Scott Gehlbach

University of Chicago Department of Political Science Harris School of Public Policy https://scottgehlbach.net gehlbach@uchicago.edu Twitter: @sgehlbach

EDUCATION

- **Ph.D. in Political Science and Economics**, University of California–Berkeley, 2003 Mancur Olson Award for Best Dissertation in Field of Political Economy
- M.A. in Economics, University of California–Berkeley, 2000
- M.A. in Political Science, University of California–Berkeley, 1998
- M.B.A., University of Michigan, 1991, graduated with distinction
- **B.S. in Agricultural Economics**, University of Illinois, 1989, graduated summa cum laude

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

University of Chicago

Professor, Department of Political Science and Harris School of Public Policy, 2019– present

Sciences Po

Visiting Professor, Department of Economics, 2019–2020

University of Wisconsin–Madison

Professor, Department of Political Science, 2011–2019

Director, Center for Russia, East Europe, and Central Asia, 2018–2019

Associate Chair, Department of Political Science, 2012–2015

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2008–2011

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2003–2008

Harvard University

Visiting Professor, Department of Government, 2012

Senior Fellow, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, 2011–2012

International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Senior Research Fellow, 2011–2014

Centre for Economic and Financial Research, New Economic School, Moscow Visiting Scholar, 2001–2003, 2007–2008

University of California–Berkeley

Research Assistant, Survey Research Center, 1999–2001

Central European University, Prague and Budapest

Research Associate, CEU Labor Project, 1995–1997

Stanford University

Visiting Fellow, Center for International Security and Arms Control, 1996 Research Assistant, Center for International Security and Arms Control, 1996 Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences–Czech Republic Visiting Scholar, 1995–1996

Central Europe Institute, Prague Senior Consultant, 1994–1995

Office of Congressman Thomas W. Ewing, Washington, D.C. Legislative Assistant, 1992–1994

HONORS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Michael Wallerstein Award for best paper published in political economy European Politics and Society Best Article Award, honorable mention Vilas Faculty Mid-Career Investigator Award Comparative Political Studies Editorial Board Best Paper Award European Politics and Society Best Article Award QJPS Referee Hall of Fame, 2005–2014 Kellett Mid-Career Faculty Researcher Award, Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research and Graduate Education, UW Madison Abram Bergson Prize for best paper published in *Comparative Economic Studies* H. I. Romnes Faculty Fellowship, Graduate School, UW Madison AAASS Davis Center Book Prize for Political and Social Studies, honorable mention Lyons Family Faculty Fellowship, College of Letters and Science, UW Madison Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad Fellowship Fulbright Scholarship (declined) IREX Individual Advanced Research Opportunities Fellowship (declined) SSRC Eurasia Program Postdoctoral Research Fellowship Mancur Olson Award for Best Dissertation in Field of Political Economy Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship SSRC International Dissertation Research Fellowship IREX Individual Advanced Research Opportunities Fellowship Peter H. Odegard Memorial Award in Political Science National Science Foundation (NSF) Graduate Research Fellowship Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship Phi Kappa Phi, Mortar Board, and Senior 100 undergraduate honorary organizations

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Books

- [Under contract] Formal Models of Domestic Politics: Second Edition. Cambridge University Press (Analytical Methods for Social Research).
- *Reform and Rebellion in Weak States.* 2019. With Evgeny Finkel. Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Elements in Political Economy). Forthcoming.
- *Formal Models of Domestic Politics.* 2013. Cambridge University Press (Analytical Methods for Social Research).

Representation Through Taxation: Revenue, Politics, and Development in Postcommunist States. 2008. Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics). AAASS Davis Center Book Prize for Political and Social Studies, honorable mention. Based on Ph.D. dissertation, Mancur Olson Award for best dissertation in political economy.

Articles

- "Collective Action and Representation in Autocracies: Evidence from Russia's Great Reforms." 2018. With Paul Castañeda Dower, Evgeny Finkel, and Steven Nafziger. *American Political Science Review.* 112(1):125–147. Michael Wallerstein Award for best article in political economy. European Politics and Society Best Article Award, honorable mention.
 - → Related: "Democratization as a Continuous Choice: A Comment on Acemoglu and Robinson's Correction to 'Why Did the West Extend the Franchise?'" 2019. With Paul Castañeda Dower, Evgeny Finkel, and Steven Nafziger. Journal of Politics. Forthcoming.
- "Formal Models of Nondemocratic Politics." 2016. With Konstantin Sonin and Milan Svolik. Annual Review of Political Science. 19:565–84.
- "The Productivity Consequences of Political Turnover: Firm-Level Evidence from Ukraine's Orange Revolution." 2015. With John S. Earle. American Journal of Political Science. 59(3):708–723.
- "Does Reform Prevent Rebellion? Evidence from Russia's Emancipation of the Serfs." 2015. With Evgeny Finkel and Tricia Olsen. *Comparative Political Studies*. 48(8):984– 1019. European Politics and Society Best Article Award. *Comparative Political Studies* Editorial Board Best Paper Award.
- "Electoral Manipulation as Bureaucratic Control." 2015. With Alberto Simpser. American Journal of Political Science. 59(1):212–224.
- "Government Control of the Media." 2014. With Konstantin Sonin. Journal of Public Economics. 118:163–171.
- "Private Investment and the Institutionalization of Collective Action in Autocracies: Ruling Parties and Legislatures." 2012. With Philip Keefer. *Journal of Politics*. 74(2):621–635.
- "Investment Without Democracy: Ruling-Party Institutionalization and Credible Commitment in Autocracies." 2011. With Philip Keefer. *Journal of Comparative Economics.* 39(2):123–139. Lead article.

"Did Postcommunist Privatization Increase Mortality?" With John S. Earle.

- \rightarrow Summary published as "Did Mass Privatisation Really Increase Post-Communist Mortality?" 2010. Lancet. 375(9712):372.
- \rightarrow Full paper published in *Comparative Economic Studies*. 2011. 53(2):239–260. Abram Bergson Prize for best paper published in *Comparative Economic Studies* in the previous two years.

- "The Contribution of Veto Players to Economic Reform." 2010. With Edmund J. Malesky. *Journal of Politics*. 72(4):957-975.
- "Businessman Candidates." 2010. With Konstantin Sonin and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. American Journal of Political Science. 54(3):718–736.
- "Helping Hand or Grabbing Hand? State Bureaucracy and Privatization Effectiveness." 2009. With J. David Brown and John S. Earle. *American Political Science Review*. 103(2):264–283.
- "Electoral Institutions and the National Provision of Local Public Goods." 2007. Quarterly Journal of Political Science. 2(1):5–25. Lead article.
- "Revenue Traps." 2007. Economics and Politics. 19(1):73-96.
- "A Formal Model of Exit and Voice." 2006. *Rationality and Society.* 18(4):395–418. Lead article.
- "The Consequences of Collective Action: An Incomplete-Contracts Approach." 2006. American Journal of Political Science. 50(3):802–823.
- "A Spoonful of Sugar: Privatization and Popular Support for Reform in the Czech Republic." 2003. With John S. Earle. *Economics and Politics*. 15(1):1–32. Lead article.

Shorter Papers

- "(Good) Land and Freedom (for Former Serfs): Determinants of Peasant Unrest in European Russia, March–October 1917." 2017. With Evgeny Finkel and Dmitrii Kofanov. *Slavic Review.* 76(3):710–721.
- "Is Putin's Popularity Real?" 2016. With Timothy Frye, Kyle L. Marquardt, and Ora John Reuter. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 2017. 33(1):1–15. Lead article.
- "Cooperating With the State: Evidence from Survey Experiments on Policing." 2016. With Noah Buckley, Timothy Frye, and Lauren McCarthy. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*. 3(2):124–139.
- "Reflections on Putin and the Media." 2010. Post-Soviet Affairs. 26(1):77-87.
- "What is a Big Bureaucracy? Reflections on *Rebuilding Leviathan* and *Runaway State-Building*." 2008. Czech Sociological Review. 44(6):1189–1197.
- "Shifting Electoral Geography in Russia's 1991 and 1996 Presidential Elections." 2000. Post-Soviet Geography and Economics. 41(5):379–387.

Book Chapters

- "What is Next for the Study of Nondemocracy?" 2018. In *The Research Agenda in New Institutional Economics* (Claude Ménard and Mary Shirley, eds.). Northampton and Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- "The Grand Experiment That Wasn't? New Institutional Economics and the Postcommunist Experience." 2014. With Edmund J. Malesky. In *Institutions, Property Rights and Economic Growth: The Legacy of Douglass North* (Sebastian Galiani and Itai Sened, eds.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

"Privatization." 2013. With John S. Earle and J. David Brown. In *The Oxford Handbook* of the Russian Economy (Michael Alexeev and Shlomo Weber, eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reviews and Commentary

- "Taxes and Citizenship, 1850s–1920s [Review of Yanni Kotsonis, States of Obligation: Taxes and Citizenship in the Russian Empire and Early Soviet Republic]." 2016. Kritika. 17(3):698–701.
- "The Fallacy of Multiple Methods." 2015. Comparative Politics Newsletter. 25(2):11–12.
- "Review of Venelin I. Ganev, Preying on the State: The Transformation of Bulgaria after 1989." 2009. Perspectives on Politics. 7(2):425-426.
- "Review of Yi Feng, Democracy, Governance, and Performance: Theory and Evidence." 2004. Economics of Transition. 12(3):587–589.

INVITED TALKS

NYU Abu Dhabi, Department of Political Science, 2020 Stockholm School of Economics, Conference on "The Long Shadow of Transition," 2019 University of Warwick, Department of Economics, 2019 London School of Economics, Department of Government, 2019 Sciences Po, Department of Economics, 2019 University of Chicago Center in Paris, Book Manuscript Workshop (Monika Nalepa), 2019Pennsylvania State University, Russian Economic History Workshop, 2019 New York University, Political Economy Seminar, 2019 Duke University, Department of Political Science, 2019 European University at St. Petersburg, PONARS Workshop on Modernization, 2019 University of Minnesota, Comparative Politics Colloquium, 2019 National Taiwan University, Webinar in Fake News and Election Meddling, 2019 University of Colorado, Department of Political Science, 2018 Middlebury College, Department of Economics, 2018 University of Chicago, Department of Political Science, 2018 University of Virginia, Book Manuscript Workshop (Anne Meng), 2018 Cornell University, Department of Government, 2018 University of Chicago, Political Economy Workshop, 2018 University of Virginia, Lansing B. Lee, Jr. Seminar in Global Politics, 2017 George Washington University, PONARS Annual Conference, 2017 University of Iowa, Grand Rounds, Department of Medicine, 2017 Williams College, Department of Economics, 2017 Indiana University, Workshop on the Political Economy of Contemporary Autocracy, 2017 University of Michigan, Political Economy Workshop, 2017 Texas A&M, Political Behavior and Political Institutions Seminar, 2017 Harvard University, Political Institutions and Economic Policy Conference, 2016 UCSD, Workshop on The Evolution of Communist Political Systems, 2016

LSE-NYU Conference on Political Science and Political Economy, London, 2016 Ronald Coase Institute Workshop on Institutional Analysis, Tallinn, 2016 University of Rochester, Wallis Seminar on Political Economy, 2016 University of Washington, Severyns-Ravenholt Seminar in Comparative Politics, 2016 Yale University, Comparative Politics Workshop, 2016 George Washington University, PONARS Policy Conference, 2015 Ronald Coase Institute Workshop on Institutional Analysis, Hong Kong, 2015 VoxUkraine/Journal of Comparative Economics Conference on Ukraine, Kyiv, 2015 UC Berkeley, Comparative Politics Colloquium, 2015 Pennsylvania State University, Political Science Speaker Series, 2015 Columbia University, Comparative Politics Seminar, 2015 University of Pennsylvania, Comparative Politics Seminar, 2014 Emory University, Political Institutions and Methodology Working Group, 2014 Washington University, Conference on Formal Theory and Comparative Politics, 2014 UC Berkeley, Book Manuscript Workshop (Peter Lorentzen), 2014 George Washington University, PONARS Workshop on Political Economy of Russia and Eurasia, 2014 Duke University, Workshop on Political Accountability, 2014 UW Madison, Applied Economics Workshop, 2014 Northwestern University, Book Manuscript Workshop (Jordan Gans-Morse), 2014 Harvard University, Political Institutions and Economic Policy Conference, 2013 Yale University, Conference on Russian, Soviet, and Post-Soviet Economic History, 2013 Cornell University, Department of Government Seminar, 2013 University of Houston, Workshop on Political Economy of the Rule of Law, 2013 Kellogg School of Management, Political Economy Seminar, 2013 University of Chicago, Political Economy Workshop, 2013 Center for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences, Juan March Institute, Madrid, 2013 Emory University, Workshop on Elections and Political Order, 2012 Uppsala Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Uppsala University, Book Manuscript Workshop (Grigore Pop-Eleches and Joshua Tucker), 2012 Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Book Manuscript Workshop (Stanislav Markus), 2012 Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 2012 New Economic School/CEFIR, 2012 Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, 2012 Harvard-MIT Positive Political Economy Seminar, 2012 Yale University, Leitner Political Economy Workshop, 2011 Princeton University, Political Economy Workshop, 2011 University of Chicago, Conference on Authoritarian Constitutions, 2011 Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, 2011 Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 2011 Columbia University, Columbia Center for the Study of Development Strategies, 2011 UC Berkeley, Workshop on Endogenous Institutions and Conflict, 2011 University of Illinois, Comparative Politics Workshop, 2011 Ronald Coase Institute Workshop on Institutional Analysis, Shanghai, 2010

Tsinghua University, Beijing, 2010

APSA Conference on "Appraising Media Indicators," University of Pennsylvania, 2010 Conference on "The Legacy and Work of Douglass C. North," Center for New Institutional Social Sciences, Washington University, 2010 University of Michigan, Comparative Politics Workshop, 2010 University at Buffalo, Book Manuscript Workshop (Dinissa Duvanova), 2010 University of Chicago, Political Economy Workshop, 2010 Columbia University, Comparative Politics Seminar, 2010 Stanford University, Conference on "Better Governance for Better Health," 2010 George Mason University, Public Choice Seminar, 2010 UCLA, Workshop on Well-Being in New Democracies, 2010 APSA Conference on "Democracy Audits and Governmental Indicators," Berkeley, 2009 Hitotsubashi University, Institute of Economic Research, 2009 Ronald Coase Institute Workshop on Institutional Analysis, Bratislava, 2009 Harvard University, Center for International Development, 2009 Weatherhead Center, Harvard University, Conference on "Conceptualizing and Measuring Legitimacy for Comparative and Cross-National Analyses," 2009 UW Madison, Development Economics Workshop, 2008 University of Rochester, Wallis Seminar on Political Economy, 2008 Moscow Carnegie Center, 2008 Conference on "Frontiers of Political Economics," Moscow, 2008 University of Chicago, Comparative Politics Workshop, 2008 UC Berkeley, Institutions and Positive Political Theory Seminar, 2008 Rice University, Political Science Department Seminar, 2008 Washington University, Political Economy Seminar, 2008 Ronald Coase Institute Workshop on Institutional Analysis, Singapore, 2008 Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 2007 Harvard-MIT Positive Political Economy Seminar, 2007 Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, 2007 Yale University, Leitner Political Economy Workshop, 2007 New Economic School/CEFIR, 2007 EERC Workshop on the New Political Economics, Kiev, 2007 Ronald Coase Institute Workshop on Institutional Analysis, Reykjavik, 2007 UCSD, Political Economy of Development Seminar Series, 2007 Middlebury College, Christian A. Johnson Visiting Lecturer Series, 2007 Ronald Coase Institute Workshop on Institutional Analysis, Boulder, 2006 Duke University, Workshop on Post-Communist Political Economy and Democratic Politics, 2006 Ohio State University, Mershon Center for International Security Studies, 2004 UW Madison, Economic Theory Workshop, 2003 New Economic School/CEFIR, 2003 Stockholm School of Economics, 2002

Collegium Budapest, Project on Honesty and Trust, 2002

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Articles and Op-Ed Columns (see also blog at scottgehlbach.net)

- "Trump Helps Putin—and All Dictators—When He Calls U.S. Elections 'Rigged." 2016. The Monkey Cage [Washington Post]. October 26.
- "What Does Boris Nemtsov's Murder Mean for Russia?" 2015. The Monkey Cage [Washington Post]. March 2.
- "What Can We Learn about the Electoral Behavior of Non-citizens from a Survey Designed to Learn about Citizens?" 2014. With John Ahlquist. The Monkey Cage [Washington Post]. October 28.
- "A Way Forward for Ukraine." 2014. With Roger Myerson and Tymofiy Mylovanov. New York Times. March 19.
- "Why Do Leaders Manipulate (or not) Elections? Revisiting the 2013 Moscow Mayoral Elections." 2013. The Monkey Cage [Washington Post]. October 2.
- "A Modest Proposal to Improve the Peer Review Process." 2013. The Monkey Cage. August 27.
- "More on that Suspicious Russian Election." 2012. The Monkey Cage. April 12.
- "Electoral Fraud in Russia: Report from the Russian Blogosphere." 2012. The Monkey Cage. January 27.
- "Mif o biorokratii. Nevernaia problema, oshibochnoe reshenie [The Myth About Bureaucracy. Wrong Problem, Mistaken Solution]." 2011. With John S. Earle. *Vedomosti.* February 17.
- "Bigger Bureaucracy Can Be Better." 2011. With John S. Earle. Moscow Times, January 25; St. Petersburg Times, January 26.
- "Knowing Who But Not Why." 2007. With Konstantin Sonin. Moscow Times, September 13; St. Petersburg Times, September 14. Published in translation in Obiectiv de Suceava, Suceava, Romania, September 14; La Vanguardia, Spain, September 14.
- "Business-State Contract Lacks Credibility." 2003. Moscow Times. August 6.
- "Owners and Winners in Eastern Europe." 1996. With John S. Earle. Translated and published in the following newspapers: *Delo*, Ljubljana, Slovenia, October 19; *Bulgarski Business*, Sofia, Bulgaria, November 14; *Romania Libera*, Bucharest, Romania, November 29; *Rzeczpospolita*, Warsaw, Poland; *Logos Press*, Chisinau, Moldova.
- "Vouchers, Restitution Helped Klaus at the Ballot Box." 1996. With John S. Earle, Zuzana Sakova, and Jiri Vecernik. *Prague Business Journal*. June 3-9.
- "Mass Privatization and Voter Response in the Czech Republic: Will the Klaus Strategy Work?" 1996. With John S. Earle, Zuzana Sakova, and Jiri Vecernik. *Open Media Research Institute Analytical Briefs.* 1(137).
- "Vertikalni Smysleni [The Hazards of Vertical Thinking]." 1995. With Vit Sedlacek. Profit. 95(36).

- "Kontrola Zasob a Nakupu [Inventory and Purchasing Control]." 1995. With Lucie Cerychova. *Profit.* 95(32).
- "Proc Podvojne Ucetnicvi? [Why Accrual Accounting?]." 1995. With Lucie Cerychova. *Profit.* 95(28).
- "Rizeni Rustu Firmy [Managing Company Growth]." 1995. With Lucie Cerychova. *Profit.* 95(22).

Other

Prirucka Podnikatelskeho Planu [The Business Planning Workbook]. 1995. With Debra Mosel. Prague: Czech-American Enterprise Fund.

COURSES TAUGHT

University of Wisconsin

Political Science 274: Political Choice and Strategy
Political Science 612: Transitions to the Market
Political Science 800: Political Science as a Discipline and Profession
Political Science/Agricultural and Applied Economics 835: Game Theory and Political Analysis
Political Science 836: Formal Models in Political Science
Political Science 948: Nondemocratic Politics
Political Science 949: Postcommunist Politics

Harvard University

Government 2006: Formal Models of Domestic Politics

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Associate Editor, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 2015–present

Editorial Board, American Journal of Political Science, 2019-present

Editorial Board, Journal of Theoretical Politics, 2018–present

Editorial Board, Post-Soviet Affairs, 2016-present

Editorial Board, *Politeia*, 2014–present

Editorial Board, Comparative Economic Studies, 2013-present

Program Executive Committee, Society for Institutional and Organizational Economics, 2019

Nominating Committee, American Political Science Association, 2017–2019

Board of Directors, Society for Institutional and Organizational Economics, 2017–2020

Editorial Board, Journal of Politics, 2017–2018

Selection Committee, Douglass C. North Research Award, 2018

Program Committee, Annual Meeting of the Society for Institutional and Organizational Economics, 2016

Faculty, Ronald Coase Institute Workshop on Institutional Analysis, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2015, 2016

Selection Committee, Gregory Luebbert Award for Best Article in Comparative Politics, 2010, 2015

Nominating Committee, APSA Political Economy Section, 2015

SSRC Eurasia Program Advisory Board on Quantitative Methodology, 2011–present

- Academic Committee, New Economic School/Higher School of Economics B.A. Program in Economics, 2011–present
- Co-editor, Higher School of Economics Working Paper Series in Political Science, 2011–2015
- Selection Committee, Ed A. Hewett Book Prize, 2012–2014
- Co-editor, *The Political Economist*, Newsletter of APSA Political Economy Section, 2010–2013
- Editorial Board, PS, 2009–2012
- Executive Council, APSA Political Economy Section, 2006–2008
- Program Committee, Conference on "Frontiers of Political Economics," Moscow, 2008
- Faculty, EERC Workshop on the New Political Economics, 2007, 2008
- Selection Committee, Mancur Olson Award for Best Dissertation in Political Economy, 2005
- Reviewer: American Economic Journal: Microeconomics; American Economic Review: Insights; American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review; American Sociological Review; British Journal of Political Science; Cambridge University Press; China Economic Review; Comparative Economic Studies; Comparative Political Studies; Comparative Politics; Cornell University Press; Development Policy Review; Economic Systems; Economics and Politics; Economics of Governance; Economics of Peace and Security Journal; Economics of Transition; European Economic Review; European Journal of Political Economy; International Organization; International Sociology; International Studies Quarterly; Journal of Comparative Economics; Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis; Journal of Economic History; Journal of Economic Literature: Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics: Journal of International Development; Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization; Journal of Politics; Journal of Public Economic Theory; Journal of Public Economics; Journal of Theoretical Politics: Legislative Studies Quarterly: National Science Foundation; Oxford University Press; Perspectives on Politics; Political Research Quarterly; Post-Soviet Affairs; Quarterly Journal of Political Science; Review of International Organizations; Russian National Award in Applied Economics; Slavic Review; Social Science Journal; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; World Development: World Politics