

# KIRILL O. KALININ

## WORK ADDRESS

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Google Scholar Profile: [Research & Citations \(40 papers/192 citations\)](#)

## 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*. [Forthcoming].

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. “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

|   |   |                        |
|---|---|------------------------|
| <b>Research Assistant</b><br>University of Michigan       | Statistical programming: Tanzania Land Research Project | Fall 2016              |
| <b>Research Assistant</b><br>University of Michigan       | Statistical programming: CLEA                           | Fall 2016-Winter 2017  |
| <b>Research Assistant</b><br>University of Michigan       | Statistical programming: Kenya Project                  | Fall 2016-Winter 2017  |
| <b>Research Assistant</b><br>University of Michigan       | Data management: "Analysis of protests in the US"       | Winter 2013            |
| <b>Research Assistant</b><br>University of Michigan       | Survey Quality Assessment for the WVS                   | Summer 2011            |
| <b>Graduate Student Mentor</b><br>University of Michigan  | POLSCI 993: Graduate Student Instructor Training        | Fall 2015              |
| <b>Teaching Assistant (GSI)</b><br>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              |
| <b>GSI Grader</b><br>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

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

## NON-ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

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 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. "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, August 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. Petersburg, 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*.

Tsybulsky, 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/](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://kcalinin.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://kcalinin.shinyapps.io/RussianElites/>.

- 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)*, *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<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X, 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  
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University of Michigan  
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European University at St. Petersburg  
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