

CURRICULUM VITAE

Vladimir Gel'man

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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 activity:

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, Faculty of Political Sciences and Sociology, Professor

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

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

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

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

Temporary academic positions:

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

Other activities

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.
02/1997 – 05/2000 – European University at St.Petersburg, Academic Board member
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 policy, 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
10/1992 – 09/1993 – Office of Representative of the President of the Russian Federation at St.Petersburg, research expert
03/1990 – 12/1991 – St.Petersburg (Leningrad) City Soviet, research expert
11/1989 – 06/1990 – Leningrad City Electoral Commission for the elections to the City Soviet, member.

Also:

Peer reviewer: grant competitions of John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Moscow Public Science Foundation, National Training Foundation, Independent Committee for Certification of Teaching Materials.

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, Europe-Asia Studies, European Journal of Political Research, Finnish Review of East European Studies, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, International Political Science Review, Party Politics, Perspectives on Politics, Political Studies, Politics, Problems of Post-Communism, Publius, Regional and Federal Studies, Representation, Slavic Review, Studies in Comparative International Development, Voprosy Ekonomiki, World Politics.

Peer reviewer, publishers: Rowman and Littlefield, Springer, University of Michigan Press

Academic works

Monographs (7)

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 Demokraticheskaya Oppozitsiya ('Transformation in Russia: Political Regime and Democratic Opposition'). Moscow: Moscow Public Science Foundation, 1999, 240 pp. (Monograph Series, vol.7).

Working Papers (20)

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.

Politicheskije osnovaniya nedostoinogo pravleniya v postsovetskoj 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.

Regionale Machtstrukturen und die Transformation in Russland. Die Dynamik Institutioneller Veraenderungen im Vergleich. Arbeitspapiere und Materialien. Forschungsstelle Osteuropa am der Universitat Bremen, 1999, N21, 24 s.

Regime Transition, Uncertainty, and Prospects for Democratization: The Politics of Russia's Regions in a Comparative Perspective. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin fur 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 Birgmingham, Working Paper Series, 1997, N12, 141 pp.

Edited volumes and special issues of journals

In European languages (8)

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, 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 (11)

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.Stykov, 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 (85)

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

Political Foundations of Bad Governance in Post-Soviet Eurasia: Toward a Research Agenda, East European Politics (ahead-of-print, published 27 July 2017)

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

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. Autoritare 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: Kikumora 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 Bicetrism: 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).

A Cross-Regional Comparison of Cleavage Patterns, Actors' Autonomy and Regime Outcomes. K.Segbers (ed.). Explaining Post-Soviet Patchworks. Vol.3. The Political Economy of Regions, Regimes, and Republics. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001, P.199-226.

Electoral Democracy in Russia. Russia on Russia, 2000, N3, P.63-68.

Studies of Political Elites in Russia: Issues and Alternatives. Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 2000, vol.33, N3, P.311-329 (co-author I.Tarusina); also in: A.Steen and V.Gel'man (eds.) Elites and Democratic Development in Russia. London and New York: Routledge, 2003, P.187-205.

The Politics of Russia's Regions: A Comparative Perspective. S.Harter and G.Easter (eds.). Shaping the Economic Space in Russia. Decision Making Processes, Institutions and Adjustment to Change in the El'tsin Era. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2000, P.227-248.

Electoral Research in Russia. H.-D.Klingemann, K.Newton, and E.Mochmann (eds.). Elections in Central and Eastern Europe: The First Wave. Berlin: edition Sigma, 2000, P.263-291.

Sub-National Institutions in Contemporary Russia. N.Robinson (ed.). Institutions and Political Change in Russia. London: Macmillan, 2000, P.85-105.

Russia's Transition and Founding Elections. V.Gel'man and G.Golosov (eds.). Elections in Russia, 1993-1996: Analyses, Documents, and Data. Berlin: edition Sigma, 1999, P.19-46 (co-author V.Elizarov).

Institutional Design: Crafting Electoral Law. V.Gel'man and G.Golosov (eds.). Elections in Russia, 1993-1996: Analyses, Documents, and Data. Berlin: edition Sigma, 1999, P.47-72.

Regime Transition, Uncertainty, and Prospects for Democratization: The Politics of Russia's Regions in a Comparative Perspective. Europe-Asia Studies, 1999, vol.51, N6, P.939-956. Reprinted in A.Brown (ed.). Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, P.499-510.

Regional Power in Contemporary Russia: Institutions, Regimes, and Practice. Russian Politics and Law, 1999, vol.37, N1, P.5-29.

Regional Party System Formation in Russia: The Deviant Case of Sverdlovsk Oblast'. The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 1998, vol.14, N1/2, P.31-53, co-author G.Golosov. Also in J.Lowenhardt (ed.). Party Politics in Postcommunist Russia. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1998, P.31-53.

The Iceberg of Russian Political Finance. P.Burnell and A.Ware (eds.). Funding Democratization. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998, P.158-179. Reprinted in A.Brown (ed.). Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, P.179-194.

Herausbildung regionaler Regime in Russland. J.Franzke and S.Henke (Hrsg.). Russland Heute. Staat und Gesellschaft im Umbruch. Potsdam: Brandenburgische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1997, S.35-44 (in German).

Politikforschung im Gebiet Sverdlovsk: Entwicklungsstand, Probleme, Perspektiven. I.Oswald u.a. (Hrsg.). Sozialwissenschaft im Russland. Band 2. Deutsch-Russisches Monitoring. Berlin: Berliner Debatte Wissenschaftsverlag, 1997, S.173-182 (in German).

Politische Regionalistik in Russland: politisches Consulting oder neue Wissenschaftsdisziplin? I.Oswald u.a. (Hrsg.). Sozialwissenschaft im Russland. Band 2. Deutsch-Russisches Monitoring. Berlin: Berliner Debatte Wissenschaftsverlag, 1997, S.106-150; mit S.Ryzhenkov (in German).

The Development of Political Parties in Russia. K.Dawisha and B.Parrott (ed.). Democratic Changes and Authoritarian Reactions in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, P.175-219; co-author M.Urban.

Shaping Political Order: Regional Politics in Russia in Post-Soviet Period. E.Kirchner and K.Wright (eds.). Proceedings of the Conference 'Regional and Inter-Regional Development in Transition Societies: Political, Economical, Legal and Security Dimensions'. University of Essex, 1996, P.133-154.

Parteienforschung (1988 bis 1995). I.Oswald u.a. (Hrsg.). Sozialwissenschaft im Russland. Band 1. Deutsch-Russisches Monitoring. Berlin: Berliner Debatte Wissenschaftsverlag, 1996, S.114-153; mit D.Torchov (in German).

Policy Subjects and Factors in Povolzh'e (co-authors O.Senatova, A.Kassimov, S.Ryzhenkov). K.Segbers and S.De Spiegeleire (eds.). Post-Soviet Puzzles: Mapping Political Economy at the Former Soviet Union. Nomos: Baden-Baden, 1995, vol.2, P.301-324.

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Regional'naya vlast' v sovremennoi Rossii: instituty, rezhimy i praktiki ('Regional Authorities in Contemporary Russia: Institutions, Regimes and Practices'). Polis, 1998, N1, P.87-105. Also in: V.Gel'man, A.Kuz'min, G.Lucherhandt, S.Ryzhenkov (eds.) Organy gosudarstvennoi vlasti sub'ektov Rossiiskoi Federatsii ('Regional power institutions of Russian Federation'). Moscow: IGPI, 1998, P.40-71.

Konsolidatsiya regional'noi elity i mestnaya demokratiya v Rossii: Sankt – Peterburg v sravnitel'noi perspektive ('Consolidation of Regional Elites and Local Democracy in Russia: Saint Petersburg in a Comparative Perspective'). S.Kugel' (ed.). Sotsial'nye i politicheskie orientatsii Sankt-Peterburgskoi elity ('Social and Political Orientations of St.Petersburg elite). St.Petersburg: University of Economics and Finance Publishing House, 1998, P.74-85.

Dilemmy demokraticheskoi oppozitsii: Grigorii Yavlinskii, 'Yabloko' i prezidentskie vybory ('Dilemmas of democratic opposition: Grigorii Yavlinskii, 'Yabloko' i prezidentskie vybory'). Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, 1997, N9, P.32-41; N10, P.21-27.

Federal'naya politika i mestnoe samoupravlenie v Rossii: kriticheskii obzor ('Federal policy toward local government in Russia: A Critical Review'). G.Lucherhandt (ed.). Mestnoe samoupravlenie: teoriya i praktika ('Local government: theory and practice'). 2nd edition. Moscow: Friedrich Naumann Foundation, 1997, P.53-62.

Federal'naya politika i mestnoe samoupravlenie v Rossii ('Federal policy toward local government in Russia'). Vlast', 1997, N9, P.73-80.

Sozdavaya pravila igru: Rossiiskoe izbiratel'noe zakonodatel'stvo perekhodnogo perioda ('Crafting rules of the game: Russian electoral legislation in transitional period'). Polis, 1997, N4, P.125-147.

"Transition" po-russki: konceptsii perekhodnogo perioda i politicheskaya transformatsiya v Rossii: 1989-96 ('Transition in Russian: concepts of transitional period and political transformation in Russia: 1989-96'). Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost', 1997, N4, P.64-81.

O stanovlenii rossiiskoi partiinoi sistemy i praktikakh politicheskikh koalitsii ('On development of party system in Russia and practices of political coalitions'). Polis, 1997, N3, P.188-191.

Demokraticheskaya oppozitsiya v postsovetskoi Rossii (na primere obshchestvennogo ob'edineniya 'Yabloko') ('Democratic Opposition in post-Soviet Russia: The Case of

‘Yabloko’). Na Putyakh Politicheskoi Transformatsii (politicheskie partii i politicheskie elity postsovetskogo perioda) (‘On the Way of Political Transformation: Political Parties and Political Elites in post-Soviet Period’). Moscow: Moscow Public Science Foundation, 1997, P.7-57.

Shakhmatnye partii Rossiiskikh elit (‘Chess Games of Russian elites’). Pro et contra, 1996, N1, P.22-31.

Regional’nye rezhimy: zavershenie transformatsii? (‘Regional political regimes: end of the transformation?’). Svobodnaya mysl’, 1996, N9, P.13-22.

Kommunisty v strukturakh vlasti: analiz deyatel’nosti (‘Communitis in power structures: an analysis of activity’). Vlast’, 1996, N6, P.20-29.

Izбирatel’nye kampanii v Rossii: ispytanie elektoral’noi formuly (‘Electoral campaigns in Russia: testing the electoral formula’). Polis, 1996, N2, P.84-100.

Vybory deputatov Gosudarstvennoi Dumy: pravila igry, zakonodatel’naya politika i pravoprimenitel’naya praktika (‘State Duma Elections: ‘rules of the game’, legislative policy and legal practice’). Konstitucionnoe pravo: vostochnoevropeskoe obozrenie, 1995, N4/1996, N1, P.20-34.

Vokrug reformy mestnogo samoupravleniya: politicheskie interesy i zakonodatel’nyi process (‘Russian local government reform: political interests and legislation-making process’). G.Luchterhandt, with V.Gel’man (eds.). Mestnoe samoupravlenie: teoriya i praktika (‘Local government: theory and practice’). Moscow: Friedrich Naumann Foundation, 1996, P.48-58.

Yabloko: opyty politicheskoi al’ternativy (‘Yabloko: experience of alternative politics’). Kentavr, 1995, N6, P.43-57.

Issledovaniya sovremennykh rossiiskikh partii v otechestvennoi politologii (‘The formation of studies of political parties in Russian political science 1988-1995’). Politicheskii monitoring, 1995, N11, vol.2, P.117-142; co-author D.Torkhov.

Pravila igry v deputatstvo: pravovye normy i kul’turnaja traditsiya (‘Rules of deputy’s games: legal norms and cultural tradition’). Etika uspekha (‘Ethics of success’), 1995, N6, P.146-155; co-author V.Igrunov.

Zametki o regionalizatsii: tyumenskii variant (‘Notes about regionalization: the Tyumen’ case’). V.Bakshtanovskii et al. (eds.) Ratsional’nyi regionalizm (‘Rational regionalism’). Moscow: Nachala-press, 1995, P.74-86.

Trev’ya popytka reformy vlasti: v poiskakh zolotoi serediny (‘Third attempt of reform of the regional power’). Rossiiskaya Federatsiya, 1995, N13, P.25-28; co-author O.Senatova.

Democratischeeskaya oppozitsiia v postkommunisticheskoi Rossii: ocherk istorii i voprosy teorii (‘Democratic opposition in post-Communist Russia: historical essay and theoretical questions’). Politicheskii monitoring, 1995, N2, P.5-49.

Subjekty i factory politiki v Povolzh’e (‘Political factors and actors in Volga region’). Zemstvo, 1994, N4, P.8-33; co-authors O.Senatova, A.Kassimov, S.Ryzhenkov.

Pravyashii rezhim i demokratischeeskaya oppozitsia (‘Ruling regime and democratic opposition’). Predely vlasty, 1994, N2-3, P.143-151.

Politicheskie partii v regionakh Rossii: dinamika i tendentsii (‘Political parties in Russian regions: dynamics and trends’). Vlast’ 1995, N5, P.39-48; Politicheskii monitoring, 1994, N9, P.5-36; co-author O.Senatova.

Novaya mestnaya politika (‘New local politics’). V.Gel’man (ed.) Ocherki rossiiskoi politiki (‘Essays on Russian politics’). Moscow: IGPI, 1994, P.67-96.

Politicheskie partii v regionakh Rossii ('Political parties in Russian regions'). V.Gel'man (ed.) Ocherki rossiiskoi politiki ('Essays on Russian politics'). Moscow: IGPI, 1994, P.16-30; co-author O.Senatova.

Krizis politiki v Rossii ('Crisis in Russian politics'). V.Gel'man (ed.) Ocherki rossiiskoi politiki ('Essays on Russian politics'). Moscow: IGPI, 1994, P.5-15; co-authors V.Igrunov, S.Mitrokhin.

Desovetizatsiya mestnoi vlasti: politicheskii kontekst ('De-sovietization of local power: political context'). Vlast', 1994, N8, P.24-29.

Vybory 1990 goda v Leningrade: pirrova pobeda demokratii ('The 1990 Elections in Leningrad: a Lost Victory of Democracy'). V.Kostiushev et al. (eds.) Sotsiologiya obschestvennikh dvizhenii: empiricheskie issledovaniya i nabliudeniya ('Sociology of Social Movements: empirical Studies and Observations'). Moscow -St.Petersburg: Institute of Sociology RAS, 1993, P.182-214.

Rossiiskii tsentr i mestnaya vlast': opyt instituta predstavitelei Prezidenta ('The Russian Center and Local Power: An Experience of the Institution of Presidential Representatives'). Vash Vybor, 1993, N4, P.18-25 (pen name G.Vladimirov).

Otvetstvennost' vlasti i sud'ba reform ('The responsibility of power and the fate of reforms'). Y.Burtin, E.Molchanov (eds.) God posle Avgusta: gorech' i vybor ('Year after August'). Moscow: Literatura i Politika, 1992, P.73-76.

Other publications

More than 40 articles on current issues in Russian politics published in newspapers of Moscow, St.Petersburg and Saratov; more than 20 analytical reviews has been published in 'Politicheskii monitoring' (monthly analytical review of the Institute for Humanities and Political Studies).

In 1999-2000 – observer of “Russia Election Watch” monthly bulletin (J.F.Kennedy School of Government. Harvard University)

Book Reviews (16)

B.Krauz-Moser et al., 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.

H.Wydra, Communism and the Emergence of Democracy. Perspectives on Politics, 2008, vol.6, N4, P.860-861.

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

(not counted after 2006 because of large quantity)

10/2006, Abramtsevo – workshop, “Territory of the Future” Foundation, paper “Out of the Frying Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire? Post-Soviet Regime Changes in Comparative Perspective”

08/2006, Philadelphia (USA) – 102th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, paper “From Feckless Pluralism to Dominant Power Politics? The Transformation of Russia's Party System”.

07/2005, Berlin – VII World Congress for Central and East European Studies, paper "Fuzzy Legality and Arbitrary Rule in Russia: The Case of Electoral Governance".

07/2005, Coventry – workshop “Globalizing Party-Based Democracy” (University of Warwick, Great Britain), paper “From Feckless Pluralism to Dominant Power Politics: Lessons from the Transformation of Russia's Party System”.

06/2005, Balestrand (Norway) – conference “Changing Patterns of Elite Rule in Western Democracies” (Institute for Social Research and IPSA RC-2), paper “Shifting Elite Structure and the Extinction of Political Opposition in Russia”

02/2005, Washington, D.C. – policy conference “Program on New Approaches to Russian Security” (Center for Strategic and International Studies), paper “The Extinction of Political Opposition in Russia”.

12/2004, Moscow – conference of Russian Political Science Association, paper “Political Opposition in Russia: A Dying Species?”

05/2004, Dead Sea (Israel) – Hurst Seminar on Reform and Democracy in Local Government of Countries in Transformation” (Ben Gurion University), paper “ The Politics of Local Government Reform in Russia: From Decentralization to Recentralization”

04/2004, Seoul – conference “Ten Years of the Russian Transition” (Seoul National University), paper “The Politics of Local Government in Russia: From Decentralization to Recentralization”

02/2004, Toronto – conference “The Russian Federation 12 Years On: Moving beyond Transitology” (University of Toronto), paper “Russian Politics after Regime Change: Towards Theory-Building”

12/2003, Washington, D.C. – policy conference “Program on New Approaches to Russian Security” (Center for Strategic and International Studies), paper “Free but Unfair? Problems of Electoral Governance in Russia”.

05/2003, Florence (Italy) – conference “Strengthening States, Consolidating Democracies: An Agenda for State Reform in Eastern Europe” (European University Institute), paper “(Un) Rule of Law in the Making: The Politics of Informal Institution-Building in Contemporary Russia”

04/2003, Moscow – Third All-Russian Congress of Political Scientists, paper “The Politics of Institution-Building in Contemporary Russia: Interests, Ideologies, Information, and Changes”

04/2003, Moscow – academic conference “Program on New Approaches to Russian Security” (Center for Strategic and International Studies), paper “Center and Regional Identities in Russia: A Framework for Analysis”

05/2002, Dundee (Scotland) – conference “Russian Politics under Putin” (University of Dundee), paper “The 1999-2000 General Elections and the End of Transition in Russia”.

04/2002, Uppsala (Sweden) – conference “Democracy in Russia ” (University of Uppsala), paper “Politics Beyond the Garden Ring: Rethinking Post-Soviet Experience”.

03/2002, Kazan, 10/2002, St.Petersburg – project seminars “Official and Vernacular Identifications” (American Council of Learned Societies), paper “Regional Elites and Strategies of Political Identities” (with E.Popova)

11/2001, Helsinki – seminar “Dimensions of Russian Regionalism” (Finnish Center for Russian and East European Studies), paper “Politics Beyond the Garden Ring: What Might We Learn From Studies of Russia’s Regionalism”

11/2001, London – conference “Ten Years Since the Soviet Union” (School of Slavonic and East European Studies), paper “Politics Beyond the Garden Ring: Rethinking Post-Soviet Experience”.

05/2001, Nizhnii Novgorod – academic conference “Program on New Approaches to Russian Security” (Council on Foreign Relations and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), paper “Encounter with Iceberg: Concept Formation and Misformation in Studies of Russian Politics”.

04/2001, Grenoble (France) – 29 Joint Session of Workshops, European Consortium for Political Research, paper “Post-Soviet Transitions and Democratization: Toward a Theory-Building”.

01/2001, Moscow – conference “Where Russia Going On?” (Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences), paper “In Search of Autonomy: Local Government Reform in Russian Cities”

12/2000, Ann Arbor (USA) – conference “Democratization in Post-Authoritarian Societies: Ten Years After the Collapse of the Soviet Union” (University of Michigan), paper “Post-Soviet Transitions and Democratization: Toward a Theory-Building”.

12/2000, Washington, D.C. – policy conference “Program on New Approaches to Russian Security” (Council on Foreign Relations and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), paper “The Dictatorship of Law in Russia: Neither Dictatorship Nor Rule of Law”.

11/2000, Paris – seminar, Center for International Studies, Institute of Political Science, paper “In Search of Autonomy: Local Power Reform in Russian Cities”.

07/2000, Tampere (Finland) – VI World Congress for Central and East European Studies, paper "Regime Transition and Prospects for Democratization: Russia's Regions in a Comparative Perspective".

04/2000, Moscow – Second All-Russian Congress of Political Scientists, paper "Post-Soviet Regime Transitions: Toward a Theory-Building"

01/2000, Cambridge, MA (USA) – academic conference "Program on New Approaches to Russian Security" (Harvard University), paper "Post-Soviet Politics and Democratization: Toward a Theory-Building".

11/1999, St.Louis (USA) – 31st National Convention of American Association for Advancement of Slavic Studies, paper "Making and Breaking Democratic Transitions: The Comparative Politics of Russia's Regions".

11/1999, Washington, DC – policy conference "Program on New Approaches to Russian Security" (Harvard University and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), paper "The Eve of Electoral Threshold: New Challenges in Russian Politics".

09/1999, Ljubljana (Slovenia) – international conference "Comparative Study of Elite Integration in CEE and West European Countries" (University of Ljubljana), paper "Elite Research in Russia: Issues and Alternatives" (with I.Tarusina).

09/1999, Nida (Lithuania) – workshop "Transformation and Globalization" (Osteuropa-Institut, Free University of Berlin), paper "Local Actors' Autonomy, Cleavage Structure, Institutional Changes and Regime Transition in Russia: Cross-Regional Perspective".

06/1999, St.Petersburg – conference "Elections in Russia: federal and regional aspects" (St.Petersburg Center "Strategy"), paper "Founding Elections in a Context of Russia's Transition".

05/1999, Cologne (Germany) – workshop "Shaping the Economic Space in Russia: Decision Making Processes, Institutions and Adjustment to Change" (Federal Institute for Eastern European and International Studies), paper "Regime Transition, Outcome of Uncertainty and Prospects for Democratization: The Politics of Russia's Regions in a Comparative Perspective"

02/1999, Samara – conference "Developments in Political Sciences in Russian Universities" (Russian Political Science Association and "Polis" journal), paper "Regime Transition in Russia: Comparative Regional Perspective".

01/1999, Moscow – conference "Where Russia Going On?" (Inter-Center) paper "Regime Transition in Russia: Comparative Regional Perspective".

11/1998, Moscow – conference "Perestroika and After" (International Institute for Humanities and Political Studies), paper "Regime Transition in Russia's Regions: A Comparative Analysis".

09/1998, St.Petersburg – seminar "Regional Elites in Russia and CIS" (Moscow Public Science Foundation and Open Society Institute), paper "Regime Transition in Russia's Regions: A Comparative Analysis".

07/1998, Barnaul – seminar "Civil Society in Russia" (Altai School of Political Studies), paper "Regime Transition in Russia's Regions: A Comparative Analysis".

06/1998, Samara – Research Seminar "Political Culture of Regions" (Samara State University, Department of Sociology and Political Science), paper "Regime Transition in Russia's Regions: A Comparative Analysis".

01/1998, 05/1998, 01/1999, Washington, DC, and Moscow – "Regional Russia" workshop series (Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies), papers "Democratization in Russia's regions".

12/1997, Berlin – Third Berlin Conference “Elections and Democratic Consolidation: East European Research Networks” (Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung), paper “Understanding Russian Elections: In Search of Paradigms”.

11/1997, Samara – Research Seminar “Evolution of Political Orientations in Post-Communist Countries” (Samara State University, Department of Sociology and Political Science), paper “Alternatives of Party System Development in Russia: By-polarization, Pluralism or “Party of Power”?”

10/1997, Helsinki – Finnish-Russian Seminar “Russian Economics in Transition” (Finnish-Russian Commission on Cooperation), paper “Current Political Situation in Russia”.

09/1997, Nizhnii Novgorod – 1 Russian Congress of Comparative Studies of Regional Politics (Nizhnii Novgorod Research Foundation), paper “Comparative Study of Regional Political Regimes in Russia”.

06/1997, St.Petersburg – simposium “Social and Political Orientations of St.Petersburg's Elite” (St.Petersburg Scientific Center of RAS and Freidrich Ebert Stiftung), paper “The Consolidation of Regional Elites and Local Democracy: The Case of St.Petersburg”.

06/1997, Perm – workshop “Local Government: Forms and Values, Politics and Practices” (Friedrich Naumann Foundation and International Institute for Humanities and Political Studies), paper “Federal Policy toward Local Government”

06/1997, Pushkin – workshop “Local Government in Post-Communist Countries: Baltic Region and Russia” (St.Petersburg Center “Strategy”), paper “Federal Politics and Local Government in Russia: A Critical Review”

02/1997, Moscow – workshop “Understanding of Regional Patterns of Economic Changes in Russia” (University of Birmingham, Great Britain), paper “Regional Profile: St.Petersburg and Leningradsksaya oblast”

01/1997, Coventry – workshop “Funding Democratization” (University of Warwick, Great Britain), paper “Iceberg of Russian Political Finance”.

10/1996, Berlin – workshop "German-Russian Monitoring of transformation of Russian social sciences" (Gesellschaft fuer Sozialwissenschaftliche und Publizistik), paper “Regional political studies in Russia: from public interest – to scientific discipline?” (co-author S.Ryzhenkov).

09/1996, Pskov – workshop “Russian Federalism: State-Legal Aspect” (Friedrich Naumann Foundation and International Institute for Humanities and Political Studies (Pskov)), paper “Legislative politics on federal issues in Russia”.

06/1996, Colchester (UK) – conference “Regional and inter-regional development in transitional societies: economical, political, legal and security dimensions” (University of Essex), paper “Shaping political order: the regional politics in Russia in post-communist period”.

04/1996, Frankfurt am Main – conference “Post-communism in Eastern Europe” (Hesse Landes Center for Political Education), paper “Communists in power: CPRF and their representatives in federal and regional legislative and executive institutions”.

01/1996, Novgorod – workshop "Studies on new elites and political institution at the CIS" (Russian Scientific Foundation), paper “Experience of alternative politics: democratic opposition in post-Soviet Russia (the “Yabloko” case).

10/1995, Berlin – workshop "German-Russian Monitoring of transformation of Russian social sciences" (Max Planck Society), paper “The formation of studies of political parties in Russian political science 1988-1995” (co-author D.Torkhov).

09/1995, Nizhnii Novgorod – workshop "Regional elites in contemporary Russia: dynamics and trends" (Nizhnii Novgorod Research Foundation), paper "Regional elite in struggle for power: the case of Sverdlovsk oblast' governor's elections"

06/1995, Nizhnii Novgorod – American-Russian Education in Social Sciences (summer school), paper "Democraticheskaya oppozitsiia v postkommunisticheskoi Rossii"

04/1995, Bordeaux – 23rd Joint Session of Workshops, European Consortium for Political Research, paper "Russian electoral reform: institutional changes and voter's behavior"

04/1995, York – 43rd Annual Conference, United Kingdom Political Studies Association, paper "Political reform in Russian provinces: trends since October 1993"

03/1994, Tallinn – workshop "Public Administration and the Transformation processes" (European Forum for Solidarity and Democracy), paper "Russian Center and local power under political reform: dynamics and trends".

09/1993, Bonn – simposium "Regionalization in Russia" (German-Russian Forum), paper "Russian Center and local power under political reform".

Policy-oriented works

1997 – Report "On state of human rights in St.Petersburg" (St.Petersburg "Strategy" Center), chapter "Electoral rights of citizens in St.Petersburg".

1997 – draft of federal law "On order of termination of rule of the President of Russian Federation" (member of working group, legislative initiative by Y.Nesterov)

1997 – draft of federal law "On status of the President of Russian Federation" (member of working group, legislative initiative by Y.Nesterov)

1996 – draft of federal law "On amendments on federal law "On basic guarantees of the electoral rights of citizens of the Russian Federation", amendments (member of working group, legislative initiative by A.Shishlov)

1996 – draft of federal law "On rights of citizens of Russian Federation to elect and to be elected to organs of local government in Russian Federation", amendments (member of working group, legislative initiative by S.Mitrokhin and S.Popov)

1995 – draft of federal law "On general principles of the organization of system of local government in Russian Federation", amendments (member of working group, legislative initiative by S.Mitrokhin)

1995 – draft of federal law "On general principles of the organization of system of organs of state power in subject units of the Russian Federation", amendments (author, legislative initiative by S.Mitrokhin)

1995 – draft of federal constitutional law "On the referendum of Russian Federation" (member of working group, legislative initiative by "Yabloko" faction)

1994 – draft of federal law "On rules of formation of the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation" (co-author S.Popov, legislative initiative by "Yabloko" faction)

1994 – draft of Electoral code of Russian Federation (member of working group, legislative initiative by "Yabloko" faction)

1994 – draft of federal law "On elections of the President of the Russian Federation" (co-author S.Popov, legislative initiative by members of "Yabloko" faction)

1994 – draft of federal law “On basic guarantees of the electoral rights of citizens of the Russian Federation”, amendments (member of working group, legislative initiative by “Yabloko” faction)

Teaching background

Since 2013 – University of Helsinki – P220, MA-level class, “Contemporary Russian Politics” (28 hours)

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

2007 – Eurasian Political Studies Network, Summer School – Moscow classes “Post-Soviet Politics” (10 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).

2003-2005 – Eurasian Political Studies Network, Summer Schools – Palanga (Lithuania), St.Petersburg, Yekaterinburg – recurrent classes “Post-Soviet Politics” (10 hours each)

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).

1995, Moscow Independent University of Ecology and Politics – lectures and seminars course “Introduction to regional politics” (32 hours, jointly with A.Kuz'min).

1995, Moscow Independent University of Ecology and Politics – lectures course “History of contemporary political organizations in Russia” (18 hours).

Occasional visiting lectures: Miami University at Ohio (2006), University of Notre Dame (2006), George Washington University (2003), University of Michigan (2006, 2009), Harvard University (2002), European University Institute (2010, 2011), Sodertorn University College (2001), Swedish Institute for International Affairs (2001), Sciences Po, Paris (2000, 2005, 2008, 2011), Sciences Po, Bordeaux (2005), University of Texas at Austin (2000, 2003), Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian

Studies (1999), Emory University (1999), Stetson University (1999), University of Glasgow (1999), 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 für Sozialforschung (1998), Oxford University (1992), Leeds University (1997, 1999), Royal Institute of International Affairs (2008), Utrecht University (1996), Central European University (2003).

Research and research training projects

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

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

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

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 für 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 für 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 für 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 für 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

09/1997 – 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, political parties and electoral politics, federalism, regional and local government).

Language skills: English (writing – fair, reading and speaking – good)

Academic references

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