

# Noah Buckley

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## RESEARCH INTERESTS

Comparative politics; authoritarian regimes and elites; corruption; political methodology and experiments; Russian and post-communist politics; transitions to democracy and capitalism; bureaucracy, the state, policing.

## EDUCATION

### **Columbia University in the City of New York**

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science  
Fields: Comparative Politics (*distinction*), Quantitative Methods  
M.A. received October 2011; M.Phil. received May 2012

Dissertation: “Calculating Corruption: Political Competition and Bribery under Authoritarianism”

Why do some authoritarian regimes exhibit high levels of corruption, while others produce very little? In this study, I show how corruption is used as a signal of performance and loyalty in autocratic regimes. I show that elites in non-democratic regimes reduce corruption in the face of political competitiveness. I test this theory using extensive micro-level data on the public’s experiences with bribery in contemporary Russia. This data set is comprised of over 180,000 responses to public opinion surveys from 2002-2016 in Russia’s subnational units. Identification of the causal effect of political competition on corruption is achieved with the use of an exogenously-determined electoral calendar—I show how the scheduled end of a term in office is an exogenous positive shock to political competition for authoritarian leaders in Russian regions, a shock that decreases experienced bribery in those years. A wide array of alternative measures including novel search engine data and crime statistics support my conclusions. These findings have implications for our understanding of autocratic politics, corruption, and studies of Russia.

Dissertation defense: December 2016

### **University of Wisconsin-Madison**

B.A. received 2006, Comprehensive Honors, Honors in Political Science; Phi Beta Kappa  
Majors: Political Science, Russian Language and Culture

## ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

*Post-Doctoral Researcher*  
Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia

January-August 2017

*Research Fellow*  
**International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development**  
Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia

2011 to present

## PUBLICATIONS AND PAPERS UNDER REVIEW

“Local Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: An Elite-Based Theory with Evidence from Russian Mayoral Elections” (with Ora John Reuter, Guzel Garifullina, and Alexandra Shubenkova). *Comparative Political Studies* 49:5, April 2016.

“Who Reports? Using Survey Experiments to Explore Cooperation with the State in Russia and Georgia” (with Timothy Frye, Scott Gehlbach, and Lauren McCarthy), forthcoming, *Journal of Experimental Political Science*.

“Performance Incentives under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia’s Regions” (with Ora John Reuter), under review.

“The Political Economy of Russian Gubernatorial Elections and Appointments” (with Timothy Frye, Guzel Garifullina, and Ora John Reuter). *Europe-Asia Studies* 66:8, October 2014.

“Elections, Appointments, and Human Capital: The Case of Russian Mayors” (with Guzel Garifullina, Ora John Reuter, and Alexandra Shubenkova). *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 22:1, Winter 2014.

“Cooperating with the State: Evidence from Survey Experiments on Policing” (with Timothy Frye, Scott Gehlbach, and Lauren McCarthy), under review.

“Dissension in the Ranks: Dissent and Loyalty in a Competitive Authoritarian Parliament” (with David Szakonyi), under review.

## CONFERENCE PAPERS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

“What Use is Corruption? Authoritarian Regimes and Discriminating Bribery,” presented at the 2015 Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco.

“A Rotten Orchard? Societal Tolerance of Police Misbehavior in Moscow, Russia” (with Lauren McCarthy and Timothy Frye), presented at 2014 Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Minneapolis.

“Of Bribes and Badges: Measuring Police Corruption in Moscow” (with Timothy Frye), presented at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.

“Bayesian Hierarchical Modeling of Time-Series Cross-Sectional Political Data with Serial Correlation: Best Practices, Implementation, and Monte Carlo Characteristics”

## GRANTS & FELLOWSHIPS

Dissertation Development Grant, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 2014

William T.R. Fox Fellowship in Political Science, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, 2013-2014

Summer Grant for field research, Columbia Center for the Study of Development Strategies, April 2010 (with David Szakonyi)

PepsiCo Fellowship for Travel/Research in the Former Soviet Union, Harriman Institute, April 2010

#### ADDITIONAL RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- Consultant and Research Assistant* 2015  
Project: Assessing Transition and Rent-Seeking in Poland, Russia, and China  
Supervisor: Joel Hellman  
The World Bank
- Research Assistant* 2011  
Project: “The Social Impact of the Millennium Village Project in Rwanda”  
Supervisor: Elisabeth King  
The Earth Institute, Columbia University; Columbia Center for the Study of Development Strategies
- Research Assistant* 2008  
Project: “Incentives for Implementation of Regulatory Reform – A Comparative Survey of Federal and Regional Government Officials in Russia”  
Supervisors: Ekaterina Zhuravskaya, Mikhail Pryadilnikov  
Center for Economic and Financial Research (CEFIR), Moscow, Russia; The World Bank
- Research Assistant* 2007  
Project: “Representation Through Taxation: Revenue, Politics, and Development in Postcommunist States”  
Supervisor: Scott Gehlbach

#### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- Co-Instructor*, Higher School of Economics
- **Comparative Political Economy** (*graduate-level seminar*), Fall 2011, 2012, and 2013
- Teaching Assistant*, Department of Political Science, Columbia University
- **Advanced Topics in Quantitative Research: Limited and Qualitative Dependent Variables** (*graduate-level*), Prof. Greg Wawro, Spring 2016
  - **Quantitative Political Research** (*graduate-level*), Dr. Mark Lindeman, Fall 2015
  - **Honors Senior Thesis Seminar**, Prof. Macartan Humphreys, Fall 2014-Spring 2015
  - **Statistics and Data Analysis**, Prof. Donald Green, Spring 2013
  - **Introduction to Comparative Politics**, Prof. Timothy Frye, Fall 2012
  - **Post-Soviet States and Markets** (*graduate-level seminar*), Prof. Timothy Frye, Fall 2011
  - **Multivariate Political Analysis** (*graduate-level*), Prof. Ethan Kaplan, Spring 2011
  - **Introduction to International Politics**, Prof. Tonya Putnam, Fall 2010
- Co-Instructor*, Columbia Political Science Methods Workshop
- Introduction to Multidimensional Scaling and Roll Call Analysis, January 2014 (with Andrew Guess)
  - Bayesian Item Response Theory, April 2014 (with Lucas Leemann)

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- International School of Economics at Tbilisi State University (ISET)**, Tbilisi, Georgia  
*Academic Writing Instructor and Project Intern* 2009
- Epic Systems Corporation**, Verona, WI  
*Programmer and Client Support* 2006 to 2008

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND MEMBERSHIP

Journal Reviewer: AJPS, JOP, BJPS, Problems of Post-Communism

### Departmental Service

- Co-chair of Political Science Graduate Student Council sub-committee

### Member

- American Political Science Association
- Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (formerly AAASS)
- European Political Science Association

## PRESENTATIONS AT ANNUAL MEETINGS

- American Political Science Association (2012-2016)
- Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (2011-2016)
- European Political Science Association (2012-2014, 2016)
- Midwest Political Science Association (2013-2014)

## SKILLS

### *Language:*

- Russian (high-level proficiency), Georgian (basic), Polish (basic), German (basic)

### *Statistical and software skills:*

- Multilevel/hierarchical modeling, maximum likelihood and limited dependent variable modeling, Bayesian methods and MCMC, causal inference and experimental methods including list experiments and survey experiments, machine learning
- High-level proficiency with R, BUGS/JAGS and Stan, Stata, Excel, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X

## REFERENCES

*(see next page)*

## REFERENCES

**Prof. Timothy Frye**

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**Prof. Scott Gehlbach**

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**Prof. Jeffrey Lax**

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**Prof. Ora John Reuter**

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