THOMAS FREDERICK REMINGTON
Visiting Professor of Government, Harvard University
tremington@fas.harvard.edu

Goodrich C. White Professor (Emeritus) of Political Science
Emory University

Associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University

EDUCATION

AB: Oberlin College, 1970, Government.
MA: Yale University, 1974, Russian and East European Studies.
Ph.D.: Yale University, 1978, Political Science.

EMPLOYMENT

Emory University, Assistant Professor 1978-1984; Associate Professor, 1984-1989; Professor, 1989-2008; Goodrich C. White Professor of Political Science, 2008 –2018; Goodrich C. White Professor (Emeritus) of Political Science, 2018-; Visiting Professor of Government, Harvard University, 2017-2026.

CURRENT RESEARCH:

The Politics of Economic Inequality: United States, Russia, China and Germany

Skill Formation, Workforce Development and Inequality

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

Beyond Wars and Cartels: Competition Law and the Reconstruction of Europe (Routledge, 2027)

The Returns to Power: A Political Theory of Economic Inequality (Oxford University Press, 2023).

Presidential Decrees in Russia: A Comparative Perspective (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

The Politics of Inequality in Russia (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

The Russian Parliament: Institutional Evolution in a Transitional Regime, 1989-1999 (Yale University Press, 2001).

The Politics of Institutional Choice: Formation of the Russian State Duma (with Steven S. Smith) (Princeton University Press, 2001).

Politics in Russia (Longman), (7th ed. 2011).

Parliaments in Transition: New Legislative Politics in the Former USSR and Eastern Europe (editor) (Westview Press, 1994).

Politics and the Soviet System: Essays in Honor of Frederick C. Barghoorn (editor) (London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's: 1989).

The Truth of Authority: Ideology and Communication in the Soviet Union (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988).

Politics in the USSR, 3rd ed. (co-author with Frederick C. Barghoorn) (Little-Brown & Co., 1986).

Building Socialism in Bolshevik Russia: Ideology and Industrial Organization, 1917-1921 (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984).

Journal articles

"The Competition Law Regime of the ECSC as Resolution of a Two-Level Problem," Journal of European Integration History (forthcoming).

"Transitional Justice Options for Russia," (with Monika Nalepa), Post-Soviet Affairs 39:6 (2023), pp. 406-419.

"Experiential Learning through STEM: Recent Initiatives in the United States," with Pallas Chou and Ben Topa, International Journal of Training and Development (2023) (DOI: 10.1111/ijtd.12302).

"Making Liberalism Work," Journal of Democracy 34:3 (July 2023), pp. 77-89.

"Top-End Wealth Accumulation: the Forbes Lists and Wealth Inequality," Social Development Issues 45:1 (2003). (doi: https://doi.org/10.3998/sdi.3905).

"Ordoliberalism Revisited," Changing Societies and Personalities 6:1 (2022), pp. 10-34.

"Regulating Competition in the Digital Platform Economy: Russia and China," (with Jiwei Qian and Svetlana Avdasheva), Problems of Post-Communism, 71:1 (2024), pp. 13-25.

"Inequality and Workforce Development in the Post-COVID Environment: The Case of Maine," Maine Policy Review 30:2 (2021), pp. 116-125.

"Inequality and Workforce Development in the post-COVID-19 Environment," Economic and Political Studies (2022), pp. 1-23.

"Career Trajectories of Regional Officials: Russia and China Before and After 2012," (with Andrei Yakovlev, Elena Ovchinnikova and Alexander Chasovsky), Eurasian Geography and Economics 63:5 (2022), pp. 599-634.

"Institutional Challenges to Workforce Development in Maine," Maine Policy Review (29:1 (2020), pp. 19-28. https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/mpr/vol29/iss1/4.

"Encouraging Skill Development: Evidence from Public-Private Partnerships in Education in Russia's Regions," (with Israel Marques), European Journal of Political Economy 63 (2020).

"Income Inequality and Food Insecurity in Russia," Russian Politics 4 (2019), pp. 1-30.

"Zhong, Mei, E, zhiye jiaoyu zhong de xiaoqi hezuo," [China, US, and Russia Education-Enterprise Cooperation in Vocational Education], Peking University Education Review 17:2 (April 2019), pp. 2-26.

"Public-Private Partnerships for Skill Development in the United States, Russia, and China," (with Po Yang), Post-Soviet Affairs 36:5/6, (2020), pp. 495-514.

"Partnerships for Skill Development in Russia," (with Israel Marques II), Post-Communist Economies (32:1 (2020), pp. 1-23.

"The Reform of Skill Formation in Russia: Regional Responses," (with Israel Marques II), Europe-Asia Studies 72:7 (2020), pp. 1125-1152.

"Bureaucratic Politics and Labour Policy in China," China: An International Journal 16:3 (August 2018), pp. 97-119.

"Russian Economic Inequality in Comparative Perspective," Comparative Politics 50:3 (April 2018), pp. 395-416.

"Public-Private Partnerships in TVET: Adapting the Dual System in the United States," Journal of Vocational Education & Training 70:4 (2018), pp. 497-522.

"Institutional Change in Authoritarian Regimes: Pension Reform in Russia and China," Problems of Post-Communism 66:5 (2019), pp. 301-314.

"Gosudarstvenno-chastnye partnerstva v sfere SPO: adaptatsiia nemetskoi modeli dual'nogo obrazovaniia," ["State-Private Partnerships in the Sphere of Secondary Vocational Education: Adaptation of the German Model of Dual Education"] Zhurnal Novoi ekonomicheskoi assotsiatsii 4(36), 2017, pp. 182-189.

"Business-Government Cooperation in VET: A Russian Experiment with Dual Education," Post Soviet-Affairs (2017) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2017.1296730>

Published in Chinese as "Zhíyè jiàoyù yǔ péixùn zhōng de qǐyè-zhèngfǔ hézuò: Èluósī de "shuāng yuán zhì" jiàoyù shíyàn" ("Business-Government Cooperation in VET: A Russian Experiment in Dual Education," Peking University Education Review 14:3 (July 2016), pp. 34-58; also published as "Sotrudnichestvo biznesa i gosudarstva v sfere SPO: rossiiskii eksperiment s dual'nym obrazovaniem," preprint by National Research University - Higher School of Economics Basic Research Program Working Papers, Series Political Science WP BRP 38/PS/2016 (2016): 1-33.

"Regional Variation in Business-Government Relations in Russia and China," Problems of Post-Communism 63:1 (2016), pp. 1-12.

"Institutional Variation among Russian Regional Regimes: Implications for Social Policy and the Development of Non-Governmental Organizations," Voluntas (DOI 10.1007/s11266-015-9643-6).

"Performance Incentives and Economic Growth: Regional Officials in Russia and China," Eurasian Geography and Economics, with Michael Rochlitz, Andrei Yakovlev and Vera Kulpina, 56:4 (2015), pp. 1-25.

"The Impact of the 2008 Labor Contract Law on Labor Disputes in China," (with Xiaowen Cui). Journal of East Asian Studies 15:2 (2015), pp. 271-299.

"Why is Interregional Inequality in Russia and China Not Falling?" Communist and Post-Communist Studies 48 (January 2015): 1-13.

"Governors' Dilemmas: Economic and Social Policy Trade-Offs in the Russian Regions (Evidence from Four Case Studies)," (co-authored with Irina Soboleva, Anton Sobolev and Mark Urnov), Europe-Asia Studies 65:10 (2013): 1855-1876.

"The Russian Middle Class as Policy Objective," Post-Soviet Affairs 27(2) (2011): 1-37.

"Dominant Party Regimes and the Commitment Problem: The Case of United Russia," (with Ora John Reuter) Comparative Political Studies 42(4) (2009): 501-526.

"Putin, Parliament and Presidential Exploitation of the Terrorist Threat," Journal of Legislative Studies, 15:2/3 (June-/September 2009), 219-238. Also published in John E. Owens and Riccardo Pelizzo, eds., The 'War on Terror' and the Growth of Executive Power? A Comparative Analysis (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 117-135.

"Patronage and Power: Russia's Dominant Party Regime," Politische Vierteljahresschrift, 49:2 (2008), pp. 213-228.

"Patronage and the Party of Power: President-Parliament Relations under Vladimir Putin," Europe-Asia Studies 60:6 (August 2008) 965-993. Condensed version published as "Patronazh i partiia vlasti: vzaimootnosheniia parlamenta i prezidenta v period chetvertoi Gosudarstvennoi Dumy," Neprikosnovennyi zapas (Moscow) (February 2008).

"Mandates, Parties, and Dissent: The Effect of Electoral Rules on Parliamentary Party Cohesion in the Russian State Duma, 1994-2003," (with Jana Kunicova). Party Politics 14:5 (2008): 555-574.

"The Russian Federal Assembly, 1994-2004," Journal of Legislative Studies. 13:1 (2007): 121-141. Also in David M. Olson and Philip Norton, eds., Post-Communist and Post-Soviet Parliaments: The Initial Decade (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 110-130.

"Lawmaking and Decree Making in the Russian Federation: Time, Space and Rules in Russian National Policy Making," (with Steven S. Smith and Moshe Haspel), Post-Soviet Affairs 22:3 (2006), pp. 249-275.

"Presidential Support in the Russian State Duma," Legislative Studies Quarterly 31:1 (February 2006), pp. 5-32.

"Majorities without Mandates: The Russian Federation Council since 2000," Europe-Asia Studies 55:5 (2003), pp. 667-691.

"Prospects for a Democratic Left in Postcommunist Russia," Journal of Policy History 15:1 (2003), pp. 130-148.

"Russia's Federal Assembly and the Land Code," East European Constitutional Review 11:3 (Summer 2002), pp. 99-104.

"Putin and the Duma," Post-Soviet Affairs 17:4 (November-December 2001),

pp. 285-308.

"Russia and the 'Strong State' Ideal," East European Constitutional Review 9:1/2 (Winter/ Spring 2000), pp. 65-69.

"Putin's Agenda," Brown Journal of World Affairs, vol. 7, no. 1 (winter-spring 2000), pp. 1-11.

"The Evolution of Executive-Legislative Relations in Russia since 1993," Slavic Review 59:3 (fall 2000), pp. 499-520.

"Decrees, Laws, and Inter-Branch Relations in the Russian Federation" (with Steven S. Smith and Moshe Haspel), Post-Soviet Affairs 14:4 (1998), pp. 287-322.

"Electoral Institutions and Party Cohesion in the Russian Duma," (with Moshe Haspel and Steven S. Smith) Journal of Politics 60:2 (May 1998), pp. 417-39.

"Theories of Legislative Institutions and the Organization of the Russian Duma," (with Steven S. Smith), American Journal of Political Science 42:2 (1998), pp. 545-572.

"Political Conflict and Institutional Design: Paths of Party Development in Russia," Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics 14:1-2 (March-June 1998), pp. 201-223.

"Political Goals, Institutional Context, and the Choice of an Electoral System: The Russian Parliamentary Election Law," (with Steven S. Smith), American Journal of Political Science 40:4 (November 1996), pp. 1280-1299.

"The Early Legislative Process in the Russian Federal Assembly," (with Steven Smith), Journal of Legislative Studies 2:1 (Spring 1996), pp. 161-192; also in Philip Norton and David M. Olson, eds., The New Parliaments of Central and Eastern Europe (London: Frank Cass, 1996).

"The Development of Parliamentary Parties in Russia," (with Steven S. Smith), Legislative Studies Quarterly 20:4 (November 1995), pp. 457-489.

"Regime Transition and the 1990 Soviet Republican Elections," (co-author with Kathleen Montgomery) Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics 10:1 (March 1994), pp. 55-79.

"Sovietology and System Stability," Post-Soviet Affairs 8:4 (October-December 1992), pp. 239-269.

"Regime Transition in Communist Systems: The Soviet Case," Soviet

Economy 6:2 (1990), pp. 160-90. Reprinted in Frederic J. Fleron, Jr. and Erik P. Hoffmann, eds., Post-Communist Studies and Political Science: Methodology and Empirical Theory in Sovietology (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).

"Soviet Society under the Old Regime," review essay, Problems of Communism (November-December 1989).

"Renegotiating Soviet Federalism: *Glasnost'* and Regional Autonomy," Publius 19 (Summer 1989).

"A Socialist Pluralism of Opinions: *Glasnost'* and Policy-Making under Gorbachev," Russian Review, (July 1989). Reprinted in Alexander Dallin and Gail Lapidus, eds., The Soviet System in Crisis (Westview Press, 1991, 1992).

"Federalism and Segmented Communication in the USSR," Publius, vol. 15, no. 4 (Fall 1985), pp. 113-132.

"Politics and Professionalism in Soviet Journalism," Slavic Review, v. 44. no. 3 (Fall 1985), pp. 489-503.

"Soviet Public Opinion and the Effectiveness of Party Ideological Work," Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1983.

"Policy Innovation and Soviet Media Campaigns," Journal of Politics, v. 45, no. 1 (February 1983), pp. 220-227.

"Varga and the Foundation of Soviet Planning," Soviet Studies, v. 34, no. 4 (October 1982), pp. 585-600.

"Institution Building in Bolshevik Russia: The Case of State Kontrol'," Slavic Review, v. 41, no. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 91-103.

"The Mass Media and Public Communication in the USSR," Journal of Politics, v. 43, no. 3 (August 1981), pp. 803-817.

"The Politics of International Communication," (co-author), Studies in Third World Societies, no. 9 (September 1979), special issue: Third World Mass Media: Issues, Theory, and Research, pp. 57-70.

"Trotsky, War Communism, and the Origin of the NEP," Studies in Comparative Communism, (Spring/Summer 1977), pp. 44-60 (under name Ernest Clark).

"Revolutionary Ritual: A Comparative Analysis of Thought Reform and the Show Trial," Studies in Comparative Communism," (Autumn 1976), pp. 226-243

(under name Ernest Clark).

Occasional papers, blog posts, op-ed articles:

"China's Nina Andreeva Moment," *China Currents* 21:1-5 (March 31, 2022).

"Inequality and the Crisis of Liberalism," *Baltic Rim Economies* 2021: 4 (October 28, 2021), p. 39.

"Was a Reformed Soviet State Viable?" in George Soroka and Tomasz Stepniewski, eds., *30 Years on from the Fall of the Soviet Union: Western Scholarly Perspectives* (Lublin, Poland: Institute of Central Europe, 2021), pp. 25-34.

"Pochemu nam eshche rano khoronit' ekonomicheskii liberalizm [Why it is still early to bury economic liberalism]," *Vedomosti*, March 24, 2020. [https://www.vedomosti.ru/opinion/articles/2020/03/24/826124-ekonomicheskii-liberalizm]

"Next Steps for Workforce Development in Maine," *Bangor Daily News*, July 20, 2019 [https://bangordailynews.com/2019/07/20/opinion/contributors/next-steps-for-workforce-development-in-maine/]

"Is Russia China's Strategic Rear? Recent Developments in Russian-Chinese Relations, Asia Dialogue (University of Nottingham Asia Research Insitute), June 12, 2019. [https://theasiadialogue.com/2019/06/12/is-russia-chinas-strategic-rear-recent-developments-in-russian-chinese-relations/]

"Pochemu neravenstvom obespokoeny ne tol'ko levye [Why not only the left is concerned about inequality]," *Vedomosti*, May 7, 2019. [https://www.vedomosti.ru/opinion/articles/2019/05/07/800846-pochemu-neravenstvom-obespokoeni]

"How to meet the Urgent Challenge for Workforce Development in Maine," SSN Brief, July 11, 2018 **[**https://scholars.org/brief/how-meet-urgent-challenge-workforce-development-maine**]**

"Comparing Economic Inequality in China and Russia," University of Nottingham China Policy Institute: Analysis, March 13, 2018. [https://wp.me/p7GpR4-rsQ]

"Like Trump, Putin Issued Lots of Executive Orders Early On. They Mostly Didn't Work," Monkey Cage Blog, Washington Post, March 2, 2017 https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/03/02/trump-like-putin-likes-to-issue-executive-orders-but-are-they-cast-in-granite/?utm_term=.215533c5f77c#comments.

"Economic Inequality in Russia: Sources and Consequences," Russian Analytical Digest, No. 187, July 29, 2016, pp. 4-8.

"Toward U.S.-Russia Bilateral Cooperation in the Sphere of Cybersecurity," with Chris Spirito, Elena Chernenko, Oleg Demidov, and Vitaly Kabernik, Working Group paper #7, May 2016, Working Group on the Future of U.S.-Russian Relations <us-russiafuture.org>

"One Belt, One Road, One Eurasia," China Policy Institute, University of Nottingham, April 6, 2016 <https://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/chinapolicyinstitute/2016/04/06/one-belt-one-road-one-eurasia/>

"Here's how Alexander Hamilton Would Understand Russia's Regional Debt Crisis," The Monkey Cage, *Washington Post*, March 24, 2016 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/03/24/heres-how-alexander-hamilton-would-understand-russias-regional-debt-crisis/ >

"What To Make of the Putin Fan Club," *Foreign Policy*, Best Defense Blog, January 7, 2016. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/07/what-to-make-of-the-putin-fan-club/>

"Ten Reasons for Russia's Coming Fiscal Squeeze," The Monkey Cage, *Washington Post*, February 14, 2014. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/02/13/10-explanations-for-russias-coming-fiscal-squeeze/>

"While America Tweets, China Soars," *Washington Post*, December 19, 2013 < http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/while-america-tweets-china-soars/2013/12/19/8634d2e0-6835-11e3-ae56-22de072140a2_story.html>

"Toward a New Social Contract in China: Overcoming the Legacy of the Old Regime," *China Currents* 12(1) (2013).

"Growth, Inequality, and the Middle Class in Post-communist Russia," *Poverty in Focus: International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth*(26) (2013): 28-30.

"While the Train Was Stopped," *Problems of Post-Communism* 60(4) (2013): 6-11.

"Why America Needs Another 'Sputnik Moment' to Tackle National Challenges," Scholars Strategy Network Policy Brief, March 2013, <http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/sites/default/files/ssn_basic_facts_remington_on_our_sputnik_moment.pdf>

Book chapters since 1989

"Democracy and Its Alternatives," in Michael Keating, Ian McAllister, Edward Page, and Guy Peters, eds., The Problem of Governing: Essays for Richard Rose (Palgrave, 2023), pp. 221-236.

"Socio-Economic and Geographic Inequality of the Effects of the Pandemic", ch. 3, The Covid-19 Pandemic: Problems Arising, Christian Aspalter, ed., (Springer, forthcoming).

"The Covid-19 Pandemic and Rising 'Deaths of Despair' in the United States, ch. 4, The Covid-19 Pandemic: Problems Arising, Christian Aspalter, ed., (Springer, forthcoming).

"Inequality and Social Policy in Russia," in Richard Sakwa, Henry Hale, and Stephen White, eds., Developments in Russian Politics, 9th ed., (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), pp. 150-164.

"Economic Inequality and Social Policy," in Stephen K. Wegren, ed., Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain, 7th ed. (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), pp. 131-148.

"Inequality and Authoritarian Rule in Russia and China," in William Reisinger, ed., Russia's Regions and Comparative Subnational Politics (Routledge: 2012).

"Presidents and Parties: Leadership and Institution-Building in Post-Communist Russia," in Julie M. Newton and William J. Tompson, eds., Institutions, Ideas and Leadership in Russian Politics (Palgrave Macmillan 2010).

"Democratization, Separation of Powers, and State Capacity," in Timothy J. Colton and Stephen Holmes, eds., The State after Communism (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

"The Russian Federal Assembly, 1994-2004," in David M. Olson and Philip Norton, eds., Post-Communist and Post-Soviet Parliaments: The Initial Decade (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 110-130.

"Sovet Federatsii v sravnitel'noi perspektive," ch. 7 of A. V. Smirnyagin, ed., *Sovet Federatsii: Evoliutsiia statusa i funktsii*, Moscow: Institut prava i publichnoi politiki (2003), pp. 432-453.

"Toward a New Model of Coalition Politics in the Russian State Duma," in Ellen Bos, Margareta Mommsen and Silvia von Steinsdorff, eds., Dass russische Parlament: Schule der Demokratie? (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003), pp. 177-198.

"Putin, the Duma, and Political Parties," in Stephen Wegren and Dale R.

Herspring, ed., After Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain , 3rd ed. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

"Taming *Vlast'*: Institutional Development in Post-Communist Russia," in Donald Kelley, ed, After Communism: Perspectives on Democracy (University of Arkansas Press, 2003), pp. 89-118.

"Coalition Politics in the New Duma," in Vicki Hesli and William Reisinger, eds., Elections, Parties and the Future of Russia: The 1999-2000 Elections (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

"Parliamentary Politics in Russia," in Stephen White, Henry Hale, and Richard Sakwa, eds., Developments in Russian Politics, 7th ed., (Palgrave Macmillan 2009).

"Regime Transition and Democratic Consolidation: Federalism and Party Development in Russia, in James F. Hollifield and Calvin Jillson, eds. Pathways to Democracy: The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions (Routledge, 1999).

"Democratization and the New Political Order in Russia," in Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds., Democratic Moves and Authoritarian Reaction in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, vol. 3 of Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds., Democratization and Authoritarianism in Post-Communist States (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 69-129.

"Politics in Russia," chapter in Gabriel Almond, Russell Dalton and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., eds., European Politics Today (New York: Longman, 1998; 11th ed, 2014).

"From Soviets to Parliamentarism," in Stephen White, Alex Pravda, and Zvi Gitelman, eds., Developments in Russian Politics, 4th ed., (Duke University Press, 1997).

"Ménage a Trois: The End of Soviet Parliamentarism," in Jeffrey W. Hahn, ed., Democratization in Russia: The Development of Legislative Institutions," (M. E. Sharpe, 1996).

"Politics in Russia," in Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell Russell Dalton and Kaare Strom, eds., Comparative Politics Today: A World View,); (9th ed, New York: Pierson Longman, 2008.)

"Common Knowledge: Soviet Political Studies and the Problem of System Stability," in Daniel Orlovsky, ed., Beyond Soviet Studies (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995), pp. 159-192.

"Transitional Institutions and Parliamentary Alignments in Russia, 1990-

1993," (with Steven S. Smith, D. Roderick Kiewiet, and Moshe Haspel), chapter 7 in Parliaments in Transition: New Legislative Politics in the Former USSR and Eastern Europe (Thomas F. Remington, editor) (Westview Press, 1994).

"Introduction: Parliamentary Elections and the Transition from Communism," and "Conclusion: Partisan Competition and Democratic Stability," in Parliaments in Transition: New Legislative Politics in the Former USSR and Eastern Europe (Thomas F. Remington, editor) (Westview Press, 1994).

"Alexander Yakovlev and the Limits of Reform," Introduction to Alexander Yakovlev, The Fate of Marxism in Russia (Yale University Press, 1993).

"Reform, Revolution and Regime Transition in the Soviet Union," in Gilbert Rozman, et al., eds., Dismantling Communism: Common Causes and Regional Variations (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

"Afterword to Part Two: Agendas--Researching the Emerging Political Cultures," in Arthur H. Miller, William M. Reisinger, and Vicki L. Hesli, eds., Public Opinion and Regime Change: The New Politics of Post-Soviet Societies (Boulder: Westview, 1993): 197-202.

"Toward a Participatory Politics?" in Stephen White, Alex Pravda, and Zvi Gitelman, eds., Developments in Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics, 2nd ed., (Duke University Press, 1992).

"Parliamentary Government in the USSR," in Robert T. Huber and Donald R. Kelley, eds., Perestroika-Era Politics: The New Soviet Legislature and Gorbachev's Political Reforms (M. E. Sharpe, 1991).

"Toward a New Political Economy of Socialism," in Sylvia Woodby and Alfred J. Evans, eds., Restructuring Soviet Ideology: Gorbachev's New Thinking (Westview, 1990).

"Gorbachev and the Strategy of *Glasnost'*," Thomas F. Remington, ed., Politics and the Soviet System: Essays in Honour of Frederick C. Barghoorn (London: Macmillan Press, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989).

"The Soviet Union," International Handbook of Broadcasting Systems, ed. Philip T. Rosen (Greenwood Press, 1988).

"Words and Deeds: CPSU Ideological Work," Jerry Pankhurst and Michael Paul Sacks, eds., Understanding Soviet Society, (Allen & Unwin, 1988).

"The Rationalization of State Kontrol'," William Rosenberg, Ronald Suny, and Diane Koenker, eds., Party and Society in the Russian Civil War: Explorations in

Social History (Indiana University Press, 1989).

Papers and presentations since 1989:

"Democracy and Economic Inequality," St. Petersburg International Conference on Inequality and Diversity, Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia, November 7. 2020.

"Democracy and Economic Inequality in America," lecture to Advanced Leadership Initiative Fellows, Harvard Kennedy School, September 17, 2020.

"Career Trajectories of Regional Officials: Russia and China before and After 2020," with Andrei A. Yakovlev, Elena Ovchinnikova, and Alexander Chasovsky, Presented to ICSID/ QoG Institute of Governance joint conference, October 7-9, 2020; ICSID workshop June 2020; APSA conference September 2020.

"Elite Rent-Sharing and Income Inequality in the United States, Russia and China," paper presented at Conference on "Quality of Governance and the Legacy of Socialism," University of Bremen, October 25-26, 2019; University of Konstanz, October 28, 2019; Conference on "Russia and China in the 21st Century: Between Cooperation and Competition at the Regional and Global Level," Ghent University, November 4, 2019.

"Public-Private Partnerships for Skill Development in the United States, Russia, and China," ASEEES National Conference, Boston, MA, December 8, 2018.

"Oligarchic Alliances and Economic Inequality in Russia, China and the United States," MGIMO, Moscow, Russia, November 14, 2018.

"Public-Private Partnerships for Skill Development in the United States, Russia, and China," Paper for UAEU-HSE Workshop on the Political Economy of Development: Challenges and Perspectives, University of the United Arab Emirates, Al Ain, October 31, 2018.

"Oligarchy Forever? Rents and Redistribution in Russia, China and the United States," ICSID Workshop on Political Economy, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, June 9, 2018.

"'Controlling the Two Ends, Cultivating the Middle': Causes and Consequences of Rising Economic Inequality in the United States, Russia, and China," Data Center of Management Science, Beijing University, April 20, 2018.

"The Varieties of Capitalism Go Local: Explaining Variation in Firm-School Cooperation in TVET in the United States, Russia and China," Beijing University

School of Education, April 2018.

"Bureaucratic Politics and Labor Policy in China," International Conference on China's Neo-Socialism under Xi Jinping," East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, August 18-19, 2016.

"Institutional Change in Authoritarian Regimes: Pension Reform in Russia and China," ICSID Workshop, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, June 19-21, 2016.

"Business-Government Cooperation in VET: A Russian Experiment with Dual Education," CIEFR workshop on Public-Private Partnerships in VET Reform: A Comparative Study of Russia and China, Beijing University, Beijing, July 6, 2016

"Pension Reform in Authoritarian Regimes: Russia and China Compared," presented at conference of CIEFR, Beijing University, October 26-27, 2015; Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, September 24-25, 2015; Harriman Institute, Columbia University, September 9, 2015.

"The Reform of Skill Formation in Russia: Regional Responses," with Israel Marques. Published as working paper of Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia.
Series: Political Science, WP BRP 19/PS/2014

"Institutional Variation among Russian Regional Regimes: Implications for Social Policy and the Development of Non-Governmental Organizations," presented at Conference on Evolving East-West Patterns of Government-Nonprofit Cooperation, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation, December 2-5, 2014.

"Reforming Welfare Regimes in Russia and China: The Case of Pensions," Presented at Midwestern Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2014; Presented at International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation, June 2014.

"Presidential Decree Power and Coalition Management in Russia," Conference on Coalitional Presidentialism in Comparative Perspective, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, May 2-3, 2014.

"Cross-Regional Inequality and the Social Contract in Russia and China," paper prepared for General Conference of European Consortium of Political Research, Bordeaux, France, September 4-7, 2013.

"Reforming Welfare Regimes in Russia and China: The Enduring Impact of the Soviet Social Contract," Paper prepared for International Conference on Social

Justice and Governance in Contemporary China, Jilin University, Changchun, China, September 22-23, 2012.

"Inequality and Social Policy in Comparative Perspective," presented at International Center on Institutions and Development, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, May 15, 2012; Center for Comparative Politics and Economics, Beijing, China, June 4, 2012; School of Economics and Business, Beijing Normal University, June 5, 2012; Institute of Labor and Population Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, June 6, 2012; Chinese Development Research Foundation, Beijing, June 8, 2012.

"'There Is No Middle Class In This Oblast. There Are Rich and Poor'. Economic and Social Policy Trade-Offs in the Russian Regions," with Irina Soboleva, Anton Sobelev and Mark Urnov (Higher School of Economics, Moscow), NCEEER Working Paper, June 30, 2011.

"Declaring Mother's Day in Russia: Laws and Decrees in a Super-Presidential System," Paper presented at Harriman Institute, Columbia University, January 28, 2011; University of Oxford, May 6, 2011.

"Inequality and Authoritarian Rule in Russia and China," Paper prepared for Benjamin F. Shambaugh Conference, "Lessons from Subnational Comparative Politics: Theory and Method in the Third Decade of Studying Russia's Regions," University of Iowa, October 6-9, 2011

"Authoritarian Capitalism and Social Policy in Russia and China," Paper prepared for Conference on "Post-Soviet Space: Twenty Years after the Collapse of Communism," European Forum at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, May 16-17, 2011.

"'Words Have Significance': Ideology and Power in the Putin Era," Paper presented at annual conference of AAASS, Boston, MA, November 12-15, 2009.

"Between Workplace and Marketplace: Regional Variation in Incomes and Income Distribution in the Russian Transition," Paper prepared for conference, "The Politics of Sub-National Authoritarianism in Russia," University of Dundee, June 5-7, 2009.

"Democracy, Governance and Inequality: Evidence from the Russian Regions," Midwestern Political Science Association annual conference, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2008. Also presented at Davis Center, Harvard University, April 24, 2008; and at conference, "Frontiers of Political Economics," Centre for Advanced Studies, Higher School of Economics and New Economic School, Moscow, Russia, May 29-31, 2008.

"Putin, the Duma, and the Terrorist Threat," paper prepared for Legislative Studies Workshop, "The Impact of the Post 9/11 "War on Terror" on Executive—Legislative Relations: A Global Perspective," Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia, March 17-19, 2008.

"Inequality and Governance in Comparative Perspective," presented at 4th Annual Congress of Russian Political Science Association, Moscow, Russian Federation, October 20, 2006.

"The Effect of Electoral Rules on Distributive Voting: Some Evidence from the Russian State Duma, 1994-2003," with Jana Kunicova, paper presented at Midwestern Political Science Association meeting, April 2005; American Political Science Association meeting, September 2005.

"Regional Governance in Russia," paper presented at Emory University, series on "Governing Cities and Regions," March 2005.

"Decrees, Laws, and Presidential-Parliamentary Bargaining in Russia," with Steven S. Smith and Olga Shvetsova (presented at annual conference of Midwestern Political Science Association, April 2005)

"Presidents and Parties: Leadership and Institution-Building in Post-Communist Russia," Paper prepared for conference, "Political Leadership, Political Institutions, and Political Culture in the Soviet Union and Russia," marking the retirement of Professor Archie Brown, St Antony's College, Oxford, UK, 24-26 June 2005

"Separation of Powers and Legislative Oversight in Russia," Paper presented at annual conference of Southern Political Science Association, January 10, 2004

"State Capacity and Post-Communist Democratization in Russia," paper prepared for Carnegie Corporation Project on State Capacity in Russia, August 2003.

"Petersburg, Power, and Property," paper prepared for conference on St. Petersburg's 300th anniversary, Hofstra University, November 7-8, 2003.

"Governance and the Separation of Powers in Russia," paper presented to Carnegie Corporation project on governance in Russia, New York, September 2002.

"Democratization and the Problem of Governance," paper presented at Havighurst Symposium in Economics, "Russia Ten Years Later: Taking Stock" Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, April 7-8, 2002.

"Taming Vlast': Institutional Development in Post-Communist Russia," paper presented at conference, A Decade of Post-Communism: The Fate of Democracy in

Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, Fulbright Institute, University of Arkansas, April 5-6, 2001.

"Is There a Separation of Powers in Russia?" Presented at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, January 9, 2001

"Law-Making and the Separation of Powers in Russia," Presented at Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York, February 22, 2001

"Legislative-Executive Relations in a Mixed System: The Case of the Russian Federation," Lecture to Ohio State University colloquium series on separation of powers and rule of law, Law School and Political Science Department, November 14, 2000.

"Toward a New Model of Coalition Politics in the Russian State Duma," Paper prepared for Workshop, "Perspektiven des Parlamentarismus in Rußland," conference sponsored by VW-Forschungsprojekt, "Parlamentarismus in Rußland," Geschwister-Scholl-Institut der Universität München, September 8-10 , 2000

"Legislative-Executive Relations in Russia under the 1993 Constitution," Lecture to Certificate Course on Comparative Parliamentary Law, Legislative Research Institute, Chamber of Deputies, Congress of Mexico, May 15, 2000

"Coalition Politics in the New Duma," paper presented at Shambaugh Conference on Russian Parliamentary and Presidential Elections, University of Iowa, April 2000; also at annual meeting of Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2000

"Legislative-Executive Relations in Mixed Systems," Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Program for Russian Duma Members, April 19, 2000.

"The Changing Balance between President and Parliament in Russia: The Evolution of Constitutional Practice since 1993," Paper Prepared for SAIS Conference on Systemic Change and International Security in Russia and the New States of Eurasia, Washington, DC, March 5, 1999.

"Decrees, Laws, and Inter-Branch Relations in the Russian Federation," (with Steven Smith and Moshe Haspel) Paper presented at annual meeting of American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Seattle, Washington, November 1997; updated version presented at Vanderbilt University, April 9, 1997; and at Midwestern Political Science Association meeting, Chicago, April 23-25, 1998.

"Electoral Institutions and Party Cohesion in the Russian Duma," (with Moshe Haspel and Steven S. Smith), APSA, Washington, DC, August 1997.

"Political Conflict and Institutional Design: Problems of Party Development in Russia," Paper prepared for conference on "Party Politics in Postcommunist Russia," University of Glasgow, Scotland, UK, May 23-25, 1997; also presented at Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, October 1997; and at German Political Science Association triennial conference, Section on Comparative Politics, Bamberg, Germany, October 1997.

"Regime Transition and Democratic Consolidation: Paths of Political Development in Russia," Paper prepared for conference, "Pathways to Democracy: The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," John Tower Center for Political Studies, Southern Methodist University, April 4-5, 1997.

"The Politics of Institutional Change: The Russian Parliament after the 1995 Election," paper presented to annual meeting of American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, November 1996.

"Theories of Legislative Institutions and the Organization of the Russian Duma," (with Steven S. Smith), Presented to American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1996.

"The Development of Parliamentary Institutions in Russia," Presented at California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA, March 4, 1996.

"Political Parties in the Russian Duma: Recent Developments," with Steven S. Smith, Presented to American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1995.

"Democratization and the New Political Order in Russia," paper prepared for the Project on Democratization and Political Participation in Post-Communist Societies, Johns Hopkins University and SAIS, 1995.

"Communism's Collapse and the Development of Russian Parliamentary Institutions," with Steven S. Smith, seminar on "The Collapse of Communism and Social Theory," Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC, April 28, 1995

"The Development of Parliamentary Parties in Russia," with Steven S. Smith. Presented to Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1995.

"The Development of Parliamentary Parties in Russia," with Steven S. Smith. Presented to American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Philadelphia, November 1994.

"The Early Legislative Process in the Russian Federal Assembly," with Steven S. Smith. Presented to Conference on the New Parliaments of Central Europe,

Prague, Czech Republic, August 1994.

"Ménage a Trois: The End of Soviet Parliamentarism," American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Honolulu, November 1993.

"Policy Cleavages and Roll Call Voting in the Russian Supreme Soviet," with Steven S. Smith and D. Roderick Kiewiet, Conference on Comparative Parliamentary Development in Eastern Europe and the former USSR, Emory University, April 1993.

"Policy Cleavages and Institutional Structure in the Modern Supreme Soviet," with Steven S. Smith, Conference on "The Role of Legislatures and Parliaments in Democratizing and Newly Democratic Regimes," Paris, May, 1993.

"The Soviet Transition," Midwestern Political Science Association meeting, Chicago, April, 1993.

"The Early Legislative Process in the Russian Supreme Soviet," with Evelyn Davidheiser and Steven S. Smith, Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November 1992.

"Common Knowledge: Soviet Political Studies and the Problem of System Stability," invited presentation to Ford Workshop on Politics, Project on Rethinking Soviet Studies, Kennan Institute, October 9, 1992.

"Ethnic Political Mobilization in the Russian Federation," Soviet Nationalities Workshop, Center on East-West Trade, Investment, and Communications, Duke University, December 1991.

"The People's Deputy: Parliamentary Politics under Perestroika," invited presentation at Kennan Institute, Washington, D.C., November 1991

"Regime Transition in State Socialist Systems: The Soviet Case," Workshop on Comparative Socialist Reform, Wilson Center, Washington, DC, October 1990.

"The Emergence of Parliamentary Government in the USSR," American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Washington, DC, October 1990.

"The March 1990 RSFSR Elections," Soviet Nationalities Workshop, Center on East-West Trade, Investment, and Communications, Duke University, May 1990.

"Perestroika and Pluralism: The Soviet Elections of March 1989," Japan-US Joint Study on the Soviet Union, Sapporo, Japan, June 1989.

GRANTS AND AWARDS

1. International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) fellowship for dissertation research at Leningrad University, January-July 1977

2. Emory University Woodruff Research Support Committee, 1980-1981

3. Visiting Fellow, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., March 1981

4. Emory University Research Committee, summer 1982

5. Emory College Faculty Development Grant, summers 1983 and 1984

6. U.S. Department of Education Title VI Grant for undergraduate program in Soviet and East European Studies, 1983-85, 1985-87

7. W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University. Senior Fellowship, 1988-1989.

8. Emory University Research Fund grant, 1988-1989.

9. IREX grant for ACLS-Soviet Academy of Sciences exchange, 1990-91, for research in Moscow on development of Soviet parliamentary institutions

10. National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1990-91. Grant for research on development of Soviet parliamentary institutions

11. Emory Williams Distinguished Teaching Award (Social Sciences), Emory University, 1990

12. National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1993-96 (with Steven S. Smith and Evelyn Davidheiser, University of Minnesota). Grant for research on the early development of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

13. National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1996-97 (with Steven S. Smith, University of Minnesota). Grant for research on legislative-executive relations in the Russian Federation

14. National Science Foundation, 1996-98. (with Steven S. Smith, University of Minnesota). Collaborative research on decree-making and law-making in Russia

15. Carnegie Corporation of New York, May 2001-April 2003 (with Institute for Law and Public Policy, Moscow, Russian Federation) “Federalism and Representation in Russia: New Directions for the Federation Council.” Research on and dissemination of information about the Federation Council of the Russian Federal Assembly

16. National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, 2009-2011 (co-PI with Mark Urnov, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia), Grant for project: "'Silent Heroes': State and Middle Class in Contemporary Russia"

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

1. Director of Graduate Studies, Political Science, Emory University, 1986-1994

2. Associate Editor, *The Russian Review*, 1988-2001. Editor, special issue on Gorbachev and Reform, summer 1989.

3. Director, Emory Program in Russian (formerly Soviet) and East European Studies, 1983-1985; member REES Council, 1983-Present

4. Emory University Senate Honorary Degrees Committee, Chair, 1991-3; member, 1987-1991

5. Member, Fellowships Selection Committee, SSRC/ACLS Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, 1985, 1986, 1987.

6. Member, Fellowship Awards Selection Committee, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1990,2009.

7. Book review editor, journal *Soviet Union/Union Sovietique*, 1980-85

8. Instructor, West Virginia Consortium for Faculty and Course Development in International Studies, Summer Institute for Public School Teachers, Marshall University and West Virginia University, July 27-August 7, 1992

9. Organizer, Conference on Comparative Parliamentary Development in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Emory University, April 1993, through the support of the Emory University Graduate School and US Department of Education Title VIII funds through Emory's Center for Soviet, Post-Soviet and East European Studies.

10. Advisor, Russia Workshops, East-West Parliamentary Practice Project. Planned and directed workshops on conciliation procedures in parliament, March 1994, St. Petersburg; Budget Processes in Federal Systems, St. Petersburg, May 1995; Political Parties, Izhevsk , September 1995; Lobbying and Interest Representation, Novgorod, June 1996; Federalism and Regional Policy, Novosibirsk, June 1997; Conditions for Regional Economic Development, Astrakhan, April 1998; Federalism and the Conditions for Regional Economic Investment, Kazan, April 1999; Federalism and Representation in Russia: New Directions for the Federation Council, 2002-2004; Federalism and Regional Legislative Assemblies in the Russian Federation, 2005-2007 (workshops in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Samara, Novosibirsk, Ekaterinburg)

11. US Institute of Peace, Fellowship Selection Committee, December 1997.

12. Chair, Section on Comparative Politics/ Transitions toward Democracy, Midwestern Political Science Association meeting, Chicago, April 1998.

13. Member of Board of Directors, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, January 1996-December 1998

14. Halle Distinguished Professor for Global Learning, Emory University, 1997-2002. Organized and led university-wide faculty seminar on institutional change in contemporary Europe. Organized conferences at Emory, November 1998; Ghent and Brussels, Belgium, May 1999; Central European University, Budapest, May 2000; Bogazici University, Istanbul, May-June 2001; seminar on globalization and religion, 2001-2002.

15. Member, Board of Directors, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, 1998-2004; Vice-Chair of the Board, 2000-2001; Chair of Board 2001-2002.

16. Chair, Committee on Honors and Awards, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 1997-2000.

17. Member, External Review Committee, Social Sciences and International Studies Cluster, Brown University, February 2000.

18. Chair, Department of Political Science, Emory College, 2001-2007.

19. Recipient, Marion V. Creekmore Award for Contributions to Internationalization at Emory University, 2004.

20. Member, Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review* (2001-2007); *Legislative Studies Quarterly,* (2004 – 2010)

21. Member, External Review Committee, Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, January 2005

22. Member, External Review Committee, Department of Political Science, George Washington University, 2008-2009

23. Resource Faculty, Eurasian Political Studies Network, Regional Seminar for Excellence in Teaching, Ekaterinburg, 2004; Moscow, 2006; St. Petersburg, 2007

24. Senior Fellow, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University; Visiting Professor of Government, Harvard University, 2007-2009

25. Visiting Scholar, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, 2013-2014

26. Research Professor, National Research University--Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, 2014-2016; Senior Research Associate of the International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, National Research University--Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, 2016 – February 22, 2022.

27. Associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University.

28. Visiting Professor, Jilin University, Changchun, China, December 5-20, 2014. Taught intensive course on comparative research methods.

29. Visiting Professor of Government, Harvard University, 2017-.

30. Visiting Researcher, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, fall 2023

31. Visiting Professor, Hertie School, Berlin, fall 2023.

DISSERTATION COMMITTEES CHAIRED:

Catherine V. Scott; Gregory Haley; Kathleen Montgomery; Dawn Plumb Jamison; Sue Davis; Sarah Oates; Moshe Haspel; Amy Liu; John Reuter