

KATERINA TERTYTCHNAYA

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford
Associate Professor of Comparative Politics & Tutorial Fellow, Brasenose College 2023-
Department of Political Science, UCL
Associate Professor of Comparative Politics 2022-2023
Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics 2018-2022
St Anne's College, University of Oxford 2017-2018
Clayman Junior Research Fellow in Politics

EDUCATION

Columbia University
Fulbright-Schuman predoctoral fellow, Department of Political Science 2016-2017
University of Oxford
DPhil in Politics 2013-2017
Dissertation: Shocks, the State, and Support under Electoral Authoritarianism
• 2019 PSA Best Dissertation Prize for elections, electoral systems and representation
MPhil in Russian and East European Studies (with distinction) 2010-2012
University of Cyprus 2006-2010
B.A. in Political Sciences (with distinction)

RESEARCH

Books

De Vries, C., Doyle, D., Solaz, H. and Tertytchnaya, K. 2024. *Money Flows: The political consequences of migrant remittances*. Oxford University Press.

- 2025 APSA Migration and Citizenship Section Best Book Award

The Audiences of Repression: Legal Repression and Public Opinion in Putin's Russia. Book project.

Articles

Neundorf, A., Ozturk, A., Northmore-Ball, K., Tertytchnaya, K., & Gerschewski, J. 2025. A Loyal Base: Support for Authoritarian Regimes in Times of Crisis. *Comparative Political Studies*, 58(9), 1854-1889.

Lankina, T. V., Libman, A., & Tertytchnaya, K. 2025. State violence and target group adaptation: Maintaining social status in the face of repressions in Soviet Russia. *Journal of Peace Research*, 62(2), 195-210.

Buckley N, Marquardt KL, Reuter OJ, Tertytchnaya K. 2024. Endogenous Popularity: How Perceptions of Support Affect the Popularity of Authoritarian Regimes. *American Political Science Review*. 118(2):1046-1052.

Neundorf A, Nazrullaeva E, Northmore-Ball K, Tertytchnaya K, Kim W. 2024. Varieties of Indoctrination: The Politicization of Education and the Media around the World. *Perspectives on Politics*. 22(3):771-798.

Tertytchnaya, K. 2023. "This Rally is not Authorized": Preventive Repression and Public Opinion in Electoral Autocracies. *World Politics*. 75(3), 482-522.

Otlan, Y, Kuzmina, Y., Rumiantseva, A., Tertytchnaya K. 2023. Authoritarian media and foreign protests: evidence from a decade of Russian news, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 39:6, 391-405.

Northmore-Ball, K. and Tertytchnaya, K. 2023. The long-term effects of voting for autocracy: Evidence from Russia. *Electoral Studies*. 83. Article 102618.

Paskhalis, Tom., Rosenfeld, Bryn and Tertytchnaya, Katerina. 2022. Independent Media Under Pressure: Evidence from Russia. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 38(3), 155-174.

Tertytchnaya, Katerina, 2020. Protests and Voter Defections in Electoral Autocracies: Evidence from Russia. *Comparative Political Studies*. 53(12), 1926-1956.

Tertytchnaya, Katerina and Lankina, Tomila. 2020. Electoral Protests and Political Attitudes under Electoral Authoritarianism. *The Journal of Politics*. 82:1, 285-299.

Lankina, Tomila and Tertytchnaya, Katerina. 2020. Protest in electoral autocracies: A new dataset. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 36(1):20-36.

Tertytchnaya, Katerina, De Vries Catherine E, Solaz, Hector, & Doyle, David. 2018. When the Money Stops: Fluctuations in Financial Remittances and Incumbent Approval in Central-Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. *American Political Science Review*. 112(4): 758-774.

Tertytchnaya, Katerina, and De Vries Catherine. 2018. The political consequences of self-insurance: Evidence from Central Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. *Political Behavior*. 41:1047

Working Papers

Functionaries of Repression: Autocratic Control through Bureaucratic Supervision in Russia. With Emily Ritter. Revised and Resubmitted.

- Winner of the 2025 APSA Human Rights Section Best Paper Award

Personalism and Indoctrination in Dictatorships. With Wooseok Kim, Anja Neundorf, Ksenia Northmore-Ball and Eugenia Nazrullaeva. Revise and Resubmit.

Strategies of Political Control and Regime Survival in Autocracies. With Wooseok Kim, Anja Neundorf, Ksenia Northmore-Ball and Eugenia Nazrullaeva. Revise and Resubmit.

Public Support for Patriotic Education under Authoritarianism: Evidence from Russia. With Quintin Beazer, Olga Gasparyan, Holger L. Kern, Eugenia Nazrullaeva, and Ksenia Northmore-Ball. Under review.

Book Chapters

Tertytchnaya, K. 2025. Legal Repression in Authoritarian Societies. In: De Gruyter Handbook of Political Control. Edited by Jennifer Earl and Jessica Maves Braithwaite.

Tertytchnaya, K. and Tiratsoo, M. 2024. Legal Repression in Russia. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.2247.

Tertytchnaya, K. 2024. Protest and Civil Society. In: *Developments in Russian Politics 10*. Edited by Henry E. Hale, Juliet Johnson, and Tomila Lankina.

RESEARCH GRANTS

Sole Principal Investigator, UKRI, ESRC New Investigator Grant. *Nonviolent Repression in Electoral Autocracies*, 2021-2025, 299,482 GBP

Sole Principal Investigator, University of Oxford John Fell Fund. *The International Audiences of Authoritarian Repression*, 2025-2026, 28,000 GBP

Co-Principal Investigator, National Science Foundation, Accountable Institutions and Behavior. *The 2021 Russian Election Study Survey* 2021-2023, (with Bryn Rosenfeld, Ora-John Reuter, Henry Hale, David Szakonyi, and Timothy Colton) 540,721 USD

Co-Investigator, ERC Consolidator Grant, *Democracy Under Threat and How Education Can Save It*, 2020-25, (PI: Professor Anja Neundorff)

UCL SHS Dean Strategic Fund Research Award, 2019, 2020, 2021, 10,000 GBP

British Academy / Leverhulme Trust Research Grant, 2019, 10,000 GBP

LSE IR Department Research Grant (with Tomila Lankina), 2019, 12,000 GBP

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Best Book Award: 2025 APSA Migration and Citizenship Section

Best Paper Award: 2025 APSA Human Rights Section

UKRI Future Leaders Fellowship, 2021-2024

Higher Education Academy Fellow, 2021

PSA Best Dissertation Prize for Elections, Electoral Systems and Representation, 2019

Max-Weber Postdoctoral Fellowship, European University Institute (declined), 2017-18

Fulbright-Schuman Predoctoral Fellowship, jointly awarded by the US State Department and the European Commission, 2016-17

Department of Politics (DPIR) and St Cross College Graduate Awards & Scholarship: 2016-2017, 2015-2016

Anastasios G. Leventis Graduate Scholarship, 2010-12 and 2013-14.

Diplomatic Corps of Cyprus Award, Highest undergraduate distinction within the Social Sciences division at the University of Cyprus, 2010

Cyprus State Foundation Scholarship, awarded to students with the highest scores at the university-entrance examinations, 2006-10

PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

Op-Eds and Policy Papers

Indoctrination in Russia. Russian Analytical Digest No. 308.

Russian Protests Following the Invasion of Ukraine. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 841. April 2023.

The Invasion of Ukraine has Upended Russian Education. Washington Post, The Monkey Cage. September 14, 2022.

How Popular is Putin, Really? Washington Post, The Monkey Cage. April 13, 2022.

Russia May be About to Invade Ukraine. Russians' Don't Want It. Washington Post, The Monkey Cage. February 11, 2022.

The Kremlin has a new toolkit for shutting down independent news media. Washington Post, The Monkey Cage. June 29, 2021.

COVID and reverse remittances. LSE Business Review. June 3, 2021.

How migrant remittances affect government support. Republic.ru. September 27, 2018 (in Russian)

Selected Media Coverage

Guest Speaker. 'Election Special 2: Elections without Democracy.' The Briefing Room, BBC Sounds, 13 March 2024. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m001x4tr>.

Quoted in 'Behind Putin's Potemkin Vote, Real Support. But No Other Choices.' The New York Times, 18 March 2024. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/18/world/europe/putin-russia-election.html>.

Guest Speaker. 'Russia's invasion: what level of support does Putin have at home.' The Briefing Room, BBC Sounds, 10 March 2022. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0015f1k>

Guest Speaker. 'Russia under Putin'. The History Hour, BBC News World Service, 5 March 2022. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3ct1z8b>

INVITED TALKS

2024-25: Vanderbilt University, Comparative Politics Speaker Series; Royal Holloway, University of London, Political Science Seminars, University of Oxford, Meeting Minds Alumni Weekend, Toulouse School of Economics, Toulouse, France, Politics Seminar Series.

2023-24: George Washington University. 'Russian Public Opinion Following the Invasion of Ukraine Workshop; Columbia University, Comparative Politics Seminar, NY, USA; EUI Political Science Seminar Series, Florence, Italy; University of Gothenburg, Comparative Politics Seminar, Gothenburg, Sweden; Harriman Institute and NYU Jordan Center New York-Russia Public Policy Series; Nuffield College Politics Series, Oxford, UK; King's College London, Russian Politics Workshop, London, UK.

2021-22: NYU Politics Comparative Politics Speaker Series and Jordan Center, NY, USA; Comparative Politics Group, Ludwig-Maximilians University, Munich, Germany; International Political Economy Colloquium, Groningen University, Groningen, Netherlands; Department of Political Science Research Seminar, University of Barcelona, Spain; WZB, Social Science Centre, Berlin, Germany; University of Reading, Department of Politics Research Seminar, Reading, UK; Core Lecture Series, University of Bergen, Norway.

2020-21. Bocconi University, Department of Politics, PhD Reading Group, Bocconi, Italy; IPERG, University of Barcelona, Spain; University of Manchester, Manchester, UK; University of Oslo, Norway; King's College London, London, UK.

2018-2019. Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, Germany; University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus; University of Kent, Canterbury, UK; Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland; Comparative Authoritarian Protest Research Network, University of Manchester, UK; LSE International Relations Department, London, UK; Columbia University Harriman Institute and NYU Jordan Centre, New York, USA; LSE Political Behaviour Seminar, London, UK; Indiana University Urban Activism Workshop, Berlin, Germany, UK.

Professional Meetings: American Political Science Association Meeting (APSA), 2015-2021, 2025; European Political Science Association Meeting (EPSA), 2016-2021, 2023-24.

PHD SUPERVISION

Michael Jacobs, UCL. (Co-supervised with Ben Lauderdale and Jack Blumenau) 2021-2025. Postdoctoral researcher, ETH Zurich.

Yilin Su, UCL. (Co-supervised with Kristin M. Bakke and Nils Metternich). Bentham-funded PhD candidate. 2021-

Jennifer Green, University of Oxford, 2023-,

Thomas Hazell, University of Oxford, ESRC-funded DPhil candidate, 2023-

Ekaterina Rebisnkaya, University of Oxford, DPIR-funded DPhil candidate, 2024-

Iuliana Nyerges, University of Oxford (Co-supervising with Scott Williamson) ESRC-funded DPhil candidate, University of Oxford, 2025-

PHD EXAMINATIONS

2021: Department of Political Science, Columbia University in the City of New York.
2022: Department of International Relations, London School of Economics.
2024: European University Institute.
2024: London School of Economics.
2024: University of Copenhagen.
2025: European University Institute.

TEACHING

Democracy and Authoritarianism, UCL
Comparative Politics, UCL
Protests and Revolutions, UCL
Modern Classics in Political Analysis, UCL
Introduction to the Practice of Politics, University of Oxford
Comparative Government, University of Oxford
Political Sociology, University of Oxford
Politics in Russia and the Former Soviet Union, University of Oxford

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND SERVICE

Reviewer: Selected Journals: *APSR*, *AJPS*, *CPS*, *Journal of Politics*, *BJPS*, *JPR*; *PSRM*; *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *European Journal of Political Research*; *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*; *Sociological Research and Methods*; *Democratization*; *Research and Politics*, *Problems of Post-Communism*.
Research Councils: Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), Austrian Science Fund. **University Presses:** Cambridge and Oxford University Press. **Service**
Deputy Director of Research 2020-23, Department of Political Science, UCL

External Examiner, BA in Political Science, Birkbeck University London (2020-2023); Russian and Eurasian Politics and Economics MSc, King's College London (2025-2028).

Search Committees: UCL: Lecturer/ Associate Professor in Political Science (2019); University of Oxford: Associate Professor in International Relations (2024); Associate Professor in Central and Eastern-European Studies (2025)

Admissions: Philosophy Politics and Economics Interviews, University of Oxford (2017, 2023-)

Prize Committees: Political Studies Association Best Dissertation Prize Award (2020), Best Paper in Authoritarian Politics Award (2024)

Co-Founder: Oxford Authoritarian Politics Network, 2024-

Director: Authoritarian Observatory, Oxford Centre for Democratic Resilience, 2024-

Co-organizer: DPIR Politics Colloquium, 2024-

Governing Body Member and Trustee: Brasenose College 2023-