

KIRILL O. KALININ

WORK ADDRESS

Hoover Institution
434 Galvez Mall
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-6003

E-mail: kkalinin@stanford.edu

Homepages: <http://web.stanford.edu/~kkalinin/>, <http://kirillkalinin.com/>

Google Scholar Profile: [Research & Citations \(46 papers/217 citations\)](#)

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

W.Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (September 1, 2017 - August 31, 2018)

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, defended 06/2017.

M.A. in Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 05/2011.

Certificate in Survey Methodology, Program in Survey Methodology, ISR, University of Michigan.

M.A. (with distinction) in Political Science, European University at St. Petersburg and Helsinki University, 08/2005.

M.A. (with distinction) in Public Policy, Volgograd Academy for Public Administration 07/2003.

ADDITIONAL EDUCATION

ARC/ICOS Big Data Summer Camp, University of Michigan, June 1-4, 11, 2015.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Comparative Politics (major), Methods (major), Survey Methodology (cognate).

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Methodology of election forensics, statistical methodology, survey methodology, survey experiments, political institutions, formal modeling, Russian politics.

PUBLISHED PAPERS

Kalinin, Kirill. [“Linking Preference Falsification and Election Fraud In Electoral Autocracies.”](#) *Political Studies*. DOI: [10.1177/0032321717706013](https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321717706013). [Published online: September 22, 2017].

Golosov, Grigorii and Kirill Kalinin. [“Presidentialism and Legislative Fragmentation Beyond Coattail Effects.”](#) *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. DOI: [10.1177/1369148116682654](https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148116682654). [Published online: 31 Dec 2016].

Kalinin, Kirill. [“The Social Desirability Bias in Autocrat’s Electoral Ratings: Evidence from the 2012 Russian Presidential Elections.”](#) *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*. DOI: [10.1080/17457289.2016.1150284](https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2016.1150284). [Published online: 25 Feb 2016].

TECHNICAL MANUALS AND GUIDES

Mebane, Walter R. Jr. and Kirill Kalinin(2017). “Guide to Election Forensics Toolkit v0.2.1”, Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, February.

Zimmerman, William, Sharon Rivera and Kirill Kalinin(2016). Codebook “[Russian Foreign Policy Elite Perspectives: 1993-2016.](#)”, Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

PUBLISHED PAPERS (in Russian)

Kalinin, Kirill. “[A Study of Social Desirability Bias in Russia: Theory and Methodology](#)”. *Monitoring of Economic and Social Changes* (March, Issue 1):17–40 (2014). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “[A Complex Study of the Social Desirability Factor in the Russian Electoral Ratings \(2011-2013\)](#)”. *Monitoring of Economic and Social Changes* (March, Issue 2):224–227(2014). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “[Electoral Frauds in Russia: Mechanisms, Diagnostics, Interpretations](#)”. *Neprikosnovennyi Zapas*, N4-84 (2012). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “[Evolution of Socio-Professional Cleavage in Russia \(1993–2007\): Theory, Methodology, Measurement](#)”. *Monitoring of Economic and Social Changes*, January–February N1,101 (2011) *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “[Electoral Falsification in Russia: A Complex Diagnostics of Elections 2003–2004, 2007–2008 \(1993–2007\): Theory, Methodology, Measurement](#)”. *Russian Electoral Review*, N2:57–70(2009). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “[Political Cleavages and Electoral Behavior in Russia in the Theory of Political Cleavages: 1993–2003](#)”. *POLIT.RU* (2008). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “[Russian Nationalism: Comparative Analysis of 1995 and 2003](#)”. *Social Sciences and Modernity*, N3:64-76(2008). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “[Evolution of Ideological Cleavages in Russian party system: 1995–2003](#)”. In *the Annual Bulletin of Russian Political Science Association*, 2008. *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “[Societal Cleavages and Electoral Behavior in Russia](#)”. *Social Sciences and Modernity*, N5:35-49(2006). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “[Factors of Electoral Demand in Russian Political Market: an Example of Gubernatorial Elections in Volgogradsky Region](#)”. *Political Studies*, N3:(2006). *in Russian*.

MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW OR IN PREPARATION

Kalinin, Kirill. “Tracking the Link between Russian Elites’ Perceptions and the Scope of National Interests”.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Exploring Putin’s Approval Ratings During the Crimean Crisis 2014-2015” (*Under review*).

Kalinin, Kirill. “Validating Precinct-Level Measures of Fraud Using Election Forensics Toolkit: Evidence from the Russian Electoral Cycle 2011-2012” (*Under review*).

Kirill Kalinin and Sasha de Vogel. “Measuring Propensity of Individual Anti-Government Protest Behavior in Autocracies”(*Under review*).

Kalinin, Kirill. “Tracking the Link between Russian Elites’ Perceptions and the Scope of National Interests”

Kalinin, Kirill. “Signaling Games of Election Fraud”.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Measuring Exit, Loyalty and Voice in the Surveys”.

Kalinin, Kirill and Walter Mebane. “Worst Election Ever in Russia? Analysis of the 2016 Parliamentary Election”.

Hicken, Allen and Kirill Kalinin. “Exploring Election Fraud in the Philippine Elections”.

Hale, Henry and Kirill Kalinin. “Social Desirability Bias at the Russian Presidential Election: Testing Multiple Theories, 2012”.

AWARDS

[The Winner of 2016 International IDEA/EIP graduate essay competition, May 2016;](#)

[Top 14 Most Interesting Russian Studies in 2014;](#)

[Best articles on Science in 2012;](#)

FELLOWSHIPS

Department Research Grant, December 2015;

Department Conference Grant, April 2016;

Rackham Graduate Student Research Grant, June 2014;

Rackham Conference Travel Grants, 2014, 2013, 2011;

Carnegie Research Fellowship, University of Michigan, July-August 2013;

Summer Research Award, Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies Fellowship, University of Michigan, Summer 2012;

Department of Political Science Award, University of Michigan, Spring 2012;

Summer Collaboration Funds, University of Michigan, Summer 2010;

Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies Fellowship, University of Michigan, Fall 2008–Spring 2009;

Carnegie Research Fellowship, University of Michigan, Fall 2008–Spring 2009;

Fulbright Research Fellowship, Moscow, Fall 2007–Spring 2008;

Fellowship from Research Council Norway, Spring 2006;

Oxford Russia Fund Scholar, European University at St. Petersburg, Fall 2006–Spring 2007;

Summer School Grant from Swedish Institute, Summer 2006;

Fellowship from Tempus Tacis, European University at St. Petersburg, Spring 2006;

Fellowship from Nordic Research Board, Oslo Summer School, Spring 2005;

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Research Associate

University of Michigan

Development of an Election Forensics Toolkit (USAID)

Present

Research Assistant

University of Michigan

Election Forensics Analysis: Philippines

Present

Research Assistant

University of Michigan

Data management: “Survey of Russian Elites”

Present

Lecturer

University of Michigan

Quantitative Empirical Methods of Political Science

Spring 2017

Lecturer

University of Michigan

Russian Politics

Spring 2016

Lecturer

St.Petersburg, Russia

Introduction to Quantitative Methods

Fall 2012, Spring 2014

Lecturer St.Petersburg, Russia	Introduction to Game Theory	Winter 2014
Research Assistant University of Michigan	Statistical programming: Tanzania Land Research Project	Fall 2016
Research Assistant University of Michigan	Statistical programming: CLEA	Fall 2016-Winter 2017
Research Assistant University of Michigan	Statistical programming: Kenya Project	Fall 2016-Winter 2017
Research Assistant University of Michigan	Data management: "Analysis of protests in the US"	Winter 2013
Research Assistant University of Michigan	Survey Quality Assessment for the WVS	Summer 2011
Graduate Student Mentor University of Michigan	POLSCI 993: Graduate Student Instructor Training	Fall 2015
Teaching Assistant (GSI) University of Michigan	CSCS 391: Introduction to Modeling	Fall 2013
	POLSCI 160: Introduction to World Politics	Fall 2011
	POLSCI 140: Intro. to Comparative Politics	Winter 2011,2010
	REES 395: Survey of Russia	Fall 2009
GSI Grader University of Michigan	POLSCI 317: Courts, Law, & Society	Winter 2015, 2016
	POLSCI 389: Campaigns and Elections	Fall 2014
	POLSCI 389: Congress and the Presidency	Fall 2015, Winter 2016

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Survey Manager St.Petersburg, Russia	Survey Laboratory	Fall 2006
Support Team Member New York, USA	Dynoplex, Inc	Fall 2005-2006
Reporter Volgograd, Russia	Volgogradenergo, Inc.	Summer 2003-2004

NON-ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS, MEDIA APPEARANCES

Kalinin, Kirill. ["To Go or Not to Go to Elections 2018?"](#). *Troickii Variant*(February, 2018).

Kalinin, Kirill. ["On the best strategy of voting in 2018"](#). *Voice of America*(January, 2018).

Kalinin, Kirill, Walter R. Mebane, Jr. ["When the Russians Fake Their Election Results, They May Be Giving Us the Statistical Finger"](#). *Washington Post*(January, 2017).

Mebane, Walter R. Jr., Allen Hicken, Kirill Kalinin and Ken Kollman. ["The Austrian Presidential Election Shows No Evidence of Fraud. We Used Election Forensics to Check"](#). *Washington Post*(July, 2016).

Kalinin, Kirill. ["Why the Polls Can Be Unreliable"](#). *Esquire*(June, 2016). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. ["A Comprehensive Analysis of the Pre-election Opinion Polls at the Moscow Mayoral Elections"](#). *Open Opinion*(January, 2014). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Election Ratings on the Background of Moscow Mayoral Election”. *POLIT.RU* (September 3, 2013). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill and Sergei Shpilkin. “The Complex Diagnostics of the Russian Presidential Election, 2012”. *Troickii Variant* (March, 2012). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “How to Study Election Frauds?”. *Troickii Variant* (March, 2012). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “On the Strong Argument of the Central Election Commission: Statistical Analysis Can’t Prove Election Frauds”. *SLON.RU* (December, 2011). *in Russian*.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Societal Cleavages Weakly Affect the Electoral Behavior of the Russians”. *POLIT.RU* (January, 2008). *in Russian*.

CONFERENCE PAPERS

Kalinin, Kirill. “Russian Elites and Dugin’s Neo-Eurasianism: Empirical Analysis of 2012 and 2016”. Conference “Sources of Conflict between Russia and the West”, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY, April 20-21, 2018.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Election Fraud and Political Survival of Subnational Actors: A Case of Russia”. MPSA, Chicago, April 6, 2018.

Kalinin, Kirill. “National Identity and National Interests of the Russian Elites, 2012-2016”. MPSA, Chicago, April 5, 2018.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Tracking the Link between Russian Elites’ Perceptions and the Scope of National Interests”. ASEES, Chicago, November 11, 2017.

Kalinin, Kirill and Allen Hicken. “Using Election Forensics to Detect Election Fraud in the Philippine Elections, 2016”. APSA, San-Francisco, CA, September 2, 2017.

Kalinin, Kirill and Sasha de Vogel. “Individual Anti-Government Protest Behavior in Autocracies”. APSA, San-Francisco, CA, September 1, 2017.

Kirill Kalinin and Walter R. Mebane, Jr. “Worst Election Ever in Russia?”. MPSA, Chicago, April 2017.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Signaling Games of Election Fraud”. Pre-APSA workshop, Philadelphia, August 2016.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Validating Precinct-Level Measures of Fraud: Evidence from the Russian Presidential Elections 2012”. MPSA, Chicago, April 2016.

Kalinin, Kirill and Sasha de Vogel. “Measuring Propensity of Individual Anti-Government Protest Behavior in Autocracies”. MPSA, Chicago, April 2016.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Exploring Putin’s Approval Ratings During the Ukrainian Crisis 2014”. APSA, San Francisco, CA, September 2015.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Signaling Games of Election Fraud: A Cross-National Analysis”. MPSA, Chicago, IL, April 2015.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Preference Falsification and Election Fraud: A Cross-National Analysis”. MPSA, Chicago, IL, April 2015.

Mebane, Walter R., Jr., and Kirill Kalinin. "Geography in Election Forensics". APSA, Washington DC, August 2014.

Kalinin, Kirill. "A Study of Social Desirability Bias in the Russian Presidential Elections, 2012". APSA, Washington DC, August 2014.

Kalinin, Kirill. "Unifying the Concepts of Electoral Fraud and Preference Falsification: Case of Russia". APSA, Chicago, IL, August 2013.

Kalinin, Kirill. "Simulating Quantities of Interest for Small Data Samples: Which Method Provides Best Results". APSA, Seattle, WA, September 2011.

Kalinin, Kirill and Walter R. Mebane, Jr. "Understanding Electoral Frauds through Evolution of Russian Federalism: From 'Bargaining Loyalty' to 'Signaling Loyalty' ". MPSA, Chicago, IL, March 2011.

Mebane, Walter R., Jr., and Kirill Kalinin. "Electoral Fraud in Russia: Vote Counts Analysis Using Parametric and Non-Parametric Methods". MPSA, Chicago, IL, April 2010.

Kalinin, Kirill. "Nation or Empire State Building in Russia: Elite and Mass Perspectives". ASN, New York, April 2009.

Mebane, Walter R., Jr., and Kirill Kalinin. "Comparative Election Fraud Detection". APSA, Toronto, Canada, September 2009.

Kalinin, Kirill. "Electoral Frauds in Russia: 2004 and 2008 Presidential Elections Compared". MPSA, Chicago, IL, April 2008.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

Kalinin, Kirill. "Election Forensics Research: a Case of Russia". Stanford University, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, March, 2018.

Kalinin, Kirill. "Linking Preference Falsification and Election Fraud In Electoral Autocracies". Columbia University, Carnegie Russian Politics Workshop, October, 2017.

Kalinin, Kirill. "Evolution of the Russian Party System and Election Fraud (2000-2016)". University of Genoa, Conference "Russia and the Shifting Global Order. What's at a Stake for Putin?", November, 2016.

Kalinin, Kirill. "My Studies in Survey Methodology and Election Forensics". Center for Statistical Consultation and Research (CSCAR), January, 2016.

Kalinin, Kirill. "The Factor of Social Desirability Bias in the Russian Political Ratings". European University at St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, April 25, 2014.

Kalinin, Kirill. "Measuring Social Desirability Bias in the Surveys". A Meeting of VCIOM's Scientific Council (Respondent's Sincerity in the Polling Methodology), Moscow, November 13, 2013.

Kalinin, Kirill. "Election Fraud and Preference Falsification in Russia's 2012 Presidential Election". CREES Noon Lecture, University of Michigan, September 25, 2013; CPS Workshop, University of Michigan, October 2, 2013.

Kalinin, Kirill. "Analysis of the Russian Presidential Election 2012 Using Experiments". 22nd USENIX Security Symposium and Co-located Workshops, EVT/WOTE'13. Washington, DC, Au-

gust 13, 2013.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Diagnostics of Electoral Falsifications in Russian Presidential Elections 2012: Combining Survey Data and Electoral Data Analysis”. European University at St. Petersburg. St.Peterburg, April 27, 2012.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Modeling Electoral Processes: How Possible Is Verification of Electoral Statistics?”. Research seminar, Moscow State University, Moscow, April 19, 2012.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Statistical Methods of Election Fraud Detection”. Research seminar “Russian Political Development: New Turn?”, Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Moscow, February 26, 2012.

Kalinin, Kirill. “How to Measure Electoral Frauds?”. Public Lecture for POLIT.RU, Moscow, March 15, 2012.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Evolution of Russian Politics from Yeltsin to Medvedev”. Fulbright-Hays GPA Pre-Departure Workshop, CREES, University of Michigan, June 16, 2010.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Consultation of Winning Scholars on Research in Russia”. CREES/U.S. Department of Education Curriculum Development Grants, 2010.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Comparative Analysis of Electoral Falsifications in Russia (2004-2008)”. Guest Lecture. European University at St. Petersburg, May 26, 2009.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Russian Party System and Societal Cleavages”. Brown bag seminar, U.S. Embassy, Moscow, August 5, 2009.

Kalinin, Kirill. “Societal Cleavages in Russia”. Presentation. Center of Russian and Eurasian Studies. Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway, March, 2008.

MEDIA COVERAGE OF MY RESEARCH

Baryshnikov, Valentin. “Srednii paletc izbirkoma”. (“Izbirkom’s middle finger”). *Radio Free Europe* (26 January, 2017). *in Russian*.

Tsybul'sky, Vladimir. “Itogi vyborov v Gosdumu okazalis' slishkom ideal'nimi. Uchenyye nashli podozritel'nye chisla v yavke izbiratelei i rezul'tatah golosovaniya”. (“The results of the Duma elections turned out to be too perfect. Researchers found suspicious patterns in turnout and vote counts”). *Meduza.io* (13 January, 2017). *in Russian*.

Mebane, Walter R. Jr., Allen Hicken and Ken Kollman. “Were there irregularities in Turkey’s 2015 elections? We used this new forensic toolkit to check”. *the Washington Post* (February, 2016).

Gel'man, Vladimir. “Zadacha so mnogimi neizvestnimi”. (“The task with many unknowns”). *New Times* (N25, August, 2014). *in Russian*.

Brown, Katie. “Centralization and the Origin of Russia’s Election Fraud”. *Center for Political Studies (CPS) Blog*. 2014.

Brown, Katie. “Social Desirability, Vote Fraud in Russian Elections”. *Center for Political Studies (CPS) Blog*. 2014.

Brown, Katie and Jill Wittrock. “Vote Fraud Knows No Geographical Boundaries”. Center for Political Studies (CPS) Blog. University of Michigan, Winter, 2014.

Sorokin, Ivan. “The Best Articles on Science”. *Bol’shoi Gorod*. 2012. *in Russian*.

Zakharov, Mikhail. “Nauka protiv Fal’sifikatorov” (“Science is Against the Falsifiers”). Polit.ru, March 19, 2012. *in Russian*.

NTB “Tens of thousands will observe Russia’s presidential election”. NTB , March 3, 2012. *in Norwegian*.

WEB APPLICATIONS

- Web Application “Election Forensics Toolkit” with USAID and Center for Political Studies (Institute for Social Research): http://electionforensics.ddns.net:3838/EFT_USAID/. The goal of this project is to make an election forensics analysis accessible for the use by policymakers, practitioners, and scholars.
 - Responsibilities: web programming(HTML, R Shiny), statistical programming(R), data scraping/parsing, data management(R).
- Web Application “Global Geo-referenced Election Forensics Database” <https://kalinin.shinyapps.io/GeoElectionForensics/>. The goal of this project is to build a user-friendly interface convenient for exploration of geographic distribution of election fraud.
 - Responsibilities: web programming (HTML, CSS, R Shiny), statistical programming(R).
- Web Application “Survey of Russian Elites: 1993-2016” https://kalinin.shinyapps.io/Russian_Elites/.
- Web Application “The Database of the Russian Inter-budgetary Transfers” (under development)

STATISTICAL SOFTWARE

- “*Interactions*” – the package is written in R, and designed to build the graphs of marginal effects for the linear regression models based on multiple criteria set by the user.
- “*Lmsearcher*” – the package is written in R, and designed to find the best linear regression model fitting the data based on multiple criteria set by the user.
- “*ENP script*” – the script is written in R, and designed to produce the Party Nationalization Datasets based on the original dataset “Constituency-Level Elections Archive (CLEA)”.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *Economics of Governance*, *Electoral Studies*, *European Science Foundation*, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *New Economic School (Master’s theses)*, *Political Studies*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Center for Advanced Studies (Moscow, Russia, HSE)*.
- Expert at the *Election Integrity Project (Harvard University and the University of Sydney)*.
- Participant of Ann Arbor Data Dive 2016 *working with data from local nonprofits to support their needs*.

MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

CREES Graduate Student Associate, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan (2011-2012).

Member of American Political Science Association (since 2008).

Member of Midwest Political Science Association (since 2008).

US Masters Swimming (Club Name: Michigan Masters) (2013).

American Federation of Teachers, Graduate Employees Organization (since 2009).

TEACHING INTERESTS

Comparative Politics:

Introduction to Comparative Politics

Introduction to World Politics

Authoritarian Regimes

Russian Domestic Politics

Russian International Politics

Methodology:

Introduction to Statistical Methods

Introduction to Game Theory

Methodology of Election Forensics

Multivariate Analysis

Survey Methodology

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

English (writing, reading and speaking proficient), Russian (native).

COMPUTER SKILLS

AMOS, ArcGIS, BIOGEME, HTML, Java, L^AT_EX, Markdown, MS Office, MS Project, NetLogo, Python, QGIS, QBasic, R, R Shiny, SPSS, SQL, Stata, Visual Basic, WinBugs.

HOBBIES

Swimming (2011 Intramural Sports Champion, University of Michigan), reading, music, cooking, making confectionery items.

REFERENCES

Professor Walter R. Mebane
Depts of Political Science, Statistics
University of Michigan
505 S. State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109
+1.734.763.2220.
wmebane@umich.edu

Professor Allen Hicken
Dept. of Political Science
University of Michigan
505 S. State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109
+1.734.615.9105
ahicken@umich.edu

Professor Emeritus William Zimmerman
Center for Political Studies
University of Michigan
505 S. State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109
+1.734.936.1759
wzim@umich.edu

Professor Kenneth Kollman
Dept. of Political Science
University of Michigan
505 S. State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109
+1.734.936.0062
kkollman@umich.edu

Professor Jenna Bednar
Dept. of Political Science
University of Michigan
505 S. State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109
+1.734.615.5165
jbednar@umich.edu

Professor Vladimir Gel'man
Dept. of Political Science and Sociology
European University at St. Petersburg
ul. Gagarinskaia, 191187, St.Petersburg, Russia
+7.812.386.7620
gelman@eu.spb.ru