

**Maria SNEGOVAYA**  
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## Professional Experience

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<b>CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES</b> Senior Fellow, Russia and Eurasia	<b>WASHINGTON, DC</b> Dec 2022 - present
<b>GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY</b> Postdoctoral Fellow, Walsh School of Foreign Service	<b>WASHINGTON, DC</b> Aug 2022 - present
<b>VIRGINIA TECH</b> Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Political Science Research Fellow, Center for European Union, Transatlantic, and Trans-European Space Studies	<b>BLACKSBURG, VA</b> Sep 2020 – Jul 2022
<b>JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY</b> Postdoctoral Fellow, School of Advanced International Studies	<b>WASHINGTON, DC</b> Aug 2018 – June 2020
<b>HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS</b> Research Assistant to Prof. Yevgeny Yasin, Head of Research	<b>MOSCOW, RUSSIA</b> Mar 2006 – Dec 2011

## Education

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<b>COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY</b> PhD, Political Science, Comparative Politics, International Relations, Research Methods MPhil, Political Science MA, Political Science	<b>NEW YORK, NY</b> 2018 2014 2013
<b>HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS</b> Candidate of Sciences Degree, Economics BA, Economics and Finance (awarded Gold Medal)	<b>MOSCOW, RUSSIA</b> 2011 2005

## Publications

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### Books

- Back to the USSR? Nomenklatura Continuity in Russia's Ruling Circles.* Book manuscript in progress.
- When Left Moves Right. The Decline of the Left and the Rise of the Populist Right in Postcommunist Europe.* Book manuscript under contract with Oxford University Press (forthcoming in Jan 2024).
- Tectonic Changes in the World Economy: Let the Cultural Factor Speak (BRICs study)* (with Yevgeny Yasin). Moscow: Publishing House of NRU HSE, 2009.

### Peer-Reviewed Articles

- “Long Soviet Shadows: The Nomenklatura Origins of Putin Elites” (with Kirill Petrov), *Post-Soviet Affairs* (2022).
- “Fellow Travelers or Trojan Horses? Similarities Across pro-Russian Parties’ Electorates in Europe,” *Party Politics* (2021).
- “How the Ex-Communist Left Reformed and Lost,” *West European Politics* (2021).
- “Different Strokes for Different Folks: Technocratic vs Radical Populist Parties,” Thematic Issue: Varieties of Technocratic Populism around the World, *Politics and Governance*, 8:4 (2020), 556-567.
- “Voice or Exit? Political Corruption and Voting Intentions in Hungary,” *Democratization*, 27:7 (2020), 1162-1182.
- “Guns to Butter: Sociotropic Concerns and Foreign Policy Preferences in Russia,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 36:3 (2020), 268-279.
- “What Factors Contribute to the Aggressive Foreign Policy of Russian Leaders?” *Problems of Post-Communism* 67:1 (2020), 93-110.
- “Institutional Problems of Russia in the Global Context” (with Yevgeny Yasin), *Voprosy Ekonomiki* 1 (2010) (in Russian).
- “Institutional and Cultural Constraints of Developing Countries” (with Yevgeny Yasin), *Voprosy Ekonomiki* 11 (2009) (in Russian).
- “The Role of Innovation in the Global Economy” (with Yevgeny Yasin), *Voprosy Ekonomiki* 9 (2009) (in Russian).

### Other Journal Articles

- “Why Russia's Democracy Never Began.” *Journal of Democracy* 34, no. 3 (2023): 105-118.

In Russian: “Смена режима в России? Демократический транзит, которого не было.” *Форум новейшей восточноевропейской истории и культуры*, 1-2 (2023): 119-135.

“Will Putin Outlast This War?,” *Journal of Democracy*, April 22, 2022.

“Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy” (with Sheri Berman), *Journal of Democracy* 30:3 (2019), 5-19.

“The Taming of the Shrew: How the West Could Make the Kremlin Listen.” *European View*. March 2021.

“Is Putin’s Russia a Fascist Political System?,” *World Policy Journal* 34(1), 2017.

### **Book Chapters and Reviews**

“Chapter 5: Who are We? Russia’s Identity-Building Failure,” Chapter in “*Failure. Russia under Putin*”, Brookings Institution Press (Forthcoming in 2023).

Review of the Routledge Handbook of Illiberalism “Every Non-Democracy Is Undemocratic in Its Own Way,” (solicited book review), *Journal of Illiberalism Studies*, no 2, 2023.

“Political Economy of Populism,” Chapter in *Oxford Handbook of Illiberalism*, Oxford University Press. (Forthcoming in 2023).

“Russia's Foreign Policy: Relations with the United States,” Chapter in *Putin's Russia*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition, ed. Darrell Slider. Rowman and Littlefield (2022).

“The Price for International Adventurism: Will Russian Public Opinion Constrain Putin’s Policy Options?” Chapter in the *Russia Conference Papers 2022*, Baltic Defense College of Tartu, Estonia (2022).

“Religious Affiliation and Individual Economic and Political Attitudes in Ukraine,” Chapter in *Culture Matters in Russia—and Everywhere: Backdrop for the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*. London: Lexington Books, 2015.

### **Articles under Review**

“What Democracy Do Ethno-Populist Supporters Want?,” with Tsveta Petrova, Columbia University, Under Review.

“Individual-Level Moderating and Differential Effects of Deplatforming,” with Cody Buntain, University of Maryland.

“When the Right Is Eating the Left’s Lunch: Populist Right Economic Policies after the 2008 Crisis,” with Mitchell Orenstein, University of Pennsylvania.

“Fighting Yesterday's War: Soviet Influences in Post-Imperial Foreign Policy,” with Alexander Lanoszka, the University of Waterloo. Under Review.

### **Work in Progress**

“Elite Continuity and Re-Autocratization across the Post-Soviet Space,” with Kirill Petrov.

“Russians’ Identity Perception and Disinformation Susceptibility,” with Graeme Robertson, Peter Pomerantsev, Stepan Goncharov, UNC Chapel Hill and Johns Hopkins University.

### **Other Publications**

“The Ideology of Putinism: Is It Sustainable?” (with Michael Kimmage and Jade McGlynn), Center for Strategic and International Studies, September 27, 2023.

“Seller's Remorse: The Challenges Facing Russia's Arms Exports” (with Max Bergmann, Tina Dolbaia, and Nick Fenton), Center for Strategic and International Studies, September 18, 2023.

“Out of Stock? Assessing the Impact of Sanctions on Russia’s Defense Industry” (with Max Bergmann, Sam Bendett, Tina Dolbaia, and Nick Fenton), Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 14, 2023.

Russia Sanctions at One Year: Learning from the Cases of South Africa and Iran (with Tina Dolbaia, Nick Fenton, and Max Bergmann). Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 23, 2023.

“The Impact of Western Sanctions on Russia and How They Can Be Made More Effective” (with Anders Aslund). The Atlantic Council, May 3, 2021.

“Disinformation, Euroscepticism and Pro-Russian Parties in Eastern Europe.” Free Russia Foundation, March 25, 2021.

“The Kremlin’s Social Media Influence inside the United States: A Moving Target” (with Kohei Watanabe), Free Russia Foundation, February 11, 2021.

“Modernizing Russia Project. Part III:” (with Denis Volkov and Stepan Goncharov). Levada Center and Center for European Policy Analysis, September 30, 2020.

“Russia’s Crumbling Power Vertical: Decreasing Disposable Income Drives Discontentment,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 500, September 12, 2020.

In German: “Russlands Machtvertikale bröckelt. Die sinkenden Realeinkommen sorgen für Unzufriedenheit.” *Russland-Analysen*, volume 391, October 4, 2020.

“Modernizing Russia Project. Parts I, II, III: “Society’s View of Doing Business in Russia”, “Society’s View of Legal Protection in Russia”, “Russian Youth and Civic Engagement” (with Denis Volkov and Stepan Goncharov). Levada Center and Center for European Policy Analysis, May 27, 2020.

“Gaslighting Latvia,” chapter in *Misrule of Law: How the Kremlin Uses Western Institutions to Undermine the West*, ed. Michael Weiss. Free Russia Foundation, May 20, 2019.

“Factors of Competitiveness in Russian Gubernatorial Elections, 2012-18” (with Vladimir Kozlov). Free Russia Foundation, May 5, 2019.

“Tension at the Top: The Impact of Sanctions on Russia’s Poles of Power,” Center for European Policy Analysis, July 28, 2018.

“Reviving the Propaganda State: How the Kremlin Hijacked History to Survive,” Center for European Policy Analysis, January 17, 2018.

“Stifling the Public Sphere: Media and Civil Society in Russia,” Analytical Report. The National Endowment for Democracy, October 2015.

“Putin’s Information Warfare in Ukraine. Soviet Origins of Russia’s Hybrid Warfare.” The Institute for the Study of War, September 2015.

### Professional Affiliations

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<b>SURVEY OF RUSSIAN ELITES</b> , Member, International Advisory Board	June 2021 - present
<b>JOURNAL OF ILLIBERALISM STUDIES</b> , Member, Editorial Board	May 2021 – present
<b>CENTER FOR NEW AMERICAN SECURITY</b> , Adjunct Senior Fellow	Feb 2022 – present
<b>ATLANTIC COUNCIL</b> , Nonresident Fellow	Nov 2020 – Jan 2022
<b>GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY</b> , Visiting Scholar, Institute for European, Russian, & Eurasian Studies; Fellow, Illiberalism Studies Program	Aug 2020 – July 2022 June 2020 - present
<b>PONARS EURASIA</b> , Member	Oct 2019 – present
<b>NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY</b> , Fellow, Penn Kemble Democracy Forum	Oct 2018 – Apr 2020
<b>CENTER FOR EUROPEAN POLICY ANALYSIS</b> , Adjunct Fellow	Feb 2018 – Oct 2020
<b>WOMEN ALSO KNOW STUFF</b> , Member	Jan 2017- present
<b>FOREIGN POLICY INTERRUPTED</b> , Fellow	Aug 2016 – Mar 2017
<b>BROOKINGS INSTITUTION</b> , Special Visiting Guest, Foreign Policy	Jun 2015 – Jul 2015
<b>INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF WAR</b> , Consultant, Ukraine Team	Jun 2015 – Jul 2015
<b>HARVARD UNIVERSITY</b> , Visiting Fellow, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies	Aug 2009 - Jan 2010

### Awards and Distinctions

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Smith Richardson Foundation Strategy and Policy Fellows Grant	Oct 2023
Discourse Initiative Research Grant (co-recipient), The Institute for Humane Studies	Sep 2022
Kellogg Center for Philosophy, Politics, & Economics Grant (co-recipient), Virginia Tech	Dec 2020
CISSM Research Fellowship, Carnegie Corporation of New York	July 2018
Center for European Policy Analysis Fellowship	Feb 2018
Free Russia Foundation Fellowship	Feb 2018
HSE Alumni Academic Fellowship, National Research University Higher School of Economics	Nov 2017
The Harriman Russian Studies Research Grant (co-recipient), Columbia University	Apr 2017
Padma Desai Fellowship, Columbia University	May 2016
Fellowship for Brown International Advanced Research Institutes, Brown University	Jun 2010
Special Commendation for Organizing Huntington Memorial Symposium, National Research University Higher School of Economics	Sep 2010
Liberal Mission Foundation Grant in Support for Young Scholars, selected out of 100 students, National Research University Higher School of Economics	2009-10
First Prize in the Cato Institute 2008 Essay Competition	Aug 2008

## **Selected Conferences, Presentations and Workshop Participations (since 2015)**

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### **Departmental Seminars**

- May 24, 2021, Presentation at the Strategic and Operational Research Department, “Guns to Butter: Perceptions of Economic Situation and Foreign Policy Preferences in Russia,” the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, RI
- February 11, 2021, Presentation at the Center for Russia, East Europe, and Central Asia, “Guns to Butter: Economic Concerns and Policy Preferences in Russia,” at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, WI
- November 12, 2020, Presentation at the Center for European Union and Trans-European Space Studies, “How the EU Conditionality Has Contributed to the Rise of Populist Actors in Post-Communist Europe,” Virginia Tech, VA
- October 23, 2020, Political Economy Working Group at Virginia Tech, “How the Post-Communist Left Reformed and Lost,” Blacksburg, VA
- October 8, 2020, Simone Veil Talk at Jean Monnet Centre Montréal, “How the Left-Wing Parties in Post-Communist Europe Followed the EU’s Advice to Reform and Lost,” Montreal, Canada
- October 7, 2020, PPE Talk at Virginia Tech, “Has the Populist Right Replaced the Left? The Demise of the Center-Left and the Rise of the Populist Right in Postcommunist Europe,” Blacksburg, VA
- January 27, 2020, CREEES Talk at the University of Texas in Austin, “Disinformation, Euroscepticism and pro-Russian Parties in Eastern Europe,” Austin, TX
- April 24, 2017, Research Seminar on Political Economy at National Research University Higher School of Economics, “The Choices of the Left Parties and the Emergence of the Far Right,” Moscow, Russia

### **Small Academic Conferences**

- November 13, 2023, Academic Roundtable “Democracy and the Ancien Regime,” University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI
- October 20, 2023, Academic Workshop “Russian and Authoritarian Propaganda,” Harriman Institute at Columbia University, NY
- May 23, 2023, Academic Conference “Catalyzing Conversations about Ethics in International Affairs: Russia’s War against Ukraine,” Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver, Denver, CO
- August 1-3, 2022, Annual Summer Workshop for Educators “The Future of Democracy,” the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
- April 22-23, 2022, Conference on “Still the Age of Populism,” the University of Florida Center for European Studies, Center for Latin American Studies, and the Reset Dialogues on Civilizations, Gainesville, FL
- March 3-4, 2022, The Annual Conference on Russia 2022, Baltic Defense College, Tartu, Estonia
- January 18, 2022, “Eastern Europe’s Inclusive Populism of Employment,” ESPAnet Virtual Workshop 18th January - Populist Economic Policies in Europe
- Oct 25-26, 2021, International Workshop “Electoral Integrity and Malpractice in Russia and Beyond: New Challenges and Responses,” Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki
- August 27-29, 2021, Conference on “How Does Political Equality Affect Economic Equality?,” the Center for Ethics in Business and Governance at Saint Anselm College, NH
- August 12, 2021, “When Alt-Right Media Meets Alt-Right Politics. Engagement with Alternative Sources on U.S. Twitter,” Alt-Media, Politics and Computational Social Science
- April 9, 2021, “Populism and Foreign Policy Workshop,” the Jordan Center for the Advanced Study of Russia and the Center for European and Mediterranean Studies
- March 6, 2020, “The Illiberal Thought Collective: Central Europe and Beyond,” School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC
- December 6-7th, 2019, “Europe in Flux” Graduate Fellows International Conference, the European Studies Council at the MacMillan Center, Yale University, New Haven, CT
- November 7-8, 2019, “Social Impact of Post-Socialist Transitions and Policies for the Future,” Perry World House,

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA

October 3, 2019, “Populism, Democratic Backsliding and Protest in Central Europe,” University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill with support from the Center for European Studies and the European Union, Chapel Hill, NC

February 10, 2019, “Conservatism and Reaction in Contemporary Politics,” organized by the Bard College Center for Civic Engagement, Gagarin Center of St. Petersburg State University and the Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York, NY

May 3, 2018, University of Delaware Conference “Democracy in Decline? The Challenge of Global Populism,” Newark, DE

January 22, 2016, Interdisciplinary Symposium, “Technologies of Truth: Propaganda, Ideology, and the Modern State,” “Assessing Russia’s Propaganda Abroad,” Seton Hall University, South Orange, NJ

June 16, 2015, Center on Global Interests and the Center for Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins University SAIS, “Russia and its Northern Neighbors: Young Leaders on the Future of Baltic Security,” Washington DC

### **Professional Association Meetings**

American Political Science Association Conference 2016, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022 and 2023

Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022 and 2023

International Studies Association Annual Convention 2016 and 2019

Midwestern Political Science Association Conference 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2021, and 2022

Northeastern Political Science Association Conference 2016

Northeast Slavic, East European and Eurasian Conference 2017, 2018 and 2019

Society for Institutional & Organizational Economics 2017

Southern Political Science Association 2024

### **Other Institutions (Selected)**

March 1, 2023, Panel “The Implications of Russia's War against Ukraine after a Year,” United States Institute of Peace, DC

February 28, 2023, Panel “The War in Ukraine: One Year On,” Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania, PA

October 6, 2022, Presentation “Fighting Yesterday's War: Soviet Influences in Putin's Foreign Policy” at the Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflicts Studies (PACS) at Cornell University, NY

June 3, 2022, Panel “Fallen Villain: A Putin’s Free Russia,” GLOBSEC 2022 Bratislava Forum, Bratislava, Slovakia

March 10, 2022, Workshop “Russian Society and the War on Ukraine,” Embassy of Lithuania

March 10, 2022, Panel “Russia Sanctions – From Jackson-Vanik to Today,” Washington International Trade Association

January 19, 2022, Vilnius Security Forum 2022, Situation: Ukraine and Russia, Vilnius, Lithuania

September 20, 2021, The Atlantic Council’s Eurasia Center Panel, “Russia’s Parliamentary Elections Explained,” DC

July 13, 2021, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Hennadii Udoenko Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine, Crimean Platform Expert Network, International Round Table Meeting “Policy of Deoccupation of Crimea: The Role of Sanctions”

May 12, 2021, European Network of Remembrance and Solidarity, “Disinformation in Memory Politics: Practices and Ways of Prevention”, Warsaw, Poland

April 30, 2021, American Enterprise Institute, “Russian Hybrid Warfare in Europe: Lessons for the US,” DC

April 16, 2021, The Atlantic Council’s Europe Center and Center for European Union, Transatlantic, and Trans-European Space Studies at Virginia Tech, Presentation of the Report “The Demise of the Left and Growth of Rightwing Populism in Europe: Foreign Policy Implications,” DC

February 11, 2021, The Atlantic Council, Presentation of the Report “The Kremlin’s Social Media Influence inside the United States: A Moving Target,” DC

January 26, 2021, Friends of European Russia Forum at the European Parliament, “How the West Should Deal with Russia: Transatlantic Approach,” Brussels, Belgium

October 8, 2020, RAND Business Leaders Forum Virtual Panel, “Politics and Elections in Russia”, Washington DC

September 15, 2020, Kennan Institute’s and CEPA’s Virtual Panel, “Civic and Political Participation of Russian Youth,” DC

July 30, 2020, The Atlantic Council’s Panel: “Khabarovsk Rising: Protests in Russia’s Far East,” DC

June 29, 2020, Center for European Policy Analysis Private Briefing of the U.S. Congress, “Russia’s Upcoming Constitutional Amendments.” DC

June 26, 2020, Friends of European Russia Forum at the European Parliament, "Situation and Developments in Russia in the Run-Up to the Vote on Constitutional Amendments," Brussels, Belgium

May 27, 2020, Center for European Policy Analysis and Kennan Institute's Virtual Panel, "Society's View of Legal Protections in Russia," DC

May 12, 2020, Center for European Policy Analysis Virtual Panel, "Oil, Guns, and Imperialism: Do Energy Prices Influence Russian Foreign Policy Behavior?," DC

January 31, 2020, Invited talk at the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies: "The Rise of Illiberalism in Russia and Eastern Europe," Brussels, Belgium

January 30-31, 2020, European External Action Service's (EEAS) Strategic Communications Team and its East Stratcom Task Force conference: "Disinfo Horizon: Responding to Future Threats," Brussels, Belgium

November 18, 2019, Expert Forum "Five Years of Sanctions on Russia: Have They Worked?," Bucharest, Romania

September 12, 2019, Pentagon SMA Speakers Series "Guns to Butter: Economic Concerns and Policy Preferences in Russia," DC

May 21, 2018, Carnegie Moscow Center Round Table: "The US, Europe, Russia -Very Different Populisms," Moscow, Russia

Oct 10, 2017, The Nemtsov Forum Panel Debate (co-organized with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation), "Leaders in Society in Russia and Europe," Berlin, Germany

May 19, 2017, The Heinrich Boll Stiftung, "The New Green EU-Russia Talks 2017: The Transformation of Political and Civil Society Institutions in Russia and the EU: Causes and Consequences," Berlin, Germany

May 4, 2016, Association of Schools of Political Studies of the Council of Europe, "The Re-Insurgence of the Radical Right in Europe and the United States," Stockholm, Sweden

April 11-12, 2016, Fundacji Batorego w Warszawie, "Conservative Revolutions in Eastern Europe," Warsaw, Poland

April 7, 2016, Panel Discussion at Marine Corps University, "Ambiguous Warfare: The Russian Example," Quantico, VA

November 27, 2016, Pentagon Strategic Multilayer Assessment Unit "Putin's Information Warfare in Ukraine," DC

October 19, 2015, Freedom House, Briefing of the U.S. Congress on Russia's Propaganda, DC

September 18, 2015, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Presentation "The Intellectual Roots of Putin's Nationalism and Ideology," DC

July 21, 2015, Kennan Institute at Wilson Center, "The Intellectual Roots of Putin's Ideology," DC

### **Professional Service**

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Reviewer for: *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Union Politics*, *Government and Opposition*, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *International Security*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Social Policy*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Nature*, *Party Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *World Politics*.

### **Skills**

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**Languages:** English (fluent, TOEFL ibt 2010: 115), French (fluent, DFA-2), Russian (native)

**Software:** Stata, R, SPSS, East View, LexisNexis, Microsoft Office