

GRIGORE POP-ELECHES

Phone: (609) 258-8356
Fax: (609) 258-0482
Email: gpop@Princeton.edu
Web: <https://scholar.princeton.edu/gpop>

405 Robertson Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544

EMPLOYMENT

Princeton University - School of Public and International Affairs and Department of Politics

Professor of Politics and International Affairs (July 2016-present)
Associate Chair – Politics (July 2018-June 2020, January-June 2022)
Vice-Dean (acting) – School of Public and International Affairs (July 2017-June 2018)
Associate Professor of Politics and International Affairs (July 2011 – June 2016)
Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs (July 2003 – June 2011)

EDUCATION

University of California, Berkeley - Ph.D. in Political Science (May 2003)

Dissertation: *Refracting Conditionality: IMF Programs and Domestic Politics during the Latin American Debt Crisis and the Post-Communist Transition.*

University of California, Berkeley - M.A. in Political Science (December 1998)

Master's Essay: *Separated at Birth or Separated by Birth? The Communist Successor Parties in Romania and Hungary.*

Harvard University - B.A. *summa cum laude* in Social Studies (June 1995). Phi Beta Kappa.

Honors Thesis: *Caritas – Struggle and Confusion in Romania's Post-Communist Transition.*

BOOKS&MONOGRAPHS

Revolution and Reform in Ukraine: Evaluating Four Years of Reform.
(Ponars Eurasia - July 2018.) with Silviya Nitsova and Graeme Robertson,

Communism's Shadow: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Political Attitudes. (Princeton University Press - May 2017) - with Joshua Tucker

From Economic Crisis to Reform: IMF Programs in Latin America and Eastern Europe
(Princeton University Press – February 2009).

Winner of the 2010 Best Book Award - European Politics & Society Section – American Political Science Association (APSA)

Honorable Mention – 2010 Ed A. Hewett Book Prize - Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES)

EDITED VOLUMES/SPECIAL ISSUES

Institutions for Economic Development: A Cross-Disciplinary Approach (co-edited with Thad Dunning) – special issue of *Studies in Comparative International Development* Volume 38, No.4 Transaction Publishers, (2004)

JOURNAL ARTICLES

“Do Reforms Reduce Corruption Perceptions? Evidence from Police Reform in Ukraine” (with Graeme Robertson) Forthcoming in *Post-Soviet Affairs*.

“[Covid-19 and Community: How Community Norms Shape Pandemic Responses Even in Partisan America](#)” (with Keena Lipsitz and Graeme Robertson) *Perspectives on Politics*. Online first (November 2023) <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592723002864>

“[Trying Perpetrators: Denazification Trials and Support for Democracy in West Germany](#)” (with Giovanni Capoccia) *Comparative Politics* Online first (July 2023) <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041523X16872241826683>

“[Protest Participation and Attitude Change in Ukraine's Euromaidan Revolution](#)” (with Graeme Robertson and Bryn Rosenfeld) *The Journal of Politics* 84(2): 625–638. (April 2022)

“[Anti-Corruption Efforts and Electoral Manipulation in ‘Dirty’ Democracies](#)” (with Marko Klasnja) *The Journal of Politics* 84(2): 739–752. (April 2022)

“[Authoritarian Infiltration of Organizations: Causes and Consequences](#)” (with Monika Nalepa) *The Journal of Politics* 84(2): 861–873. (April 2022)

- Translated into Polish and published in Almanach Concilium Civitas vol. 4 2022/2023

“[The microdynamics of spatial polarization: A model and an application to survey data from Ukraine](#)” (with Olivia Chu, Jonathan Donges, and Graeme Robertson) *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118 (50) (December 2021)

“[Censorship and the Impact of Repression on Dissent.](#)” (with Lucan Way) *American Journal of Political Science* (September 2021)

“Dictators and Their Subjects: Authoritarian Attitudinal Effects and Legacies” (with Anja Neundorf – *Comparative Political Studies* 53(12) 1839–1860 (October 2020)

“Communist Legacies and Left-Authoritarianism” (with Joshua Tucker) *Comparative Political Studies* 53(12):1861-1889. (October 2020)

“Democracy and Retribution: Transitional Justice and Regime Support in Postwar West Germany” (with Giovanni Capoccia) *Comparative Political Studies* 53(3-4): 399-433 (March 2020)

“Income Measures in Cross-National Surveys: Problems and Solutions” (with Michael Donnelly)

Political Science Research and Methods 6(2): 355-363 (April 2018).

“Identity and Political Preferences in Ukraine – Before and After the Euromaidan” (with Graeme Robertson) *Post-Soviet Affairs* 34 (2-3):107-118 (February 2018)

“Information, Elections and Political Change” (with Graeme Robertson) *Comparative Politics* (July 2015):459-478.

“Waiting for a Fourth Wave: Structural Conditions and the Future of Democratization” (with Graeme Robertson) *Journal of Democracy* 263(3): 145-157. (July 2015).

“Pre-communist and Communist Developmental Legacies” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 29(2):391-408. (May 2015).

“After the Revolution: Long-term Effects of Electoral Revolutions” (with Graeme Robertson) *Problems of Post-Communism* 61(4) 3-22. (July 2014).

“Communist Socialization and Post-Communist Economic and Political Attitudes” (with Joshua Tucker) *Electoral Studies* 33 77-89. (March 2014).

“Associated with the Past? Communist Legacies and Civic Participation in Post-Communist Countries” (with Joshua Tucker). *East European Politics & Societies* 27(1):43-66 (February 2013).

“Targeted Government Spending and Political Preferences” (with Cristian Pop-Eleches). *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7(3):285-320. (June 2012).

“Post-Communist Legacies and Political Behavior and Attitudes” (with Joshua Tucker). *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*. 20(2): 157-66. (Spring 2012)

“Communist Legacies, and Political Values and Behavior: A Theoretical Framework with an Application to Political Party Trust” (with Joshua Tucker). *Comparative Politics* 43(4): 379-408 (July 2011).

“Monitoring, Money, and Migrants: Countering Post-Accession Backsliding in Bulgaria and Romania” (with Philip Levitz). *Europe-Asia Studies* 62(3):461-479. (May 2010)

“Throwing Out the Bums: Protest Voting and Anti-Establishment Parties after Communism” *World Politics* 62(2): 221-260 (April 2010).

“Why No Backsliding? The EU's Impact on Democracy and Governance Before and After Accession” (with Philip Levitz). *Comparative Political Studies*. 43: 457-485 (April 2010)

“Public Goods or Political Pandering: Evidence from IMF Programs in Latin America and Eastern Europe.” *International Studies Quarterly* 53:787-816 (September 2009).

“Disenchanted or Discerning: Voter Turnout in Post-Communist Countries” (With Alexander Pacek and Joshua Tucker). *The Journal of Politics* 71(2): 473-491 (April 2009).

“A Party for All Seasons: Electoral Adaptation of Romanian Communist Successor Parties.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41(4) 465-479 (December 2008).

“Crisis in the Eye of the Beholder: Economic Crisis and Partisan Politics in Latin American and East European IMF Programs.” *Comparative Political Studies* 41(9): 1179-1211 (September 2008).

“Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Regime Change.” *The Journal of Politics* 69(4):908-926 (November 2007).

“Between Historical Legacies and the Promise of Western Integration: Democratic Conditionality after Communism.” *East European Politics and Societies* 21(4):142-161 (Winter 2007).

“From Transplants to Hybrids: Exploring Institutional Pathways to Growth.” (With Thad Dunning). *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38(4) 3-29 (March 2004).

“Romania’s Politics of Dejection.” *Journal of Democracy* 12(3):156-169 (July 2001).

“Separated at Birth or Separated by Birth? The Communist Successor Parties in Romania and Hungary.” *East European Politics and Societies*, 13(1):117-147 (Winter 1999).

BOOK CHAPTERS

“Changing Patterns of Ideology and Partisanship in Latin America” in Diana Kapiszewski, Steven Levitsky, and Deborah J. Yashar, eds. *The Inclusionary Turn in Latin American Democracies*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

“Democratization in the Global South” (with Graeme Robertson). In John D Stephens, Evelyne Huber and Matthew Lange (eds.) *Oxford Handbook on the Transformation of the State*. Oxford University Press (2015).

“Romania Twenty Years after 1989: The Bizarre Echoes of a Contested Revolution.” In Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik (eds) *Twenty Years After: The Commemoration of the End of Communism*. Oxford University Press (2014)

“Communist Development and the Post-Communist Democratic Deficit.” In Mark Beissinger and Stephen Kotkin (eds.) *The Historical Legacies of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press (2014).

“International Economic Relations and International Development Institutions.” In Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar (eds.) *Handbook of Latin American Politics* pp. 364-379 Routledge (2012)

“Transition to What? Legacies and Reform Trajectories after Communism.” In Marc Morjé Howard, Vladimir Tismaneanu and Rudra Sil (eds.). *World Order After Leninism*, Seattle: University of Washington Press (2006)

“Independence or Double Dependence: The East-West Foreign Policy Game in Moldova and Slovakia” in Frank Columbus (ed.) *Central and Eastern Europe in Transition Volume IV*, Huntington, NY: Nova Science Publishers (2001).

“Albanien.” (With Daniel Ziblatt). In Jürgen Bellers and Thorsten Benner (eds.) *Handbuch der Außenpolitiken*. München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag (2001).

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Review of "The Estate Origins of Democracy in Russia: From Imperial Bourgeoisie to Post-Communist Middle Class. By Tomila V. Lankina. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021. *Perspectives on Politics* 21(2) (2023): 742-743.

“Authoritarian Backsliding in Eastern Europe - “Achievements” and Limitations” *APSA-Comparative Politics Newsletter* Vol. 24, Issue II, (Fall 2014): 7-9.

“Learning from Mistakes: Romanian Democracy and the Hungarian Precedent” *APSA European Politics and Society Newsletter* (Winter 2013): 9-12.

“The presidential election in Romania in 2009” (with Aurelian Muntean and Marina Popescu) *Electoral Studies* 29(4):753-757 (December 2010).

“After the Party: Legacies and Left-Right Distinctions in Post-Communist Countries” (With Joshua Tucker), *Juan March Foundation, Center for Advanced Study in the Social Science, Working Paper Series, Estudio/Working Paper* 2010/250 (June 2010)

“Authoritarian Rule to European Union: Romania and Moldova.” *E-journal USA* 15(1):31-34 (January 2010).

Review of Fernando Ignacio Leiva “Latin American Neostructuralism: The Contradictions of Post-Neoliberal Development.” *Perspectives on Politics* 7(4): 988-989 (December 2009)

Review of Anna Grzymala-Busse “Rebuilding Leviathan Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-Communist Democracies” *Comparative Political Studies* 41(7): 1034-1038 (July 2008)

Review of Hillary Appel “A new capitalist order: privatization & ideology in Russia & Eastern Europe.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(8) (October 2005).

WORKING PAPERS

“Covid, Anxiety and Information: Lessons from Russia” (with Graeme Robertson and Bryn Rosenfeld)

“The Threshold Effect: Separating Preference Falsification from Weak Preferences in Russia.”

(with Isabelle DeSisto and Jacob Tucker)

“Repression, Emotions and Legitimacy: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Russia” (with Graeme Robertson, Bryn Rosenfeld and Samuel Greene)

“Territorial Loss and Ethnopoliticism” (with Perry Carter)

“Elite Splits and Public Opinion in Autocracies: Evidence from Prigozhin’s Mutiny in Russia” (with Isabelle DeSisto, Laura Howells, and Jacob Tucker)

“The Public Opinion Limits to Democratic Good Governance: Evidence from East-Central Europe” (with Marko Klasnja)

“Identity Change in Times of Crisis: How Russian Aggression Has Shaped Ukrainian Identity from Donbas to the Full-Scale Invasion” (with Graeme Robertson and Bryn Rosenfeld)

“The Evolution of Attitudes towards EU Membership in Ukraine Since 2012” (with Graeme Robertson)

“The Partisan Divide in Social Distancing.” (with Keena Lipsitz) Available at [SSRN 3595695](https://ssrn.com/abstract=3595695)

“What Shapes Protest Networks? Community Networks and Individual Protest Participation in Ukraine” (with Graeme Robertson)

“Political Machines and Regional Identities: Evidence from Post-Soviet Ukraine” (with Graeme Robertson)

“International Aid: The Political Consequences of Democracy Assistance” (with Graeme Robertson)

“Cross-cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Conflict: Evidence from Kyrgyzstan” (with Graeme Robertson)

“Economic Reference Group Salience in Post-Communist Eastern Europe: Causes and Consequences”

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS AND HONORS

National Science Foundation – Grant for the project “The Russia Watcher Tracking Survey: Monitoring the Effects of the War in Ukraine on Russian Public Opinion” – (February 2023-February 2024)

Smith Richardson Foundation – Grant for the project “Revolution, Ethnic Conflict and Ukrainian National Identity” (March 2015-September 2017)

Best Book Award, European Politics and Society section, APSA 2010.

Honorable Mention – 2010 Ed A. Hewett Book Prize - Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES)

Sage Prize for best paper in Comparative Politics presented at APSA in 2010 - Runner-up - for "Elections, Information and Political Change in the Post-Cold War Era" (with Graeme Robertson)

National Council for Eurasian and East European Research (NCEEER) – National Research Competition Grant for "Elections, Revolution and Democracy In The Post-Cold War Era" (with Graeme Robertson) Oct.2010-Sept 2012.

European Economic Area (EEA) and Norway Financial Mechanism – Grant for “Development of Civic Participation in Romania: Stimulating citizen information and participation in elections for Romanian representatives in the EU Parliament and Presidential elections in Romania, in 2009” (April 2009 – February 2010)

National Council for Eurasian and East European Research (NCEEER) – National Research Competition Grant for “Facing West and Feeling Poorer: The International Demonstration Effect in Post-Communist Eastern Europe” (Oct. 2005 – July 2008)

Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS), Princeton University. Faculty Research Grant for “Protest Voting and Anti-Establishment Political Parties - Post-Electoral Survey in Bulgaria” June-July 2005.

University Committee on Research in Social Sciences, Princeton University, Faculty Grant “Protest Voting and Anti-Establishment Political Parties - Post-Electoral Survey in Moldova” March 2005.

Simpson Memorial Fellowship – graduate fellowship from the Institute for International Studies – UC Berkeley (2000-2001)

Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies – winner of working paper contest (Jan. 2001).

Peter H. Odegard Memorial Award in Political Science – UC Berkeley (1999-2000).

UC Berkeley University Fellowship – UC Berkeley (1997-9, 2001-2002).

Alexis de Tocqueville Prize - Social Studies Department - Harvard University (1995).

CONFERENCE PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS

“Identity Change in Times of Crisis: Evidence from Ukraine” Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association September 2023

“Elite Splits and Public Opinion in Autocracies: Evidence from Prigozhin’s Mutiny in Russia” Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association September 2023

“The Evolution of Attitudes Towards EU Membership in Ukraine Since 2012” Council for European Studies Conference Reykjavik June 2023

“Repression, Emotions and Legitimacy: Evidence from Russia” Presented at the 2022 Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association

””Covid, Anxiety and Information: Evidence from Russia" Annual Meeting of Association for Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies (virtual)

“Denazification Trials and Democratic Attitudes in Post-War Germany” Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association (virtual) September 2021

“Shaping Competition: Allies' Party Licensing and the Extreme Right in Germany” Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association (virtual) September 2021

“Shaping Competition: Allies’ Party Licensing and Support for the Extreme Right in Germany” Council for European Studies Conference (virtual) June 2021

“Covid, Anxiety and Information” Annual Meeting of Association for the Study of Nationalities (virtual) May 2021

“Servant of the people: the Drivers of Zelensky’s remarkable victory in 2019” Annual Meeting of Association for the Study of Nationalities (virtual) May 2021

“The Dynamics of Language Use in Post Revolutionary Ukraine” – Presented at the 2020 Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association

“Partisanship and the Response to Covid-19: The US in Comparative Perspective.” (with Keena Lipsitz) – Dialogues in Complexity Workshop Arizona State University/Princeton August 2020.

“Populism and Democratic Backsliding in Post-communist Europe” Annual Meeting of Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), San Francisco CA November 23-26, 2019

“Challenging the 'Dirty Democracy' Equilibrium: Anticorruption Efforts and Electoral Manipulation in Romania” Annual Meeting of Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), San Francisco CA November 23-26, 2019

“Shaping Competition: Allies' Party Licensing and the Extreme Right in Germany” Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Washington DC: Aug.29-Sept.1, 2019

“Local Context and Identity Change in Post-Revolutionary Ukraine” Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Washington DC: Aug.29-Sept.1, 2019

“Ukraine Five Years After the EuroMaidan” Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York NY May 3, 2019

“What Difference Does Participation Make? Effects of Euromaidan Protest on Participants' Attitudes in Ukraine” (with Graeme Robertson and Bryn Rosenfeld) Annual Meeting of Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), Boston, MA December 9-12, 2018

“Shaping Competition: Allies’ Licensing Power and the Extreme Right in Germany” (with Giovanni Capoccia) Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Boston, MA: Aug.30-Sept.2, 2018

“Protest Participation, Protest Networks and Political Attitude Change in Ukraine” (with Graeme Robertson and Bryn Rosenfeld) Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Boston, MA: Aug.30-Sept.2, 2018

Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Boston, MA: Aug.30-Sept.2, 2018

“What Difference Does Participation Make? Effects of Euromaidan Protest on Participants' Attitudes in Ukraine” (with Graeme Robertson and Bryn Rosenfeld) Annual Meeting of Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), Chicago, IL November 9-12, 2017

“Shaping competition: Allies’ Licensing Power, Coalition-Making and the Extreme Right in Germany” (with Giovanni Capoccia) Council for European Studies Annual Conference, Glasgow July 12, 2017

“Corruption, Revolution and Reform: Perceptions of Change in Post-Maidan Ukraine” (with Graeme Robertson and Silviya Nitsova) Council for European Studies Annual Conference, Glasgow July 12, 2017

“What Shapes Protest Networks? Understanding Networks and Individual Protest Participation in Ukraine” Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA: Aug.31-Sept.2, 2017

“Conflict, Identity and Language in Post-Revolutionary Ukraine” (with Graeme Robertson) Association for the Study of Nationalities New York, May 4, 2017

“Communism's Shadow: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Political Attitudes” (with Graeme Robertson) Association for the Study of Nationalities New York, May 4, 2017

Incumbent and Opposition Support in Authoritarian Regimes: Survey Evidence from Late-Communist Poland (with Monika Nalepa) Annual Meeting of Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), Washington DC November 17-20, 2016

“Shaping Competition: Allies’ Party Licensing and the Extreme Right in West Germany” (with Giovanni Capoccia) Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA: Sept. 1-4, 2016

“The Partisan Politics of Electoral Manipulation: Evidence from Romania” (with Marko Klasnja) Council for European Studies Annual Conference, Philadelphia, 14-16 April 2016

“Shaping competition: Allies’ Licensing Power, Coalition-Making and the Extreme Right in Germany” (with Giovanni Capoccia) Council for European Studies Annual Conference, Philadelphia, 14-16 April 2016

INVITED TALKS/PRESENTATIONS (last 7 years)

Columbia/NYU Online Roundtable Discussion “Is There Civil Society Left in Russia? What are its Prospects?” – November 2022

University of Texas Austin – November 2022

PONARS-Eurasia – Ukrainathon – April 2022

Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies – University of Michigan – November 2021

University of Pennsylvania – November 2020

Program in Latin American Studies – Princeton University – September 2020

San Diego State University – April 2020 (canceled due to Covid)

University of Manchester – June 2019

PONARS/European University of St. Petersburg, Russia March 2019

Stanford University, Palo Alto CA, May 2018

Yale University, New Haven CT May 2018

University of Virginia, Charlottesville VA, January 2018

Ohio State University, Columbus OH, November 2017

George Washington University, Washington DC, May 2017

Yale University, New Haven CT, February 2017

George Washington University, Washington DC November 2016

New York University, Abu Dhabi, May 2016

Brown University, Providence, RI, April 2016

George Washington University, Washington DC March 2016

Harvard University, Cambridge MA, November 2015

Democracy and Development Seminar, Princeton University, November 2014

Univ. of California, Berkeley, October 2014

Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, October 2014

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, London UK, September 2014

United Nations, New York, May 2014

Columbia University, New York, February 2014

TEACHING

Introduction to Comparative Politics (POL 230) Spring 2012, 2014,2015, Fall 2015, Spring 2018, Fall 2021.

The Politics of Public Policy (SPI 501): Fall 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2019, 2021.

Comparative Political Behavior (POL 538) Spring 2019, 2022

Introduction to Game Theory for Political Science (POL 504): Fall 2003, 2004.

Developing Countries, Economic Reforms and External Pressures (Politics Junior Workshop #7): Fall 2004.

Politics after Communism (Politics 375): Spring 2004, Spring 2005, Spring 2007 Spring 2011.

Post-Communist Politics (SPI 591 – Reading Course) Spring 2004, 2005.

Latin American Political Economy (Politics 431): Spring 2007, 2008, 2009.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Executive Committee member - *Bobst Center for Peace and Justice* (2012-present)

Executive Committee member – *Center for the Study of Democratic Politics*
Advisory Council Member (2004-present) and Executive Committee Member (2006-07), *Princeton Program in Latin American Studies (PLAS)*

Program Committee Member (2007-present), *Program in Russian and Eurasian Studies*

MPA Admissions Committee Member (2006-2008, 2012, 2013), *School of Public and International Affairs*

Academic Advisor, *Forbes College, Princeton University* (2004 - 2008) - Advised 12 Freshmen and 12 Sophomores on academic issues, including course selection and prospective majors.

Faculty Associate, *Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies* (2003-present).

Faculty Associate, *Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination* (2004-present)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Editorial Committee Chair: *World Politics* (2021-present)

Editorial Committee Member: *World Politics* (2013-2021)

Associate Editor: *World Politics* (2004-2012)

American Journal of Political Science – Editorial Board Member (2014-2016)

Journal of Politics - Editorial Board Member (2019-2020)

Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES) – Member of Ed A. Hewett Book Prize Committee

American Political Science Association – Comparative Politics section – Annual Meeting Program Co-Chair 2014-2015

Reviewer: *American Political Science Review, The Journal of Politics, World Politics, Studies in Comparative International Development, Comparative Political Studies, Journal of Transition Economics, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, The Review of Economics & Statistics, Political Research Quarterly, Party Politics, International Studies Quarterly, European Political Science Review, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Political Communication, Central European University Press, National Science Foundation,*