

Curriculum vitae, November 2024

M. Steven Fish

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EDUCATION:

Stanford University, Stanford, CA. Ph.D. in Political Science, 1993.

The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies,
Washington, DC. M.A. in International Relations, 1986. Areas of
specialization: International Economics, U.S. Foreign Relations.

The Johns Hopkins University Bologna Center, Bologna, Italy. Diploma, 1985.

Cornell University, Ithaca, NY. B.A. in History and Government, 1984. Magna
Cum Laude in History and with Distinction in All Subjects.

EMPLOYMENT:

Regular full-time appointments:

Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 2006-

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley,
1998-2006.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley,
1995-98.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, 1993-95.

Visiting and temporary appointments:

Faculty Member, SIE International Summer School, Nanjing University,
Nanjing, China, 2012.

Faculty Member, SIE International Summer School, University of International Business and Economics, Beijing, China, 2011.

Visiting Fulbright Professor of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia, 2007.

Visiting Fulbright Professor of Political Science and Sociology, European University at St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, Russia, 2000-01.

Faculty Member, Open Society Summer School in Social Science, Almaty, Kazakhstan, 1998, 2003, 2004.

Faculty Member, The International Summer School in Political Science and International Relations, the Stefan Batory Foundation, Mierki, Poland, and Krynica, Poland, 1995, 1997, 1998.

TEACHING:

Teach courses in general comparative politics; foundations of social theory; democracy and authoritarianism; the global crisis of democracy; and Russian politics.

RESEARCH INTERESTS AND EXPERIENCE:

Research interests include democracy and authoritarianism, regime change, constitutional systems and national legislatures, social movements, political parties, and the politics and sociology of religion. Extensive fieldwork in Eurasia, Eastern Europe, and Southeast Asia, as well as research experience in Western Europe, East Asia, and Latin America.

SELECT PUBLICATIONS:

Books:

Authored:

Comeback: Routing Trumpism, Reclaiming the Nation, and Restoring Democracy's Edge. Irvington, NY: Rivertowns Books, 2024. 365 pages.

Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. 408 pages. (Selected for *Choice's* Outstanding Academic Titles, 2012: Top 25 Books)

Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 336 pages. (Recipient of the Best Book Award of 2006, presented by the Comparative Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association)

Democracy from Scratch: Opposition and Regime in the New Russian Revolution. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995. 312 pages.

Coauthored:

Rewriting a Constitution: Georgia's Shift towards Europe (coauthored with Wolfgang Babeck and Zeno Reichenbecher). Baden-Baden, Germany: GIZ, 2012. 275 pages.

The Handbook of National Legislatures: A Global Survey (coauthored with Matthew Kroenig). New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 808 pages.

Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy (coauthored with Richard D. Anderson, Stephen E. Hanson, and Philip G. Roeder). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001. 201 pages.

Coedited:

A Quarter-Century of Post-Communism Assessed (co-edited with Graeme Gill and Milenko Petrovic). London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017. 360 pages.

Articles and book chapters:

“The Indispensability of Dominance.” In Valerie Bunce, Thomas B. Pepinsky, Rachel Riedl, and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds., *Global Challenges to Democracy: Comparative Perspectives on Backsliding, Autocracy, and Resilience*. New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2025.

“The Imperative of Liberal Nationalism.” *Journal of Democracy* 35, 4 (October 2024), pp. 20-34.

- “Make Liberalism Great Again” (coauthored with Neil A. Abrams and Laila Aghaie). *Slate*, July 3, 2020.
- “Trump, Russia, and the Democrats’ Golden Opportunity.” *The American Interest*, July 2019.
- “The Lost Language of Progressive Patriotism.” *RealClear World*, December 10, 2018.
- “A Decade of Democratic Decline and Stagnation” (coauthored with Laura Jakli and Jason Wittenberg). In Christian Haerpfer, Patrick Bernhagen, Ronald Inglehart, and Christian Welzel, eds., *Democratization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018: 268-284.
- “What Has Russia Become?” *Comparative Politics* 50, 3 (April 2018): 327-346.
- “Attitudes toward Polygyny: Experimental Evidence from Six Countries” (coauthored with Rose McDermott, Michael Dickerson, Danielle Lussier, and Jonathan Cowden). In Rose McDermott and Kristen Renwick Monroe, eds., *The Evils of Polygyny: Evidence of Its Harms to Women, Men, and Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018: 97-122.
- “Penury Traps and Prosperity Tales: Why Some Countries Escape Poverty While Others Do Not.” In Carol Lancaster and Nicholas van de Walle, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Politics of Development*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018: 88-104.
- “What Is Putinism?” *Journal of Democracy* 28, 4 (October 2017): 61-75.
- “Russia and the CIS in 2016: Pursuing Great Power Status” (coauthored with Melissa Samarin and Lucan Way). *Asian Survey* 57, 1 (January-February 2017): 93-102.
- “The Secret Supports of Mongolian Democracy” (coauthored with Michael Seeberg). *Journal of Democracy* 28, 1 (January 2017): 129-143.
- “What Has a Quarter-Century of Post-Communism Taught Us about the Correlates of Democracy?” In M. Steven Fish, Graeme Gill, and

- Milenko Petrovic, eds., *A Quarter-Century of Post-Communism Assessed*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017: 11-40.
- “Men, Muslims, and Attitudes toward Gender Inequality” (coauthored with Danielle N. Lussier). *Politics and Religion* 9, 1 (March 2016): 29-60.
- “Policies First, Institutions Second: Lessons from Estonia’s Economic Reforms” (coauthored with Neil A. Abrams). *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31, 6 (November-December 2015): 491-513.
- “Indonesia: The Benefits of Civic Engagement” (coauthored with Danielle N. Lussier). *Journal of Democracy* 23, 1 (January 2012): 70-84.
- “Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach” (coauthored with Michael Coppedge, John Gerring et al.). *Perspectives on Politics* 9, 2 (June 2011): 247-67.
- “Fighting Reversion: Strong Legislatures as the Key to Bolstering Democracy.” In Nathan J. Brown, ed., *The Dynamics of Democratization: Dictatorship, Development, and Diffusion*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011: 118-39.
- “Islam and Large-Scale Political Violence: Is There a Connection?” (coauthored with Francesca R. Jensenius and Katherine E. Michel). *Comparative Political Studies* 43, 11 (November 2010): 1327-62.
- “Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies.” In Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Democracy: A Reader*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009: 196-210. [Published originally in *Journal of Democracy* 17, 1 (January 2006): 5-20].
- “Encountering Culture.” In Zoltan Barany and Robert G. Moser, eds., *Is Democracy Exportable?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 57-84.
- “Failed Democratization” (coauthored with Jason Wittenberg). In Christian W. Haerpfer, Patrick Bernhagen, Ronald F. Inglehart, and Christian Welzel, eds., *Democratization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009: 249-65.
- “The e-Parliament Election Index: A Global Survey on the Quality of Practices in Parliamentary Elections.” The e-Parliament, 2009.

- “Democratization and Economic Liberalization in the Postcommunist World” (coauthored with Omar Choudhry). *Comparative Political Studies* 40, 3 (March 2007): 254-82.
- “Diversity, Conflict, and Democracy: Some Evidence from Eurasia and East Europe” (coauthored with Matthew Kroenig). *Democratization* 13, 5 (December 2006): 828-42.
- “Creative Constitutions: How Do Parliamentary Powers Shape the Electoral Arena?” In Andreas Schedler, ed., *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2006: 181-97.
- “The Hazards of Half-Measures: Perestroika and the Failure of Post-Soviet Democratization.” *Demokratizatsiya* 13, 2 (Spring 2005): 241-53.
- “Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?” (coauthored with Robin S. Brooks). *Journal of Democracy* 15, 1 (January 2004): 155-66.
- “Out of the Brown and into the Blue: The Tentative ‘Christian-Democratization’ of the Croatian Democratic Union” (coauthored with Andrej Krickovic). *East European Constitutional Review* 12, 2/3 (Spring/Summer 2003): 104-12.
- “The Impact of the 1999-2000 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections on Political Party Development.” In Vicki L. Hesli and William M. Reisinger, eds., *The 1999-2000 Elections in Russia: Their Impact and Legacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003: 186-212.
- “Economic Policy Doctrine and Political Regime.” In Nauro F. Campos and Jan Fidrmuc (eds.), *Political Economy of Transition and Development: Institutions, Politics and Policies*. London: Kluwer, 2003: 183-200.
- “Islam and Authoritarianism.” *World Politics* 55, 1 (October 2002): 4-37.
- “Putin’s Path.” In Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Democracy after Communism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002: 246-53. [Published originally in *Journal of Democracy* 12, 4 (October 2001): 71-78].
- “Russian Studies without Studying.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 17, 4 (October-December 2001): 332-73.

- “Democracy and Russian Politics.” In Zoltan D. Barany and Robert G. Moser, eds., *Russian Politics: Challenges of Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001: 215-54.
- “The Inner Asian Anomaly: Mongolia’s Democratization in Comparative Perspective.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 34, 3 (September 2001): 323-38.
- “When More Is Less: Superexecutive Power and Political Underdevelopment in Russia.” In Victoria E. Bonnell and George W. Breslauer, eds., *Russia in the New Century: Stability or Disorder?* Boulder, CO: Westview, 2001: 15-34.
- “Bulgarian Democracy’s Organization Weapon” (coauthored with Robin S. Brooks). *East European Constitutional Review* 9, 3 (Summer 2000): 69-77.
- “Durkheim on Method.” *Comparative Politics Newsletter of the American Political Science Association*, Summer 2000: 25-29.
- “The Executive Deception: Superpresidentialism and the Degradation of Russian Politics.” In Valerie Sperling, ed., *Building the Russian State: Institutional Quest for Democratic Governance*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000: 177-92.
- “Postcommunist Subversion: Social Science and Democratization in East Europe and Eurasia.” *Slavic Review* 58, 4 (Winter 1999): 794-823.
- “The Art of Being Indispensable: Noncharismatic Personalism in Contemporary Political Parties” (coauthored with Christopher K. Ansell). *Comparative Political Studies* 32, 3 (May 1999): 283-312.
- “The End of Meciarism.” *East European Constitutional Review* 8, 1 (Winter/Spring 1999): 47-55.
- “Democratization’s Requisites: The Postcommunist Experience.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 14, 3 (July-September 1998): 212-47.
- “Does Post-Sovietology Have a Future?” (coauthored with Michael Urban). In Michael Cox, ed., *Rethinking the Soviet Collapse: Sovietology, the Death of Communism and the New Russia*. London: Pinter, 1998: 164-80.

- “The Roots of and Remedies for Russia’s Racket Economy.” In Stephen S. Cohen, Andrew Schwartz, and John Zysman, eds., *The Tunnel at the End of the Light: Privatization, Business Networks, and Economic Transformation in Russia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California International and Area Studies, 1998: 86-137.
- “Mongolia: Democracy without Prerequisites.” *Journal of Democracy* 9, 3 (July 1998): 127-41.
- “The Determinants of Economic Reform in the Postcommunist World.” *East European Politics and Societies* 12, 1 (Winter 1998): 31-78.
- “The Pitfalls of Russian Superpresidentialism.” *Current History* 96, 612 (October 1997): 326-30.
- “The Predicament of Russian Liberalism: Evidence from the December 1995 Parliamentary Elections.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 49, 2 (March 1997): 191-220.
- “The Travails of Liberalism.” *Journal of Democracy* 7, 2 (April 1996): 105-17.
- “Russia’s Crisis and the Crisis of Russology.” In David Holloway and Norman Naimark, eds., *Reexamining the Soviet Experience: Essays in Honor of Alexander Dallin*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996: 139-65.
- “Russia’s Fourth Transition.” In Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996: 264-75. [Published originally in *Journal of Democracy* 5, 3 (July 1994): 31-42].
- “The Advent of Multipartyism in Russia, 1993-95.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 11, 4 (October-December 1995): 340-83.
- “Democracy Begins to Emerge.” *Current History* 94, 594 (October 1995): 317-21.

DATA PROJECT:

Project Manager for Legislatures, Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem).

Collaborator (one of 14, plus 16 authors), *Varieties of Democracy, V-Dem Methodology, v12* (V-Dem Institute, University of Gothenburg, March 2022).

Author (one of 30), *Varieties of Democracy, V-Dem Codebook, v12* (V-Dem Institute, University of Gothenburg, March 2022).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUBLIC MEDIA:

Serve as commentator in national and international electronic media, including BBC World News TV, Channel NewsAsia, CNBC, CNN, MSNBC, Deutsche Welle, and Sky News, as well as for local outlets such as KGO TV San Francisco, KTVU TV Oakland, and KRON4 TV San Francisco.

Publish op-ed pieces in major mass media outlets, including *cnn.com*, *Foreign Policy*, *Indian Express*, *KOMPAS* (Jakarta), *Los Angeles Times*, *Newsday*, *New York Times*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Washington Post*, and *Zaman* (Istanbul).

CONSULTING:

Serve as expert witness and provider of testimony in legal matters, including asylum cases.

Serve as consultant to U.S. government organizations, including the Department of State and other federal government agencies.

Serve as consultant to variety of international organizations, such as the European Commission for Democracy through Law (the Venice Commission) and the e-Parliament.

SELECT FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS:

Recipient of *Choice's* "Outstanding Academic Titles 2012: Top 25 Books" for *Are Muslims Distinctive: A Look at the Evidence*

Senior Fulbright Fellow, Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia, 2007.

Recipient of the Best Book Award of 2006, presented by the Comparative Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association, for *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*.

Division of Social Sciences Distinguished Teaching Award, College of Letters and Science, University of California, Berkeley, 2005.

Senior Fulbright Fellow, European University at St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, Russia, 2000-01.

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY:

Russian (advanced); Indonesian (basic); Italian (basic); French (basic)