

## David Szakonyi

2115 G St. NW, Monroe 416  
Washington, DC 20052  
202-994-9231 / dszakonyi@gwu.edu

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

*Associate Professor of Political Science*  
George Washington University 2023-present  
*Affiliated Faculty, Advisory Board Member*, Institute for Russian, European, and Eurasian Studies  
*Affiliated Faculty*, Institute for International Economic Policy  
*Assistant Professor of Political Science* 2016-2023

*Co-Founder*, Anti-Corruption Data Collective 2020-present

*Co-Director*, PONARS (Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia) 2022-present

*Research Fellow*, International Center for the Study of Institutions and Development (ICSID)  
Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia 2011-2022

*Academy Scholar*, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies  
Harvard University 2017-2018, 2019-20

### EDUCATION

*PhD*, Political Science, Columbia University 2016  
*Finalist*, Ronald Coase Best Dissertation Award, Society for Institutional & Organizational Economics  
*Winner*, Robert C. Tucker/Stephen F. Cohen Dissertation Prize, Association for Slavic, East European  
and Eurasian Studies  
*Winner*, Gabriel A. Almond Award for the Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics, American Political  
Science Association

*B.A.*, Political and Social Thought (High Distinction), University of Virginia 2006

### RESEARCH

#### Books

David Szakonyi. *Politics for Profit: Business, Elections, and Policymaking in Russia*, Cambridge University Press, 2020 (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics)

Reviewed in: *Perspectives on Politics, Foreign Affairs, Eurasian Geography and Economics, Governance, Europe-Asia Studies, Political Science Quarterly*, and *Slavic Review*

Trier, Tom, Hedvig Lohm, and David Szakonyi. *Under Siege: Inter-ethnic Relations in De Facto Abkhazia*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2010

#### Published Articles

Michael Best, Jonas Hjort, and David Szakonyi. 2023. "Individuals and Organizations as Sources of State Effectiveness." *American Economic Review*, 113(8), 2127-67.

David Szakonyi. 2022. "Candidate Filtering: The Strategic Use of Electoral Manipulations in Russia." *British Journal of Political Science*, 52(2), 649-670.

David Szakonyi. 2022. "Indecent Disclosures: Anti-Corruption Reforms and Political Selection." *American Journal of Political Science*, 67(3), 503-519.

Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi. 2021. "Electoral Manipulation and Regime Support: Survey Evidence from Russia." *World Politics*, 73(2), 275-314.

David Szakonyi. 2021. "Private Sector Policymaking: Business Background and Politicians Behavior in Office." *Journal of Politics*, 83(1), 260-276.

Timothy Frye, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2019. "Vote Brokers, Clientelist Appeals, and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Russia and Venezuela." *World Politics* 71(4), 710-746.

David Szakonyi. 2019. "Princelings in the Private Sector: The Value of Nepotism." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 14(4), 349-381.

Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi. 2019. "Elite Defection under Autocracy: Evidence from Russia." *American Political Science Review* 113(2), 552-568.

David Szakonyi. 2018. "Businesspeople in Elected Office: Identifying Private Benefits from Firm-Level Returns." *American Political Science Review*. 112 (2), 322-338.

Timothy Frye, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2018. "Hitting Them with Carrots: Voter Intimidation and Vote Buying In Russia." *British Journal of Political Science*. 49 (3), 857-881.

Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi. 2015. "Online Social Media and Political Awareness in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *British Journal of Political Science*, 45 (01), 29-51.

Timothy Frye, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace." *World Politics*, 66 (2): 195-228.

David Szakonyi and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. "Who Benefits From Economic Reform? Firms and Distributive Politics." *Journal of Politics*, 76 (03), 841-858.

David Szakonyi and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. "Veto Players and the Value of Political Control: A Theory with Evidence From Energy Privatization." *Comparative Political Studies*, 47 (10), 1384-1415.

## **Under Review**

Timothy Frye, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. *Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace*. Under review at *Oxford University Press*

David Szakonyi. "Corruption and Cooptation in Autocracy: Evidence from Russia." Revised and resubmitted to *American Political Science Review*

Evgeny Finkel and David Szakonyi. "Flying with the Stars: Performance, Loyalty, and Awards in the Soviet Air Force during WWII."

Matthew Collin, Florian Hollenbach, and David Szakonyi. "The Impact of Beneficial Ownership Transparency on Illicit Purchases of US Property"

Florian Hollenbach and David Szakonyi. "The Political Consequences of Private Equity: Evidence from U.S. Leveraged Buyouts"

Yunus Orhan, Ora John Reuter, Bryn Rosenfeld, and David Szakonyi. "Polarization and Support for Un-

democratic Behavior: The Case of Russia“

### Work in Progress

David Szakonyi and Jordan Gans-Morse. “Corruption and Property Rights in Russia: Evidence from the Arbitration Court System.”

Matthew Collin, Florian Hollenbach, and David Szakonyi. “The End of Londongrad? The Impact of Beneficial Ownership Transparency on Offshore Investment in UK Property“

David Szakonyi. “Opposition Rule: Controlling Corruption Under Autocracy.”

### Book Chapters

Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi. 2022. “Party Politics and Voting in Russia“ in Suzanne Wengle (ed.), *Russian Politics Today: Stability and Fragility*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 56-80.

David Szakonyi. “Authoritarian Mechanics“ in Henry E. Hale, Juliet Johnson, Tomila Lankina (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, Bloomsbury Academic. Forthcoming.

### Policy Reports and Other Publications

*Anti-Corruption Investigations (through Anti-Corruption Data Collective)*

Sara Brimbeuf, Mara Martini, Florian Hollenbach and David Szakonyi “Behind a Wall: Investigating Company and Real Estate Ownership in France” *Transparency International and Anti-Corruption Data Collective*, July 5, 2023

Cited in: *Le Monde*, *OCCRP*

David Szakonyi (with Americans for Financial Reform and Public Citizen) “Public Money for Private Equity: Pandemic Relief Went to Companies Backed by Private Equity” *Anti-Corruption Data Collective*, September 15, 2021

Cited in: *NBC News*

David Szakonyi and Maira Martini. “In the Dark: Who is Behind Luxembourgs 4.5 Trillion-euro Investment Fund Industry?” *Transparency International*, February 8, 2021

Cited in: *Reuters*, *Associated Press*, *OCCRP*, *Miami Herald*, *Daily Express*, *Sddeutsche Zeitung*, *Delano*, *Forbes*, *Finance.si*

Ben Wieder, Shirsho Dasgupta, Christina Saint Louis, and David Szakonyi, “A Felon, An Alleged Drug Dealer and a Comic: How Some Who May Be Ineligible Got PPP Loans.” *Miami Herald*, December 20, 2020

Casey Michel and David Szakonyi. “Americas Cultural Institutions Are Quietly Fueled by Russian Corruption.” *Foreign Policy*, October 30, 2020

Nick Schwellenbach and David Szakonyi. “Large Political Donations Came After Paycheck Protection Program Loans“ *POGO Investigations*, November 17, 2020

Nick Schwellenbach and David Szakonyi. “How a Ukrainian Oligarchs Companies Got Paycheck Protection Program Loans.” *POGO Investigations*, August 24, 2020. Cited in: *OCCRP*

Nick Schwellenbach and David Szakonyi. “Whistleblowers Said This Company Is a Fake Small Business. It Got a PPP Loan.” *POGO Investigations*, August 3, 2020

Cited in: *Washington Post*

Nick Schwellenbach and David Szakonyi. "Millions in PPP Loans Went to Chinese State-Owned Companies" *POGO Investigations*, July 23, 2020

Nick Schwellenbach and David Szakonyi. "Inside the Pandemic Cash Bonanza for Private Equity-Backed Firms" *Daily Beast*, July 15, 2020

Cited in: *Brookings Institution*

### *Russian Politics*

"War and Organized Corruption in Russia." *Russia.Post*, October 25, 2022

"Russia may be about to invade Ukraine. Russians don't want it to." *Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, February 11, 2022 (with Henry E. Hale, Ora John Reuter, Bryn Rosenfeld, and Katerina Tertychnaya)

"Banking on Politics: How Russia's Banking Sector Clean-Up Affects Regime Stability" *Point / Counter Point*, May 13, 2019

"Buyer Beware: Evaluating Russian Exports Under Sanctions and Stagnation" *PONARS Policy Memo*, #585, March 2019

"The Effects of State Capitalism on Russia's Business Environment" *Baltic Rim Review*, #2, May 31, 2018

"Here's What You Can Expect from Putin's Next 6 Years" *Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, March 22, 2018 (with Noah Buckley-Farlee)

"What Another Six Years of Putin Spells for Russia's Economy" *EurasiaNet*, March 11, 2018

"Why Did Trump Let the Russians Off the Hook?" *Newsweek*, February 11, 2018

"Governing Business: The State and Business in Russia" *Foreign Policy Research Institute's Russia Political Economy Project*, January 2018, 1-32

"Why Russian Oligarchs Remain Loyal to Putin, *Moscow Times*, December 8, 2017

"Monopolies Rising: Consolidation in the Russian Economy" *PONARS Policy Memo*, #491, November 2017

"Sanctions", *Russian Analytical Digest*, #205, July 2017

"New Rules, New Members, Same Results? A Look at the New Russian Duma" *Wilson Center Cable*, #22, May 2017

"State Duma Elections in Crimea", *Russian Analytical Digest*, #203. May 2017

"Here's What a Study of Russian Business Leaders in Politics can Tell Us About Donald Trump" *Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, September 26, 2016

"Putin Is Still Standing" *Foreign Affairs*, July 26, 2016.

"In Russia, the Political Impact of Social Media Varies by Platform" *Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, December 31, 2014. (with Ora John Reuter)

### **Book Reviews**

“Billionaires and Stealth Politics by Benjamin I. Page, Jason Seawright and Matthew J. Lacombe.” *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 134, No. 4, Winter 2019-2020.

“Constructing the Post-Soviet Economic Order: A Review of Economic Liberalism and Its Rivals by Keith Darden.” *Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 63, No. 2, Spring 2010.

## FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| University Facilitating Fund, GWU, \$19,995   | 2022             |
| National Science Foundation, Research Grant (with Henry Hale, John Reuter, Bryn Rosenfeld, and Katya Tertychnaya), \$339,122            | 2021-2023        |
| GW-CIBER Grant, \$14,685  | 2020-2021        |
| National Research Competition, NCEEER, \$9,000  | 2020             |
| University Facilitating Fund, GWU, \$24,349   | 2020             |
| University Facilitating Fund, GWU, \$19,291   | 2018             |
| GWIPP Policy Scholar, GWU, \$11,000   | 2018             |
| National Science Foundation, Research Grant, \$410,191 (with Timothy Frye and Ora John Reuter)  |                  |
| “Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace”  | 2014-2017        |
| Mellon Interdisciplinary Graduate Fellowship, Interdisciplinary Center for Innovative Theory and Empirics (INCITE), Columbia University | 2014-2016        |
| International Growth Centre, Bihar Office, \$50,000 (with Johannes Urpelainen)  |                  |
| “The Benefits of Solar Technology Adoption for Street Vendors in Bihar”   | 2014-2015        |
| CIBER Summer Research Grant, \$3,500  | 2014             |
| National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship  | 2011-2014        |
| SSRC Eurasia Program Pre-Dissertation Award, \$2,500  | 2012             |
| Harriman Institute / Pepsico Fellowship for Research Travel, \$3,000  | 2010, 2011, 2012 |
| Center for the Study of Development Strategies Summer Research Grant, \$2,500   | 2010             |
| Jefferson Scholarship (full merit scholarship), University of Virginia  | 2002             |

## ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS

### Invited Talks

2022 - University of California-Berkeley, Temple University, Essec Business School; 2021 - Bank of Finland, World Bank (2), SRC, National Intelligence Council, WZB-IPI, PONARS, PPSW ; 2020 - Oxford University ; 2019 - University of Wisconsin-Madison, NYU Shanghai, University of Maryland ; 2018 - NYU, University of Colorado - Boulder, USC - Moore School of Business, Higher School of Economics, Northwestern University, IADB ; 2017 - PONARS New Voices in Russian Politics, Oxford University ; 2015 - Higher School of Economics ; 2013 - Perm State University ; 2012 - New Economics School

### Conferences

American Political Science Association Annual Conference (2011-2021); ASEEEES Annual Conference (2011-2022); Annual ICSID Conference, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia (2011-2021); Strategy and the Business Environment Conference (2016); Ronald Coase Institute Workshop on Institutional Analysis (2013); Academy of Management Annual Conference (2015, 2016); European Political Science Association (2017, 2019, 2023); Southern Political Science Association Annual Conference (2018-2022); Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference (2013, 2014, 2023); Western Political Science Association Annual Conference (2018, 2019); BASEEEES Annual Conference (2017, 2018); European Public Choice Society Annual Meeting (2017)

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

## Editorial Boards

*American Journal of Political Science*, 2023- *Nationalities Papers*, 2018-

## Reviewer

*American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *World Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Economics and Politics*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Party Politics*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Public Choice*, *Economic Systems*, *Business and Politics*, *Acta Politics*, *Journal of Comparative Economics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Demokrati-zatsiya*, *Governance*, *Acta Politics*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *Constitutional Political Economy*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Member (Executive Board, 2020-), Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS). | 2017-present |
| Member of Advisory Board, Envest Microfinance Loan Fund.   | 2008-present |
| Compass Volunteer.   | 2017-2019    |
| Research Associate, National Endowment for Democracy.  | 2008-2009    |
| Evaluation Officer, Association of Scientific and Technical Intelligensia, Khujand, Tajikistan           | 2008         |
| Program Manager, European Center for Minority Issues, Tbilisi, Georgia                                   | 2007-2008    |
| Research Assistant, SOVA Center, Moscow, Russia  | 2006-2007    |

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

|  |  |
|--|--|
| PSC 8108 (GWU): Craft of Political Inquiry                                     | Spring 2021  |
| PSC 3192W (GWU): Money and Influence Around the World                          | Fall 2016, Spring 2017, Spring 2019, Spring 2021, Spring 2022, Spring 2023 |
| PSC 2366 (GWU): Russian Politics   | Fall 2016, Fall 2018, Fall 2021, Spring 2023, Summer 2023                  |
| PSC 8331 (GWU): Theories of Comparative Politics                               | Fall 2023  |
| Comparative Political Economy (Higher School of Economics), co-taught annually | 2011-2018  |

## OTHER SKILLS

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <b>Languages:</b>                 | Russian - Professional Fluency, Spanish - Beginner         |
| <b>Analytical:</b>                | R, ArcGIS, Python, SQL, STATA, MongoDB, HTML               |
| <b>Field Research Experience:</b> | Russia, Georgia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, India |