ALEKSANDAR MATOVSKI

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Williams College, Department of Political Science, Williamstown, MA — 2017-2019
Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow

Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA — 2017-
Center Associate

Postdoctoral Fellow — 2016-2017

Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, CA — 2015-2016
W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow and the Bittson National Fellow

EDUCATION

Cornell University, Department of Government, Ithaca, New York — 2015
PhD in Government
Committee: Valerie Bunce (chair), Sidney Tarrow, Peter Enns
M.A. in Government — 2012
Fields: Comparative Politics and Political Methodology

King's College London, London, United Kingdom — 2004
M.A. in War Studies

Saints Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, Macedonia — 2002
B.A. in Law, International Law Major
Summa cum Laude, with University Honors

Additional Training:
Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research Summer Program — 2009
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Maximum Likelihood Estimation, Panel Data, Event History, and Time Series Analysis

BOOK MANUSCRIPT

Title: **Popular Dictatorships: Crises, Mass Opinion and the Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism**

Summary: Does popular appeal play an important role in the rise and endurance of authoritarian regimes? Based on a cross-national analysis of regime transitions and a comparative study of the prototypical case of Russia, I show that electoral autocracies – the most widespread type of non-democracy today – are largely the product of distinct opinion currents that emerge in the wake of profound political, economic and security crises. I demonstrate that in such contexts, incumbents with a reputation for effective, strong-armed rule,

gain decisive advantages in popular appeal over their competitors. This allows them to establish and sustain authoritarian rule through the ballot box and with minimal resort to coercion, thus conferring a veneer of electoral legitimacy. Fear of renewed instability, in turn, deter voters from challenging the regime through voting and public protest, enabling even poorly performing autocracies to survive. This legitimation strategy has a key limitation, however: electoral authoritarianism becomes unnecessary both when it succeeds and when it fails in its mission of stabilization. To maintain popular consent to their rule, I argue that electoral autocracies must therefore sustain, or even manufacture crises that justify their existence – a dynamic recently exemplified by Russia's involvement in the conflicts in Ukraine and Syria.

PUBLICATIONS

Articles

"Trump Claims He Wants Closer Ties with Russia. Here Are 3 Reasons That Won't Fly." *The Washington Post*. May 17, 2017.

"All Quiet on the Balkan Front" (with Norman M. Naimark). *Hoover Digest*. Winter 2017.

"The Attitudinal Roots of Electoral Authoritarianism." *Perspectives on Europe*, Vol. 43, Issue 1, Spring 2013. pp.136-140.

"Introduction: Special Issue on Kosovo and the Perspectives of the Balkan Region," *Forum Analytica*, Issue 10/11 (November/December 2008). pp.4-11.

"Macedonia: A Crisis Nobody Wants to Notice" (with Sašo Ordanoski). *Forum Analytica*, Issue 10/11 (November/December 2008). pp.97-109.

"Macedonia After Bucharest: Avoiding Another European Failure in the Balkans." *European Union Institute for Security Studies Opinion.* June 13, 2008. pp.1-6.

"Between Ohrid and Dayton: The Future of Macedonia's Framework Agreement" (with Sašo Ordanoski). *Südost Europa Mitteilungen* (Journal of the Southeast Europe Association), Vol.47, Issue 4, August 2007. pp.46-59.

"The European Energy Security Policy." *Euro Dialogue*. Issue 2. July 2002. pp.193-225. (in Macedonian).

"The European Common Foreign and Defense Policy: The Second Pillar of the EU or the Second Pillar of NATO?" (with Dejan Mickovič) *Euro Dialogue*. Issue 1. May 2002. pp.89-141. (in Macedonian).

Book Chapters

"A Tale of the Two Balkan Models of Conflict Resolution" (with Sašo Ordanoski) in Deimel, Joanna and van Meurs, Wim (eds.), *The Balkan Prism: A Retrospective by Policy Makers and Analysts*. Munich: Otto Sagner Publishing House, 2007. pp 155-168.

"Assessment of Regional Security Threats and Challenges in the Western Balkans: The View from Macedonia." in Gyarmati, István and Stančić, Darko. *Study on the Assessment of Regional Security Threats and Challenges in the Western Balkans.* Geneva: Center for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), 2007. pp.99-114.

Articles Under Review

"Faking Turnout, Not Loyalty: How the Hidden Demobilization of the Citizenry Helped Russia's Electoral Autocracy Maintain Dominance at the Polls"

Analyzing a unique set of list experiments, the article shows that the hidden demobilization of Russia's electorate helped Vladimir Putin to secure a landslide victory in the 2012 presidential election despite the unprecedented protest wave that preceded it.

"The Logic of Vladimir Putin's Popular Appeal."

This article traces the roots of the domestic popularity of Russia's Vladimir Putin – arguably the most important and perplexing aspect of his rule.

"It's the Stability, Stupid! How the Quest to Restore Order After the Soviet Collapse Shaped Russian Popular Opinion,"

This article argues that despite the chaos and uncertainty of the post-Soviet period, Russian popular opinion was highly coherent and driven by the overarching desire of the public to achieve greater stability. Analyzing a unique dataset of 418 surveys covering the 1993-2011 period, I show that the stability-centric popular outlooks enabled the consolidation of authoritarian rule in Russia.

"Our Brand is Crisis: Political, Economic and Security Upheavals and the Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism."

This article examines the impact of political, economic and security crises in the rise and resilience of electoral autocracies, based on an extensive cross-national analysis of regime survival and transition patterns for the 1973-2010 period.

"Does Fear of Instability Sustain Popular Support for Electoral Authoritarianism? Comparative Evidence from Post-Communist Russia."

This article argues that even poorly performing authoritarian regimes can maintain substantial electoral advantages and genuine popular support when there is widespread fear that their replacement will lead to greater turmoil. The article tests this theory on the paradigmatic Russian case, using evidence from the Russia Election Study panel surveys for 1996 and 2000.

"The Lure of Strong-armed Rule: Deconstructing the Popular Appeal of Electoral Authoritarian Regimes."

Based on a cross-national analysis with data from the Comparative Manifestos Project Dataset, this article explores the campaign appeals of incumbents in electoral autocracies. It shows that these regimes have followed a remarkably consistent script in their appeals: claiming that their countries require a strong-armed but popularly endorsed leadership, which they are uniquely qualified to provide.

Policy Papers

"Radicalism and the Bumpy Road Ahead: What is Kosovo's Violence Potential?" Policy Paper. *Forum-Centre for Strategic Research and Documentation*. November 2004.

"Russia After 15 Years of Transition: The Great Power in a Small Package." *Forum Magazine*. No.150. July 2004. pp.36-43 (in Macedonian).

"The Case of the Thessaloniki-Skopje Pipeline Extension: The Past, Present and the Future." Policy Paper. *Forum-Centre for Strategic Research and Documentation*. July 2004.

"Russian Energy, Geopolitics and the Balkans: Opportunities and Limits for Expansion." Policy Paper. *Forum-Centre for Strategic Research and Documentation*. May 2004.

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS

Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellowship, American Council of Learned Societies	2014-2015
Sage Fellowship, Department of Government, Cornell University	2008-2009 2013-2014
Mario Einaudi Graduate Fellowship for dissertation field research in Russia, Einaudi Foundation and the Cornell University Institute for European Studies	2012
Research Travel Grant for field research in Russia, Cornell Graduate School	2012
Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS) Summer Fellowship for Intensive Russian Language Study at the Moscow State University	2012
Pre-dissertation Research Fellowship for field research in Russia, Council of European Studies, Columbia University	2012
Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS) Academic Year Fellowship for Russian Language Study at Cornell University	2011-2012
Open Society Institute Global Supplementary Grant	2008
Fulbright Foreign Student Program Award for graduate study in the US (declined)	2007
Fulbright Fellowship for the 2005 Study of the United States Institute, University of Delaware	2005
UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office Chevening Scholarship for graduate study in the United Kingdom	2002-2003
Golden Coin and Certificate of Merit for the highest achieving graduates for 2001-2002, Saints Cyril and Methodius University	2002
26th of July–Frank Manning Award for outstanding academic performance, Saints Cyril and Methodius University	2002
Golden Justinian Award for top ranking law student 1997-2001, Saints Cyril and Methodius University	2002

RESEARCH INTERESTS

- The structure and dynamics of popular opinion, and its impact in authoritarian regimes. The politics of authoritarian regimes
- Contentious politics, particularly the interaction between conventional and contentious political action. The dynamics of civil wars and internal conflicts
- Quantitative and qualitative methods for studying public opinion and voting behavior

PROSPECTIVE COURSE OFFERINGS

- Comparative Politics (Politics of Russia and Post-Communist East Europe, Authoritarian Politics, Comparative Public Opinion, Comparative Democratization, Voting Behavior, Contentious Politics, Political Violence and Civil Wars, Ethnic Politics)
- Political Methodology (Probability and Regression Analysis, Maximum Likelihood Estimation, Causal Inference, Formal Modelling, Survey Methodology)
- International Security/Peace Studies

INVITED TALKS

"Does Fear of Instability Sustain Popular Support for Electoral Authoritarianism? Comparative Evidence from Post-Communist Russia," presented at the School of Global and International Studies, Indiana University, March 27, 2017.

"What Makes Authoritarian Leaders 'Popular?' The Case of Russia's Vladimir Putin,'" Department of Political Science, Williams College, March 8, 2017.

"The Logic of Vladimir Putin's Popular Appeal," presented at the *Citizens and the State in Authoritarian Regimes: Comparing Mass Politics and Policy in China and Russia* workshop, University of Notre Dame, March 10-11, 2017.

"It's the Stability, Stupid! How the Quest to Restore Order After the Soviet Collapse Shaped Russian Popular Opinion," presented at the *Russia: 25 Years After the Collapse of the Soviet Union* conference, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies, Stanford University, January 27, 2017.

"Does Fear of Instability Sustain Popular Support for Electoral Authoritarianism? Comparative Evidence from Post-Communist Russia," Fellows Seminar, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, October 5, 2016.

"The Lure of Strong-armed Rule: Deconstructing the Popular Appeal of Electoral Authoritarian Regimes," presented at the *Mass Politics, the State and Foreign and Domestic Policy in Russia and China* Workshop, Cornell University, Sept. 16, 2016.

"Popular Dictators: The Attitudinal Roots of Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia and Beyond," presented at the 2015-2016 Glenn-Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellows Paper Presentation Series, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, June 9, 2016.

"Post-transitional Crises and the Structure and Dynamics of Public Opinion in Russia," presented at the Center for Economic and Financial Research (CEFIR) Research Seminar at the New Economic School (NES), Moscow, Russia, October 31, 2012.

"Political Settlements and the Balance of Democracy and Stability in the Post-Conflict Phase: The Balkan Experience," presented at the *Security Risks in the Process of Democratic Transition* conference, The Helsinki Process on Globalization and Democracy, Budapest, Hungary, May 24-25, 2007.

"Why Was the Promise of European Integration Not Enough?" presented at the *Strategies for European Integration of the Western Balkans* panel, Parliamentary Committee on European Affairs, Hungarian Parliament, Budapest, Hungary, September 1st, 2006.

SELECTED CONFERENCE PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS (last 6 years)

"Legitimizing Electoral Autocracies," the 2016 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 1-4, 2016, Philadelphia, PA.

"Popular Legitimation and Campaign Appeals in Electoral Autocracies: A Comparative Analysis," the 2016 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Apr. 7-10, 2016, Chicago, IL.

"Our Brand is Crisis: Systemic Crises and the Rise of Electoral Autocracies," the 2015 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 3-6, 2015, San Francisco CA.

"Does Fear of Instability Sustain Popular Support for Electoral Autocracies?" the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Apr. 16-19, 2015, Chicago IL.

"Legitimized by Fear: Systemic Crises, Risk-averse Electorates and Popular Support for Electoral Authoritarianism," the 2014 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 2014, Chicago IL.

"Popular Opinion and the Rise of Illiberal Political Actors and Regimes," the 21st International Conference of Europeanists, March 14-16, 2014, Washington, D.C.

"The Structure and Dynamics of Public Opinion Following Post-Authoritarian Transitions," the 2013 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Apr. 11-14, 2013, Chicago IL.

"Why Minorities Rebel? The Role of Conflict Processes in the Mobilization of Ethnic Insurgencies," the 2013 Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Apr.3-6, 2013, San Francisco, CA.

"Transitional Crises, Public Opinion and the Fate of Democracy: Lessons Learned from Post-Communist Russia," the 2013 Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Apr.3-6, 2013, San Francisco CA.

"Patterns of Popular Support for Russia's Post-Communist Regimes," presented at the Cornell Institute for European Studies Workshop, Oct.1, 2011, Ithaca NY.

"Public Opinion and the Dynamics of Russia's Post-Communist Political Development," the 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 1-4, 2011, Seattle, WA.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor (Fall 2017): *PSCI/RUSS 286: Russian Politics under Vladimir Putin*. Department of Political Science, Williams College.

Head Teaching Assistant (Spring 2013): *GOVT 1313: Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics* (Professor Andrew Mertha). Department of Government, Cornell University.

Teaching Assistant (Spring 2011): *GOVT 3313: Middle Eastern Politics* (Professor David Patel). Department of Government, Cornell University.

Teaching Assistant (Spring 2011): *GOVT 6029: Methods of Political Analysis II* (Professor Peter Enns). Department of Government, Cornell University.

Teaching Assistant (Fall 2010): *GOVT 1817: Introduction to International Relations* (Professor Peter Katzenstein). Department of Government, Cornell University.

Teaching Assistant (Spring 2010): *GOVT 1313: Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics* (Professor Kenneth Roberts). Department of Government, Cornell University.

Teaching Assistant (Fall 2009): *GOVT 3937: Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies* (Professor Sarah Kreps). Department of Government, Cornell University.

Guest Lecturer (2003-2008): *International Organizations* **(**Professor Tatjana Petrusevska). Faculty of Law, Saints Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Director of Studies, Forum Center for Strategic Research and Documentation, Skopje, Macedonia	2006-2008
Consultant, M6 Educational Center, Skopje, Macedonia	2007-2008
National Security Advisor, Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, Macedonia	2004-2006
Political and Military Advisor, Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, Macedonia	2003-2004
Research Associate, Eurodialogue Project, Skopje, Macedonia	2001-2002
Policy Analyst, Study and Analysis Group, Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, Macedonia	2001
Research Assistant, Forum Center for Strategic Research and Documentation, Skopje, Macedonia	2000-2001

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND SERVICE

Referee for the American Journal of Political Science, Nationalities Papers and Comparative Politics

Member of the Editorial Committee, Reviews & Critical Commentary, Council for European Studies, Columbia University, 2013-2014

Member of the Editorial Board, *Eurodialogue*, Skopje Macedonia, 2002

MEDIA INTERVIEWS (International Media)

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Al Jazeera, Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN), Christian Science Monitor

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH SKILLS

Languages: Macedonian (native), Serbo-Croatian, Russian and Bulgarian (fluent), French (basic)

Software: STATA, R/S+, Python, Mathematica

AFFILIATIONS

American Political Science Association (APSA)

Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA)

Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES)

International Studies Association (ISA)

REFERENCES

Valerie Bunce
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Cornell University
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Emeritus Maxwell M. Upson Professor of Government
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