

CURRICULUM VITAE

Vladimir Gel'man

Born 06 October 1965, Leningrad, Russia, USSR

Citizenship: Russia

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Academic Degrees:

02/1998 – St.Petersburg State University, Department of Political Science, Candidate of Political Sciences (PhD equivalent)

02/1988 – Leningrad Polytechnic Institute (diploma engineer, MA equivalent, with distinction)

Professional positions:

Since 09/2017 – University of Helsinki, Aleksanteri Institute, Professor of Russian Politics

09/2012 – 08/2017 – University of Helsinki, Aleksanteri Institute, Finland Distinguished Professor

Since 09/2008 – European University at St.Petersburg, Center for Modernization Studies, Executive Director

Since 09/2005 – European University at St.Petersburg, Department of Political Science (till 2017 – Faculty of Political Science and Sociology), Professor

02/1996 – 08/2005 – European University at St.Petersburg, Faculty of Political Science and Sociology, Associate Professor

08/1993 – 01/1996 – Institute for Humanities and Political Studies, Moscow, Deputy Director

08/1990 – 08/1998 – Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, St.Petersburg branch, Research Fellow

02/1988 – 08/1990 – Leningrad Sverdlov machine-tool-building plant, engineer-technologist.

Temporary academic positions:

03/2019 – 04/2019 – Sciences Po, Bordeaux, Visiting Professor

09/2017 – 10/2017 – Pennsylvania State University, College of Liberal Arts, Visiting Professor

01/2012 – 06/2012 – New Economic School, Moscow, Visiting Professor

08/2003 – 12/2003 – University of Texas at Austin, Department of Government, Visiting Professor
01/2003 – 02/2003 – Central European University, Budapest, Political Science Department, Visiting Professor

Bibliometric scores:

Google Scholar – 10352 references, h-index = 57

<https://scholar.google.ru/citations?user=vwAJ3KcAAAAJ&hl=ru&oi=ao>

Scopus – 1314 references, h-index = 21

<https://www.scopus.com/authid/detail.uri?authorId=57195231731>

Other activities

Since 05/2018 – Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization (George Washington University), member of the editorial board

Since 03/2016 – Russian Politics (Brill), associate editor

Since 01/2010 – Journal of Eurasian Studies (Elsevier), member of the editorial board

01/2003 – 12/2011 – International Journal of Urban and Regional Research (Wiley-Blackwell), corresponding editor

Since 02/2000 – “Polis” journal, member of editorial board

01/1999 – 12/2002 – Rossiiskii Regional’nyi Bulletin, Advisory Board member.

Since 02/1997 – European University at St.Petersburg, Academic Board member, Member of Financial Committee, Personnel Committee, Research and Planning Committee, board of EUSP Press, board of EUSP endowment (various years)

08/1995 – 01/1998 – Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation, associated member (right of consultation voting).

01/1994 – 01/1996 – 'Yabloko' faction of the State Duma, research expert on the problems of the electoral legislation, local government, federalism and regional policy.

08/1993 – 12/1995 – ‘Politicheskii monitoring’, monthly analytical review of the Institute for Humanities and Political Studies, Moscow, editor-in-chief

Peer reviewer, journals:

Acta Politica, Administration and Society, American Political Science Review, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Democratization, Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization, East European Politics, Europe-Asia Studies, European Journal of Political Research, European Political Science Review, Geoforum, Idäntutkimus: Finnish Review of East European Studies, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, International Political Science Review, Journal of Cold War Studies, Journal of Legislative Studies, Mir Rossii, Party Politics, Perspectives on Politics, Political Studies, Politics, Polity, Polis, Post-Soviet Affairs, Problems of Post-Communism, Publius, Regional and Federal Studies, Representation, Russian Politics, Slavic Review, Social Problems, Studies in Comparative International Development, Voprosy Ekonomiki, World Politics.

Peer reviewer, publishers:

Cambridge University Press, Palgrave Macmillan, Polity Press, Springer, Routledge, Rowman and Littlefield, University of Michigan Press, University of Toronto Press

Academic publications

Monographs (12)

The Politics of Bad Governance in Contemporary Russia. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming

Avtoritarnaya Rossiya: begstvo ot svobody, ili pochemu u nas ne prizhivaetsya demokratiya. ('Authoritarian Russia: Escape from Freedom, or Why Democracy Not Take Roots in Russia') Moscow: Howard Roark, 2021, 336 p.

The Russian Path: Ideas, Interests, Institutions, Illusions. Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag, 2020, 225 p. (co-authors D.Travin, O.Marganiya).

Nedostoinoe pravlenie: politika v sovremennoi Rossii ('Bad Governance: Politics in Contemporary Russia') St.Petersburg: European University at St.Petersburg Press, 2019, 254 p.

Rossiiskii put': idei, interesy, instituty, illyuzii (The Russian Path: Ideas, Interests, Institutions, Illusions), St.Petersburg: European University at St.Petersburg Press, 2017, 302 p. (co-authors D.Travin, A.Zaostrovsev)

Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015, 224 p.

Reexamining Russia's Economic and Political Reforms, 1985-2000: Generations, Ideas, and Changes. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014, 192 pp. (co-authors O.Marganiya, D.Travin)

Iz ognya da v polymya: rossiiskaya politika posle SSSR ('Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire: Russian Politics after the USSR'). St.Petersburg: BHV-Peterburg, 2013, 256 pp.

Reforma mestnoi vlasti v gorodakh Rossii, 1991-2006 ('Local Power Reform in Russia's Cities, 1991-2006'). St.Petersburg: Norma, 2008, 368 pp. (co-authors S.Ryzhenkov, E.Belokurova, and N.Borisova).

Making and Breaking Democratic Transitions: The Comparative Politics of Russia's Regions. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003, 310 pp. (co-authors S.Ryzhenkov, M.Brie).

Avtonomiya ili kontrol'? Reforma mestnoi vlasti v gorodakh Rossii, 1991-2001 ('Autonomy or Control? Local Power Reform in Russia's Cities, 1991-2001'). St.Petersburg and Moscow: European University at St.Petersburg, Letnii Sad, 2002, 380 pp. (co-authors S.Ryzhenkov, E.Belokurova, and N.Borisova).

Transformatsiya v Rossii: politicheskii rezhim i demokraticeskaya oppozitsiya ('Transformation in Russia: Political Regime and Democratic Opposition'). Moscow: Moscow Public Science Foundation, 1999, 240 pp. (Monograph Series, vol.7).

Working Papers (22)

Konstitutsionnye mekhanizmy "nedostoinogo pravlenia": sluchai Rossii. Working Papers, Center for Modernization Studies, European University at St.Petersburg, 2021, M-85/2021.

Explaining Bad Governance in Russia: Institutions and Incentives. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo Series, 2020, N636 (co-author M.Zavadskaya).

Liberalism versus democracy: ideinye traektorii postsovetskoi transformatsii v Rossii. Working Papers, Center for Modernization Studies, European University at St.Petersburg, 2019, M-72/2019.

The Technocratic Traps of Post-Soviet Reforms: Politics versus Policy. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo Series, 2018, N504.

Isklyucheniya i pravila: istorii uspekha i nedostoinoe pravlenie v Rossii ('Exceptions and Rules: Success Stories and Bad Governance in Russia') Working Papers, Center for Modernization Studies, European University at St.Petersburg, 2018, M-64/2018.

Politics versus policy: tekhnokraticheskie lovushki postsovetskikh preobrazovaniy ('Politics versus Policy: Technocratic Traps of Post-Soviet Transformations'). Working Papers, Center for Modernization Studies, European University at St.Petersburg, 2017, M-55/2017.

Correction of Errors: How the Kremlin Re-Equilibrated Authoritarian Elections in 2016. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo Series, 2016, N437.

Politicheskie osnovaniya nedostoinogo pravleniya v postsovetskoi Evrazii: nabroski k issledovatel'skoi povestke dnya ('Political Foundations of Bad Governance in Post-Soviet Eurasia: Toward a Research Agenda') Working Papers, Center for Modernization Studies, European University at St.Petersburg, 2016, M-49/2016

Revisiting Russia's Economic Model: The Shift from Development to Geopolitics. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo Series, 2015, N397 (co-author H.Appel).

Modernizatsiya, instituty, i "porochnyi krug" postsovetskogo neopartimonalizma ('Modernization, Institutions, and the 'Vicious Circle' of Post-Soviet Neopartimonalism'). Working Papers, Center for Modernization Studies, European University at St.Petersburg, 2015, M-41/2015

The Troubled Rebirth of Political Opposition in Russia. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo Series, 2014, N341.

Vozmozhnosti i ogranicheniya avtoritarnoi modernizatsii: rossiiskie reformy 2000-kh godov ('Opportunities and Constrains of Authoritarian Modernization: Russia's Reforms of the 2000s'). Working Papers, Center for Modernization Studies, European University at St.Petersburg, 2014, M-37/2014 (co-author A.Starodubtsev).

Mediocrity Syndrome in Russia: Domestic and International Perspectives. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo Series, 2013, N258.

Podryvnye instituty o neformal'noe upravlenie v sovremennoi Rossii ('Subversive Institutions and Informal Governance in Contemporary Russia'). Working Papers, Center for Modernization Studies, European University at St.Petersburg, 2010, M-13/2010.

Dinamika subnatsional'nogo avtoritarizma: Rossiya v sravnitel'noi perspective ('The Dynamics of Sub-National Authoritarianism: Russia in Comparative Perspective'). Working Papers, Center for Modernization Studies, European University at St.Petersburg, 2008, M-01/2008.

The Extinction of Political Opposition in Russia PONARS Policy Memo Series, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2004, N340.

Free but Unfair? The Problems of Electoral Governance in Russia PONARS Policy Memo Series, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2003, N292.

United Russia: Ruling Party or New Emperor's Clothes? PONARS Policy Memo Series, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2002, N255.

Politics beyond the Ring Road: Rethinking Post-Soviet Experience. Studies in Public Policy, Center for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, 2002, N367, 36 pp.

The Rise and Fall of Federal Reform in Russia. PONARS Policy Memo Series, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2001, N238.

The Dictatorship of Law in Russia: Neither Dictatorship nor Rule of Law. PONARS Policy Memo Series, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, 2000, N146.

The Eve of Electoral Threshold: New Challenges in Russian Politics. PONARS Policy Memo Series, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, 1999, N73.

Regime Transition, Uncertainty, and Prospects for Democratization: The Politics of Russia's Regions in a Comparative Perspective. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung Papers, 1999, P99-001, 31 s.

Regional Profile: St.Petersburg and Leningradskaya oblast' (co-authors E.Belokurova, M.Nozhenko). Russian Regional Research Group, University of Birmingham, Working Paper Series, 1997, N12, 141 pp.

Edited volumes and special issues of journals

In European languages (11)

Good and Bad Governance in Russia: Actors and Institutions. Europe-Asia Studies, 2021, vol.73, N6 (special issue of the journal, guest editor)

Rethinking Structure and Agency in Post-Soviet Regime Dynamics, Post-Soviet Affairs, 2018, vol.34, N5 (special issue of the journal, guest editor)

Governance in Russia: Actors and Institutions, Russian Politics, 2018, vol.3, N2 (special issue of the journal, guest editor)

Authoritarian Modernization in Russia: Ideas, Institutions, and Policies, Abingdon: Routledge, 2016, 214 p.

Authoritarian Modernization in Russia? Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization, 2014, vol.22, N4 (special issue of the journal, guest editor)

The Politics of Sub-National Authoritarianism in Russia. Farham: Ashgate, 2010, 226 pp.; co-editor C.Ross.

Resource Curse and Post-Soviet Eurasia: Oil, Gas, and Modernization. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010, 218 pp.; co-editor O.Marganiya.

The 1999-2000 National Elections in Russia: Analyses, Documents, and Data. Berlin: edition Sigma, 2005, 228 p.; co-editors G.Golosov, E.Meleshkina.

The Politics of Local Government in Russia. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004, 300 pp.; co-editor A.Evans.

Elites and Democratic Development in Russia. London and New York: Routledge, 2003, 220 pp.; co-editor A.Steen (Series Routledge Studies of Societies in Transition, vol.24).

Elections in Russia, 1993-1996: Analyses, Documents, and Data. Berlin: edition Sigma, 1999, 473 pp.; co-editor G.Golosov (series "Founding Elections in Eastern Europe", vol.7).

In Russian (12)

Politika v trudnye vremena ('Politics in Hard Times'), Politicheskaya nauka, 2022, N.2 (special issue, guest editor, co-editor S.Shkel)

Puti modernizatsii: traektorii: razvilki i tupiki ('Paths of Modernization: Trajectories, Turning Points, and Dead Ends'), St.Petersburg: European University at St.Petersburg Press, 2010, 410 pp., co-editor O.Marganiya.

Tretii elektoral'nyi tsikl v Rossii: 2003-2004 gody ('Third Electoral Cycle in Russia: 2003-2004'). St.Petersburg: European University at St.Petersburg Press, 2007, 294 pp.

Povoroty istorii: postsotsialisticheskie transformatsii glazami nemetskikh issledovatelei ('Turning Points of History: Post-Socialist Transformations in the Eyes of German Scholars'). St.Petersburg and Moscow: European University at St.Petersburg Press, Lentii Sad, 2003, vol.1 – 512 pp., vol.2 – 493 pp.; co-editors P.Stykw, S.Schwanitz.

Tsentr i regional'nye identichnosti v Rossii ('Center and Regional Identities in Russia'). St.Petersburg and Moscow: European University at St.Petersburg Press, Lentii Sad, 2003, 256 pp.; co-editor T.Hopf.

Rossiiskaya politika v teoreticheskom i sravnitel'nom kontekste ('Russian Politics in Theoretical and Comparative Context'). Politicheskaya nauka, 2003, N1, 192 pp. (special issue, guest editor).

Vtoroi elektoral'nyi tsikl v Rossii: 1999-2000 ('Second Electoral Cycle in Russia, 1999-2000'). Moscow: Ves' Mir, 2002, 216 pp.; co-editors G.Golosov, E.Meleshkina.

Rossiiia regionov: transformatsiya politicheskikh rezhimov ('Russia of Regions: Transformation of Political Regimes'). Moscow: Ves' Mir, Berliner Debatte Wissenschaftsverlag, 2000, 376 pp.; co-editors S.Ryzhenkov, M.Brie.

Pervyi elektoral'nyi tsikl v Rossii: 1993-1996 ('First Electoral Cycle in Russia, 1993-1996'). Moscow: Ves' Mir, 2000, 248 pp.; co-editors G.Golosov, E.Meleshkina.

Organy gosudarstvennoi vlasti sub'ektov Rossiiskoi Federatsii ('Regional power institutions of Russian Federation'). Moscow: IGPI, 1998, 144 pp.; co-editors A.Kuz'min, G.Lucherhandt, S.Ryzhenkov.

Mestnoe samoupravlenie: teoriya i praktika ('Local government: theory and practice'). Moscow: Friedrich Naumann Foundation, 1996, 180 pp. (editor); co-editor G.Lucherhandt.

Ocherki rossiiskoi politiki ('Essays on Russian politics'). Moscow: IGPI, 1994, 128 pp. (editor)

Major academic articles

In European languages (96)

Exceptions and Rules: Success Stories and Bad Governance in Russia. Europe-Asia Studies, 2021, vol.73, N6, P.1080-1101.

Exploring Varieties of Governance in Russia: In Search of Theoretical Frameworks. Europe-Asia Studies, 2021, vol.73, N6, P.971-988 (co-author M.Zavadskaya).

Constitution. Authoritarianism, and Bad Governance: The Case of Russia. Russian Politics, 2021, vol.6, N1, P.71-90.

Authoritarian Modernization in Russia: Structures, Agencies, and Choices. M.Kivinen, B.Humphreys (eds.), Russian Modernization: A New Paradigm. Abingdon: Routledge, 2021, P.71-104 (co-authors M.Kangaspuro, J.Nikula, J.Lassila, A-L.Heusala, M.Khmelnitskaya, A.Starodubtsev)

Do Elites Matter in Russian Foreign Policy? The Gap between Self-Perception and Influence, Post-Soviet Affairs, 2019, vol.35, N5-6, P.450-460 (co-author K.Petrov)

Brining Actors Back In: Political Choices and Sources of Post-Soviet Regime Dynamics, Post-Soviet Affairs, 2018, vol.34, N5, P.282-296.

Politics versus Policy: Technocratic Traps of Russia's Policy Reforms, Russian Politics, vol.3, N2, P.282-304.

Governing Nizhny Novgorod: Boris Nemtsov as a Regional Leader, A.Makarychev, A.Yatsyk (eds.), Boris Nemtsov and Russian Politics: Power and Resistance, Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2018, P.87-110 (co-author S-Rivera)

Fathers, Sons, and Grandsons: Generational Changes and Political Trajectory of Russia, 1989-2012, B.Beumers, A.Etkind, O.Gurova, S.Turoma (eds.), Cultural Forms of Protest in Russia, Abingdon: Routledge, 2018, P.19-32

Introduction: The Politics of Fear, A.Ledeneva (ed.), The Global Encyclopedia of Informality, London: UCL Press, 2018, vol.2, P.420-424.

Venäjä ja Pelon Politikka, Idantutkimus, 2017, vol.24, N4, P.37-50 (in Finnish)

Political Foundations of Bad Governance in Post-Soviet Eurasia: Toward a Research Agenda, East European Politics, 2017, vol.33, N4, P.496-516.

Introduction: Why Not Authoritarian Modernization in Russia? V.Gel'man (ed.) Authoritarian Modernization in Russia: Ideas, Institutions, and Policies, Abingdon: Routledge, 2016, P.1-21.

Fathers vs. Sons: Generational Changes and the Ideational Agenda of Reforms in Late Twentieth-Century Russia, V.Gel'man (ed.) Authoritarian Modernization in Russia: Ideas, Institutions, and Policies, Abingdon: Routledge, 2016, P.22-38 (co-author D.Travin).

Politik der Angst: Neue Formen politischen Repression in Russland. Transit: Europäische Review, 2016, Heft 48, S.97-115 (in German)

The Politics of Fear: How Russia's Rulers Counter their Rivals. Russian Politics, 2016, vol.1, N1, P.27-45.

Opportunities and Constraints of Authoritarian Modernization: Russian Policy Reforms in the 2000s. Europe-Asia Studies, 2016, vol.68, N1, P.97-117 (co-author A.Starodubtsev).

Studying Russian Politics after the Cold War: Changes and Challenges, I.Kurilla, V.Zhuravleva (eds.), Russian/Soviet Studies in the United States, Amerikanistika in Russia: Mutual Representations in Academic Projects. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016, P.243-258.

The Vicious Circle of Post-Soviet Neopatrimonialism in Russia. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2016, vol.32, N5, P.455-473.

Venäjä – autoritaarinen vai demokraattinen valtio? M.Kivinen, L.Vähäkylä (toim.) Venäjän palatseissa ja kaduilla. Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press, 2015, s.77-89 (in Finnish)

Political Opposition in Russia: A Troubled Transformation. Europe-Asia Studies, 2015, vol.67, N2, P.177-191.

Political Science in Russia: Scholarship without Research? European Political Science, 2015, vol.14, N1, P.28-36.

The Rise and Decline of Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia. Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization, 2014, vol.22, N4, P.503-522.

Trajectories of Russian Politics: An Interpretation. S.White, R.Sakwa, H.Hale (eds.). Developments in Russian Politics 8. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, P.247-263.

Regime Changes in Russia: Trajectories of Political Evolution. M.Lipman, N.Petrov (eds.). Russia 2025: Scenarios for the Russian Future. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, P.143-160.

Cracks in the Wall: Challenges to Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia. Problems of Post-Communism, 2013, vol.60, N2, P.3-10.

Politics, Governance, and Zigzags of the Power Vertical: Toward a Framework for Analyzing Russia's Local Regimes. W.Reisinger (ed.), Russia's Regions and Comparative Subnational Politics. London and New York: Routledge, 2013, P.25-39. Subversive Institutions, Informal Governance, and Contemporary Russian Politics. Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 2012, vol.45, N3-4, P.295-303.

Risse im System. Russlands Autoritarismus 2012. Osteuropa, Jg.62, N6-8, S.23-44 (in German).

Subnational Authoritarianism in Russia: Trajectories of Political Evolution. S.Stewart, M.Klein, A.Schmitz, H.-H.Schroeder (eds.). Presidents, Oligarchs and Bureaucrats: Forms of Rule in the Post-Soviet Space. Farham: Ashgate, 2012, P.89-106.

Subversive Institutions and Informal Governance in Contemporary Russia. T.Christensen, C.Newhold (eds.). International Handbook on Informal Governance. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2012, P.135-152.

Institution Building and 'Institutional Traps' in Russian Politics. M.Lipman, N.Petrov (eds.). Russia in 2020: Scenarios for the Future. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011, P.215-232.

Local Regimes, Sub-National Governance, and the 'Power Vertical' in Contemporary Russia. Europe-Asia Studies, 2011, vol.63, N3, P.449-465 (co-author S.Ryzhenkov).

The Dynamics of Sub-National Authoritarianism: Russia in Comparative Perspective. V.Gel'man, C.Ross (eds.). The Politics of Sub-National Authoritarianism in Russia. Farham: Ashgate, 2010, P.1-18.

Introduction: Resource Curse and Post-Soviet Eurasia. V.Gel'man, O.Marganiya (eds.). Resource Curse and Post-Soviet Eurasia: Oil, Gas, and Modernization. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010, P.1-22.

The Logic of Crony Capitalism: Big Oil, Big Politics, and Big Business in Russia. V.Gel'man, O.Marganiya (eds.). Resource Curse and Post-Soviet Eurasia: Oil, Gas, and Modernization. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010, P.97-122.

Regime Changes Despite Legitimacy Crises: Exit, Voice, and Loyalty in Post-Communist Russia. Journal of Eurasian Studies, vol.1, N1, P.54-63.

Sackgasse. Autoritäre Modernisierung in Russland. Osteuropa, 2010, Jg.60, N1, S.3-13 (in German).

The Return of the Leviathan? The Policy of Recentralization in Contemporary Russia. C.Ross, A.Campbell (eds.), Federalism and Local Politics in Russia. London and New York: Routledge, 2009, P.1-24.

From Local Autonomy to Power Vertical in Russia. N.Aarsaether, A.Roiseland, S.Jenssen (eds.). Practicing Local Governance: Local Perspectives. New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2008, P.13-26.

Party Politics in Russia: From Competition to Hierarchy. Europe-Asia Studies, 2008, vol.60, N6, P.913-930.

Russia: Public Offices, Private Money and Biased Contests. S.Roper, J.Ikstens (eds.). Public Finance and Post-Communist Party Development. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, P.11-27.

Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire? Post-Soviet Regime Changes in Comparative Perspective. International Political Science Review, 2008, vol.29, N2, P.157-180.

Authoritarian versus Democratic Diffusions: Explaining Institutional Choices in Russia's Local Government. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2008, vol.24, N1, P.40-62 (co-author T.Lankina).

Le parti dominant en Russie. Quelles perspectives? A.Merlin (ed.). Qu va la Russie? Bruxelles: Edition de l'Universite de Bruxelles, 2007, P.51-62.

The Politics of Local Government Reform in Russia: From Decentralization to Recentralization. F.Lazin, M.Evans, V.Hoffmann-Martinot, H.Wollmann (eds.). Local Government Reforms in Countries in Transition: A Global Perspective. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007, P.71-90.

The Transformation of Russia's Party System, Russian Analytic Digest, 2007, 19 April, N17.

Le Retour du Leviathan: la politique de recentralization en Russie depuis 2000. Critique Internationale, 2007, N34, P.103-125 (in French).

The Politics of Recentralization in Contemporary Russia. H.Blakkisrud (ed.). Towards a Post-Putin Russia. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2006, P.23-37.

From Feckless Pluralism to Dominant Power Politics? The Transformation of Russia's Party System. Democratization, 2006, vol.13, N4, P.545-561.

Wahlen a la Russe: Formale Normsetzung und informelle Methoden. Osteuropa, 2005, Jg.55, N10, S.85-98 (in German).

Political Opposition in Russia: A Dying Species? Post-Soviet Affairs, 2005, vol.21, N3, P.226-246.

Political Opposition in Russia: Is It Becoming Extinct? Russian Politics and Law, 2005, vol.43, N3, P.25-50, also in: Russian Social Science Review, 2005, vol.46, N4, P.5-30.

The 1999-2000 National Elections and the End of Regime Transition in Russia V.Gel'man, G.Golosov, and E.Meleshkina (eds.). The 1999-2000 National Elections in Russia: Analyses, Documents, and Data. Berlin: edition Sigma, 2005, P.11-35.

Rusya'da Demokratik Gecis Sureci ve Bolgeler. Politikasinin E.Buyukakinci (der.), Degisen Dunyada Rusya ve Ukrayna, Ankara, Phoenix Vaymevi, 2004, S.23-50 (in Turkish).

The Unrule of Law in the Making: The Politics of Informal Institution-Building in Russia. Europe-Asia Studies, 2004, vol.56, N7, P.1021-1040.

Politics beyond the Garden Ring: Rethinking the Post-Soviet Experience. W.Slater and A.Wilson (eds.). The Legacy of the Soviet Union. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, P.208-227.

The Politics of Local Government in Russia: A Framework for Analysis. A.Evans and V.Gel'man (eds.) The Politics of Local Government in Russia. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004, P.1-16.

Federal Politics toward Local Government in Russia: The Process of Institution-Building. A.Evans and V.Gel'man (eds.) The Politics of Local Government in Russia. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004, P.85-103.

Conclusion: Toward a New Politics of Local Government in Russia? (co-authored with A.Evans). A.Evans and V.Gel'man (eds.) The Politics of Local Government in Russia. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004, P.274-287.

Reform retour: Russlands kommunale Selbstverwaltung vor dem Aus? Osteuropa, 2003, Jg.53, N9-10, S.1343-1352 (in German).

Post-Soviet Transitions and Democratization: Toward a Theory-Building. Democratization, 2003, vol.10, N2, P.87-104.

In Search of Local Autonomy: The Politics of Big Cities in Russia's Transition. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 2003, vol.27, N1, P.48-61.

Elites and Democratic Development in Russia: An Introduction (co-authored with A.Steen). A.Steen and V.Gel'man (eds.) Elites and Democratic Development in Russia. London and New York: Routledge, 2003, P.1-10.

The Politics of Local Government in Russia: The Neglected Side of the Story. Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 2002, vol.3, N3, P.495-508.

Politics Beyond the Garden Ring: What Might We Learn From Studies of Russia's Regionalism? M.Kivinen and K.Pynnoniemi (ed.). Beyond the Garden Ring: Dimensions of Russian Regionalism. Helsinki: Kikimora Publications, 2002, P.14-40.

Russia's Elites in Search of Consensus: What Kind of Consolidation? Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization, 2002, vol.10, N3, P.343-361; also in: A.Steen and V.Gel'man (eds.) Elites and Democratic Development in Russia. London and New York: Routledge, 2003, P.29-50.

Democratization, Structural Pluralism and Fragile Bicentrism: The Case of Volgograd Oblast. C.Ross (ed.). Regional Politics in Russia. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002, P.154-176.

Democratization Challenged: The Role of Regional Elites. B.Ruble, J.Koehn, and N.Popson (eds.), Fragmented Space in the Russian Federation. Washington, DC, and Baltimore, Woodrow Wilson Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, P.157-217 (co-authors J.Alexander, A.Degtyarev).

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Contemporary Russia: Trends of Development) Moscow: Institute of Scientific Information in Social Sciences RAS, 1999, P.173-255 (co-author S.Ryzhenkov).

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R.Elgie, S.Mostrup (eds.), Semi-Presidentialism in the Caucasus and Central Asia, Democratization, 2019, vol.26, N1, P.168-170.

S.Greene, Moscow in Movement: Power and Opposition in Putin's Russia, Perspectives on Politics, 2017, vol.15, N2, P.600-601.

B.Krauz-Moser et al. (eds.), European Political Science in the Beginning of the 21st Century. European Political Science, 2016, vol.14, N4, P.567-569.

T.Gustafson, Wheel of Fortune: The Battle for Oil and Power in Russia. Soviet and Post-Soviet Review, 2014, vol.41, N1, P.90-92.

D.Lane, Elites and Classes in the Transformation of State Socialism / R.Rose, W.Mishler, W.Munro, Popular Support for an Undemocratic Regime: The Changing Views of Russians. Perspectives on Politics, 2013, vol.11, N1, P.333-335.

L.Holmes, Grand Theater: Regional Governance in Stalin's Russia, 1934-1941, Journal of Cold War Studies, 2012, vol.14, N4, P.253-255.

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J.Ostrow, G.Satarov, I.Khakamada, The Consolidation of Dictatorship in Russia. Russian Review, 2008, vol.67, N3, P.542-543.

K.Stoner-Weiss. Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia. International Affairs, 2007, vol.83, N4, P.814-815.

S.Patrushev (ed.) Institutsional'naya politologiya ('Institutional Political Science'). Pro et Contra, 2007, vol.11, N1, P.118-121.

T.Carothers. Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies. Pro et Contra, 2006, vol.10, N5-6, P.114-118.

R.Sakwa. Putin: Russia's Choice. Democratization, 2004, vol.11, N5, P.228-230.

R.Krickus. The Kaliningrad Question. Russian Review, 2003, vol.62, N1, P.186.

J.Kornai, S.Haggard, R.Kaufman (eds.). Reforming the State: Fiscal and Welfare Reform in Post-Socialist Countries. Political Studies, 2001, vol.49, N5, P.1060-1061.

T.Colton. Transitional Citizens: Votes and What Influences Them in Post-Soviet Russia. Pro et Contra, 2000, vol.5, N4, P.260-263.

D.Treisman. After the Deluge: Regional Crises and Political Consolidation in Russia. Europe-Asia Studies, 2000, vol.52, N6, P.1165-1167.

E.Huskey. Presidential Power in Russia. Pro et Contra, 1999, vol.4, N3, P.200-203.

J.Linz, A.Stepan. Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation Pro et Contra, 1997, Vol.2, N2, P.164-166.

Major conference papers

APSA Annual Conventions (2006, 2009)

AAASS (now ASEES) Annual Conventions (1999, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018)

ECPR Join Sessions (1995, 2001)

ICEEES Congresses (2000, 2005, 2015)

Aleksanteri annual conferences, Helsinki (2001, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018)

PONARS annual conferences, Washington, DC (1999, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2014, 2016, 2017)

UK Political Studies Association (1995)

Numerous presentations at the major international conferences held in Yale, Princeton, Woodrow Wilson Center, London School of Economics, University College London, University of Manchester, European University Institute, University of Amsterdam, Uppsala University, European University at St.Petersburg, University of Helsinki, to name just a few.

Teaching background

2019 – Sciences Po Bordeaux, College of Liberal Arts, MA-level class “Contemporary Russian Politics”

2017 – Pennsylvania State University, Department of Political Science, BA-level class “Politics in Contemporary Russia”

Since 2013 – University of Helsinki – P220, MA-level class, “Contemporary Russian Politics” (28 hours), RUS-3010, MA-level class, “Introduction to Russian Studies (28 hours), RUS-309, MA-level class, “Security and Power in Russia (28 hours)

2012 – New Economic School, Moscow – BA-level class “Introduction to Politics” (64 hours)

2005-2008 – State University – Higher School of Economics, St.Petersburg Branch, Department of Sociology, lectures and seminars course “Introduction to regional politics” (20 hours).

2004-2005 – Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University), Department of Political Science – MA-level class “Post-Soviet Political Regimes” (16 hours)

2003 – University of Texas at Austin, Department of Government – undergraduate and graduate classes “Russian Politics” GOV336M and GOV390L (60 and 28 hours, respectively)

2003, Central European University (Budapest, Hungary), Department of Political Science – MA-level lecture and seminar course “Russian Politics” (48 hours)

Since 2001, European University at St.Petersburg – lecture and seminar course “Methodology and Practice of Social Science Scholarship” (56 hours)

Since 1997, European University at St.Petersburg – lecture and seminar course “Introduction to Regional and Local Government” (28 hours).

Since 1997, European University at St.Petersburg – lecture and seminar course “Contemporary Russian Politics” (56 hours).

1997, University of Tampere (Finland), International Summer School on Social Sciences – lecture course “Russian Politics in Transition” (12 hours, jointly with A.Temkina).

1996, European University at St.Petersburg – lectures course “Introduction to Political Science” (28 hours, jointly with A.Temkina).

Occasional visiting lectures: Miami University at Ohio (2006), University of Notre Dame (2006), George Washington University (2003, 2015), University of Michigan (2006, 2009, 2017), Harvard University (2002), Baylor University (2003), Columbia

University (2015, 2018), Pennsylvania State University (2017), University of Texas at Austin (2000, 2003), Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies (1999), Emory University (1999), Stetson University (1999), University of Glasgow (1999), King's College London (2015), Oxford University (1992, 2015), Leeds University (1997, 1999), Royal Institute of International Affairs (2008), Sodertorn University College (2001), Swedish Institute for International Affairs (2001), Sciences Po, Paris (2000, 2005, 2008, 2011), Sciences Po, Bordeaux (2005, 2019), International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam (1999), University of Helsinki (1998, 2007, 2011), Tampere University (1998), University of Juvaskyla (2008), University of Tromso (2006), Free University of Brussels (2008), Free University of Berlin (1996, 1998, 2012), Federal Institute for East European and International Studies, Cologne (1996), University of Bremen (1994, 1997), Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin fur Sozialforschung (1998), Utrecht University (1996), Central European University (2003), European University Institute (2010, 2011).

Research and research training projects

2017-2020 – research training project Young Russian Scholars Helsinki Fellowship YRUSH (Kone foundation), director

2016-2019 – research training project Finnish-Russian Network of Russian and Eurasian Studies in Social Science and Humanities FRRESH (Kone foundation), co-director

2012-2017 – research project “Choices of Russian Modernization” (Academy of Finland), coordinator of research cluster “Authoritarian Market Society as a Challenge”

2004 – research project “Third Electoral Cycle in Russia, 2003-2004: A Political Analysis” (Russian Science Foundation for Humanities), head of the project.

2001-2002 – research project “Official and Vernacular Identifications” (American Council of Learned Societies), co-chair of the working group “Center and Regional Identities in Russia”.

2000-2002 – publication project “German-Russian Bridge” (Gesellschaft fur Sozialwissenschaftliche und Publizistik, Volkswagen Foundation, Germany), co-director of the Russian project group.

1999-2001 – research project “Conceptualizing Institutional Changes of Local Government in Russia” (INTAS European Program, INTAS 31398-97), co-director of the Russian project group.

1998-2005 – two book projects “Founding Elections in Russia” (Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin fur Sozialforschung), co-director of the Russian project group.

1998 – project “Regional policy addressed federal asymmetry in Russia” (TACIS European Program), expert.

1997-1999 – research project “Russia of Regions” (Gesellschaft fur Sozialwissenschaftliche und Publizistik, Volkswagen Foundation, Germany), co-director of the Russian project group.

1997-1999 – research project “Transformation of regional political regimes in contemporary Russia” (Russian Scientific Foundation for Humanities), head of the project.

1997-1998 – research project “Transformation of regional political regimes in contemporary Russia: comparative analysis” (Moscow Public Science Foundation), head of the project.

1996-1998 – research project “Understanding of regional patterns of changes in Russia” (Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, Great Britain), research expert.

1995-1996 – research project "German-Russian Monitoring of transformation of Russian Social Sciences" (Gesellschaft fur Sozialwissenschaftliche und Publizistik, Germany), researcher (sub-projects “Studies of political parties in contemporary Russia”, “Studies in regional politics in Russia”), research expert.

1994-1995 – research project "Post-USSR: regions, elites, society" (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany), research expert.

1992-1995 – research project "Political monitoring" (Institute for Humanities and Political Studies, Moscow), director (1993-1995) and senior scientific expert.

1994-1995 – research project "Social protest in St.Petersburg" (St.Petersburg branch Institute of Sociology RAS), research expert.

Educational projects

2004-2007 – project “Understanding European Governance in North-Western Regions of Russia” (TEMPUS European Program, CD-JEP-24158-2003), coordinator of Russian project group.

1999-2002 – project “Regionalism and Federalism in European Studies” (TEMPUS European Program), coordinator of Russian project group.

1998-2000 – project “Development of Department of Sociology, Politics and Government of Samara State University” (Open Society Institute, N810), coordinator of project group.

Individual grants

09/2012-12/2017 – Finland Distinguished Professorship (Academy of Finland grant), project “Regimes, Institutions, and Changes: Politics and Governance in Russia in a Comparative Perspective”

09/1997 – 05/1998 – Open Society Institute, Budapest. HESP/RSS Course Development Grant, Project “Russian Politics in Transition”.

07/1994 – 12/1995 – Central European University (Research Support Scheme) and Moscow branch of Russian Scientific Foundation (program “Russian social sciences; new prospects”). Project “Democratic opposition in post-Communist Russia”.

Fellowships and Awards

11/2013 – Russian Political Science Association, best popular book award (for book “Iz Ognya da v Polymya: Rossiiskaya Politika Posle SSSR”)

09/2012 – Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, Finland Distinguished Professorship (funded by the Academy of Finland)

01/2006 – 05/2006 – Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, visiting research fellowship.

02/2002 – Russian Political Science Association award for the best scholarly work in Russian political science published in 2000-2001 (for book “Rossiia regionov: transformatsiya politicheskikh rezhimov”).

09/1999 – 02/2000 – Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University (6-month research fellowship supported by Fulbright program).

05/1999 – Second Annual Europe-Asia Lecture competition (Institute of Russian and East European Studies, University of Glasgow), winner.

12/1998 – Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (1-month research fellowship).

11/1998 – University of Helsinki (1-month research fellowship supported by KOHE Foundation).

09/1996 – 12/1996 – University of Essex (3-month research fellowship supported by Ford Foundation)

04/1992 – 06/1992 – Oxford University (2-month research fellowship supported by Soros Foundation)

Current research interests: contemporary Russian and post-Soviet politics in theoretical and comparative perspective (political regimes and institutions, governance, political parties and electoral politics, federalism, regional and local government).

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Academic references

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April 2022