

Noah Buckley

Trinity College Dublin
Department of Political Science
3 College Green, Dublin, Ireland
noah.buckley@tcd.ie

Phone (Ireland): +353 83 3328432
Phone (US): +1 612 8457681

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Comparative politics; authoritarian politics; Russian and post-communist politics; public opinion; corruption; political methodology and experimental methods; political economy; transitions to democracy and capitalism; bureaucracy; policing.

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Visiting Researcher, NYU Jordan Center September–December 2022
New York University, New York

Assistant Professor (with tenure since 2023), Department of Political Science 2019–present
Trinity College Dublin, University of Dublin, Ireland

Postdoctoral Associate (three-year research position, third year declined) 2017–2019
NYU Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates
Faculty mentors: Rebecca Morton (NYU) and Joshua Tucker (NYU)

Research Fellow 2011–2022
Postdoctoral Researcher January–August 2017
International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development
Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia

EDUCATION

Columbia University in the City of New York

Ph.D. in Political Science, 2017

University of Wisconsin-Madison

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

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

“The Demand for Elections under Autocracy: Regime Approval and the Elimination of Local Elections in Russia” (with Quintin Beazer and Ora John Reuter). *American Journal of Political Science*. Conditionally accepted, 2024.

“Endogenous Popularity: How Perceptions of Regime Support Affect the Popularity of Authoritarian Regimes” (with Kyle Marquardt, Ora John Reuter, and Ekaterina Tertychnaya). *American Political Science Review*. 2024;118(2):1046-1052. doi:10.1017/S0003055423000618

“[Staying Out of Trouble: Criminal Cases Against Russian Mayors](#)” (with Ora John Reuter, Michael Rochlitz, and Anton Aisin). *Comparative Political Studies* 55 (9), 1539-1568. 2022.

“Who Reports Crime? Citizen Engagement with the Police in Russia and Georgia” (with Timothy Frye, Scott Gehlbach, and Lauren McCarthy). *Europe-Asia Studies* 73, no. 1 (2021): 8-35.

“Performance Incentives under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia’s Regions” (with Ora John Reuter). *Comparative Politics* 51, no. 2 (2019): 239-266.

“Staring at the West through Kremlin-tinted glasses: Russian mass and elite divergence in attitudes toward the United States, European Union, and Ukraine before and after Crimea” (with Joshua A. Tucker). *Post-Soviet Affairs* 35, no. 5-6 (2019): 365-375.

“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.

“Cooperating with the State: Evidence from Survey Experiments on Policing” (with Timothy Frye, Scott Gehlbach, and Lauren McCarthy), *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 3(2), 124-139, Winter 2016. doi:10.1017/XPS.2015.18.

“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.

WORKING PAPERS AND PAPERS UNDER REVIEW

“A Watched Pot Boiling: Street Protest and Public Opinion in Authoritarian Russia,” presented at the 2021 Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES) in New Orleans, LA.

“The Demand for Elections under Autocracy: Regime Approval and the Cancellation of Local Elections in Russia” (with Quintin Beazer and Ora John Reuter), presented at the 2021 Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES).

“Economic Blame Attribution in Times of Boom and Bust: The Case of Authoritarian Russia,” presented at the 2018 European Political Science Association meeting.

GRANTS & FELLOWSHIPS

Arts and Social Sciences Benefaction Fund, Trinity College Dublin, 2020, 2025

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

Contributing Author 2017-2018
Project: Russia Political Economy Project in the Eurasia Program
Foreign Policy Research Institute

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"
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**

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor, Trinity College Dublin

- **Comparative Politics B: The Comparative Politics of the Developing World**, undergraduate lecture class
- **Russian Politics under Putin**, postgraduate (Masters) seminar
- **Varieties of Authoritarianism**, postgraduate (Masters) seminar
- **Russian Politics after Communism**, undergraduate seminar
- **Public Opinion**, undergraduate seminar

Co-Instructor, Higher School of Economics

- **Comparative Political Economy** (*graduate-level seminar*), 2011–2013, 2017–2018

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

"How popular is Putin, really?" blog post on *The Monkey Cage*, with Kyle L. Marquardt, Ora John Reuter and Katerina Tertychnaya. April 13, 2022.

"Putin's approval has stayed strong over the years – war in Ukraine could change that," article on *The Conversation*, republished on several news sites, March 2, 2022.

“Here’s what you can expect from Putin’s next 6 years,” blog post on *The Monkey Cage*, with David Szakonyi. March 22, 2018.

“The End of the Vertical? Corruption and Stagnation in Putin’s Fourth Term,” blog post on Eurasianet and FPRI Geopoliticus. March 9 and 13, 2018.

“Corruption and Power in Post-Communist Russia,” policy memo for FPRI *Russia Political Economy Project*. April 2018.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND MEMBERSHIP

Journal Reviewer: APSR, AJPS, JOP, BJPS, Comparative Politics, Problems of Post-Communism, Governance, Democratization, Europe-Asia Studies, Electoral Studies, Problems of Post-Communism, Political Behavior, Comparative Political Studies, World Politics, Governance, Journal of Quantitative Description: Digital Media, Political Research Quarterly, Post-Soviet Affairs, Russian Politics.

Departmental Service

- Associate Director and Director of the MSc Program in International Politics, Trinity College Dublin, 2021-2024

Current and Previous Memberships

- American Political Science Association
- Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES)
- European Political Science Association
- British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES)

SELECTED RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

- Invited talk at Dublin City U Politics Seminar, February 2025
- Invited talk at Oxford Internet Institute workshop, January 2024
- Invited talk at U Limerick PPA seminar, Oct 4, 2023
- Invited talk at U Zurich politics seminar, 2022
- Invited talk at U Bremen, December 2021
- Invited talk at “Issues in Russian and Post-Communist Political Economy and Politics” seminar series, Oxford University (2021)
- American Political Science Association (2012-2018, 2021)
- Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (2011-2018, 2020-2021)
- European Political Science Association (2012-2014, 2016-2019)
- Invited workshop: “Political Rents and Political Elites in Russia and Beyond,” Oxford University (2017)
- British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (2017-2018)

SKILLS

Language:

- English (native); Russian (proficient)