

Ryan Kennedy

Ohio State University
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Education

The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH

Ph.D., expected June 2008

Dissertation Title: *Lifting the Curse: Distribution and Power in Petro-States.*

Abstract: While the empirical correlation between fuel exports and authoritarianism has become conventional wisdom, influencing both academics and policy-makers, the answer for why fuel exporters tend to be more authoritarian has remained elusive. My dissertation examines this question using a multi-method approach, including statistical analysis of 166 countries from 1965-2001, a formal model of government distribution, and an in-depth case study of Kazakhstan. I find that income from fuel exports is generally stabilizing, especially for authoritarian regimes, while fuel dependence is destabilizing, especially for democracies. The primary reason for this is the importance of government distribution in fuel exporting countries. In countries which have high per-capita fuel export income, fuel revenues are stabilizing for authoritarian regimes as they provide the resources for maintaining support. In countries which are heavily dependent on fuel exports in the economy, but have a relatively low per-capita income from those exports, the increased importance of distribution in the economy results in greater instability in democratic regimes, since it increases the temptation for both government and opposition parties to lock in their share of relatively scarce resources through exclusionary politics. Based on this, policy recommendations are made for methods of distribution that produce incentives more consistent with democratic governance.

Committee: Marcus Kurtz (chair), Timothy Frye, Janet Box-Steffensmeier, and Richard Gunther.

Research and Teaching Interests: Democratization and state building, authoritarian and leadership stability, natural resource politics, political economy, and post-Communist transitions and elections.

Methods Background and Interests: Formal theory, econometrics (advanced regression, panel data, duration analysis and mle), and qualitative methods.

M.A., 3.9 GPA, 2004

Major Field: Comparative Politics

Minor Field: Political Economy

Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

Certificate in Polish language and culture, 2003

Truman State University

B.A. magna cum laude and general honors, 3.8 GPA, 2001

Major Fields: Political Science and Russian

Minor Field: International Studies

Institute of Youth, Moscow, Russia

Certificate in Russian language and culture, 2001

Publications

Peer Reviewed Articles

Kennedy, Ryan. 2007. "Fragments of Economic Accountability and Trade Policy." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3(2): 145-169.

Kennedy, Ryan. 2006. "A Colorless Election: The 2005 Presidential Elections in Kazakhstan and What it Means for the Future of the Opposition." *Problems in Post-Communism*, 53: 46-58.

Ishiyama, John T. and Ryan Kennedy. 2001. "Mixed Electoral Systems, Super Presidentialism, Candidate Recruitment and Political Party Development in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 53(8): 1177-1191.

Kennedy, Ryan and John T. Ishiyama. 2001. "Writing Rights: Factors Influencing the Strength of Rights Clauses in Post-Communist Countries." *The Journal of Political Science*, 29: 1-29.

Editor Reviewed Articles

Kennedy, Ryan. 8 August 2007. "Moldova: Contrary forces favour policy short-termism." *Oxford Analytica*.

Kennedy, Ryan. 18 July 2007. "Moldova: Press freedoms remain problematic." *Oxford Analytica*.

Kennedy, Ryan. 28 June 2007. "Moldova: Local Elections Show National Trends." *RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova Report*, 9(15).

Kennedy, Ryan. 25 June 2007. "Moldova: Communists lose ground in local elections." *Oxford Analytica*.

Kennedy, Ryan. 14 May 2007. "Moldova: Voronin pins hopes on encouraging investment." *Oxford Analytica*.

Kennedy, Ryan. 3 May 2007. "Talk of Transdnistr Agreement Sparks Speculation." *RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova Report*, 9(11). (also produced for online and radio presentation)

Kennedy, Ryan. 27 April 2007. "Moldova/Russia: Reported Transnistria deal is unlikely." *Oxford Analytica*.

Kennedy, Ryan. 5 April 2007. "Counting Losses as Russian Wine Ban Lingers." *RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova Report*, 9(10).

Kennedy, Ryan. 30 March 2007. "Moldova/Romania: Visa Row May Result in Looser Ties." *Oxford Analytica*.

Kennedy, Ryan. 22 March 2007. "What's Behind Harsh Criticism of Romania." *RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova Report*, 9(1).

Kennedy, Ryan. 5 March 2007. "Moldova: Government action hinders media freedom." *Oxford Analytica*.

Kennedy, Ryan. 22 February 2007. "Moldova's Broadcast Privatization -- Reform or Censorship?" *RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova Report*, 9(4). Re-published in *The Moldova Foundation's Weekly News Bulletin*, 27 February 2007, 3(31). Re-published again in *In Focus* magazine. (also produced for online and radio presentation)

Kennedy, Ryan. 9 February 2007. "An EU Invasion Waiting to Happen." *RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova Report*, 9(4). (also produced for online and radio presentation)

Kennedy, Ryan. 11 January 2007. "Tricky year begins for new EU neighbour." *Oxford Analytica*.

Kennedy, Ryan. 5 January 2007. "Unprecedented Opportunities, Challenges Posed by \$1.2 Billion Aid Package." *RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova Report*, 9(1).

Kennedy, Ryan. 21 December 2006. "Tirsapol line hardens ahead of negotiations." *Oxford Analytica*.

Kennedy, Ryan. 29 November 2006. "Kazakhstan Learns to Love Borat." *Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst*.

Marcus, Ustina, Nigmat Ibadildin, and Ryan Kennedy. 30 November 2005. "Vested Interests to Determine Kazakhstan's Presidential Race." *Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst*.

Working Papers Under Review

Kennedy, Ryan. "Re-Conceptualizing the Social Requisites of Democratization: A Conditional Probability Analysis of Modernization Theory."

Working Papers

Kennedy, Ryan. "Distribution and Power in Petro-States." (to be submitted for review in the Fall)

Kennedy, Ryan. "Institutions for Political Survival."

Kennedy, Ryan. "Identity and Political Attitudes: The Case of Moldova." (to be presented at the 2007 ISA-Midwest meeting)

Kennedy, Ryan. "On the Clock: Event History Modeling in the Study of Comparative Politics."

Kennedy, Ryan. "Trade, Trains and Transnistria: Russian Influence in Moldova."

Professional Presentations

"Institutions for Political Survival." Presented at the 2007 American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL.

"On the Clock: Event History Modeling in the Study of Leadership Survival." Presented at the 2007 APSA Summer Methods Meeting.

"Distribution and Power in Petro-States." Presented at the 2007 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL.

"Trade, Trains and Transnistria: Russian Influence in Moldova." Presented at the 2007 Association for the Study of Nationalities World Conference, New York, NY.

Kennedy, Ryan. "Winning the European Beauty Contest: Comparing Economic and Political Reform in Moldova to Other EU Accession States." Presented at the 2006 International Scientific Conference "Process of European Integration: Opportunities, Costs, Risks and Rewards," State Institute of International Relations, Chisinau, Moldova.

Kennedy, Ryan and Unislawa Wszolek. "The Role of Reform in Attracting Foreign Direct Investment." Presented at the 2004 International Studies Association -- Midwest Annual Conference, St. Louis, MO

Kennedy, Ryan. "Sloshed in Translation: The Effect of National Alcoholic Beverages on Economic and Political Reform in post-Communist Countries." Presented at the 2004 International Studies Association – Midwest Annual Conference, St. Louis, MO

Kennedy, Ryan. "Re-Conceptualizing the Social Requisites of Democratization: A Conditional Probability Analysis of Modernization Theory." Presented at the 2004 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, and the 2003 International Studies Association – Midwest Annual Conference, St. Louis, MO

Kennedy, Ryan. "The State as Trade Breaker: Fragments of Economic Accountability and Trade Policy." Presented at the 2003 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, and the 2002 International Studies Association – Midwest Annual Conference, St. Louis, MO

Kennedy, Ryan. "The Influence of Mixed Electoral Systems on Party Nomination Strategies: The Cases of Russia and Ukraine." Presented at the 2001 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, and the 2001 International Studies Association – Midwest Annual Conference, St. Louis, MO

Ishiyama, John T. and Ryan Kennedy. "Mixed Electoral Systems, Super Presidentialism, Candidate Recruitment and Political Party Development in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan." (with John T. Ishiyama) Presented at the 2000 International Studies Association – Midwest Annual Conference, St. Louis, MO

Kennedy, Ryan. "Writing Rights: Factors Influencing the Strength of Rights Clauses in Post-Communist Constitutions." Presented at the 2000 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, and the 1999 International Studies Association – Midwest Annual Conference, Des Moines, IA

Kennedy, Ryan. "The New Communists? An Analysis of the Rhetorical Strategies of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, 1993-1997." Presented at the 1998 International Studies Association – Midwest Annual Conference, Chicago, IL

Honors, Grants and Awards

Ohio State University

SBS Summer Survey Fellowship	2007
NSF Travel Grant for APSA Summer Methods Meeting	2007
Fulbright Research Fellowship (Moldova)	2005-2006
OIA Dissertation Travel Grant	2005
AGGRS Research Grant	2005
F.E. Peacock Award for best paper presented by a graduate student at the International Studies Association - Midwest conference	2003

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Summer Fellowship	2003
F.E. Peacock Award for best paper presented by a graduate student at the International Studies Association - Midwest conference	2001
Distinguished University Fellowship	2001
Program for Excellence in Graduate Studies grant	2001

Truman State University

Phi Beta Kappa (academic honorary)	2001
Outstanding Student in Political Science	2001
National Champion, National Parliamentary Debate Association	2000
Secretary, Truman State University Student Senate	1999-2000
Phi Kappa Phi (academic honorary)	1999
Omicron Delta Kappa (leadership honorary)	1999
Pi Kappa Delta (speech and debate honorary)	1997
Truman Leadership Award	1997

Institute of Youth

Outstanding Student in Russian Studies	2000
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Professional Service

Executive Officer: International Studies Association – Midwest	2002-2003
Simulation Director: Historic Security Council, American Model United Nations	2002-2004
Discussant: International Studies Association – Midwest	2002, 2003, 2004
Discussant: American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies	2003

Invited Presentations

Mercer University, Georgia, Department of Political Science	2007
Russia-English Lyceum, Tiraspol, Moldova, Department of English Language	2006
University of Balti, Moldova, Department of Education	2006
University of Comrat, Moldova. Department of Comparative Culture	2006
Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics and Strategic Research, Department of Political Science	2005

Additional Research Experience

Statistical Consultant, Peace Corps Moldova	2006
Special Guest Researcher, Kazakhstan Institute for Management, Economics and Strategic Planning (KIMEP)	2005
Research Assistant, <i>Professor Tim Frye</i> , Ohio State University	2004

Research Assistant, *Professor Dean Lacy*, Ohio State University 2004
Research Assistant, *Professor John Ishiyama*, Truman State University 1998-2001

Teaching Experience

Instructor, POL 100: Introduction to Comparative Politics, *The Ohio State University*, Spring 2006

Instructor, Statistical and Formal Methods for Public Policy Analysis, CReDO, Summer 2006

Instructor, Professional Writing, *IRIM*, Spring 2006

Instructor, Terrorism, *IRIM*, Spring 2006

Instructor, POL 597.02: Terrorism, *The Ohio State University*, Fall 2004, Winter 2005, Spring 2005

Instructor, POL 597.02: Economics and Governance, *The Ohio State University*, Summer 2004

Teaching Assistant, POL 571: Theories of Democracy, *The Ohio State University*, Winter 2003

Teaching Assistant, POL 585: Chinese Politics, *The Ohio State University*, Fall 2003

Instructor, POL 554: Model United Nations, *Truman State University*, Spring 1999, Fall 2000

Languages

Russian (4.5 years university level study); Polish (2 years university level study); Romanian (reading at elementary level)