

ORA JOHN REUTER

Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Milwaukee, WI 53201

reutero@uwm.edu
931.312.9132
<http://www.ojreuter.com>

ACADEMIC POSITIONS	Professor Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Associate Professor Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Senior Researcher Center for the Study of Institutions and Development Higher School of Economics, Moscow Senior Researcher Laboratory for Regional Political Studies Higher School of Economics, Moscow Assistant Professor Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Post-Doctoral Fellow, Skalny Center Department of Political Science, University of Rochester Post-Doctoral Fellow, Havighurst Center, Miami University Post-Doctoral Fellow, Harriman Institute, Columbia University	2024- 2018-2024 2011-2022 2018-2022 2013-2018 2012-2013 2011-2012 2010-2011
EDUCATION	Emory University, Ph.D, Political Science Emory University, M.A., Political Science Sewanee: the University of the South, B.A., Political Science and Russian • <i>Summa Cum Laude</i> , Phi Beta Kappa	2010 2009 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: 3730 Google Scholar H-Index: 25	
BOOKS	Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. (Forthcoming) <i>Workplace Politics: How Politicians and Employers Subvert Elections</i> New York: Oxford UP Reuter, Ora John. 2017. <i>The Origins of Dominant Parties: Building Authoritarian Institutions in Post-Soviet Russia</i> New York: Cambridge University Press.	
PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES	Buckley, Noah, Kyle Marquardt, Ora John Reuter, and Katerina Tertychnaya. (2024) "Endogenous Popularity: How Perceptions of Regime Support Affect the Popularity of Authoritarian Regimes" <i>American Political Science Review</i> Zakharov, Alexei, Ora John Reuter, Vladimir Shuklin, and Denis Volkov. 2024 "Effects of a Coup Attempt on Public Attitudes under Autocracy: Quasi Experimental Evidence from Russia". <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> Frye, Timothy, Scott Gehlbach, Kyle Marquardt, and Ora John Reuter. (2023) "Is Putin's Popularity (Still) Real? A Cautionary Note on Using List Experiments to Measure Popularity	

in Authoritarian Regimes” *Post-Soviet Affairs*

Heller, Abigail, Jennifer Gandhi and Ora John Reuter. 2022. “Shoring up Power: Electoral Reform and the Consolidation of Authoritarian Rule” *Electoral Studies* (78)

Reuter, Ora John and Rostislav Turovsky. 2022. “Vote Mobilization, Economic Performance, and Gubernatorial Appointments in Russia” *Russian Politics* (7.2)

Reuter, Ora John. 2022. “Why is Party-Based Autocracy More Durable? Examining the Role of Elite Institutions and Mass Organization” *Democratization* (29.6) (Frank Cass Award for Best Article published in Democratization in 2022)

Buckley, Noah, Michael Rochlitz, Ora John Reuter, and Anton Aisin. 2022. “Staying out of Trouble: Criminal Cases Against Russian Mayors,” *Comparative Political Studies* (55.9)

Beazer, Quintin and Ora John Reuter. 2022. “Do Authoritarian Elections Help the Poor? Evidence from Russian Cities” *Journal of Politics* (84.1)

Düpont, Nils, Yaman Berker Kavasoglu, Anna Lührmann, and Ora John Reuter. 2022. “A Global Perspective on Party Organizations: Validating the Varieties of Party Identity and Organization Dataset (V-Party)” *Electoral Studies* (75).

Reuter, Ora John. 2021 “Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” *Journal of Politics* (83.4)

Reuter, Ora John and David Szakonyi. 2021. “Electoral Manipulation and Regime Support: Survey Evidence from Russia (with David Szakonyi)” *World Politics* (73.2)

Armstrong, David, Ora John Reuter, and Graeme Robertson. 2020. “Getting The Opposition Together: Protest Coordination in Authoritarian Regimes” *Post-Soviet Affairs* (36.1)

Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2019. “Vote Brokers, Clientelist Appeals and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Russia and Venezuela” *World Politics* (71.4)

Reuter, Ora John and David Szakonyi. 2019. “Elite Defections under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia” *American Political Science Review* (113.2)

Beazer, Quintin and Ora John Reuter. 2019. “Who’s to Blame? Political Centralization and Blame Attribution under Electoral Authoritarianism” *Journal of Politics* (81.2)

Reuter, Ora John and Noah Buckley. 2019 “Performance Incentives under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia’s Regions” *Comparative Politics* (51.2)

Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2018. “Hitting Them with Carrots: Vote Buying and Voter Coercion in Russia.” *British Journal of Political Science*

Frye, Timothy, Scott Gehlbach, Kyle Marquardt, 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**

Frye, Timothy, Scott Gehlbach, Kyle Marquardt, and Ora John Reuter. 2022. "Is Putin's Popularity (Still) Real? A Cautionary Note on Using List Experiments to Measure Popularity in Authoritarian Regimes" *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* 3 May 2022

Buckley, Noah, Kyle Marquardt, Ora John Reuter, and Katerina Tertytchnaya. 2022 "How popular is Putin really?" *Washington Post: Monkey Cage* 13 April 2022.

Hale, Henry, Ora John Reuter, Bryn Rosenfeld, David Szakonyi, and Katerina Tertytchnaya. 2022 "Russia may be about to invade Ukraine. Russians don't want it to" *Washington Post: Monkey Cage* 11 February 2022.

Reuter, Ora John and David Szakonyi. 2022. "'Party Politics and Voting in Russia" in *Russian Politics Today* Cambridge UP.

Reuter, Ora John. Review of *Недостойное Правление* by Vladimir Gel'man, in *Russian Review* July 2020.

Reuter, Ora John. 2019. "'Political Parties" in *Developments in Russian Politics 9* Duke UP.

Orhan, Yunus and Ora John Reuter. 2019. "Turkey's Ruling Party is Splintering: Here's Why" *Washington Post: Monkey Cage* 18 July 2019.

Reuter, Ora John. Review of *The Regional Roots of Russia's Political Regime* by Bryon Moraski and William Reisinger, in *Russian Review* October 2017.

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 *Sravnitelnoye Konstitusionnoye Obozreniye* 56(3), 2006.

CURRENT BOOK PROJECTS *Politics in Russia* 8th Edition, textbook under contract with Routledge
Autocracy and the Politics of Passivity, In Progress

COMPLETE ARTICLE MANUSCRIPTS "The Demand for Elections under Autocracy: Regime Approval and the Cancellation of Local Elections in Russia (with Noah Buckley and Quintin Beazer)" R&R at *American Journal of Political Science*

"Political Participation and the Survival of Electoral Authoritarian Regimes"

"The Logic of Subnational Appointments in Russia"

"Polarization and Support for Undemocratic Behavior: The Case of Russia" (with Yunus Orhan, Bryn Rosenfeld, and David Szakonyi)

GRANTS AND AWARDS National Council for Eurasian and East-European Research, (with Bryn Rosenfeld), \$35,000 2024

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program, Research Grant, Collaborative Research: Economic Downturns, Global Pandemics and Parliamentary Elections, Co-Principal Investigator (with Bryn Rosenfeld, David Szakonyi, Timothy Colton, Henry Hale, and Katerina Tertychnaya), \$530,721 2021

Humboldt Research Fellowship for Experienced Researchers (Germany) 2019

Nominated for HSE Golden Citation Award	2019
UWM Foundation Research Award	2018
National Science Foundation, Political Science Program, Research Grant, Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace"Principal Investigator (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi), \$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
Fullbright 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
Fullbright Research Scholar Fellowship, Kyiv, Ukraine	2004

**RECENT
CONFERENCE
PRESENTATIONS**

- “The Putin Coalition: Understanding the Bases of Regime Support During Wartime” (with Timothy Frye, Henry Hale and Bryn Rosenfeld), APSA, 2024
- “The Putin Coalition: Understanding the Bases of Regime Support During Wartime” (with Timothy Frye, Henry Hale and Bryn Rosenfeld) Russian Public Opinion Workshop, Princeton University, May 2024
- “The Putin Coalition: Understanding the Bases of Regime Support During Wartime” (with Timothy Frye, Henry Hale and Bryn Rosenfeld) Political Economy of Eurasia Workshop, MPSA, 2024
- “Polarization and Support for Undemocratic Behavior: The Case of Russia” (with Yunus Orhan, Bryn Rosenfeld and David Szakonyi) Association for Slavic, East European, and

Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2023

“Polarization and Support for Undemocratic Behavior: The Case of Russia” (with Yunus Orhan, Bryn Rosenfeld and David Szakonyi) ” Political Economy of Eurasia Workshop, MPSA, 2023

“Endogenous Popularity: How Perceptions of Regime Support Affect the Popularity of Authoritarian Regimes” (with Noah Buckley, Kyle Marquardt, and Katerina Tertychnaya) Southern Political Science Association–Authoritarian Regimes Mini-Conference, January 2023

“Polarization and Support for Undemocratic Behavior: The Case of Russia” (with Yunus Orhan, Bryn Rosenfeld and David Szakonyi) Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2022

“The Demand for Elections under Autocracy: Regime Approval and the Cancellation of Local Elections in Russia” (with Noah Buckley and Quintin Beazer) Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2022

“Endogenous Popularity: How Perceptions of Regime Support Affect the Popularity of Authoritarian Regimes” (with Noah Buckley, Kyle Marquardt, and Katerina Tertychnaya) Harriman Institute Workshop on Topics in Political Economy, October 2022

“The Demand for Elections under Autocracy: Regime Approval and the Cancellation of Local Elections in Russia” (with Noah Buckley and Quintin Beazer) European Political Science Association, June 2022

“The Demand for Elections under Autocracy: Regime Approval and the Cancellation of Local Elections in Russia” (with Noah Buckley and Quintin Beazer) Midwest Political Science Association, April 2022

“The Demand for Elections under Autocracy: Regime Approval and the Cancellation of Local Elections in Russia” (with Noah Buckley and Quintin Beazer) Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2021

“Endogenous Popularity: How Perceptions of Regime Support Affect the Popularity of Authoritarian Regimes” (with Noah Buckley, Kyle Marquardt, and Katerina Tertychnaya) Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2021

“Why is Party-Based Autocracy More Durable? Examining the Role of Elite Institutions and Mass Organization”, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2021

“Measuring Support for Political Elites under Autocracy” (with Timothy Frye, Scott Gehlbach, and Kyle Marquardt), Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2021

“Staying out of Trouble: Criminal Cases Against Russian Mayors” PONARS Eurasia Academic Workshop, June 2021

“Staying out of Trouble: Criminal Cases Against Russian Mayors” University of Tartu, Russian Studies Conference, June 2021

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science

Association, August 2019

“Electoral Manipulation and Regime Support: Survey Evidence from Russia” (with David Szakonyi) Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2019

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Mini-Conference on Authoritarian Regimes, January 2019

**INVITED
PRESENTATIONS**

“War and Public Opinion in Putin’s Russia” Free University of Berlin, February 2024

“Polarization, Apathy and Autocracy in Russia” EACES Workshop, Nazerbayev University, June 2023

“The Demand for Elections under Autocracy: Regime Approval and the Cancellation of Local Elections in Russia” Northwestern University, March 2022

“Autocracy and Public Opinion in Putin’s Russia” Great Decisions Lecture Series (FPA), St. Norbert College, February 2022

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” New York University, November 2021

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” University of Helsinki, October 2021

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” Trinity College, Dublin, March 2020

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” University College London, January 2020

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” King’s Russia Institute, King’s College London, November 2019

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” Queen Mary University, London. October 2019’

“Political Machines at Work: Electoral Subversion in the Russian Workplace,” UC Berkeley, April 2019

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” New Voices on Russia Workshop. George Washington University, April 2019

“Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy” University of Wisconsin, Madison, CREECA, February, 2019

“Elite Defections under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia,” EUI, Florence, May 2018

“Elite Defections under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia,” ITAM, Mexico City, November 2017

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

“Vote Brokers and Voter Turnout in Russia: Evidence from a Survey Experiment” 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.

FIELDWORK	Kazakhstan (Almaty, Astana and Pavlodar) 1 week	2023
	Kazakhstan (Almaty and Astana) 1 week	2022
	Russia (Moscow) 1 week	2020
	Russia (Moscow) 2 weeks	2019
	Russia (Moscow) 2 weeks	2018
	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	
ADDITIONAL METHODS TRAINING	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
TEACHING EXPERIENCE	The Politics of Economic Inequality University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Spring 2016, Fall 2018

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE	Co-Organizer, Politics of Russia and Eurasia Seminar Series (PRESS), 2020-	
	Co-Organizer, Milwaukee Area Political Science Seminar (2018-2019, 2020-)	
	Co-Editor-in-Chief, HSE Political Science Working Papers	2015-2018
	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
OTHER EXPERIENCE	New York Times, Moscow Bureau, Intern,	2003
PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS	American Political Science Association Midwest Political Science Association Southern Political Science Association Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies PONARS Eurasia	
CITIZENSHIP	United States of America Canada	