Emory University, M.A., Political Science  | 2009 |
| Sewanee: the University of the South, B.A., Political Science and Russian<br>• <i>Summa Cum Laude</i> , Phi Beta Kappa | 2004 |
- Research Interests**
- Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Institutions, Comparative Political Economy, Political Parties, Democratization, Authoritarian Regimes, Elections and Electoral Behavior, The Politics of Economic Development, Post-Soviet Politics
- Impact Statistics**
- Google Scholar Citation Count: 861  
Google Scholar H-Index: 13  
SSRN Downloads: 2541
- Book**
- Reuter, Ora John. 2017. *The Origins of Dominant Parties: Building Authoritarian Institutions in Post-Soviet Russia* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Peer-Reviewed Articles**
- Beazer, Quintin and Ora John Reuter. (Forthcoming) "Political Centralization and Blame Attribution under Electoral Authoritarianism" *Journal of Politics*
- Reuter, Ora John and Noah Buckley. (Forthcoming) "Performance Incentives under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia's Regions" *Comparative Politics*
- Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. (Forthcoming) "Hitting Them with Carrots: Vote Buying and Voter Coercion in Russia." *British Journal of Political Science*
- Frye, Timothy, Scott Gehlbach, Kyle Marquadt, and Ora John Reuter. 2017. "Is Putin's Popularity Real?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* (33.1)
- Reuter, Ora John, Noah Buckley, Guzel Garifullina, and Alexandra Shubenkova. 2016. "Local Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: An Elite-Based Theory with Evidence from Russian Mayoral Elections" *Comparative Political Studies* (49.5)
- Reuter, Ora John and Graeme Robertson. 2015. "Legislatures, Cooptation, and Social Protest in Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes" (with Graeme Robertson) *Journal of Politics* (77.1)
- Reuter, Ora John and David Szakonyi. 2015. "Online Social Media and Political Awareness in Authoritarian Regimes" *British Journal of Political Science* (45.1)

Buckley, Noah, Guzel Garifullina, Ora John Reuter, and Alexandra Shubenkova. 2014. "Elections, Appointments, and Human Capital: The Case of Russian Mayors" *Demokratizatsiya* (22.1)

Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace" *World Politics* (66.2)

Buckley, Noah, Timothy Frye, Guzel Garifullina, and Ora John Reuter. 2014. "The Political Economy of Russian Gubernatorial Election and Appointment" *Europe-Asia Studies*(66.8)

Reuter, Ora John and Rostislav Turovsky. 2014 "Dominant Party Rule and Legislative Leadership in Authoritarian Regimes" *Party Politics*. (20)

Reuter, Ora John. 2013. "Regional Patrons and Hegemonic Party Performance in Russia" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 29.2

Gandhi, Jennifer and Ora John Reuter. 2013. "Electoral Strategies to Defeat Authoritarian Incumbents: Understanding Pre-Electoral Coalitions" *Democratization* 20.1

Reuter, Ora John and Graeme Robertson. 2012 "Sub-national Appointments in Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from Russian Gubernatorial Appointments" *Journal of Politics*. 74.4

Reuter, Ora John and Jennifer Gandhi. 2011. "Economic Performance and Elite Defection from Hegemonic Parties" *British Journal of Political Science*. 41.1.

Reuter, Ora John. 2010. "The Politics of Dominant Party Formation: United Russia and Russia's Governors" *Europe-Asia Studies*. 62.2.

Reuter, Ora John and Thomas F. Remington. 2009. "Dominant Party Regimes and the Commitment Problem: The Case of United Russia" *Comparative Political Studies*. 42.4.

**Editor-Refereed  
Publications**

Reuter, Ora John. "How Kremlin Efforts to Control the Regions May Be Backfiring" *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* March 2017

Reuter, Ora John. "United Russia after 15 Years" *Russian Analytical Digest*. 189. September 2016.

Frye, Timothy, Scott Gehlbach, Ora John Reuter, and Kyle Marquadt. "Is Putin's Popularity Real?" *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* November 2015

Reuter, Ora John. Review of *Moscow in Movement*, by Samuel Greene, in *Russian Review* October 2015

Reuter, Ora John and David Szakonyi. "In Russia, the political impact of social media varies by platform" *Washington Post: Monkey Cage* 31 December 2014.

Reuter, Ora John. Contribution to forum "What do legislatures in authoritarian regimes do?" posted on *Monkey Cage* 14 December 2012.

Reuter, Ora John. "United Russia and the 2011 Elections" *Russian Analytical Digest*. 102. 26 September 2011.

Reuter, Ora John. Review of Why Not Parties in Russia?, by Henry Hale, in *Sravnitel'noye Konstitutsionnoye Obozreniye* 56(3), 2006.

**Works under  
Review**

"Vote Brokers, Clientelist Appeals and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Russia and Venezuela" (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi)

“Getting the Opposition Together: Protest Coordination between Systemic and Non-Systemic Oppositions in Contemporary Russia” (with Graeme Robertson and David Armstrong)

**Works in Progress**

*Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace* (Book Manuscript) (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi)

“Elite Defections under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia” (with David Szakonyi)

“Political Participation and the Survival of Electoral Authoritarian Regimes”

“The Paradox of Voting under Autocracy”

“The Logic of Subnational Appointments in Russia”

“Do Authoritarian Elections Help the Poor? Evidence from Russian Cities” (with Quintin Beazer)

“Expanding the Pie: Compensating Losers in Authoritarian Regimes” (with Jennifer Gandhi and Abigail Heller)

**Data Projects**

*Database of Russian Regional Elites*-Principal Investigator on database of Russian political elites. Funded by grants from National Council for Eurasian and East European Research and Social Science Research Council.

*Center for Study of Institutions and Development at the State Research University, Higher School of Economics, Moscow Russia*-Database on career trajectories of Russian regional bureaucrats.

*Dominant Parties Around the World*-classification and original coding of dominant party systems around the world since 1946

**Grants and Awards**

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program, Research Grant, Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace” Principal Investigator \$410,191	2013-2016
UWM, Research Growth Initiative Award \$199,761	2014-2015
Support for Undergraduate Research Fellow (SURF) Award, UWM, \$2000	2015
Social Science Research Council, Post-Doctoral Research Award \$23,000	2012
National Council for Eurasian and East European Research National Research Competition Award \$34,965	2011
Co-Winner, Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Tucker/Cohen Dissertation Prize for outstanding doctoral dissertation in Soviet or Post-Soviet Political History	2011
Woodrow Wilson Center, Title VIII Research Fellowship (Declined)	2010
Fulbright Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, Russia	2010
Emory University Professional Development Grant, Russia	2010
ACTR Title VIII Research Scholar Fellowship, Russia	2009
IREX Individual Advanced Research Opportunity (IARO) Fellowship, Russia	2008
SSRC Eurasia Program, Predissertation Training Fellowship (Declined)	2008
Emory University Professional Development Grant, Russia	2008
Arts & Sciences Fellowship, Emory Graduate School of Arts and Science	2008
Fulbright Research Scholar Fellowship, Kyiv, Ukraine	2004
Alex B. Shipley Jr. Award in Political Science, Sewanee, The University of the South	2004
Arthur B. Dugan Memorial Prize in Political Science, Sewanee, The University of the South	2004

**Recent  
Conference  
Presentations**

“Political Participation and the Survival of Electoral Authoritarian Regimes” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2017

“Elite Defections under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia” (with David Szakonyi) Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association April 2017

“Vote Brokers , Clientelist Appeals, and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Russia and Venezuela” (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi) Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Mini-Conference on Authoritarian Regimes, January 2017

“Vote Brokers , Clientelist Appeals, and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Russia and Venezuela” (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi) Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2016

“Vote Brokers and Voter Turnout in Russia: Evidence from a Survey Experiment” (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi) Annual Conference of the Society for Institutional and Organizational Economics, June 2016

“Vote Brokers and Voter Turnout in Russia: Evidence from a Survey Experiment” (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi) Midwest Political Science Association, April 2016

“Vote Brokers and Voter Turnout in Russia: Evidence from a Survey Experiment” (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi), Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2015

“Performance Incentives under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia’s Regions” (with Noah Buckley), Workshop on Comparative Studies of Regional Governance in China and Russia, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, September 2015.

“Performance Incentives under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia’s Regions” (with Noah Buckley), American Political Science Association, August 2015.

“Local Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: An Elite-Based Theory with Evidence from Russian Mayoral Elections” (with Noah Buckley, Alexandra Shubenkova, and Guzel Garifullina), International Council for Central and East European Studies World Congress, August 2015

“Local Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: An Elite-Based Theory with Evidence from Russian Mayoral Elections” (with Noah Buckley, Alexandra Shubenkova, and Guzel Garifullina), 4th Annual Conference of the International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, July 2015

“Local Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: An Elite-Based Theory with Evidence from Russian Mayoral Elections” (with Noah Buckley, Alexandra Shubenkova, and Guzel Garifullina), Midwest Political Science Association, April 2015

“Why Authoritarian Elections? An Elite-Based Theory with Evidence from Russian Mayoral Elections” (with Noah Buckley, Alexandra Shubenkova, and Guzel Garifullina), Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2014

“Hitting Them with Carrots: Vote Buying and Voter Coercion in Russia” (with David

Szakonyi and Timothy Frye), Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2014

“Hitting Them with Carrots: Vote Buying and Voter Coercion in Russia” (with David Szakonyi and Timothy Frye), American Political Science Association, August 2014

“Patrons, Clients, and Technocrats: A Study of the Effects of Regime Type on Bureaucratic Appointment Strategies” (with Noah Buckley), American Political Science Association, August 2014

“Patrons, Clients, and Technocrats: A Study of the Effects of Regime Type on Bureaucratic Appointment Strategies” (with Noah Buckley), 3rd Annual Conference of the International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, May 2014

“Getting the Opposition Together: Protest Coordination between Systemic and Non-Systemic Oppositions in Contemporary Russia” (with Graeme Robertson), Midwest Political Science Association, April 2014

“Patrons, Clients, and Technocrats: A Study of the Effects of Regime Type on Bureaucratic Appointment Strategies” (with Noah Buckley), Midwest Political Science Association, April 2014

“Getting the Opposition Together: Protest Coordination between Systemic and Non-Systemic Oppositions in Contemporary Russia” (with Graeme Robertson), Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2013

“Patrons, Clients, and Technocrats: A Study of the Effects of Regime Type on Bureaucratic Appointment Strategies” (with Noah Buckley), Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2013

“Legislatures, Cooptation, and Social Protest in Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes” (with Graeme Robertson), American Political Science Association, August 2013.

**Invited  
Presentations**

“Elite Defections under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia” PONARS Eurasia Workshop, Kharkiv, Ukraine, June 2017

“Elite Defections under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia” V-DEM Workshop. University of Gothenburg, April 2017

“Elite Defections under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia” Columbia University, Comparative Politics Workshop. April 2017

“Elections and Authoritarianism in Putin’s Russia” New Voices on Russia Speaker Series. George Washington University. April 2017

“Regional Politics in Putin’s Third Term” German Institute for International and Security Affairs, December 2016

“The Logic of Subnational Appointments in Russia” Aarhus University, December 2016

“Vote Brokers and Voter Turnout in Russia: Evidence from a Survey Experiment” (with David Szakonyi and Timothy Frye), PONARS Eurasia Workshop, Regimes, Institutions, and Change: Post-Soviet Eurasia in Comparative Perspective, June 2016

“Hitting Them with Carrots: Vote Buying and Voter Coercion in Russia” (with David Szakonyi and Timothy Frye), *Politics and Markets in the Developing World*, Florida State University, February 2016

“Local Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: An Elite-Based Theory with Evidence from Russian Mayoral Elections”, University of Mannheim, May 2015

“Hitting Them with Carrots: Vote Buying and Voter Coercion in Russia” (with David Szakonyi and Timothy Frye), PONARS Workshop on Comparative Political Development in Post-Soviet Eurasia and the Middle East, December 2014

“Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace” University of Wisconsin, Madison, CREECA, February, 2014

“Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace” University of Rochester, Fall 2012

“Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace” Moscow, Higher School of Economics Political Economy Series, May 29, 2012

“The Conditional Impact of Social Media on Awareness of Electoral Fraud” New Economic School, Moscow, May 24, 2012.

“The 2011-12 Russian Election Season” United States Department of State, Office of Opinion Research, March 14, 2012.

“The 2011-12 Russian Election Season” Emory University, March 2012

“Putin’s Party: United Russia and Russian Politics” Havighurst Colloquia Series: Putin’s Russia, Miami University, October 10, 2011

“Russia in American Political Science: A History” Moscow State University, June 16, 2011.

“Sub-national Appointments in Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from Russian Gubernatorial Appointments” Higher School of Economics, Moscow, June 14, 2011

“United Russia and Russian Politics: How Russia’s Ruling Party Works and Why It Matters” Harriman Institute, Columbia University, April 12, 2011

“The Origins of Dominant Parties: A Cross-National Investigation” Columbia University, Comparative Politics Seminar Series. October 20, 2010

“Elite Autonomy and the Emergence of Dominant Parties: Evidence from Russian Regional Legislatures” Columbia University, Harriman Institute, Workshop on Post-Communist Politics, October 15, 2010.

“The Origins of Dominant Parties: A Cross-National Investigation” European University of St. Petersburg, April 31, 2010.

“Building and Testing Theory in Political Science” Yaroslavl State University, March 18, 2010.

“Dominant Parties, Russia, and the Future of Area Studies” Sewanee: University of the South, November 11, 2008.

“The Russian 2007-08 Election Cycle” Coverdell Symposium. Georgia College and State University, February 25, 2008.

“Parties of Power and Commitment Problems: The Case of United Russia” REES Discussion Series, Emory University November 12, 2007.

“The Orange Revolution: One Year Later” REES Discussion Series, Emory University October 2, 2005.

<b>Fieldwork</b>	Russia (Moscow) 1 month	2017
	Russia (Moscow) 1 month	2016
	Russia (Moscow) 1 month	2015
	Russia (Moscow, Yaroslavl) 1.5 months	2014
	Russia (Moscow) 2.5 months	2013
	Russia (Moscow) 2 Months	2012
	Russia (Moscow, Barnaul) 3 Months	2011
	Russia (Moscow, Yaroslavl) 6 months	2010
	Russia (Moscow, Yaroslavl, Ivanovo, Nizhnii Novgorod, Ryazan) 2.5 months	2009
	Russia (Moscow, Perm, Kirov, Ekaterinburg, Kurgan, Yoshkar-Ola) 2.5 months	2008
	Russia (Moscow, Chelyabinsk, Ekaterinburg, Perm, Samara) 1.5 months	2007
	Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg) 1 month	2006
	Ukraine (Kiev) 11 months	2004-5
	Russia (Moscow) 3 months	2003

<b>Additional Methods Training</b>	Workshop on Field Experimentation in Political Economy, Center for the Study of Development Strategies, Columbia University	2011
	Inter-University Consortium for Social and Political Research (ICPSR)	2007
	Inter-University Consortium for Social and Political Research (ICPSR)	2006

**Statistical Competencies**

Skills: OLS, Maximum Likelihood, Time-Series Methods, Event History Models, Multi-level Models, Experimental Design

Software: STATA, R, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X

<b>Teaching Experience</b>	The Politics of Economic Inequality University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Spring 2016
	Elections in the Modern World University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Fall 2015, Fall 2017
	Introduction to Comparative Politics (Graduate Field Seminar) University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Fall 2017
	Russian and Post-Soviet Politics University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Spring 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2016, Spring 2017
	Comparative Authoritarianism University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee (Graduate)	Spring 2014, Fall 2016
	University of Rochester	Spring 2013
	Columbia University	Spring 2011
	The Politics of Authoritarian Regimes	

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Fall 2013, Spring 2015, Fall 2016

Comparative Political Economy (Co-Instructor)

Higher School of Economics, Moscow Fall 2011, Fall 2012, Fall 2013, Spring 2014, Spring 2017

Elections and Democracy

University of Rochester

Spring 2013

Government and Opposition in the Post-Soviet World

Miami University

Spring 2012

Comparative Political Parties (Co-instructor)

Emory University,

Fall 2008

Completed Emory University's Teaching Assistant

Training and Teaching Opportunity Program (TATTO)

2007-2008

## Languages

Languages: Russian(Non-Native Fluency); Ukrainian(Basic)

Training: Middlebury College School Abroad Yaroslavl State University(Sep-Dec 2002), Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Course in Beginning Ukrainian (Sep 2004-Jun 2005) Nevsky Institute for Advanced Russian Language Study (August 2006)

## Professional Service

Co-Editor-in-Chief, Higher School of Economics Political Science Working Papers 2015-

President, Graduate Political Science Organization

Department of Political Science, Emory University

2008-2009

Official Election Observer, US-Ukraine Foundation,

Kyiv, Ukraine: Ukrainian Presidential Elections

2004

Peer Reviewer:

*American Political Science Review*

Fall 2012, Fall 2013, Spring 2015, Fall 2015

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Fall 2016

*American Journal of Political Science*

Spring 2011, Fall 2012, Spring 2013, Fall 2013,

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Spring 2015, Spring 2016, Fall 2016, Fall 2017

*Journal of Politics*

Spring 2011, Fall 2011, Spring 2013, Spring 2015,

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Spring 2016, Fall 2016, Spring 2017

*World Politics*

Spring 2016

*British Journal of Political Science*

Spring 2011, Spring 2013, Fall 2013, Spring 2014,

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Spring 2015, Spring 2016, Spring 2017

*Comparative Political Studies*

Fall 2011, Spring 2012, Spring 2013, Fall 2014,

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Spring 2015, Fall 2015, Spring 2016, Fall 2016

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Spring 2017(2), Fall 2017

*Comparative Politics*

Spring 2011, Spring 2016, Fall 2016

*Party Politics*

Fall 2014

*Economics and Politics*

Spring 2013, Fall 2015

*Journal of Conflict Resolution*

Spring 2013, Spring 2014

*Legislative Studies Quarterly*

Spring 2015

*Public Choice*

Spring 2013

*Political Behavior*

Spring 2014, Fall 2014, Spring 2015

*Europe-Asia Studies*

Fall 2010, Fall 2012, Spring 2013, Spring 2015,

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Fall 2015, Fall 2016

<i>East European Politics</i>	Spring 2013, Spring 2016
<i>Demokratizatsiya</i>	Fall 2010, Fall 2013
<i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i>	Spring 2016, Spring 2017
<i>Democratization</i>	Spring 2013, Fall 2013, Fall 2016, Fall 2017(2)
<i>Review of International Organizations</i>	Fall 2017
<i>European Journal of Political Research</i>	Spring 2016
<i>Political Research Quarterly</i>	Fall 2012, Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Spring 2016
-	Spring 2017
<i>Conflict Management and Peace Science</i>	Fall 2015
<i>Slavic Review</i>	Spring 2014
<i>Regional and Federal Studies</i>	Fall 2012
<i>Problems of Post-Communism</i>	Spring 2015, Fall 2015, Fall 2016
<i>REGION</i>	Fall 2013
<i>Publius</i>	Fall 2014
<i>Sage Open</i>	Fall 2014, Fall 2016
<i>National Science Foundation</i>	Spring 2014, Fall 2014, Spring 2017
<i>Oxford University Press</i>	Fall 2017

**Other Experience** New York Times, Moscow Bureau, Intern, 2003

**Professional Associations** American Political Science Association  
Midwest Political Science Association  
Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies  
PONARS Eurasia

**Citizenship** United States of America  
Canada

**References** Dr. Thomas F. Remington  
Goodrich C. White Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Emory University  
1555 Dickey Drive  
Atlanta, GA 30322  
404-727-6566  
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Dr. Jennifer Gandhi  
Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Emory University  
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Dr. Timothy Frye  
Marshall D. Shulman Professor  
Chair, Department of Political Science  
Columbia University  
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New York, NY 10027  
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