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Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University  
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Stanford University,  
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EDUCATION

*Harvard University*  
Ph.D., Government, 1995

*University of Toronto*  
M.A., Political Science, 1989

*University of Toronto*  
B.A., Political Science, 1988  
(Trinity College)

CITIZENSHIP

Dual Canadian-American

LANGUAGES

French, Russian

PERSONAL

Married to Paul E. Oyer, Senior Associate Dean, and Van Anda Professor of Economics, Stanford Graduate School of Business; four adult step/children.

EMPLOYMENT

Stanford University, July 1, 2017 – present  
Deputy Director, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University;  
Senior Fellow, Center on Democracy, Development, and Rule of Law, and  
Center on International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University;  
Faculty Affiliate, Stanford King Center, Stanford Institute for Economic and Policy Research.

Stanford University, September 1, 2010 – July 31, 2019  
Senior Fellow, Deputy Director (until 2012), Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule Law; Faculty Director, Ford Dorsey Program in International Policy Studies.

Stanford University, July 1, 2004 – June 30, 2010  
Senior Research Scholar and Associate Director for Research, Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Freeman Spogli Institute Stanford University.

Princeton University, July 1, 1995 – June 30, 2004  
Department of Politics and Princeton (formerly “Woodrow Wilson”) School of Public and International Affairs; Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs; and Ralph O. Glendenning Preceptor.

Columbia University, January – June 2004  
Harriman Institute for Russian Studies, Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science.

McGill University, September 1994 – June 30, 1995  
Assistant Professor of Political Science.

BOOKS

Russia Resurrected: Its Power and Purpose in a New Global Order, (forthcoming, Oxford University Press, 2020).

Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective, written and edited with Michael McFaul, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

Autocracy and Democracy in the Post-Communist World, co-edited with Valerie Bunce and Michael McFaul, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

After the Collapse: The Comparative Lessons of Post-Communist Transitions, co-edited with Michael McFaul, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.)

Local Heroes: The Political Economy of Russian Regional Governance, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997, paperback 2002)

BOOK CHAPTERS, ARTICLES, REVIEWS

"*Russian Security Policy Toward the United States*," with Michael McFaul, Routledge Handbook of Russian Security, Roger Kanet, ed., (New York: Routledge, 2019).

"*Russia in Retrospect and Prospect*," Comparative Politics, (Vol. 50, no. 3, April 2018, pp. 295-303).

"*Whither Russia? Twenty Five Years Since the Collapse of Communism*," Editor/Organizer, special issue of Comparative Politics, (vol. 50, no. 3 April 2018), Available at: <http://jcp.gc.cuny.edu/2018/04/26/volume-50-number-3-april-2018/>

"*Who Lost Russia (This Time)? Vladimir Putin*," with Michael McFaul. The Washington Quarterly, August 2015. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0163660X.2015.1064716>

"*Russia's Mortality Paradox: How Bad Governance Kills Even When Economic Growth Is High*," (Manuscript, 2016).

"*Resetting the Bear Trap: Russia's 21<sup>st</sup> Century Interests in Afghanistan*," Asian Survey, vol. 55, no. 2, May 2015.

"*Moscow in Movement: Power and Opposition in Putin's Russia*," by Samuel Green, Review in Slavonic and East European Review, vol. 93, no. 3, July 2015.

"*Putin's Search for Greatness: Will Ukraine Bring Russia the Superpower Status It Seeks?*" Foreign Affairs, March 2014. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-03-02/putins-search-greatness>

"*Old Games, New Rules? Great Powers in the New Central Asia*," Asia Policy, vol. 16, July 2013. <http://www.nbr.org/publications/element.aspx?id=658>

"*Transitional Successes and Failures: The Domestic/International Nexus*," with Larry Diamond, Desha Girod and Michael McFaul in Stoner and McFaul, eds., Transitions to Democracy: Comparative Perspectives, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

"Domestic and International Influences on the Collapse of the Soviet Union (1991) and the Transition to Democracy in Russia (1993)," in Stoner and McFaul, eds., Transitions to Democracy: Comparative Perspectives, 2013.

"Whither Russia? Autocracy Is Here For Now, But Is It Here to Stay?" (Review Essay) Perspectives on Politics, vol. 10, no. 4, December 2012.

"Managed versus Monitored Democracy: Does Civil Society Matter in Contemporary Russia?" in Nina Witoszek, ed., Civil Society in Times of Crisis: Challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, 2012.

"Russia and the Global Financial Crisis: The End of Putinism?" Brown Journal of World Affairs, vol. 15, spring/summer 2009.

"Governance and Foreign Assistance: The Imperfect Translation of Ideas into Outcomes," with Stephen Krasner and Desha Girod in Comparative Strategies of Democracy Promotion: The United States versus Europe, Amichai Magen, Michael McFaul and Thomas Risse, eds., (Palgrave University Press, 2009).

"The Electoral System" with Michael McFaul, in Developments in Russian Politics 7, Stephen White, editor, (Duke University Press, 2009).

"It Is Still Putin's Russia," Current History, (vol. 107, no. 71, October 2008, pp. 315-321).

"The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back," (with Michael McFaul) Foreign Affairs, (vol. 87, no. 1, January/February, 2008).

"Russia" Countries at the Crossroads, (Washington, DC: Freedom House, 2007).

"When the Wave Hits a Shoal: The Internal and External Dimensions of Russia's Turn Away from Democracy," CDDRL Working Paper No. 60, May 2006.

"Putin's Russia: Authoritarianism Without Authority," Journal of Democracy, January 2006.

"The Sources of Resistance to Russian Central State Capacity in the Periphery." Timothy Colton and Steven Holmes editors, The Russian State in Transition, (Rowan Littlefield, 2006).

"The Management of Territorial Cleavages in Post-Soviet Russia" in Ugo Amoretti and Nancy Bermeo eds., United or Divided: Accommodating Territorial Cleavages in Federal and Unitary States, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

"Whither the Central State?: The Regional Sources of Russia's Stalled Reforms," in After the Collapse of Communism: The Comparative Lessons of Post-Communist Transitions. Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.)

"Central Governing Incapacity and the Weakness of Political Parties: Russian Democracy in Disarray" Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 32, no. 2, spring 2002, pp. 125-146.

"The Limited Reach of Russia's Party System: Under-institutionalization in Dual Transitions," Politics and Society, vol. 29, no.3, September 2001, pp. 385-414.

"The Russian Central State in Crisis: Center and Periphery in the Post-Soviet Era," in Robert Moser and Zoltan Barany, eds., Russian Politics: Challenges of Democratization, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

“Foreign Investment and Privatization in Russia: Consequences for Political Development,” Policy Studies Journal, January 2000.

“Central Weakness and Provincial Autonomy: Observations on the Devolution Process in Russia,” Post-Soviet Affairs, January 1999.

“Russian Federalism.” In Stephen White, Alex Pravda, and Zvi Gitelman, eds., New Developments in Russian Politics. (Duke University Press, 1997).

“Perekhod k demokratii i konsolidatsiia – rol’ elitii,” (Transition and Consolidation of Democracy – the Role of Elites) Na putiakh politicheskoi transformatsii (politicheskie partii i politicheskie elitii postsovetskogo perioda), Moskva: Moskovskii Obschestvennii Nauchnii Fond, 1997.

“Regionalism and Reform: Evidence from the Russian Provinces.” With Josephine Andrews. Post-Soviet Affairs 11 (4): 384-406, 1995.

“Conflict and Consensus in Russian Regional Government: The Importance of Context.” In Jeffrey W. Hahn, ed., Democratization in Russia: The Development of Legislative Institutions. M. E. Sharpe, 143-58, 1995.

#### PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND PRESENTATIONS (selected)

“Does Russia Have a Grand Strategy?” Yale University, May 11-12, 2019.

“What Russia Teaches Us Now: Re-Conceptualizing Power in International Relations,” prepared for “Regime Evolution, Institutional Change, and Social Transformation in Russia: Lessons for Political Science,” Yale University, April 27-28, 2018.

“Russia Today: Inside Domestic Politics,” Presentation at the Council on Foreign Relations, April 13, 2017, New York, NY.

“What Next in US/Russian Relations?” Association for Slavic East European and Eurasian Studies, November 18, 2016 (debate with Stephen Cohen, Amb. Jack Matlock, and Angela Stent).

“How Are Decisions Made in Russian Foreign Policy?” German Marshall Fund, Washington, DC, April 25, 2016.

“Resurrected? Russia’s Return as a Global Power,” Iliad State University, Republic of Georgia, January 25, 2016 and Stanford University, March 8, 2016.

“Democracy Promotion in Russia: Failure or Opportunity?” Claremont McKenna College, October 8, 2015.

“Can Russia Butt Out? Evaluating the Implementation of a Comprehensive Anti-Tobacco Policy,” Presentation to Policy Implementation Lab, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, October 10, 2014.

“How to Undermine Democracy and Development: Vladimir Putin and the Decline of Russia,” October 25, 2013, Cornell University, and University of Michigan, November 15, 2013.

“Russia’s Mortality Paradox: How Bad Governance Kills Even When Economic Growth is High,” American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago, August 28, 2013.

"The Many Advantages of Federalism: Flexibility, Growth and Democracy," The Gorbachev Foundation, Moscow, Russia, June 21, 2013. Available at: [http://www.gorby.ru/userfiles/abstract\\_stoner\\_weiss.pdf](http://www.gorby.ru/userfiles/abstract_stoner_weiss.pdf)

"What is Killing Russians?" Stanford Underdevelopment Fund Friday Workshop, January 2012.

"Slavic Spring, Russian Winter?" presentation to Berkeley Stanford Conference, March 5, 2012

"Lost and Found in Transition: International and Domestic Influences on Democratic Successes and Failures," CDDRL research seminar, Stanford University, October 20, 2011.

"Social, Political and Economic Consequences of the Soviet Collapse," December 2, 2011, Stanford University Conference Marking 20 Years Since the Collapse of the Soviet Union.

"Russia's Duma Elections," (Roundtable) Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies Conference, Washington, DC, November 19, 2011.

"Russia's Adult Mortality Crisis: Poor Governance and Poor Health in the Post-Communist Era," presentation to conference marking 20 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Claremont McKenna College, October 28, 2011.

"Medvedev's Challenges in Governing Putin's Russia: What a New American President Should Know," July 7, 2011, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, available at: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/medvedevs-challenges-governing-putins-russia-what-new-american-president-should-know#sthash.ZSLb38VA.dpuf>

"Monitory Versus Managed Democracy: Does Civil Society Matter in Contemporary Russia?," Conference marking 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Boris Yeltsin's birth, Moscow, Russia, Yeltsin Foundation, February 2, 2011

"Medvedev's Plans for Putin's Russia: What President Obama Should Know," delivered at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, November 24, 2008 and at Grinnell College, Iowa, October 30, 2008.

"Putin and Medvedev: The Kremlin's Odd Couple," presentation on panel "Where is Russia's Political System Going?" at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Annual Convention, November 22, 2008.

"The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back," delivered at the Monk International Center, University of Toronto, November 29, 2007.

"Can the US Promote Democracy? Who Lost Russia and Why Should We Care?" Santa Clara Law School, February 3, 2007 and International Policy Studies Program, Stanford University, February 28, 2007.

"Vladimir Putin's Emerging Authoritarianism and Russia's Place in a Post-9/11 World," World Affairs Council of San Francisco, September 12, 2006 and at Stanford Business School, August 7, 2006.

"Resisting the State: Democracy and Disarray in Post-Soviet Russia," October, 2003, Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

"Inside Putin's Russia," Testimony to members of the United States Congress, July 11, 2002, Washington, DC

"Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia," Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, June 6, 2002, Washington, DC (also presented at Syracuse University, Cornell University and Miami University, Autumn, 2002).

“Whither the State? The Sources of Russia’s Stalled Reforms,” presented at Yale University, conference on “Post-Communist States in Comparative Perspective,” April 27-29, 2001; also presented at Harvard University, February, 22, 2001; Columbia University, February, 27, 2001. An earlier version was presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September, 2001, Washington, DC.

“Russian Federalism in Comparative Perspective,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY, November 2000.

“The Management of Territorial Cleavages in Russia,” Princeton University, conference on Accommodating Territorial Cleavages in Federal and Unitary States, September 22-23, 2001.

“President Putin and Russia’s Governance Challenges,” Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America, Langley, Virginia, June 2000.

“The Reach of Russia’s Party System: Elusive Pathways to the Periphery and Implications for Governance,” presented at the London School of Economics and Political Science, January 31, 2000 and at Oxford University, February 2, 2000.

“Russian Democracy in Disarray: Central Incapacity and the Weakness of Russian Political Parties,” Originally presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 1999 and revised for a lecture delivered at Johns Hopkins University, November, 1999.

“Russian Federalism and Regionalism” symposium on the state of the post-Soviet politics field at University of Texas at Austin, November 13, 1998.

“Local Heroes: The Political Economy of Russian Regional Governance,” delivered to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, September 15, 1998.

“Comparative Federalism and State Development,” delivered to the East-West Parliamentary Practice Project, Astrakhan, Russia, April 22, 1998.

“The Politics of Decentralization in Russia,” a talk delivered at the University of Toronto, Department of Political Science, March 13, 1998.

“Local Heroes: The Political Economy of Russian Regional Governance,” a talk delivered at the Centre D’Études et De Recherches International, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris, France, December 1, 1997 as well as at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, January 22, 1998.

“Coalitions and State Capacity.” Wilder House Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, May 8, 1996.

“Russian Social Sciences: The New Perspective.” Ford Foundation/Russian Science Foundation, Novgorod, Russian Federation, Winter School Faculty Advisor, January 1996.

“The Russian National Election of 1995: A View from the Provinces.” Roundtable, Harriman Institute Columbia University, New York, NY, November 2, 1995.

“The New Russian Federalism: Sources of Subnational Autonomy.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Washington, D.C., October 26-29, 1995.

"Conflict and Consensus in Russian Regional Government: The Importance of Context." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1995.

"Regionalism and Reform: Evidence from the Russian Provinces." Presented (with Josephine Andrews) at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, NY, 1994.

"The Chechen Conflict and Russian Federalism: The View from the Provinces." Presented at The Russian Federation After the Chechen Conflict, conference held jointly by the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies and the Russian Area Studies Program, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., March 17, 1995.

#### FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Honorary Doctorate for contributions to the study of the former Soviet Union, Iliad State University, Republic of Georgia, January 25, 2016.

Freeman Spogli Institute Policy Implementation Lab, 2014-present, "Butting Out? Evaluating the Implementation of Russia's Anti-Tobacco Policy," (seed funding of \$30,000)

Global Underdevelopment Action Fund, Stanford University, 2010-2013, for "What Is Killing Russians? Poor Governance and Health Outcomes in the Post-Communist Era." (seed funding of \$40,000)

Smith Richardson Foundation, December 2006-November 2008, Co-PI with Michael McFaul, External Sources of Internal Change. (\$300,000)

Ralph O. Glendinning Preceptorship, Princeton University. This is an award made to outstanding junior faculty at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. The award includes a research budget and one paid semester of leave.

Smith Richardson Foundation, January 1, 1998 - July 1, 2001 for book project, *Resisting the State*. (Awarded \$185,000)

National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1996-1997 for research project: *Sources of Demands for Increased Subnational Autonomy in the Russian Federation*. (Awarded \$70,000).

Social Sciences Research Council, Joint Committee on the Soviet Union and its Successor States, Program of Support for Research and Development Initiatives awarded for *Hyper-Federalism: Russia's Decentralization in a Comparative Context*, a conference February 1996. This project was also supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Research Scholar, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Summer 1995.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Grant for preliminary investigation of "Exploring Sources of Demands for Sub-national Autonomy in Post-Soviet Russia." Administered by the Social Sciences Sub-Committee, McGill University, Spring 1995.

Mellon Foundation, Dissertation Completion Fellowship, 1993.

Harvard University, Russian Research Center Summer Research Fellowship, 1993.

Mellon Foundation, Doctoral Research Fellowship, 1993.

Association of Canadian Colleges and Universities, Russian and East European Research Exchange Fellowship to complete dissertation fieldwork, 1992-1993.

Graduate Student Fellow, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1991-1994.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Doctoral Fellowship, 1989-1993.

Harvard University Doctoral Fellowship, 1989-1991.

## TEACHING

### Stanford University

- REES/IPS231B/POLISCI213C "Understanding Russia: Its Power and Purpose in a New Global Order," (winter quarter 2020)
- IR/PS114D; IPS 230/PS314D "Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, (autumn quarter 2019)
- Practicum, Capstone Project – 2 quarter class for MA students in International Policy (2011, 2012, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)
- IPS 216 "Making Things Happen in the Real World: Leadership and Implementation," (spring 2017) with Stephen Stedman, Grant Miller and Francis Fukuyama
- IPS/REES 231 "Russia, The West and The Rest" (winter 2014, 2015)
- IPS 201 Managing Global Complexity (spring 2012, 2013)
- IR 142 "Challenging the Status Quo: Social Entrepreneurs Advancing Democracy, Development and Justice" (with Kavita Ramdas, formerly of Global Fund for Women and Ford Foundation) (winter 2011)
- IR/HIS 240C "Soviet and Post Soviet Leaders" (with Prof. Amir Weiner) (spring 2013)
- PS140C "The Political Economy of Post Communism" (winter 2009, winter 2011)
- IR 199 CDDRL Honors Track Research Preparation seminar (2006-2012)
- IR/PS 114D "Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law" (team taught undergraduate lecture course with Larry Diamond (for 6 years), Michael McFaul (for 4 years)) International Relations Program/Political Science Department
- Draper Hills Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development Program, 2005-present

### Columbia University

- "The Comparative Political Economy of Post-Communist Transitions" (graduate seminar), School of International and Public Affairs.
- "Post-Soviet States and Markets," (undergraduate lecture course).

### Princeton University

- "The Study of Comparative Politics" (PhD seminar) Politics Department.
- "WWS 501: Political Science and Public Policy" (with Jennifer Hochschild and Tom Romer) graduate lecture course and seminar, MPA Program), Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.
- "Building Democracies and Making Markets" (graduate seminar), Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.
- "Political and Economic Reform in the Former Soviet Union" (undergraduate lecture course), Politics Department.

### McGill University

- "Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics" (third-year undergraduate lecture course), Spring 1995.
- "Approaches to the Study of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics" (graduate seminar), Spring 1995.



SERVICE

(Stanford)

- Faculty Athletics Fellow, Stanford University Women's Tennis Team (NCAA Champions), 2017-2018; 2018-2019.
- University Undergraduate Admissions and Financial Aid Committee, 2012-2014
- Search Committee Chair, Comparative Education Search, 2010-2011
- Search Committee, Development Economics, 2011-2012; 2010-2011.
- Evaluator for Stanford, Carnegie Endowment Junior Fellows Program, 2008.
- Faculty Affiliate, Stanford Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society (2008 to present).
- Freshman and Sophomore Advisor (2007 to 2011).
- Executive Committee, Center for Russian, Eurasian, East European, Studies, Stanford University (2005-2010)
- Stanford Hillel, Advisory Board and Executive Committee of Board (2005-2010)
- Faculty Advisor, Stanford University Russia Forum (SURF), 2012-present.
- Stanford Alumni Association talks in London, Los Angeles, Dallas, New York, San Francisco, Stanford Sierra Camp, St. Petersburg, Russia (2005-present).

(Princeton)

- Committee on Russian Studies, Princeton University
- Council on Canadian Studies, Princeton University
- Associate Editor, *World Politics* 1998-2004.
- Board Member, Center for Jewish Life, Princeton University
- Princeton University Alumni Council, faculty speaker at alumni events in Toronto, April 2000; and Princeton, October 2000 and April 2001.
- Chair's Advisory Committee, Princeton University, Department of Politics 1997-1998 and 2000-2001.
- Faculty advisor, Princeton Men's Hockey Team.
- Co-organizer of Comparative Politics Seminar, 1997-1998, Department of Politics, Princeton University

(Other Professional Associations since 2002 to present)

- Member, Program on New Approaches to Russian Security (PONARS).
- Member of Russia/Eurasia Advisory Committee, *Hillary for America*, 2016
- Field Chair, American Political Science Association, Post-Communist Countries section, 2012
- Chair, American Political Science Association Committee on Best Fieldwork in a Dissertation, 2008.
- Advisor on Russia to the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 2006 and 2007.
- Reviewer, *International Security*, *Slavic Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *World Politics*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Comparative Politics*, *Publius*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *American Political Science Review*, Cambridge University Press.
- Reviewer, *Freedom House*, *Nations in Transit*, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2012.
- Screener, National Endowment for Democracy, Reagan Fascell Fellowship Program, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2013.
- Screener, International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship Program, Social Sciences Research Council, 2001-2002.
- Member of the American Political Science Association Luebbert Award Committee for Best Book in Comparative Politics, 2002.