

Cole J. Harvey

CONTACT INFORMATION	207 Social Sciences and Humanities Stillwater, OK 74078 https://colejharvey.github.io/	Office: (405)744-5569 cole.j.harvey@okstate.edu
RESEARCH INTERESTS	Electoral manipulation, electoral authoritarianism and hybrid regimes, protest, democratization, Russian and post-communist politics	
ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS	Oklahoma State University Assistant Professor (2020 -) <i>Department of Political Science</i> University of Wisconsin-Madison Post-doctoral research associate (2019-2020) <i>Center for Russia, East Europe, and Central Asia</i>	
EDUCATION	University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill , Chapel Hill, NC PhD (2019) Political Science <ul style="list-style-type: none">Dissertation: “The Machinery of Manipulation: A comparative analysis of principal-agent relationships and electoral manipulation in Russia, Ukraine and Mexico” MA (2013) Political Science University of Pittsburgh , Pittsburgh, PA BPhil (2008) Politics and Philosophy	
REFEREED JOURNAL PUBLICATIONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none">Harvey, Cole J. “Election Manipulation in Russia” <i>Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics</i> (2024).Harvey, Cole J. “Why Allow Local Elections? Mobilization, Manipulation, and the Abolition of Russian Mayoral Elections” <i>Russian Politics</i>. (2022)Harvey, Cole J. “Who delivers the votes? Elected versus appointed local executives and manufactured votes in Russian national elections” <i>Electoral Studies</i>. (2022)Harvey, Cole J. “Can courts in non-democracies deter election fraud? De jure judicial independence, political competition, and election integrity,” <i>American Political Science Review</i>. (2022)Harvey, Cole J., “Principal-agent dynamics and electoral manipulation: Local risks, patronage, and variation in tactics in Russian elections,” <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>. (2020)Harvey, Cole J. and Paula Mukherjee, “Methods of Election Manipulation and the Likelihood of Post-Election Protest.” <i>Government and Opposition</i>. (2018)	

7. Greenstein, Claire and Cole J. Harvey, “Trials, Lustration, and Clean Elections: The uneven effects of transitional justice mechanisms on electoral manipulation.” *Democratization*, Vol. 24, No. 6. (2017)
8. Harvey, Cole J., “Changes in the menu of manipulation: Electoral fraud, ballot stuffing, and voter pressure in the 2011 Russian election,” *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 41. (2016)

MANUSCRIPTS IN PREPARATION

1. *The Machinery of Manipulation: Causes and Consequences of Electoral Malfeasance* (Book manuscript in preparation)
2. “A missing guardrail—The minimal effect of election fraud on protest intensity in non-democracies” (*Under review*)
3. “Attitudes toward election manipulation in the United States: Survey experimental data from 2020 and 2022” (*Under review*)
4. “Election discourse in Russian opposition newspapers in the 1990s and early 2000s: A text-analysis approach”
5. “Election manipulation and the Russian judicial system: Analysis of court decisions in the Putin era”

BOOK CHAPTERS

1. Harvey, Cole and Miles Pomper, “Drivers of WMD Proliferation in the 21st Century,” in *International Politics in Times of Change*, Konstantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy, Athens. (2010)
2. Harvey, Cole and Miles Pomper, “Nuclear Power and Proliferation: The risks of a nuclear ‘renaissance’,” in *Nuclear Power and Energy Security in Asia*, Routledge, New York. (2010)

POLICY REPORTS AND PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

1. “Survey Data from Republic of Georgia Highlights Risks of Polarization Ahead of 2024 Election,” Policy Memo #914 for PONARS Eurasia ([Link](#)), October 21, 2024
2. “The risk of protest won’t stop election manipulation,” Policy Memo #834 for PONARS Eurasia ([Link](#)), March 6, 2023.
3. “Why We Shouldn’t Treat Foreign Diplomacy Like Real Estate,” *New America Weekly*, Edition 155, March 2, 2017. Syndicated by *Pacific Standard Magazine*.
4. *Major Proposals to Strengthen the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty*, Arms Control Association, Washington DC. (2010)
5. Pomper, Miles A. and Cole J. Harvey, “Beyond Missile Defense: Alternative Means to Address Iran’s Ballistic Missile Threat,” *Arms Control Today*, October 2010.

6. “U.S. Sanctions an Opportunity to Bring Iran back to the Table,” *World Politics Review*, July 1, 2010.
7. “Uranium Enrichment and the NPT: Preventing the Next Iran,” *World Politics Review*, May 10, 2010.

AWARDS

Research grants

- PASTS: Partisan Animosity Survey Time Sharing award, Polarization Research Lab 2023
- AURCA (Advancing Undergraduate Research and Creative Activity) grant, OSU College of Arts and Sciences 2022
- Oklahoma Humanities grant, \$2,500 2021
- Summer Institute in Computational Social Science small grant, co-PI (\$4,000) 2020
- Hoover Archives Workshop on Authoritarianism and Democratic Breakdown (Stanford University), approx. \$1,000 2018
- Uhlman Research Fellowship (UNC Political Science), \$2,000 2017
- The Ross and Charlotte Johnson Family Dissertation Fellowship (UNC Graduate School), \$21,000 2016
- Vanessa Miller Gelbaugh Summer Research Fellowship (UNC Graduate School), \$4,000 2016
- UNC Graduate School Off-Campus Dissertation Fellowship, \$8,250 2015
- European Research Council Research Fellowship, €5,000 2015

Professional Development and Travel Awards

- Summer Institute in Computational Social Science (Duke University) 2020
- EITM Summer Institute (Duke University) scholarship 2014
- UNC Graduate Student Federation travel award, \$250 2013
- Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship, Russian language, \$33,000 2012
- Benjamin A. Gilman Scholarship (Russian language), \$6,000 2007

Awards and Honors

- Royster Society of Fellows, UNC-Chapel Hill 2016
- James W. Prothro Award for Outstanding Research, UNC Department of Political Science 2016
- Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellowship (sponsors work at at NGO in Washington, DC) 2009

PRESENTATIONS

Conferences

- “Legitimacy costs in a ‘rigged’ election: Base mobilization vs. coalition expansion after the 2020 US election”, Electoral Integrity Project Conference (International remote) 2024
- “Election Manipulation Offenses in the Russian Legal System: Preliminary Findings,” APSA Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, CA 2023
- “Election Manipulation Offenses in the Russian Legal System: Preliminary Findings,” PONARS Eurasia Academic Workshop, Tbilisi Georgia 2023

- “The risk of protest won’t stop election manipulation,” PONARS Eurasia Spring Policy Conference, Washington DC 2023
 - “Election Manipulation Offenses in the Russian Legal System: Preliminary Findings,” MPSA Annual Meeting 2023
 - “Why Allow Local Elections? Fraud and the Abolition of Russian Mayoral Elections,” APSA Annual Meeting 2021
 - “Legitimacy costs in a ‘rigged’ election: Observational and survey-experimental evidence from the 2020 US election,” APSA Annual Meeting 2021
 - “Who delivers the votes? Elected versus appointed local executives and manufactured votes in national elections,” Wisconsin Russia Project 2021 Young Scholars Conference (remote) 2021
 - “Who delivers the votes? Elected versus appointed local executives and manufactured votes in national elections,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting (Canceled due to COVID-19 outbreak) 2020
 - “Persistent election fraud: Democratization and opposition-party manipulation in Russia and Mexico,” Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Juan 2020
 - “The (limited) effect of judicial independence on electoral manipulation,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco 2017
 - “Public opinion, principal-agent problems, and electoral manipulation: Survey experimental evidence from Russia,” Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans 2017
 - “Effects of transitional justice mechanisms on electoral manipulation strategies” (with Claire Greenstein), Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Juan, PR 2016
 - “Methods of Electoral Manipulation and Post-Electoral Protest” (with Paula Mukherjee), APSA Annual Meeting, San Francisco 2015
 - “Public Monuments as Loyalty Signals in Authoritarian Regimes” (with Ali Sanaei), APSA Annual Meeting, San Francisco 2015
 - “Adaptive electoral manipulation in hybrid regimes,” Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences Colloquium on ‘The New Authoritarianism,’ Amsterdam 2013
- Invited talks
- “Suspicious Behavior: Using Election Forensics to Detect and Explain Election Manipulation in Russia and Ukraine,” CREECA lecture series, UW-Madison 2020
- Working Groups
- “Judicial independence and protest,” European Politics Working Group, University of California - Berkeley Department of Political Science 2022
 - “Public opinion, principal-agent problems and electoral manipulation in Russia: Survey experimental evidence,” Electoral Integrity Project Pre-APSA workshop, San Francisco 2017

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The Machinery of Manipulation: Principals, Agents, and Electoral Manipulation in Russia and Mexico,” Authoritarian Politics in the 21st Century, King’s College London, London 2016 • “The Machinery of Manipulation: Principals, Agents, and Electoral Manipulation in Mexico,” Duke-UNC Latin American Working Group, Chapel Hill, NC 2016 • “The Machinery of Manipulation: Subnational actors and electoral manipulation,” EITM Summer Institute, Duke University 2014
COURSES TAUGHT	Instructor of record Senior thesis seminar Russian and Eurasian Politics Introduction to European Government Introduction to Comparative Politics Introduction to International Relations Undergraduate internship credits Proseminar in Comparative Politics (MA-level)
SERVICE	Reviewer <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> <i>American Political Science Review</i> <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> <i>Democratization</i> <i>Electoral Studies</i> <i>World Development</i> <i>Russian Politics</i> Discussant Eurasian Political Economy Workshop, MPSA Annual Meeting 2023 Panel on authoritarian elections at APSA Annual Meeting 2021 Panel on authoritarianism at SPSA Annual Meeting 2020 Virtual Workshop on Authoritarian Regimes Sept. 2018 Departmental committees Undergraduate scholarship committee (chair) Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion committee Graduate program committee Assistant professor search committee Royster Advanced Mentoring Program 2016-2018 Leadership team, 2017-2018 Serve as academic mentor for first-generation college students Guest lecture (“Russia and the World”), Duke TIP 2018; 2019 Summer program for advanced high school students
SKILLS AND LANGUAGES	Languages Russian (highly proficient) Spanish (proficient) Programming and Software R

Python
Qualtrics
Statistical Analysis and Methods
OLS, MLE / GLM
Multilevel models
Survey methodology and survey experiments
Formal modeling
Causal inference (matching, regression discontinuity)

SELECTIVE
PROFESSIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS

PONARS Eurasia (2022 -)

WORK
EXPERIENCE

Research associate, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies 2009-2011

- Research, analysis and writing on nuclear energy and nuclear proliferation

Herbert Scoville Peace Fellow, Arms Control Association (2009)

- Covered nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, and missile defense for *Arms Control Today* and other outlets

Last updated July 30, 2025