

## Timothy M. Frye

420 W. 118<sup>th</sup> Street 811 IAB  
New York, New York 10027  
August 2024

tmf2@columbia.edu  
<https://www.timothyfrye.com/>  
twitter: @timothymfrye

### **Employment and Affiliations**

Marshall D. Shulman Professor of Post-Soviet Foreign Policy, Department of Political Science,  
Columbia University, 2009 –

Member, Scholars Council, Library of Congress, January 2024-29.

Library of Congress Chair in US-Russian Relations, Kluge Center, January-June 2023.

Visiting Fellow, Russell Sage Foundation, 2019-20.

Chair, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 2016-2019.

Director, Harriman Institute, Columbia University. 2009-2012, 2013-2015.

Co-Director, International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, (ICSID) Higher  
School of Economics. Moscow, Russia. 2011-2022.

Editor, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2016-  
Associate Editor, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2010-

Member, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY. 2010 -

Professor, Department of Political Science. Columbia University. 2006-2009.

Faculty Associate, Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, Columbia University. 2006-

Associate Professor. Department of Political Science. Ohio State University. 2003 -2005.

Assistant Professor. Department of Political Science. Ohio State University. 1997-2003.

Visiting Assistant Professor. Department of Political Science/SIPA Columbia University. 2002-03.

### **Education**

Ph. D. Political Science. Columbia University. 1997.

M.A. School of International & Public Affairs (SIPA) Columbia University. 1991.

Certificate Harriman Institute, Columbia University, 1992.

Fellow Wallis Institute of Political Economy. University of Rochester. 1992-93.

B.A. Middlebury College. Russian Language and Literature. 1986.

## Books

*Workplace Politics: How Politicians and Employers Subvert Elections*, Oxford University Press, January 2025. With Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi.

*Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia*, 2021. Princeton University Press.  
Shortlisted 2022 Pushkin House Prize. 2022 Toronto International Festival of Authors.

*Property Rights and Property Wrongs: How Power, Institutions and Norms Shape Economic Conflict in Russia*. 2017. Cambridge University Press.

*Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*. 2010. Cambridge University Press.

Awarded Best Book published in 2010 by the Comparative Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association.

Winner of the 2011 Hewett Prize for outstanding publication in political economy given by the Association for Slavic, Eurasian, and East European Studies.

*Brokers and Bureaucrats: Building Market Institutions in Russia*. 2000. University of Michigan Press.

Winner of the 2001 Hewett Prize for outstanding publication in political economy given by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.

*The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing U.S. Policy toward Russia*. 2010. Co-edited with Timothy Colton and Robert Legvold. American Academy of Arts and Sciences: Cambridge, MA.

## Academic Articles

"What Moves Public Support for Aid to Ukraine? Issue Attention, Partisanship and Normative Appeals," *Political Science Quarterly*, forthcoming.

"Do Violations of Democratic Norms Change Political Attitudes: Evidence from the January 6<sup>th</sup> Insurrection," *American Politics Research*, December 2023 Online.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1532673X231221987>

"Is Putin's Popularity (Still) Real? A Cautionary Note on Using List Experiments to Measure Popularity in Authoritarian Regimes," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2023 3:213-22. With Scott Gehlbach, Kyle Marquardt, and Ora John Reuter.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1060586X.2023.2187195>

"Who Reports Crime: Citizen Engagement With the Police in Russia and Georgia," *Europe-Asia Studies*, January 2021. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09668136.2020.1851354>

"Vote Brokers, Clientelist Appeals and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Russia and Venezuela." *World Politics*. With Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi. October 2019.

"Elections, Protest, and Trust: A Natural Experiment from Russia." *Journal of Politics*. With Ekaterina Borisova. 2019.

<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/702944?mobileUi=0>

"Economic Sanctions and Public Opinion: Survey Experiments From Russia." November 2018 *Comparative Political Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0010414018806530>

"Hitting Them With Carrots: Voter Intimidation and Vote Buying in Russia." *British Journal of Political Science*. February 2018. With Ora John Reuter and Davis Szakonyi. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123416000752>

"Elections and Property Rights: A Natural Experiment from Russia." *Comparative Political Studies*. With Andrei Yakovlev. January, 2016. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0010414015621074?journalCode=cpsa>

"Is Putin's Popularity Real?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*. With Scott Gehlbach, Kyle Marquardt and Ora John Reuter. February 2016. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2016.1144334>

"Cooperating with the State: Survey Experiments on Policing." 2016. *Journal of Experimental Politics*. With Noah Buckley, Scott Gehlbach, and Lauren McCarthy. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2015.18>

"What Do Voters in Ukraine Want? A Survey Experiment on Candidate Ethnicity, Language, and Policy Orientation," 2015, *Problems of Postcommunism*, September. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2015.1026200>

"Political Machines at Work: Workplace Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in Russia." *World Politics*. April 2014. With John Reuter and David Szakonyi. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S004388711400001X>

"The Political Economy of Russian Gubernatorial Election and Appointment." with Noah Buckley, Guzel Garifullina, and John Reuter. *Europe-Asia Studies*. September, 2014.

"Legality and Violence." Introduction. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Special Issue 2-3.

"Everybody Hates Privatization, but Why? Survey Evidence from the Postcommunist World." Feb. 2012. With Irina Denisova, Markus Eller, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. *Journal of Comparative Economics*. 40:1, 44-61. Honorable Mention, National Prize in Applied Economics, 2014. Russia

"In From the Cold: Causal Inference and Postcommunist Studies." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2012, vol. 15.

"Government Directors and Business State Relations in Russia." *European Journal of Political Economy*, June, 2011. With Ichiro Iwasaki. 27(4), 2011, pp. 642-658

"Who Wants to Revise Privatization? The Complementarity of Market Skills and Institutions." *American Political Science Review*, May 2009, Irina Denisova, Markus Eller and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. Honorable Mention, National Prize in Applied Economics, 2010. Russia.

"The "Other" Russian Economy: How Everyday Firms View the Rules of the Game in Russia." *Social Research*. Spring 2009. With Andrei Yakovlev and Yevgeny Yasin.

"Original Sin, Good Works, and Property Rights in Russia." *World Politics*. July 2006.

"Ownership, Voting, and Job Creation in Russia." *European Journal of Political Economy*. June 2006.

"Credible Commitment and Property Rights: Evidence from Russia." *American Political Science Review*. August 2004.

"Timing is Everything: Elections and Trade Liberalization in the Post-Communist World." *Comparative Political Studies*. With Edward D. Mansfield. May 2004.

"Fragmenting Protection: The Political Economy of Trade Policy in the Post-Communist World." *British Journal of Political Science*. With Edward D. Mansfield. Fall 2003.

"Markets, Democracy, and New Private Business in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs*. January 2003.

"Capture or Exchange? Business Lobbying In Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies*. November 2002.

"The Perils of Polarization: Economic Performance in the Post-Communist World." *World Politics*. April 2002.

"Private Protection in Russia and Poland." *American Journal of Political Science*. June 2002.

"Rackets, Regulations, and the Rule of Law." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*. With Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. October 2000. [Reprinted in *Economic Approaches to Law*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Series Editors, Richard A. Posner and Francesco Parisi, forthcoming.]

"The Politics of Post-Communist Economic Reform." *Transition Report 1999*. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. London. With Simon Commander.

"Governing the Russian Equities Market." *Post-Soviet Affairs*. November 1997.

"A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies." *Comparative Political Studies*. Oct. 1997.

"The Invisible Hand and the Grabbing Hand: Private Shops in Moscow and Warsaw." *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings*. June 1997. With Andrei Shleifer. [Reprinted in *Economic Approaches to Law*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Series Editors, Richard A. Posner and Francesco Parisi.]

"Ethnicity, Sovereignty and Transitions From Non-Democratic Rule." *Journal of International Affairs*. Spring 1992.

### **Chapters in Edited Volumes**

"Property Rights." *Emerging Trends*, Robert A. Scott, Co-General Editor, Stephen Kosslyn. 2015.

"The Limits of Legacies: Property Rights in Russian Energy." *Historical Legacies in Communist and Post-Communist Eurasia: State Executives, Property, Law, and Geopolitics since the 1970s*. Mark Beissinger and Steven Kotkin. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

"The Politics of Chinese Investment in the US." In *Investing in the US: Is the US Ready for FDI from China?* Ed. Karl P. Sauvant. Edward Elgar. Cheltenham, UK, 2010. With Pablo M. Pinto.

"Economic Transformation and Comparative Politics." *Oxford Handbook of Political Science*. eds.

Susan Stokes and Carles Boix. Oxford University Press, 2007.

"Governing the Banking Sector." *The State after Communism: Governance in the New Russia*. eds., Timothy J. Colton and Stephen Holmes. Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

"Presidents, Parliaments, and Democracy: Insights from the Post-Communist World." *The Architecture of Democracy*. ed. Andrew Reynolds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

"Keeping Shop: The Value of the Rule of Law in Moscow and Warsaw." *Assessing the Value of the Rule of Law in Transition Economies*. ed. Peter Murrell. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2001.

"Privatization and the Limits of Credible Commitment." *The Political Economy of Property Rights*. ed. Dave Weimer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

"Credible Commitment and Property Rights: The Role of Strategic Interaction between Political and Economic Actors." *The Political Economy of Property Rights*. ed. Dave Weimer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. with D. Diermeier, J. Ericson, and S. Lewis.

"Contracting in the Shadow of the State: Private Arbitration Courts in Russia." *The Rule of Law and Economic Reform in Russia*. ed. Jeffrey Sachs. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

"Caveat Emptor: Institutions, Credible Commitment, and Commodity Exchanges in Russia." *Institutional Design*, ed. Dave Weimer. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1995.

### **Selected General Interest Publications**

Putin's Hidden Weakness: Many Russians Support Him, but not His War," <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/russian-federation/putins-hidden-weakness> *Foreign Affairs*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 2024. with Henry Hale, Bryn Rosenfeld, and Ora John Reuter.

"Putin's War at Home," *Foreign Affairs*, February 28, 2022.

"Russia's Weak Strongman: The Perilous Bargains That Keep Putin in Power," *Foreign Affairs*, May-June 2021.

"Corruption and the Rule of Law in Russia." *Russia after the Global Crisis*. Ed. Anders Aslund, Sergei Guriev, and Andrew Kuchins, Peterson Institute. Washington, D.C. 2010.

"Promoting Property Rights in Russia: The Value of Private Solutions," National Council on Eurasian and East European Research Working Paper, 2009.

"Vladimir Putin and the Succession Dilemma," *Problems of Postcommunism*, November-December 2007.

"Reformy v Rossii Glazami Biznesa" *Pro I Kontra*, Carnegie Center Moscow, July-October 2007.

"Show Stoppard. A Review of *The Coast of Utopia*." *American Interest*, July-August 2007.

"Bucking the Trend: Democracy and Economic Reform in the Postcommunist World." *Harvard International Review*, December, 2006.

## Book Reviews

Kathryn Stoner, *Russia Resurrected: Its Power and Purpose in A New Global Order*. H-Diplo, 2021.

"Inside Job: The Challenge of Foreign Online Interference in US Elections," [War on the Rocks](#), review of five books on cyberconflict. October 2020.

Joshua Yaffa, *Between Two Fires*, *Slavic Review*, Summer 2020.

Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C. 2012 in *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2013.

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, *Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia*. Cambridge University Press. *Slavic Review*. Fall 2007.

Thane Gustafson. *Capitalism Russian-Style*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000. *The American Political Science Review*. Fall 2000.

Ray Taras, ed. *Post-Communist Presidencies*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. *The American Political Science Review*. September 1998.

Itai Sened. *The Politics of Property Rights*. New York: Cambridge University. Press. 1997. *The Political Science Quarterly*. March. 1998.

## Works in Progress

"Fear, Soft Propaganda, and Demand for Regulation: Evidence from a Quasi-Experiment in Russia," with Ekaterina Borisova, Koen Schoors, and Vladimir Zabolotskiy. Under review.

## Selected Invited Talks

Johns Hopkins University, March 2024.

Georgetown University, McCourt School, May 2023.

University of Chicago, April 2021.

Oxford University, January 2021

Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics, December 2019.

University of Washington, May 2019.

Yale University, May 2018.

Yale University December, 2017

Princeton University, May 2017.

University of Wisconsin-Madison, January 2017.

Science Po, Paris, April 2016

IPEG, Barcelona, April 2016

La Sorbonne, April 2016

City University of New York, Comparative Politics Workshop, April 2015

New School for Social Research, October 2014

George Washington University, Sixth Annual James Millar Lecture, March 2013.

NES/Higher School of Economics Joint Seminar, December 2012.  
Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2011.  
Princeton University, Sept. 2010.  
Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C. December 2009.  
Ohio State University, May 2009  
Princeton University, September 2008.  
Higher Economics School, Moscow, Russia, April 2007.  
University of California-Berkeley, February 2007.  
Stanford University, February 2007.  
University of Texas, February 2007.  
University of Wisconsin, February 2007.  
University of Illinois, Chancellors Conference, Chicago, IL. October 2006.  
Duke University, Department of Political Science, February 2005.  
World Bank, Policy Research and Economic Management, October 2004.  
Yale University, Department of Political Science, March 2004.  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Political Science, February 2004.

### **Selected Academic Awards and Grants**

“Transparency and the Rule of Law,” National Science Foundation, \$286,989, with Jordan Gans Morse

“Innovative Approaches to Evaluating Citizen-Led Rule of Law Initiatives in Ukraine” Department of State Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, (with Denise Drane and Jordan Gans-Morse), \$294,213, 2019-2021

Medal of Honor, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, June 2018.

Co-Director, Center for Study of Institutions and Development, Higher School of Economics, 2011-2013, 2014-2016, 2017- Approximately \$3,600,000 over six years.

“Transparency and the Rule of Law: A Field Experiment in Ukraine.” National Council on Eurasian and East European Research, 2018-19. \$39,000

“Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace,” 2014-2106, National Science Foundation, with Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi. \$327,000

Visiting Scholar, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, 2007-08.

Policy Research Fellowship. National Council on East European and Eurasian Research, 2007-09.

Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, 2007, \$8,000 (with Pablo Pinto).

William Davidson Institute Research Grant, 2003-2004. \$25,000.

Olin Faculty Fellowship for Junior Professors, 2000-2001. \$75,000.

Policy Research Fellowship. National Council on East European and Eurasian Research, 1999, 2000.

Post-Doctoral Fellowship. Social Science Research Council, 1999-2001. \$11,000

Research Grants. The Mershon Center at Ohio State University, 1998-2005, \$11,000-19,000.

The Ohio State University Seed Grant. 1999-2001. \$15,000

Post-Doctoral Fellowship. Harriman Institute. Columbia University. Spring, 1997.

Fellow. Social Science Research Council. 1993-94, 1994-95.

Fellow. Wallis Institute of Political Economy. University of Rochester. 1992-93.

Fellow. Kosciuszko Foundation. 1991-92, 1992-93.

### **Languages**

Russian Fluent, Polish Fair.

### **Selected Professional Activities**

Member, Committee to Award the Hewett Prize, Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 2023-25.

Member, Committee to select the Lifetime Achievement Award, Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 2010-12.

Chair, Best Article Award. Political Economy Section, American Political Science Association, 2009.

Chair, Best Article Award, European Politics, Section, American Political Science Association, 2006-07.

Chair, Almond Dissertation Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2005-06.

Section Head. Politics of Communist and Former Communist Countries, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2005.

Section Head. Politics of Communist and Former Communist Countries, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 2005.

Reviewer. American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, World Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Journal of Comparative Economics, Economics of Transition, Journal of Law and Economics, Cambridge University Press, University of Michigan Press, Cornell University Press, Princeton University Press, National Science Foundation, Social Science Research Council, Foreign Language Area Studies, Global Development Network, World Development.

### **Professional Activities Outside Political Science**

Director, Harriman Institute, July 2009-June 2012, 2013-2015. Managed a staff of 13 for the oldest Institute for the study of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with an annual budget of 2.5 million dollars.

Co-Director, Center for the Study of Institutions and Development, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2011-2022. Managed 18 Russian and American scholars on research projects ranging from bureaucratic reform in Russia's regions to the determinants of trust in the police as part of a three-year grant from the Russian government.

Consultant, World Bank, Report on *Twenty Years of Transition, 1989-2009*. Wrote background chapter on the politics of economic reform in the postcommunist world with a special emphasis on the impact of the global economic crisis in 2008. 2008-2009.



Consultant, Bloomberg Foundation, New York City. Helped design a political strategy for advancing anti-tobacco legislation and for reducing tobacco use in Russia. 2008.

Consultant. Think-Tank Partnership Program, United States Agency for International Development and the Institute for Research on Informal Sector, University of Maryland, 2002-03, 2007-2008. Conducted research on corporate governance with think tanks in Russia and Bulgaria.

Consultant. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, London. Wrote chapter on the politics of economic reform for *Transition Report, 1999*. 7-9/1999.

Consultant, Securities and Exchange Commission, Russian Federation. Conducted surveys of brokers on Russian equities market to guide policy on the development of the National Association of Securities Market Participants (NAUFOR). 6-8/1995, 2-8/1996.

Temporary Foreign Service Officer. U. S. Department of State. Guide for the U.S. Information Agency, "Information-USA" Exhibit. Tbilisi, Tashkent, Irkutsk, Magnitogorsk, Leningrad, and Minsk, USSR. 9/1987-1/1989.