

ORA JOHN REUTER

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- Academic Positions**
- Assistant Professor
Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee 2013-
 - Senior Researcher, Center for the Study of Institutions and Development
Higher School of Economics, Moscow 2011-
 - Post-Doctoral Fellow, Skalny Center
Department of Political Science, University of Rochester 2012-2013
 - Post-Doctoral Fellow, Havighurst Center, Miami University 2011-2012
 - Post-Doctoral Fellow, Harriman Institute, Columbia University 2010-2011
- Education**
- Emory University, Ph.D, Political Science 2010
 - Comprehensive Exams: Comparative Political Institutions, Comparative Political Behavior
Political Methodology (*with Distinction*)
 - Dissertation: *The Origins of Dominant Parties*
 - Committee: Thomas Remington (Chair), Jennifer Gandhi, Hubert Tworzecki, Eric Reinhardt
 - Awards: Co-Winner, Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Tucker/Cohen Prize for outstanding doctoral dissertation in Post-Soviet Politics and History
 - Emory University, M.A., Political Science 2009
 - Sewanee: the University of the South, B.A., Political Science and Russian 2004
 - *Summa Cum Laude*, Phi Beta Kappa
- Research Interests**
- Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Institutions, Comparative Political Economy, Political Parties, Democratization, Authoritarian Regimes, Elections and Electoral Behavior, The Politics of Economic Development, Bureaucracy, Post-Soviet Politics
- Publications**
- Reuter, Ora John and Graeme Robertson. 2015. “Legislatures, Cooptation, and Social Protest in Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes” (with Graeme Robertson) *Journal of Politics* (77.1)
 - Reuter, Ora John and David Szakonyi. 2015. “Online Social Media and Political Awareness in Authoritarian Regimes” *British Journal of Political Science* (45.1)
 - Buckley, Noah, Guzel Garifullina, Ora John Reuter, and Alexandra Shubenkova. 2014. “Elections, Appointments, and Human Capital: The Case of Russian Mayors” *Demokrati-zatsiya* (22.1)
 - Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi. 2014. “Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace” *World Politics* (66.2)
 - Buckley, Noah, Timothy Frye, Guzel Garifullina, and Ora John Reuter. 2014. “The Political Economy of Russian Gubernatorial Election and Appointment” *Europe-Asia Studies*(66.8)
 - Reuter, Ora John and Rostislav Turovsky. 2014 “Dominant Party Rule and Legislative Leadership in Authoritarian Regimes” *Party Politics*. (20)
 - Reuter, Ora John. 2013. “Regional Patrons and Hegemonic Party Performance in Russia” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 29.2

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

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

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

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

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

**Editor-Refereed
Publications**

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

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

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

**Works under
Review**

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

“Why Authoritarian Elections? An Elite-Based Theory with Evidence from Russian Mayoral Elections” (with Noah Buckley, Alexandra Shubenkova, and Guzel Garifullina)

The Origins of Dominant Parties (Book Manuscript under review at Cambridge University Press)

Dominant party regimes are the most common type of modern authoritarian regime and yet we know little about their origins. This book-length project examines why dominant parties emerge in some non-democracies, but not in others. A dominant party is a ruling party that has a leading role in determining access to many political offices, shares powers over policy-making and patronage distribution, and uses privileged access to state resources to maintain its position in power. Dominant parties fortify authoritarian rule by ensuring elite cohesion, so it is puzzling that many leaders eschew building them. This study addresses the puzzle of dominant party emergence by examining dominant party formation as a two-sided commitment problem between leaders and elites. I argue that dominant parties emerge when elites—regional governors, bosses, strongmen, clan leaders, chiefs, landlords, firm managers, caciques, and other such opinion leaders—hold enough independent political resources that leaders need to coopt them, but not so many autonomous resources that they themselves are unwilling to commit to the party project. I examine the argument using 1) cross-national statistical tests, 2) quantitative analyses of elite decisions to join Russia’s dominant party, United Russia, and 3) case studies based on extensive fieldwork in Russia. By demystifying the origins of dominant party rule, this study contributes to our understanding of why some countries democratize, but others do not.

**Works in
Progress**

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

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

“Political Apathy and Political Change in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes”

“Modes of Transition under Electoral Authoritarianism: A Competing Risks Analysis of Regime Duration”

“Opposition Coordination in Legislative Elections under Authoritarianism” (with Jennifer Gandhi)

“Strongmen and Strong Oppositions: The Choice of Electoral Rules in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes”

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

“Elections, Appointments, and Public Goods Provision: Assessing Causal Effects” (with Noah Buckley and Guzel Garifullina)

**Data
Projects**

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

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

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

**Grants and
Awards**

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program, Research Grant, Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace” Principal Investigator \$410,191	2013-2016
UWM, Research Growth Initiative Award \$199,761	2014-2015
Social Science Research Council, Post-Doctoral Research Award \$23,000	2012
National Council for Eurasian and East European Research National Research Competition Award \$34,965	2011
Co-Winner, Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Tucker/Cohen Dissertation Prize for outstanding doctoral dissertation in Soviet or Post-Soviet Political History	2011
Woodrow Wilson Center, Title VIII Research Fellowship (Declined)	2010
Fulbright Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, Russia	2010
Emory University Professional Development Grant, Russia	2010
ACTR Title VIII Research Scholar Fellowship, Russia	2009
IREX Individual Advanced Research Opportunity (IARO) Fellowship, Russia	2008
SSRC Eurasia Program, Predissertation Training Fellowship (Declined)	2008
Emory University Professional Development Grant, Russia	2008
Arts & Sciences Fellowship, Emory Graduate School of Arts and Science	2008
Fulbright Research Scholar Fellowship, Kyiv, Ukraine	2004
Alex B. Shipley Jr. Award in Political Science, Sewanee, The University of the South	2004
Arthur B. Dugan Memorial Prize in Political Science, Sewanee, The University of the South	2004
Biehl Research Fellowship for International Studies, Russia	2003

**Recent
Conference
Presentations**

“Local Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: An Elite-Based Theory with Evidence from

Russian Mayoral Elections” (with Noah Buckley, Alexandra Shubenkova, and Guzel Garifullina), 4th Annual Conference of the International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, July 2015

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

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

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

“Hitting Them with Carrots: Vote Buying and Voter Coercion in Russia” (with David Szakonyi and Timothy Frye), Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2014

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Pollitical Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace” (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi), Annual Conference of the International Society for New Institutional Economics, June 2013

“Cooptation and Legislatures in Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes” (with Graeme Robertson), Midwest Political Science Association, April 2013

“Bureaucratic Appointments in Hybrid Regimes” (with Noah Buckley and Guzel Garifulina), American Political Science Association, August 2012

“Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace” (with Timothy Frye and David Szakonyi), American Political Science Association [Poster], August 2012

“Regional Patrons and Hegemonic Party Performance: Theory and an Empirical Test in Russia”, Midwest Political Science Association, April 2011

“Sub-national Appointments in Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from Russian Gubernatorial Appointments” (with Graeme Robertson), American Political Science Association, September 2011

“Elite Accountability in Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of Russian Gubernatorial Appointments” Midwest Political Science Association, April 2011.

“Dominant Party Politics and Legislative Leadership in Russia’s Regional Legislatures” (with Rostislav Turovsky) Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies National Convention, November 2010

“The Origins of Dominant Parties: A Cross National Investigation” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2010.

“The Origins of Dominant Parties: A Cross National Investigation” Southern Political Science Association, January 2010.

“The Origins of Dominant Parties: Regional Legislators and United Russia, 2003-2006” American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies National Convention, November 2009.

“The Politics of Cooptation: United Russia and Russia’s Governors” Midwest Political Science Association, April 2009.

“The Politics of Cooptation: United Russia and Russia’s Governors, 2002-2007” American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies National Convention, November 2008

“Opposition Coordination in Legislative Elections Under Authoritarianism” (with Jennifer Gandhi) Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2008.

“Dominant Party Regimes and the Commitment Problem” American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies National Convention, November 2007.

“Parties of Power and Commitment Problems: The Case of United Russia” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. April, 2007.

“The Number of Parties in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes: An Empirical Test” (with Andrew Kirkpatrick) Midwest Political Science Association. April 12-15, 2007.

“Understanding Cross-national Mechanisms of Democratic Diffusion: Evidence from Ukraine” (with Orysia Kulick) University of Pittsburgh’s REES/GOSECA Graduate Student Conf. February, 2006.

**Invited
Presentations**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fieldwork

Russia (Moscow) 1 month	2015
Russia (Moscow, Yaroslavl) 1.5 months	2014
Russia (Moscow) 2.5 months	2013
Russia (Moscow) 2 Months	2012

Russia (Moscow, Barnaul) 3 Months	2011
Russia (Moscow, Yaroslavl) 6 months	2010
Russia (Moscow, Yaroslavl, Ivanovo, Nizhnii Novgorod, Ryazan) 2.5 months	2009
Russia (Moscow, Perm, Kirov, Ekaterinburg, Kurgan, Yoshkar-Ola) 2.5 months	2008
Russia (Moscow, Chelyabinsk, Ekaterinburg, Perm, Samara) 1.5 months	2007
Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg) 1 month	2006
Ukraine (Kiev) 11 months	2004-5
Russia (Moscow) 3 months	2003

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

Statistical Competencies	<u>Skills:</u> OLS, Maximum Likelihood, Time-Series Methods, Event History Models, Multi-level Models, Exper- imental Design
	<u>Software:</u> STATA, R, L ^A T _E X

Teaching Interests	Comparative Politics
	Comparative Political Institutions
	Comparative Political Economy
	Political Parties
	Elections and Electoral Behavior
	Democratization
	Authoritarianism
	Politics of Natural Resources
	Political Methodology (Quantitative and Qualitative)
	European Politics
	East European Politics
	Central Asian Politics
Post-Soviet Politics	

Teaching Experience	Elections in the Modern World University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Fall 2015
	Introduction to Comparative Politics (Graduate Field Seminar) University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Fall 2014, Fall 2015
	Russian and Post-Soviet Politics University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Spring 2014, Spring 2015
	Comparative Authoritarianism University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee (Graduate)	Spring 2014
	University of Rochester	Spring 2013
	Columbia University	Spring 2011
	The Politics of Authoritarian Regimes University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Fall 2013, Spring 2015
	Comparative Political Economy (Co-Instructor) Higher School of Economics, Moscow	Fall 2011, Fall 2012, Fall 2013, Spring 2014
	Elections and Democracy University of Rochester	Spring 2013

Government and Opposition in the Post-Soviet World
Miami University Spring 2012

Comparative Political Parties (Co-instructor)
Emory University, Fall 2008

Completed Emory University's Teaching Assistant
Training and Teaching Opportunity Program (TATTO) 2007-2008

Languages

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

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

Professional Service

President, Graduate Political Science Organization
Department of Political Science, Emory University 2008-2009

Official Election Observer, US-Ukraine Foundation,
Kyiv, Ukraine: Ukrainian Presidential Elections 2004

Peer Reviewer:

American Political Science Review Fall 2012, Fall 2013, Spring 2015
American Journal of Political Science Spring 2011, Fall 2012, Spring 2013, Fall 2013
Journal of Politics Spring 2011, Fall 2011, Spring 2013
British Journal of Political Science Spring 2011, Spring 2013, Fall 2013, Spring 2014,
Spring 2015
Comparative Political Studies Fall 2011, Spring 2012, Spring 2013, Fall 2014, Spring 2015
Comparative Politics Spring 2011
Party Politics Fall 2014
Economics and Politics Spring 2013
Journal of Conflict Resolution Spring 2013, Spring 2014
Legislative Studies Quarterly Spring 2015
Public Choice Spring 2013
Political Behavior Spring 2014, Fall 2014, Spring 2015
Europe-Asia Studies Fall 2010, Fall 2012, Spring 2013, Spring 2015
East European Politics Spring 2013
Demokratizatsiya Fall 2010, Fall 2013
Democratization Spring 2013, Fall 2013
Political Research Quarterly Fall 2012, Fall 2014
Slavic Review Spring 2014
Regional and Federal Studies Fall 2012
REGION Fall 2013
Publius Fall 2014
Sage Open Fall 2014
National Science Foundation Spring 2014, Fall 2014

Other Experience

New York Times, Moscow Bureau, Intern, 2003

Professional Associations

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

Citizenship United States of America
Canada

References Dr. Thomas F. Remington
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Professor
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