

GRAEME B. ROBERTSON
E-mail: graeme@email.unc.edu

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Professional Address

Department of Political Science
UNC at Chapel Hill
361 Hamilton Hall
Chapel Hill NC 27599-3265
USA

Education

Ph.D.: Columbia University 2004: “All They Need Is Someone To Organize It: Protest and Politics in Post-Communist Russia” (Distinction).
Dissertation Advisors: Alfred Stepan, Charles Tilly, Steven Solnick, Mark Kesselman and Greg Wawro.

A.M. Harvard University 1997: Davis Center For Russian Studies, A.M. Regional Studies: Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

B.A. University of Oxford 1990: Wadham College, BA (Hons.) Philosophy, Politics and Economics.

Academic Appointments

July 2020 – June 2023	Harold J. Glass USAF Faculty Mentor Term Professor, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
July 2018 – Present	Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
June 2018 - July 2018	Professeur invité, École de Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris.
July 2016 – June 2018	Professor of Political Science and Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
July 2011 – June 2016	Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

- July 2004 – June 2011** Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Spring 2007** Visiting Professor, The Helen Kellogg Institute for
International Studies at Notre Dame
- Fall 2005** Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, Centro
de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Mexico
City, Mexico.

Selected Academic Awards

- 2010** University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Institute For The Arts and
Humanities Fellowship
- 2005** Spray-Randleigh Foundation Fellow, University of North Carolina at Chapel
Hill
- 2003** Princeton University Fellow, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics
- 2002** National Science Foundation Award for Dissertation Research in Political
Science
- 2002-04** Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy Graduate Fellow
- 2001-03** Columbia University President's Fellow
- 2000** Columbia University Traveling Fellow
- 2000** Harriman Institute Traveling Fellowship
- 1999** Columbia University President's Fellow Public Policy Consortium Fellow
- 1998** Ford Foundation Travel Grant
- 1998** Columbia University President's Fellow
- 1997** Fellow of the Faculty in Political Science, Columbia University
- 1995-97** Harvard University Scholarship

Publications

Books and Monographs

Putin v. The People: The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia, with Samuel A. Greene.
Yale University Press. April 2019. 297 pages. Revised and extended paperback edition,
August 2022.

*Honorable Mention in The Davis Center Book Prize, awarded annually by the
Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies for an outstanding
monograph published on Russia, Eurasia, or Eastern Europe in anthropology, political
science, sociology, or geography.*

Revolution and Reform in Ukraine: Evaluating Four Years of Reform, with Silviya Nitsova and Grigore Pop-Eleches, Ponars Eurasia, July 2018. 70 pages.

The Politics of Protest in Hybrid Regimes: Managing Dissent in Post-Communist Russia, Cambridge University Press, 2011. 304 pages.

Refereed Articles

Comparative Political Studies, “The activist personality: Extraversion, agreeableness, and opposition activism in authoritarian regimes”, with Jan Dollbaum. *Forthcoming*.

Journal of Politics, “Protest Participation and Attitude Change: Evidence from Ukraine's Euromaidan Revolution”. Co-authored with Grigore Pop-Eleches and Bryn Rosenfeld. Vol. 84, No 2. <https://doi.org/10.1086/716302>. 2022

Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS), “The microdynamics of spatial polarization: A model and an application to survey data from Ukraine”. Co-authored with Olivia J Chu, Jonathan F. Donges, and Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2021. 118(50).

Perspectives on Politics, “Affect and Autocracy: Emotions and Attitudes in Russia after Crimea.” Co-authored with Samuel A. Greene. 2020. 1-15.

Post Soviet Affairs, “Getting the Opposition Together: Protest Coordination in Authoritarian Regimes”. 2020. Co-authored with David Armstrong and Ora John Reuter. Vol. 36.1, 1-19.

Post Soviet Affairs, “Identity and Political Preferences in Ukraine – Before and After the Euromaidan”. 2018. Co-authored with Grigore Pop-Eleches. Vol. 34.2-3, 107-118.

Comparative Political Studies, “Agreeable Authoritarians: Personality and Politics in Contemporary Russia,” Co-authored with Samuel Greene. Vol. 50 (13), 1802-1834. 2017.

British Journal of Political Science, “Political Orientation, Information and Perceptions of Electoral Fraud: Evidence from Russia”, 2017. Vol. 47(3), 589-608.

Electoral Studies, “Election Observer Effects: A Field Experiment in the Russian Duma Election of 2011”. 2016. Co-authored with Andrei Buzin and Kevin Brondum. Vol 44 (2016): 184-191.

Comparative Politics, “Information, Elections, and Political Change”, Co-authored with Grigore Pop-Eleches. July 2015, Vol. 47, No. 4.

Journal of Politics, “Legislatures, Cooptation, and Social Protest in Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes”, Co-authored with Ora John Reuter. January, 2015, Vol. 77, No. 1, pp.235-248.

Problems of Post-Communism, “After the Revolution: Long-term Effects of Electoral Revolutions”, Co-authored with Grigore Pop-Eleches. July-August 2014, Vol. 61, No. 4.

Problems of Post-Communism, “Protesting Putinism: The Election Protests of 2011-12 in Broader Perspective”. March-April 2013, Vol. 60, No.2.

Journal of Politics, “Sub-national Appointments in Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from Russian Gubernatorial Appointments”, co-authored with Ora John Reuter. October 2012, Vol. 74, No. 4, pp1023-1037.

American Journal of Political Science, “Globalization, Regime Type and Labor Protest in Developing Countries”, co-authored with Emmanuel Teitelbaum. July 2011, Vol.55, No.3, pp.665-677.

Journal of Communist and Post-Communist Studies, “Politics, Justice and the New Russian Strike”, co-authored with Samuel Greene. March 2010, Vol. 43, No.1, pp. 73-95.

Slavic Review, “Managing Society: Protest, Civil Society and Regime in Putin’s Russia” Fall 2009, Vol. 68, No.3, pp 528-547, and “Responses: Political Science, Democracy and Authoritarianism” – a response to Professor Stephen Kotkin, Princeton University, pp.554-6.

American Political Science Review, “Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes” November 2007, Vol. 101, No. 4, pp. 781-98.

Comparative Politics, “Leading Labor: Unions, Politics and Protest in New Democracies”, April 2004, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 253-272.

Other Published Articles/Chapters

The Washington Post, with Samuel A. Greene. *Putin’s Rule Depends on Creating Foreign Enemies and Domestic Traitors*. (February 24, 2022). This piece also appeared in the newspaper in the Sunday opinion section.

The Washington Post, with Samuel A. Greene. *Threatening to invade Ukraine will help Putin at home. Actually invading won’t*. (December 8, 2021). This piece also appeared in the newspaper in the Sunday opinion section.

The Washington Post, with Samuel A. Greene. *Putin’s new war on the opposition suggests he sees it as a real threat*. (January 27, 2021). This piece also appeared in the newspaper in the Sunday opinion section.

The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog, with Bryn Rosenfeld, Samuel Greene, Grigore Pop-Eleches and Jeremy Morris. *Putin's support is weakening. Will that show up in Russia's regional elections this weekend?* (September 10, 2020).

“State-Mobilized Movements after the Annexation of Crimea: The Construction of Novorossiia” with Samuel A. Greene, in Grzegorz Ekiert, Elizabeth J. Perry and Xiaojun Yan, *Ruling by Other Means: State Mobilized Movements* (Cambridge University Press: 2020).

The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog, with Leah Christiani, Marc J. Hetherington, Michael MacKuen, and Emily Wager. *To fight the coronavirus, most Americans support universal testing and mandatory quarantines* (April 30, 2020).

The New Statesman, “After 20 years of power, are the tides turning against Vladimir Putin?” (December 18, 2019). With Samuel A. Greene.

The Washington Post, “Putin’s Iron Grip is Looser Than We Think”. (September 1, 2019). With Samuel A. Greene. This piece also appeared in the newspaper on the front page of the Sunday opinion section.

The New Statesman, “Vladimir Putin shows that dictators hang on to power not despite the people, but because of them.” (December 18, 2019). With Samuel A. Greene.

The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog with Mariam Matevosyan *Armenian Protesters Brought Down a Prime Minister. Here is why they are in the streets.* (April 30, 2018).

The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog with Grigore Pop-Eleches, *Ukrainians are protesting corruption — and using a new approach. Here's how it works.* (January 5, 2018).

Journal of Democracy, “How Putin Wins Support”, October 2017, Vol. 28, No. 4. Co-authored with Samuel A. Greene.

The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog, *Russians are protesting! Why? Part 1: Putin's vulnerable.* (March 31, 2017).

Контрапункт – журнал о политике и обществе, “Способность к протесту сохраняется”, No. 3’16. April 2016. Co-authored with Samuel A. Greene. (*Counterpoint: A Journal of Politics and Society*. “The Capacity for Protest Remains”).

Journal of Democracy, “Waiting for a Fourth Wave: Structural Conditions and the Future of Democratization”, June 2015, Vol. 26, No.3, pp144-156. Co-authored with Grigore Pop-Eleches.

“Democratization”, with Grigore Pop-Eleches, in Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy and John D. Stephens (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Oxford University Press. 2015.

“Civil Society and Contentious Politics in Russia”, in Stephen White (ed.), *Developments in Russian Politics 8*. Duke University Press 2014.

The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog with Samuel A. Greene, *Explaining Putin’s popularity: Rallying round the Russian flag*. (September 9, 2014).

The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog with Grigore Pop-Eleches, *Do Crimeans actually want to join Russia?* (March 6, 2014).

“Russian Protesters: Not Optimistic But Here to Stay”, *Russian Analytical Digest*, 20 June, 2012, No. 115, pp. 2-8.

“Russia”, *Case Studies in Comparative Politics*, David J. Samuels (ed.), Pearson Press 2013.

“Протесты, гражданское общество и динамика режима” (Protest, Civil Society and Regime Dynamics), in *Россия "двухтысячных"* (*Russia in the 2000s*) e.d. Henry Hale and Ivan Kurilla, Planeta, Moscow, 2011.

Foreign Policy, May-June 2011. “Think Again: Dictatorship”

Pro et Contra, “Новое рабочее движение в России” (The New Workers’ Movement in Russia), co-authored with Samuel Greene. March – July 2008, Vol.12, No.2-3, pp. 36-58.

Journal of Democracy, “Arab Not Muslim Exceptionalism”, co-authored with Alfred Stepan. October 2004, Vol. 15, No.4, pp. 140-6.

Journal of Democracy, “An ‘Arab’ More Than a ‘Muslim’ Democracy Gap”, co-authored with Alfred Stepan. July 2003, Vol. 14, No.3, pp.30-44.

East European Constitutional Review, Russian Quarterly Update (1998 – 2001).

Scottish Economic Bulletin, Summer 1991, “Structural Change In The Scottish Economy”, co-authored with Fiona A. Shera

Articles in Progress

“Do Reforms Reduce Corruption Perceptions? Evidence from Police Reform in Ukraine,” with Grigore Pop-Eleches (Princeton University). Under Review.

“The Activist Personality: Extraversion, agreeableness, and opposition activism in authoritarian regimes,” with Jan Dollbaum, Jan Matti Dollbaum, University of Bremen. Under Review.

“The Partisan Divide in Social Distancing,” with Keena Lipsitz (CUNY) and Grigore Pop-Eleches (Princeton University). Under Review.

“Crying Wolf: State Sponsored Conspiracy Theories and Vaccine Hesitancy: Experimental Evidence from Russia with Samuel A. Greene (Kings College London) and Grigore Pop-Eleches (Princeton University).

“Covid, Anxiety and Information Search: Observational and Experimental Evidence from Russia and Ukraine,” with Bryn Rosenfeld (Cornell University), Samuel A. Greene (Kings College London) and Grigore Pop-Eleches (Princeton University).

Book Reviews

Political Science Quarterly. Forthcoming. A review of Regina Smyth, *Elections, Protest and Authoritarian Regime Stability: Russia 2008-2020*. Cambridge U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2021

Perspectives on Politics 2018. Vol. 16. No. 4, pp. 1210-1211. A review of *Youth Movements and Elections in Eastern Europe*. By Olena Nikolayenko. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. 270p.

Slavic Review, Winter 2016, Vol. 75, No. 4, pp. 1059-1060. A review of Julie Hemment *Youth Politics In Putin’s Russia: Producing Patriots and Entrepreneurs*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2015.

The Russian Review, April 2014, Vol.73, No.2, pp332-3. A review of Vladimir Gel’man *Iz ognia da v polymia: Rossiiskaia politika posle SSSR*. (From the Fire Into the Frying Pan: Russian Politics After the USSR) St. Petersburg: BHV, 2013.

Perspectives On Politics, September 2013, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp 966-7. A review of Jose Aleman, *Labor Relations in New Democracies: East Asia, Latin America and Europe*.

Comparative Political Studies, March 2012 Vol. 45, pp 394-397. A review of Brian Taylor, *State Building in Putin’s Russia: Policing and Coercion After Communism* .

Political Science Quarterly, Fall 2007, Vol.122, No.3, pp 525-7. A review of Leslie Holmes, *Rotten States? Corruption, Post-Communism and Neo-liberalism*.

Canadian Journal of Sociology Online, March-April 2003. A review of Richard Rose and Neil Munro, *Elections without Order: Russia’s Challenge to Vladimir Putin*.

Selected Invited Presentations

Center for East European and International Studies (ZOIS), Berlin. Politics from below. January 2021.

Presidential Roundtable at the Annual Conference of the Association for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies. Anxiety, Protest and the Pandemic, November 2020.

Roundtable on Belarus at Kings College London and the University of Manchester, October 2020.

University of Michigan, Putin Versus the People, March 2020.

Stanford University, Putin Versus the People, February 2020.

University of Wisconsin at Madison, Putin Versus the People, October 2019.

George Mason University, Do Reforms Reduce Corruption Perceptions? Evidence from Police Reform in Ukraine. September, 2019.

University College, London, Putin Versus the People, May 2019.

Universite Libre de Belgique, Putin Versus the People, May 2019.

Edinburgh University, Putin Versus the People, May 2019.

New York University, Building Autocracy from Above and Below: Politics and Emotions in Post-Crimea Russia. April 2018.

Oxford University, Nuffield College, How Protest Changes Attitudes: Protest Participation and Networks in Ukraine's Euromaidan. January 2018.

Oxford University, St. Anthony's College, Building Autocracy From Above and Below: Emotional engagement and politics after Crimea. January 2018.

University of Arizona, Identity in Post-Revolutionary Ukraine. March 2017.

Hong Kong National University, State Mobilized Contention: The Construction of Novorossiya, January 2017.

Cornell University, Building Autocracy From Above and Below: The Co-construction of Putin's Popularity After Crimea. September 2016.

Harvard University, State Mobilized Contention: The Construction of Novorossiya, June 2016.

University of Michigan, June 2015. New Political Identities In The Ruins of Empire

Sabanci University, Istanbul, June 2014. Democracy and Authoritarianism.

London School of Economics, June 2014. Coordinating Protest in Authoritarian Regimes.

Duke University, October 2013. Motivated Reasoning and Perceptions of Electoral Fraud in Authoritarian Regimes

Princeton University, September 2013. Motivated Reasoning and Perceptions of Electoral Fraud in Authoritarian Regimes.

Oxford University, Nuffield College, “Cooptation and Legislatures in Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes”, May 2013.

Uppsala University, Sweden, Johan Skytte Foundation, Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, October, 2012.

Cornell University, April 2012. Russian Elections.

Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, PONARS (Program in New Approaches to Russian Security), June 13-16, 2011. PONARS is a Carnegie Corporation funded initiative designed to bring together leading specialists on transnational and comparative topics in the US and Eurasia.

Uppsala University, Sweden, Johan Skytte Foundation, Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, May 27-29, 2011.

Yale University, Comparative Politics Seminar, “Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Conflict: Experimental Evidence from Kyrgyzstan”, April 19, 2011.

Columbia University, Comparative Politics Seminar, “Elections, Information and Political Change in the Post-Cold War Era”, February 9, 2011.

Oxford University, Nuffield College, “Pathways of Political Liberalization in the Post-Cold War Era”, October 2010.

Duke University, Comparative Politics Seminar, “Elections and Democratization in the Post-Cold War Era”, February 2009.

Middlebury College, Comparative Politics, “Post-Cold War Political Regimes”, February 2008.

Service to the Discipline

Associate Editor for Comparative Politics, *American Journal of Political Science*, June 2019 – present.

Member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies* and *Problems of Post Communism*.

Additional Training

January 2002 Consortium on Qualitative Research Methods Training Institute, Arizona State University.

August 2001 Center for Spatially Integrated Social Science: Introduction to Spatial Pattern Analysis in a GIS Environment, U.C. Santa Barbara.

Current Teaching

Politics of the Former USSR, Social Movements and Democratization, Masters' Program in Global Studies, Comparative Democratization/Authoritarianism, Comparative Politics of Development.

Grants (Total Direct Amounts)

- 2015** Smith Richardson Foundation. "Revolution, Ethnic Conflict, and Ukrainian National Identity" (\$102 000). March 2015- March 2017. Co-PI, 30%
- 2012** Smith Richardson Foundation. "Understanding the New Russian Opposition: People, Ideas, Channels". December 2012-December 2015. (\$150 000). Co-PI, 30%.
- 2010** United States Agency for International Development Grant, "Democracy and Ethnic Conflict in Kyrgyzstan". June 2010. (\$40 000), Co-PI 5%.
- 2010** National Council for East European and Eurasian Research Grant for "Elections, Revolution And Democracy In The Post-Cold War Era" August 2010-August 2012. (\$60 000), Co-PI. 30%.
- 2010** James Moeser Award for Distinguished Research, University Research Council, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. July 2010. (\$10 000). PI. 5%.
- 2008** Ford Foundation Grant for "Citizen Participation in the Process of Local Governance in the Altai Republic: Assessing the impact of Law #131 on General Organizational Principles for Local Self-Governance in the Russian Federation" (\$80 000)

Other Professional Experience

Summer 2021 USAID project on independent media development in Ukraine. Design and implementation of a survey of beneficiaries and key constituents.

Winter 2020-2021 USAID project on civil society development in Eastern Ukraine. Design and implementation of a survey of beneficiaries and volunteers.

Summer 2020 USAID project on civil society development in Belarus. Design and implementation of a survey of beneficiaries and key constituents.

Winter 2019-2020 USAID project on judicial reform in Ukraine. Design and implementation of a survey of beneficiaries and key constituents.

Summer 2019 USAID project on parliamentary reform in Ukraine. Design and implementation of network survey amongst Ukrainian MPs and civil society organizations. Key Informant Interviews in Kyiv.

Winter 2018-2019: USAID project on Civil Society and Media Development in Armenia. Literature review and analysis of current developments in Armenia.

Winter 2011-2012: USAID Russian election cycle surveys. Principal Investigator on Evaluation of Support to Election Monitoring Organizations.

Fall 2010: Principal Investigator for two nationally representative sample surveys in Kyrgyzstan and two in Ukraine.

Summer 2001: Consultant, World Bank

- Transition from Communism: 10 Years After. Provided advice on lessons learned in economics, political science and sociology from 10 years of post-Communist experience in Russia and Eastern Europe.

1992 –95: Administrator, Commission of the European Union.

- Part of a team of EU and UN negotiators working in the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Primary responsibility for drafting the economic portion of a series of peace proposals, including division of \$18 billion in international debt. Provided advice on political and diplomatic issues to senior European and United Nations officials.

1990-92: Senior Economic Assistant (Europe), Scottish Office Industry Department, UK Government Economic Service.

- Provided advice and analysis on manufacturing industry and the implications of European economic and monetary union for the Scottish economy.

Languages: Russian (fluent), French (fluent), Spanish (intermediate).