

# Anton Shirikov

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## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

*The University of Kansas*

Assistant Professor 2024–

*Columbia University*

Postdoctoral Scholar in Russian Politics and Lecturer in Political Science 2022–2024

## EDUCATION

*University of Wisconsin–Madison*, Ph.D. in Political Science (2022)

Dissertation: **How Propaganda Works: Political Biases and News Credibility in Autocracies** (Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics Award, The Department of Political Science at UW–Madison)

*Moscow State Institute of International Relations*, Candidate of Sciences in Political Science (2007)

*European University at St. Petersburg*, M.A. in Political Science (2005)

## PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

### BOOK

Forthcoming at Cambridge University Press: **Rethinking Propaganda: How Authoritarian Media Cultivate Loyal Audiences**.

### PAPERS

2025. “**Quantifying Narrative Similarity Across Languages.**” *Sociological Methods & Research*. With Hannah Waight, Solomon Messing, Margaret E. Roberts, Jonathan Nagler, Jason Greenfield, Megan Brown, Kevin Aslett, and Joshua A. Tucker.

2025. “**Is There Really a Dictator’s Dilemma? Information and Repression in Autocracy.**” *American Journal of Political Science*. With Scott Gehlbach, Zhaotian Luo, and Dmitriy Vorobyev.

2024. “**Rethinking Propaganda: How State Media Build Trust Through Belief Affirmation.**” *Journal of Politics*, Vol.86, No.4.

2024. “**Is Postcommunism Over? What Is and Is Not Distinctive About Eastern Europe and Eurasia Three Decades After Communism.**” *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.71, No.6. With Dmitrii Kofanov and Yoshiko M. Herrera.

2024. “**Why Is Trust in Media Low in Post-Communist Countries?**” *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.71, No.6.

2024. “**Fake News for All: How Citizens Discern Disinformation in Autocracies.**” *Political Communication*, Vol.41, No.1.

2022. “**The Oligarch Vanishes: Defensive Ownership, Property Rights, and Political Connections.**” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, Vol.17, No.4. With John Earle, Solomiya Shpak, and Scott Gehlbach. (Prize for the **Best Article** in the field of Ukrainian history, politics, language, literature and culture published in 2020–2021, The American Association for Ukrainian Studies.)

2021. “**Who Gets Ahead in Authoritarian Parliaments? The Case of the Russian State Duma.**” *The Journal of Legislative Studies*.

2020. “**Eurasia and Post-Communism: Weasel Words?**” *East European Politics and Societies & Cultures*, Vol.34, No.2. With Yoshiko M. Herrera and Dmitrii Kofanov.

## OTHER BOOKS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Forthcoming. “**The Russian Media.**” In: Wengle, Susanne (ed.). *Russian Politics Today: Stability and Fragility*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge University Press. With Tetyana Lokot and Alexandra Brankova.

2023. “**The Russian Media.**” In: Wengle, Susanne (ed.). *Russian Politics Today: Stability and Fragility*. Cambridge University Press. With Scott Gehlbach and Tetyana Lokot.

2022. “**Russia: Muddling Through Populism and the Pandemic.**” In: Ringe, Nils, and Lucio Renno (eds.). *Populists and the Pandemic: How Populists Around the World Responded to COVID-19*. Routledge. With Yoshiko M. Herrera and Valeria Umanets.

2018. “**Sovereignty and Regionalism in Eurasia.**” In: Paasi, Anssi, John Harrison, and Martin Jones (eds.). *Elgar Handbook on the Geographies of Regions and Territories*. Edward Elgar Publishing. With Dmitrii Kofanov and Yoshiko M. Herrera.

2013. “**Public Administration in Russia.**” In: Liebert, Saltanat, Stephen E. Condrey, and Dmitry Goncharov (eds.). *Public Administration in Post-Communist Countries: Former Soviet Union, Central and Eastern Europe, and Mongolia*. Routledge. With Dmitry Goncharov.

2010. *Anatomiya Bezdeistviya. Politicheskiye Instituty i Konflikty v Budgetnom Processe Regionov Rossii* [The Anatomy of Inaction. Political Institutions and Conflicts in the Budget Process of Russia’s Regions] (in Russian). Saint-Petersburg: EUSP Press.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

2025. “**War on Screens: The Full-Scale Invasion of Ukraine in Russian State Media.**” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 951.

2025. Book Review: *Seeing Red: Russian Propaganda and American News* by Sarah Oates and Gordon Neil Ramsay. *The Russian Review*, Vol.84, No.1.

2024. “**Can Russians Learn to Recognize Propaganda? Understanding of Media Bias Amid the Ukraine War.**” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 918 (with Georgiy Syunyaev).

2024. “**Filtering the News: Why Russians Prefer Propaganda and Shield Themselves from Independent Reporting**”. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 873.

## WORKING PAPERS

“Still Watching, Less Persuaded: Attention to News Reduces Authoritarian Propaganda Effectiveness” (with Georgiy Syunyaev)

“Borrowed Authority: Expert Messengers and the Credibility of Foreign Propaganda Narratives”

“What About Whataboutism?” (with Hannah Chapman)

“Public Opinion on Social Media Moderation: Evidence From Four Countries” (with Yiming Wang, Mingcong Pan, and Yoshiko Herrera)

“Combating Information Avoidance in Wartime Russia: A Multidisciplinary Field Experiment” (with Julia A. Minson, Aaron Erlich, Jordan Gans-Morse, Christopher Higgins, and others)

“The Rational Level of Trust: A Game and Survey Experiment in Kazakhstan” (with Yoshiko Herrera, Andrew Kydd, and Evgeniia Mitrokhina)

## MEDIA

2024. **“Relationship between propaganda and public reexamined through new research.”** *KU News*. December 11.

2023. **“How does propaganda work? One Russian scholar is probing the power of Putin’s disinformation regime.”** *Columbia Journalism Review*. November 7.

2022. **“Russian journalists report the facts about Ukraine. Why do Russians ignore them?”** *The Washington Post*. March 3.

2022. **“Opium for the masses: How propaganda won Russians’ trust.”** *Russia.Post*. October 28.

My analysis and commentary have appeared on PBS NewsHour, in The Financial Times, The Washington Post (1, 2, 3), Newsweek, HuffingtonPost, USA Today (1, 2), Euronews, Politifact, CBC, Portland Press Herald, ABC Radio National (Australia), Press Gazette (UK), PÚBLICO (Portugal), La Tercera (Chile), The Daily Dot, Christianity Today, and on Wisconsin Public Radio.

## CONFERENCES

APSA Annual Meeting (2020, 2021, 2024); MPSA Annual Conference (2018, 2019, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025); ASEES Annual Convention (2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2023, 2025); PONARS Eurasia Conference (Spring 2024, Fall 2024, Fall 2025); Russian and Eurasian Studies in 2025: The End of the Post-Cold War Era? (Columbia University, 2025); The Russo-Ukrainian War and Global Human Security (The University of Kansas, 2024); NESEES Annual Conference (2023); Authoritarian Propaganda and Media Control: New Conceptual Approaches and Empirical Evidence (Columbia University, 2023); NYU-CESS Conference (2021); Studying Russia and the Postcommunist World (Columbia University, 2019); Regime Evolution, Institutional Change, and Social Transformation in Russia: Lessons for Political Science (Yale University, 2018); The Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (2017); Political Economy in a Changing World (HSE, Moscow, 2021); Wisconsin Russia Project Young Scholars Conference (2018, 2021, 2022); Communication Crossroads (UW–Madison, 2020)

## INVITED TALKS & SEMINARS

Oklahoma State University, 2024; University of Pennsylvania, 2023; George Washington University, 2022 ([video here](#)); Columbia University, 2022 and 2023; Smith College, 2022; Bourse & Bazaar Foundation, 2022; University of Chicago, 2022; University of Helsinki, 2021; Kyiv School of Economics, 2020

## PUBLIC LECTURES

“Law and Justice in Russia” (Today in International Politics Speaker Series, March 4, 2025); “Elections and Political Participation in Russia” ([Today in International Politics Speaker Series](#), April 1, 2024); “Russian Invasion of Ukraine and Kremlin’s Propaganda” (Kiwanis Club of Downtown Madison, 2022); “Who Believes Propaganda? Media and Politics in Russia” (Participatory Learning and Teaching Organization at the Division of Continuing Studies at UW–Madison, 2020); “Russia’s Strategies in Foreign Elections: What Does the Kremlin Want?” (A workshop for Wisconsin educators, 2020)

## AWARDS

Fostering Research Expansion in the Social Sciences & Humanities Program Research Grant, University of Kansas, (\$3,000)	2025
CREES Course Development Award, University of Kansas (\$4,000)	2025
Research-Intensive Course Development Grant, University of Kansas (\$500)	2025
Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics, University of Wisconsin–Madison	2022
Facebook Foundational Integrity and Impact Research Grant (\$50,000, with Yoshiko Herrera, Ming-cong Pan, and Yiming Wang). Project: <b>“Understanding the Effects of Digital Restrictions on Affective Polarization”</b>	2021
Summer Dissertation Scholarship from the Department of Political Science at UW–Madison	2021
ASEEES Summer Dissertation Writing Grant (\$6,000)	2020
Summer Initiative Award from the Department of Political Science at UW–Madison	2021, 2020, 2019, 2017, 2016
Graduate student research award from the Center for Russia, East Europe, and Central Asia at UW–Madison (\$4,000)	2020
Harriman Institute Research Grant (\$16,000; joint with Georgiy Syunyaev). Project: <b>“Learning about Bias: An Experiment on News Consumption in Russia”</b>	2020
Harriman Institute Research Grant (\$10,245). Project: <b>“Perceptions of Media Credibility in Non-Democracies: Evidence from Russia”</b>	2019
University Fellowship, UW–Madison	2015–2016, 2019–2020

## TEACHING

*The University of Kansas*

<b>POLS 150: Introduction to Comparative Politics</b> (undergraduate), Instructor	Fall 2024
<b>POLS 206: Political Science Methods of Inquiry</b> (undergraduate), Instructor	Fall 2025
<b>POLS 354: The Politics of Russia and Post-Soviet States</b> (undergraduate), Instructor	Fall 2024, Spring 2026
<b>POLS 375: Russian Foreign Policy</b> (undergraduate), Instructor	Fall 2025
<b>POLS 469: Propaganda in Autocracies</b> (undergraduate), Instructor	Spring 2025
<b>POLS 706: Research Methods I</b> (graduate), Instructor	Spring 2025, Spring 2026

*Columbia University*

**POLS 4457: Russian Propaganda in Global and Domestic Politics** (graduate), Instructor 2023, 2024

*University of Wisconsin-Madison*

**Math Camp: Calculus and probability refresher course** (graduate), Instructor 2019, 2020, 2021

**PS919: Intro to Machine Learning** (graduate), Lab instructor 2020

**PS120: Politics Around the World** (undergraduate), Teaching assistant 2019

**PS170: Research Methods in Political Science** (undergraduate), Teaching assistant 2018, 2020 2018,

## SERVICE

*University of Kansas*

Political Science Department, Advisory Committee Fall 2025–

Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies, Executive Committee Fall 2025–

Comparative Politics Graduate Comprehensive Exam Committee Chair Fall 2025

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Award Selection Committee Spring 2025

Political Science Department, Comparative Politics Committee Fall 2024–

### *Peer reviews of manuscripts*

*American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, The Journal of Politics, World Politics, Comparative Political Studies, International Organization, Political Communication, British Journal of Political Science, Perspectives on Politics, The World Bank Economic Review, Post-Soviet Affairs, Comparative Politics, International Security, Government and Opposition, Social Science Quarterly, Democratization, Problems of Post-Communism, International Journal of Public Opinion Research, Demokratizatsiya, East European Politics, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Russian Politics, Central Asian Survey, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Japanese Journal of Political Science*

### *Conferences and other events*

Division chair, **Politics of Communist and Former Communist Countries**, American Political Science Association 2026

Organizing committee member, **Politics and Political Economy of Eurasia Workshop** (mini-conference within the Midwest Political Science Association annual conference) 2025–

Organizer of the conference **Authoritarian Propaganda and Media Control: New Conceptual Approaches and Empirical Evidence**, Columbia University 2023

Co-coordinator of the **Columbia-NYU Russia Public Policy** seminar series (Columbia University) 2022–2024

Co-organizer of the conference **Authoritarian Propaganda: Narratives, Public Responses, and Limitations**, Columbia University 2023

Co-organizer of the **Comparative Politics Working Group** for graduate students (UW–Madison)  
2019–2022

Graduate student coordinator for the **Comparative Politics Colloquium** and the **Political Economy Colloquium** (UW–Madison)  
2018–2019

## PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS); American Political Science Association (APSA); Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA); Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES)

## SOFTWARE

R, Python, Stata, SQL, LaTeX, RMarkdown, HTML, Git, Shiny, Qualtrics

## OTHER EXPERIENCE

I have extensive experience in Russian independent media as both journalist and editor. I was deputy editor-in-chief and editor-in-chief at Slon.ru (in 2009–2014) and opinions editor at RBC news agency (2014–2015). I also regularly serve as an expert witness in asylum cases, providing testimony on conditions in Russia and risks faced by critics and opposition activists.

## REFERENCES

**Yoshiko M. Herrera**, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin–Madison, [yherrera@wisc.edu](mailto:yherrera@wisc.edu)

**Scott Gehlbach**, Professor, Department of Political Science and Harris School of Public Policy, University of Chicago, [gehlbach@uchicago.edu](mailto:gehlbach@uchicago.edu)

**Timothy M. Frye**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, [tmf2@columbia.edu](mailto:tmf2@columbia.edu)

**Rikhil R. Bhavnani**, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin–Madison, [bhavnani@wisc.edu](mailto:bhavnani@wisc.edu)

**Jessica L. P. Weeks**, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin–Madison, [jweeks@wisc.edu](mailto:jweeks@wisc.edu)

**Adeline Y. Lo**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin–Madison, [aylo@wisc.edu](mailto:aylo@wisc.edu)(mailto: