

POLS 4500/POLS 5500: Russian Political Culture
Political Science, Saint Louis University
Tuesday 4:15-7:00pm
Spring 2024

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From Елена Афанасьева, *Государство или Революция?*
(Москва: Европа, 2005)

Office hours: Tuesday and Thursday 2:15-3:15, and by appointment. Also, feel free to drop by.

If you prefer to meet on Zoom, you'll need an appointment. We can use this link:
<https://slu.zoom.us/j/7172394449> (there is a waiting room set up, and you may need to wait a bit).

About this course

Welcome! We often hear generalizations about what Russians think and value, like that Russians prefer order or a strong leader or that they have the wrong ideas to sustain democracy. But how do we know what ordinary Russians think? This question is especially hard to answer when we think about the past, where the record left behind is incomplete. But it is also difficult in the present in a country where people do not enjoy elemental political freedoms like freedom of speech or an uncensored press. In this course, we will investigate the fundamental political beliefs and values of Russians, asking questions like:

- How do ideas of elites and ordinary people affect each other?
- Why has it been so hard to build democracy in Russia?
- How do citizens respond to arbitrary and capricious political power or mass economic dislocation?
- How can we study the fundamental political beliefs and values of a culture other than our own, especially one in which critical discourse has often been constrained?
- Why and how much does political culture change over time?

We will explore a wide range of attitudes, from traditional collectivist orientations under the tsars and Soviet commissars to emerging democratic beliefs today. We study ideas that support the government as well as alternative orientations that people develop in resistance to authoritarian rulers.

One goal of this class is to think critically about the kinds of evidence we can use to understand a large group of people's attitudes and values. Accordingly, we will examine different sources of data, trying to determine which is most helpful for understanding what people think: works of fiction, political philosophies, academic debates, historical analysis, first-hand accounts, ethnographies, and quantitative studies of public opinion.

An overriding goal of the class is to train you to think carefully and challenge your own preconceptions before making broad generalizations that apply to large groups of people.

Prerequisites

Junior-level standing, POLS 2000, and a previous comparative politics course; or instructor permission. Many History, International Studies, and Russian language students have taken this class and done well, even without a background in political science.

Catalog Course Description

This course examines the fundamental political beliefs and values of Russians, focusing on whether Russians today have the right attitudes to sustain democratic institutions. To understand what people think, we examine various kinds of sources: works of fiction, political philosophies, historical analyses, first-hand accounts, ethnographies, and quantitative public opinion studies.

What you’ll learn (also known as “learning objectives”)

By the end of the semester, you will be able to:

- Evaluate the usefulness of the concept of political culture in the study of politics
- Compare the shared values that inform political communities
- Examine methodological and epistemological problems in the study of culture.
- Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of various kinds of data and methodological approaches
- Read carefully and evaluations and construct analytical arguments in clear and logical prose
- Identify and gather information from credible primary and secondary sources
- Design original research to test arguments and hypotheses with qualitative and/or quantitative approaches
- Critically reflect on the variety within groups of people or cultures

Graduate students will also be able to:

- explain the results of their research in public forums and justify their methodological choices.

International studies majors will be able to:

- assess analytical arguments about international phenomena.

Eloquentia Perfecta 4: Writing Intensive

This course is part of the Saint Louis University Core, an integrated intellectual experience completed by all baccalaureate students, regardless of major, program, college, school or campus. The Core offers all SLU students the same unified approach to Jesuit education guided by SLU’s institutional mission and identity and our nine undergraduate [Core Student Learning Outcomes](#) (SLOs).

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| The Writing Intensive course requirement is one of 19 Core Components. The University Core SLO(s) that this component is designed to intentionally advance are listed below: |
| University Core Student Learning Outcomes |
| The Core SLO(s) that this component is intentionally designed to advance are: |
| SLO 3: Assess evidence and draw reasoned conclusions |
| SLO 4: Communicate effectively in writing, speech, and visual media |

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| Additionally, the Core Component-level Student Learning Outcomes are listed below: |
| Component-level Student Learning Outcomes |
| Students who complete this course will be able to: |
| • Write effectively for specific purposes and audiences |
| • Analyze and synthesize claims from a variety of sources |
| • Synthesize, summarize, paraphrase, and quote from a variety of appropriate sources in support of specific claims |
| • Engage in processes of invention and revision that enable evaluation of their own and others’ rhetorical choices in written messages and arguments |
| • Reflect on the ways in which rhetorically proficient written communication contributes to ethical public discourse |

This class also fulfills the social science requirement of the College of Arts and Sciences core curriculum. Students will acquire conceptual tools and methodologies to analyze and understand their social world. With these tools, they will be able to act in their world more effectively and become forces for positive change. They will gain a better understanding of human diversity. Students will be able to think and write critically about human behavior and community. They will become aware of the various methodological approaches used by social scientists.

How you'll know what you are learning

Participation. This is a seminar class, and that means that it is grounded in discussion by students, not lecturing by me. You should think about class as a time for exploration: for figuring out what the readings mean; for critically evaluating arguments made by various authors, by other students, and by me; for connecting the assigned materials to other things you think are relevant and important. This means you must come to class prepared to engage the material during every class meeting. This daily participation will help you apply the concepts you are learning and expose where you still have questions. You will receive a participation grade for every class. Participation will be 30 percent of your grade. When you are absent, you are not able to participate.

To participate effectively, you will need to keep up to date with the assigned reading and continually think about how ideas from one set of readings relate to the others. You should be prepared to critically evaluate arguments made by the various authors, by other students, and by me. (Of course, we'll practice how to do this.) Sometimes, participating will mean contributing to all-class discussions, whether by asking questions or adding insights; sometimes we will have short group activities or planned presentations.

In the first part of the semester, we will start each class with small group conversations aimed at developing key questions for the class discussion. From February 6th on, one student will be responsible for developing some questions for class discussion for each week. You will need to meet with me *after* you have completed the readings but *before* class day. You are responsible for proposing times you can meet with me. I will do everything I can to work with your schedule, and we can meet on Zoom if that is more convenient.

Reading reviews. You will need to complete six reviews of the week's reading, due before class, with a grade of 2 or higher. Students without six passing reviews will not be able to pass the class. There is more information on the reading reviews below.

Reflection essay. You will write one short reflection essay due March 26. The reflection essay and the reading reviews together make up 10 percent of your grade.

Analytical essay. You will write one essay of around 5 pages on a question I provide, due in class on February 27th and in revised, final form on March 1st. This essay will be worth 15 percent of your grade. We will read each other's drafts on February 27th, and part of the essay grade will reflect the presence of a draft on February 27th.

Drafts of essay and research paper. You will hand in drafts of the essay and research paper. These drafts will count for 10 percent of your course grade.

Research paper. You will write a research paper due at the end of the semester, but with earlier deadlines for parts of the assignment. This paper will be worth 25 percent of your grade. This paper will be 10-15 pages long for undergrads and 20-25 pages and have somewhat different requirements for grad students. This paper may treat an aspect of Russian political culture, may *compare* Russian and non-Russian political cultures, or may take an idea from your study of Russian political culture and *apply it in another context or country*. In any event, your paper should either test a hypothesis or support a claim that you want to make. You will need to identify, employ, and evaluate a method for creating the data you need in order to support your claim or hypothesis.

More information on this paper will be provided later in the semester, but it is never too early to start thinking about what you want to do. This paper will require a significant amount of outside research. Talk to me early and often.

Final exam. The final exam is worth 10 percent of your grade. Undergrad will have small group oral final exams. Graduate students will write an open-book timed essay in the style of a field exam.

GRADUATE STUDENTS: Students registered for POLS 5500 will report to class on an additional reading that has been approved by me. This can be a reading that would provide insight into Russian political culture (I have some suggestions) or readings that might provide insight into political culture of another place or group of people (I have fewer suggestions, but you might have good ideas). The final exam and research paper will have different requirements for graduate students.

Reading reviews

A reading review consists of two paragraphs (no more than two pages double-spaced) based on the class readings. The first paragraph should summarize the main argument of *each* of the week's readings in one to three sentences each. Where appropriate, this summary should include a description of the evidence the author provides.

The second paragraph should offer precisely targeted analysis of the readings. For instance, you might consider whether the evidence presented or the methods used are persuasive, the degree to which the various arguments complement or conflict with each other, what the implications are concerning our understanding of political culture and what it influences. As we get into the semester, you might compare one week's readings, arguments, and methods with readings from earlier weeks. The point is to provide thoughtful analysis closely connected to the readings.

You must upload the reading reviews to Canvas by the start of class. It might be helpful to you to have a copy with you during class. Since these paragraphs are supposed to help us have a constructive discussion, they cannot be handed in for credit late.

Reading reviews will be graded on a three-point scale (3—really good, 2—satisfactory, 1—inadequate). All students must hand in at least six reading reviews graded 2 or better. **Failure to complete six paragraphs will be sufficient reason for a failing grade in the course, no matter what your other grades are.** You are welcome to write more than seven reading reviews, and your added effort will be reflected in your participation grade. You can also use the paragraphs to give you a preview of how your work might fare in the more conventionally graded essays or to improve your writing for graded essays.

Course policies

Technology. While the most self-disciplined among us will not be distracted by the wealth of entertainments provided by the internet, laptops tend to reduce uninterrupted focus on what is happening in class. Laptops can even be a physical barrier between you and the person behind the raised screen. In this class, our interaction among ourselves is so important that I will ask you to **keep your phones and laptops off as much as possible.** You may, however, use them to access information from your readings.

Absence. **Attendance is required.** There is no way to recreate or class discussion by yourself. It is not enough to understand the readings or to get notes from a fellow student. Students are permitted ONE unexcused absence. **If you do miss a class for a reason that I excuse or that falls under the University attendance policy, you must hand in the reading paragraphs as soon as you are able but before the next class. These “make-up” readings paragraphs will not count toward the required total.**

If you are going to miss class, please e-mail me before the class you need to miss. I will excuse absences for illness or SLU-approved activities, but you are responsible for the work the class does in your absence. In some cases – a missed presentation or group activity – there may be no way to make up the work after the fact. If you have not had the absence pre-approved by me, you will receive a grade of 0 for that activity. Unexcused absences are reflected in your participation grade. The winning strategy is to come to class.

Late work. This is my approach to late essays: if I am still reading your fellow students' essays when you hand in yours, I will not penalize you for lateness. However, you don't know how long it will take me to read your fellow students' essays, so there is some risk involved in handing in the paper late. Given the other

pressures in your life, you may consider that risk acceptable. The risk-free strategy is to hand in work on time. (Note, this policy does not apply to in-class work or weekly reading reviews, where there is a penalty if your work is not on time.)

Civility. Sometimes we will discuss controversial issues in class, and you may disagree with things you hear in class. You are always welcome to disagree either with me or with other students, but you must do so in a respectful and informed manner, appropriate to an institution of higher learning.

Plagiarism. It is critical that all work that you hand in is your own work and correctly gives credit to other sources that you consult. Work that does not meet this standard will receive a grade of 0.

Tips for success

Do all the reading and think about it. It is very difficult to fully engage with the topics we will be examining without doing the reading.

I always like to talk to you. If you are having trouble with the material or the way we use class time, let me know. Please come to my office hours or make an appointment for a better time to talk. We can try to identify the problem and explore new strategies that, hopefully, will lead to greater success for you. If there is something that you want to share with me anonymously, please put a note in my mailbox in McGannon 128.

I am happy to give you feedback on anything you are working on. For written assignments, I will read papers in any form (outlines, partial drafts, full drafts) *before* they are due, and I will give you oral feedback. Since my feedback will be oral, you will need to bring the work to me during office hours or another time we have scheduled.

You might find some of the phenomena discussed in this course – and some of the readings about them – disturbing. I have selected course materials and activities that I think will support your learning, but you may come across material that makes you uncomfortable, perhaps particularly uncomfortable as a result of your own past experiences. If this is the case, we have several ways to alleviate discomfort:

- Discuss the situation in class. Our task in this class is to come to terms with some difficult concepts and behavior. We can help each other through this process.
- Come talk to me privately if there is something about your own experience that makes it hard to handle this information.
- If you are not comfortable discussing the issue with me directly, perhaps you can notify me through your academic adviser, another trusted faculty member, or a friend.

GRADING SCALE

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|----|--------|----|-------|----|-------|---|----------|
| A | 93-100 | B+ | 87-89 | C+ | 77-79 | D | 60-70 |
| A- | 90-92 | B | 83-86 | C | 73-76 | F | below 60 |
| | | B- | 80-82 | C- | 70-72 | | |

Required materials

Alexievich, Svetlana. 2016. *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets*. Translated by Bela Shayevich. New York: Random House. 978-0399588822

Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz. 2020. *The Red Mirror: Putin's Leadership and Russia's Insecure Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press. 978-0197502945

Other readings are available either through various internet databases or e-reserve (password: polcult24).

PART 1: WHAT IS POLITICAL CULTURE? WHAT CAN IT EXPLAIN?**January 16 Thinking about culture, political culture, and American political culture**

Gabriel Almond, "The Civic Culture Concept," from Bernard E. Brown and Roy C. Macridis, eds., *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings* (New York: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1996), pp. 73-79 (e-reserve).

No reading paragraphs, for this week.

Related Readings (for people who are very interested, or for help with research papers):

Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba. 1989. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba, eds. 1989. *The Civic Culture Revisited: An Analytic Study*. London: Sage.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer): 22-49.

Putnam, Robert. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1: 65-78.

Welzel, Christian. 2013. *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

January 23 Evaluating sources of traditional Russian political culture

ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING REVIEW THIS WEEK.

Edward Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *The Russian Review* 45, no. 2 (April 1986): 115-136 (e-reserve; This is not the whole article; read more if you want)

Andrzej Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought: From the Enlightenment to Marxism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979), ch. 11, "Chernyshevsky," pp. 183-202 (e-reserve).

Fyodor Dostoevsky, "The Grand Inquisitor," <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/8578/8578-h/8578-h.htm> .

Related readings:

Bakunin, Michael. 1970. *God and the State*. Dover Publications.

Berdiaev, Nikolai. 1992. *The Russian Idea*. Translated by R. M. French. Hudson, NY: Lindisfarne Press.

Berdiaev, Nikolai, Sergei Bulgakov, Mikhail Gershenzon, A. S. Izgoev, Bogdan Kistiakovskii, Petr Struve, and Semen Frank. 1994. *Vekhi [Landmarks]*. Translated and Edited by Marshall S. Shatz and Judith E. Zimmerman. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai. 1986. *What is to be done?* Introduction by Kathryn Feuer. Translated by N. Dole and S.S. Skidelsky. Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis.

Crummey, Robert O. 1987. "The Silence of Muscovy." *The Russian Review* 46: 157-164.

Daniels, Robert V. 1987. "Russian Political Culture and the Post-Revolutionary Impasse." *The Russian Review* 46 (April): 165-176.

Dostoevsky, Fyodor. 1960. *Notes from Underground*. Translated by Ralph E. Matlaw. New York: Dutton.

Gleason, Abbott. 1980. *Young Russia: The Genesis of Russian Radicalism in the 1860s*. New York: Viking.

Hellie, Richard. 1987. "Edward Keenan's Scholarly Ways." *The Russian Review* 46: 177-190.

Herzen, Alexander. 1968. *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*. Translated by Constance Garnett. Revised by Humphrey Higgens. Introduction by Isaiah Berlin. New York: Knopf.

Korogodina, Maria. 2007. "Penitential Texts and the Changing Political Culture of Muscovy." *The Russian Review* 66 (July): 377-90.

Kropotkin, Peter. 2014. *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*. Edited by Will Jonson. Create Space Independent Publishing Platform.

January 30 Methodology and causality in the study of political culture

ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING REVIEW THIS WEEK.

Marc Howard Ross, "Culture in Comparative Political Analysis," from *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2nd edition, ed. By Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 134-161 (e-reserve). The library has this text as an online resource if you want to check the bibliography for additional sources.

Lisa Wedeen, "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 4 (2002): 713-28 (e-reserve or JStore)

Graeme Gill, *Building an Authoritarian Polity: Russia in Post-Soviet Times* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 1-5 (e-reserve).

Ol'ga Malinova, "'Political Culture' in Russian Scholarly and Public Discourse," *Russian Politics and Law*, 45, no. 3 (May-June 2007): 31-61 (e-reserve or Academic Search Complete).

Related Readings:

Almond, Gabriel A. 1983. "Communism and Political Culture Theory." *Comparative Politics* 15 (January): 127-138.

Bates, Robert H., Rui J.P. de Figueiredo Jr., and Barry R. Weingast. 1998. "The Politics of Interpretation: Rationality, Culture, and Transition." *Politics & Society* 26, no. 2 (June): 221-256.

Brown, Archie, ed. 1984. *Political Culture and Communist Studies*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

Brysk, Allison. 1995. "Hearts and Minds: Bringing Symbolic Politics Back In." *Polity* 27: 559-585.

Chabal, Patrick, and Jean-Pascal Daloz. 2006. *Culture Troubles: Politics and the Interpretation of Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Elkins, David J. and Richard E.B. Simeon. 1979. "A Cause in Search of Its Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics* 11, no. 2 (January): 127-145.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lane, Ruth. 1992. "Political Culture: Residual Category or General Theory?" *Comparative Political Studies* 25, no. 3 (October): 362-387.

McAuley, Mary. 1984. "Political Culture and Communist Politics: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back." In Archie Brown, ed. *Political Culture and Communist Studies*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.,

Muller, Edward N., and Mitchell A. Seligson. 1994. "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships." *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September): 635-652.

Norton, Anne. 2004. *Theses on Politics, Culture, and Method*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Reisinger, William M. 1995. "The Renaissance of a Rubric: Political Culture as Concept and Theory." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 7, no. 4 (Winter 1995): 328-352.

Sardamov, Ivelin. 2007. "Burnt into the Brain: Towards a Redefinition of Political Culture." *Democratization* 14, no. 3 (June): 407-424.

Wedeen, Lisa. 1999, 2015. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Welch, Stephen. 1987. "Review Article: Issues in the Study of Political Culture—The Example of Communist Party States." *British Journal of Political Science* 17, no. 4: 479-500.

Welzel, Christian. 2013. *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, Richard. 2000. "The Many Voices of Political Culture: Assessing Different Approaches," *World Politics* 52, no. 2 (January): 246-273.

PART 2: POPULAR RESPONSE TO SOVIET AUTOCRACY

February 6 Revolution and Collectivization

V. I. Lenin, Excerpts from *What is to be Done? Burning Questions of Our Moment* (New York: International Publishers, 1969), pp. 40-41, 78-80, 120-123 (e-reserve).

Leon Trotsky, "Vodka, the Church, and the Cinema," from Marxists.org, https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/women/life/23_07_12.htm

Leon Trotsky, "Habit and Custom," from Marxists.org, https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/women/life/23_07_11.htm

James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), chapter 1, "Behind the Official Story," pp. 1-16 (e-reserve).

Lynne Viola, "Bab'i Bunty and Peasant Women's Protest during Collectivization," *The Russian Review* 45, no. 1 (January 1986): 23-42 (e-reserve).

Tatiana Varsher, "Things Seen and Suffered," from *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women from 1917 to the Second World War*. Edited by Sheila Fitzpatrick and Yuri Slezkine. Translated by Yuri Slezkine (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 113-117 (e-reserve).

Related readings:

Applebaum, Anne. 2018. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*. Anchor.

Christman, Henry M., ed. 1966. *Essential Works of Lenin*. New York: Dover.

Conquest, Robert. 1987. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*. Oxford University Press.

Davies, R. W., and Stephen Wheatcroft. 2004. *The Years of Hunger: Soviet Agriculture, 1931-1933*. Palgrave-Macmillan.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 1994. *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village After Collectivization*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 1999. *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ginzburg, Eugenia. 2002. *Journey into the Whirlwind*. Mariner Books.

Grossman, Vasily. 2009. *Everything Flows*. New York Review Books Classics.

Horsbrugh-Power, Anna, ed. 1993. *Memories of Revolution: Russian Women Remember*. New York: Routledge.

Koester, Arthur. 1941. *Darkness at Noon*. (many editions)

Kollontai, Alexandra. 2011. *The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Lewin, Moshe. 1975. *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power: A Study of Collectivization*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Scott, James C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Shalamov, Varlam. 1995. *Kolyma Tales*. New York: Penguin.

Viola, Lynne. 1989. *The Best Sons of the Fatherland: Workers in the Vanguard of Soviet Collectivization*. Oxford University Press.

Viola, Lynne. 1996. *Peasant Rebels Under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance*. (New York: Oxford University Press).

Viola, Lynne. 1990. "The Peasant Nightmare: Visions of Apocalypse in the Soviet Countryside." *Journal of Modern History* 62: 747-770.

February 13 Citizen response to arbitrary autocracy and war

Sarah Davies, "'Us against Them': Social Identity in Soviet Russia, 1934-41," *The Russian Review* 56, no. 1 (January 1997): 70-89 (e-reserve).

Mikhail Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, translated by Michael Glenny (New York: Penguin, 1967), chs. 1, 7, 17, 24, and epilogue (pdf of the whole book is available on Canvas).

Svetlana Alexievich, *The Last Witnesses: An Oral History of the Children of World War II* (New York: Random House, 2019), excerpts (e-reserve).

Mark Edele, "The Many Memories of the Soviet Union's World War II," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 33, no. 4 (2020): 524-526 (e-reserve).

Mark Edele, "The Soviet Culture of Victory," *Journal of Contemporary History* 54, no. 4 (2019): 780-798 (e-reserve).

Related readings:

Alekseyeva, Julia. 2017. *Soviet Daughter: A Graphic Revolution*. Portland, OR: Microcosm Publishing

Alexievich, Svetlana. 2017. *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in World War II*.

Translated by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky. New York: Random House.

Bulgakov, Mikhail. 1994. *Heart of a Dog*. New York: Grove Press.

Crouch, Martin, and Robert Porter. 1984. *Understanding Soviet Politics through Literature: A book of readings*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Davies, Sarah. 1997. *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent, 1934-1941*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dunham, Vera S. 1976. *In Stalin's Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Edele, Mark and Filip Slaveski. 2016. "Violence from Below: Explaining Crimes against Civilians across Soviet Space, 1943-1947," *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, no. 6 (August): 1020-1035.

Gladkov, F. V. 1985. *Cement: A Novel*. Translated by A.S. Arthur and C. Ashleigh. Continuum, F. Ungar.

Khlevnyuk, Dana. 2022. "'Framing' and 'Screening' the Gulag: Politics of Memory of the Great Patriotic War and Stalin's Repressions in Russian Regions," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 55, no. 3 (September): 24-43.

Master and Margarita, <https://www.masterandmargarita.eu/en/index.html>.

Rossman, Jeffrey John. 1997. "The Teikovo Cotton Workers' Strike of April 1932: Class, Gender and Identity Politics in Stalin's Russia." *Russian Review* 56, no. 1: 44-69.

Scott, John. 1942. *Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Stites, Richard. 1992. *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tucker, Robert C. 1971. *The Soviet Political Mind*. Revised Edition. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

Tucker, Robert C. 1987. *Political Culture and Leadership in Soviet Russia: From Lenin to Gorbachev*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Waterlow, Jonathan. 2018. *It's Only a Joke, Comrade! Humour, Trust and Everyday Life under Stalin (1928-1941)*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Zamyatin, Yevgeny. 1984. *We*. Trans. Mirra Ginsburg. Avon.

February 20 Stagnation

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "Live not by lies," *Index on Censorship* 33, no. 2 (April 2004): 203-207 (e-reserve).

Alexei Yurchak, "The Cynical Reason of Late Socialism: Power, Pretense, and the *Anekdot*," *Public Culture* 9 (1997): 161-188 (e-reserve).

Alexei Yurchak, "Soviet Hegemony of Form: Everything Was Forever Until It Was No More," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 3 (July 2003): 480-510. (e-reserve).

Related readings:

Alexievich, Svetlana. 1992. *Zinky Boys: Soviet Voices from the Afghanistan War*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

Alexievich, Svetlana. 2005. *Voices From Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster*. Dalkey Archive Press.

Dolgoplova, Zhanna. 1983. *Russia Dies Laughing: Jokes from Soviet Russia*. Allen&Unwin.Havel, Vaclav. 1978 "The Power of the Powerless." <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/resource/the-power-of-the-powerless/>

Draitser, Emil. 2014. *Forbidden Laughter: Soviet Underground Jokes*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Hough, Jerry F. 1979. *How the Soviet Union is Governed*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kagarlitsky, Boris. 1988. *The Thinking Reed: Intellectuals and the Soviet State 1917 to the Present*. Translated by Brian Pearce. New York: Verso.

Kornai, Janos. 1980. *Economics of Shortage*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing.

Kozlov, Vladimir A. 2002. *Mass Uprisings in the USSR: Protest and Rebellion in the Post-Stalin Years*. Translated and edited by Elaine McClarnand MacKinnon. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Meerson-Aksenov, Michael, and Boris Shragin, eds. 1977. *The Political, Social and Religious Thought of Russian 'Samizdat'—An Anthology*. Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company.

Shlapentokh, Vladimir. 1985. "Two Levels of Public Opinion: The Soviet Case." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 49 (Winter): 443-459.

Shlapentokh, Vladimir. 2001. *A Normal Totalitarian Society: How the Soviet Union Functioned and How it Collapsed*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. 1963. *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch*. New American Library, Dutton.

Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. 1968. *The Cancer Ward*. New York: Bantam Books.

Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. 1968. *The First Circle*. New York: Bantam Books.

Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. 1974. *The Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956*. New York: Harper and Row.

Tolstaya, Tatyana. 2003. *Pushkin's Children: Writings on Russia and Russians*. Translated by Jamey Gambrell. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Turchin, Valentine. 1981. *The Inertia of Fear and the Scientific Worldview*. Trans. Guy Daniels. New York: Columbia University Press.

Verdery, Katherine. 1996. *What was socialism and what comes next?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Voinovich, Vladimir. *Moscow 2042*. Trans. Richard Lourie. New York : Harcourt Brace.

Voinovich, Vladimir. 1975. *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin*.

Yurchak, Alexei. 2006. *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Yurchak, Alexei . "A Parasite from Outer Space: How Sergei Kurekhin Proved That Lenin Was a Mushroom." *Slavic Review* 70, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 307-333.

February 27 Russian Talk

Nancy Ries, *Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation During Perestroika* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), Introduction, pp. 1-14 (e-reserve).

Ries, ch. 2: "Our Fairy-Tale Life': The Narrative Construction of Russia, Women, and Men," pp. 42-82 (e-reserve).

**DRAFT OF ANALYTICAL ESSAY DUE IN CLASS AND SUBMIT TO CANVAS BEFORE CLASS.
FINAL VERSION DUE BY MARCH 1. Submit to Canvas by 11pm.**

Related readings:

Brown, Archie. 2009. *Seven Years that Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective*. Oxford U Press.

Bunce, Valerie. 1999. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State*. Cambridge University Press.

Gorbachev, Mikhail S. 1987. *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*. Harpercollins.

Kotkin, Stephen. 1991. *Steeltown, USSR*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lourie, Richard. 1991. *Russia Speaks: An Oral History from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Harper Collins.

Markowitz, Fran. 2000. *Coming of Age in Post-Soviet Russia*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Pesmen, Dale. 2000. *Russia and Soul*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Rancour-Laferriere, Daniel. 1995. *The Slave Soul of Russia: Moral Masochism and the Cult of Suffering*. New York: New York University Press.

Richards, Susan. 1990. *Epics of Everyday Life: Encounters in a Changing Russia*. New York: Penquin.

Solnick, Steven L. 1998. *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

March 5 Responses to the Collapse of the Soviet Union

Svetlana Alexievich, *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets*

All students should read pp. 1-106.

We'll divide up the remainder of the book. You will need to be prepared to summarize your section of the book for the rest of class.

Related readings:

Ashwin, Sarah. 1998. "Endless Patience: Explaining Soviet and Post-Soviet Social Stability." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 31, no. 2: 187-198.

Ashwin, Sarah. 1995. "There's No Joy Any More': The Experience of Reform in a Kuzbass Mining Settlement." *Europe-Asia Studies* 47 (December): 1367-1381.

Clarke, Simon, Peter Fairbrother, Michael Burawoy, and Pavel Krotov. 1993. *What about the Workers? Workers and the Transition to Capitalism in Russia*. New York: Verso.

Dutkina, Galina. 1996. *Moscow Days: Life and Hard Times in the New Russia*. New York: Kodansha International.

Fisher, Lois. 1993. *Survival in Russia: Chaos and Hope in Everyday Life*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Kotkin, Stephen. 2008. *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000*. Oxford University Press.

Petro, Nicolai N. 1995. *The Rebirth of Russian Democracy: An Interpretation of Political Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sergeyev, Victor, and Nikolai Biriukov. 1993. *Russia's Road to Democracy: Parliament, Communism and Traditional Culture*. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar Publishing Company/ Ashgate.

Shevchenko, Olga. 2001. "Bread and circuses: shifting frames and changing references in ordinary Muscovites' political talk." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 34, no. 1 (March): 77-90.

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| March 12 Spring break |
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PART 3: POLITICAL CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA

March 19 *Nation and State*

Vladimir Gel'man, *Authoritarian Russia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), chapter 2, "Russia's Flight from Freedom: Why?," pp. 17-42 (e-reserve).

Yegor Gaidar, *State and Evolution* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), chapter 6, "The Choice," pp. 106-118 (e-reserve).

Vladislav Surkov, "Russian Political Culture: The View from Utopia," *Russian Social Science Review* 49, no. 6 (November-December 2008), pp. 81-97 (e-reserve or Academic Search Complete).

Nikolai Patrushev, "Does Russia Need 'Universal' Values?," *Military Review*, January-February 2021, 136-137 (e-reserve).

Marlene Laruelle, "Russia as an anti-liberal European civilization," in *The New Russian Nationalism: Imperialism, Ethnicity and Authoritarianism 2000-2015*, ed. By Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp. 275-297 (e-reserve).

ONE PAGE STATEMENT ON YOUR FINAL PAPER DUE BY March 21 at 5pm. I want to meet with each of you either before or after you hand in the one-page statement. The statement should include your thesis/hypothesis and the kinds of data you intend to collect to test it.

Related readings:

Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fenghi, Fabrizio. 2020. *It will be fun and terrifying: Nationalism and protest in post-Soviet Russia*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Gel'man, Vladimir. 2004. "The Unrule of Law in the Making: the Politics of Informal Institution Building in Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 56, no. 7 (November).

Gel'man, Vladimir. 2015. *Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Gill, Graeme. 2006. "Nationalism and the Transition to Democracy: The Post-Soviet Experience." *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 14, no. 4 (Fall).

Kertman, Grigori. 2008. "The Status of the Party in Russian Political Culture." *Russian Social Science Review* 49, no. 4: 24-39.

Lukin, Alexander. 2000. *The Political Culture of the Russian 'Democrats'*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Makarychev, Andrey, and Alexandra Yatsyk. 2018. *Boris Nemtsov and Russian Politics: Power and Resistance*. Ibidem.

McDaniel, Tim. 1996. *The Agony of the Russian Idea*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Politkovskaya, Anna. 2004. *Putin's Russia*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Politkovskaya, Anna. 2011. *Is Journalism Worth Dying For? Final Dispatches*. Melville House.

Putin, Vladimir. 2000. *First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-Portrait by Russia's President*. Public Affairs.

Yavlinsky, Grigory. 2019. *The Putin System: An Opposing View*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pipes, Richard. 2005. *Russian Conservatism and Its Critics: A Study in Political Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

March 26 Citizen and Regime

Samuel A. Greene, "Homo Post-Sovieticus: Reconstructing Citizenship in Russia," *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 181-202 (e-reserve).

Ellen Mickiewicz, "Excavating Concealed Tradeoffs: How Russians Watch the News," *Political Communication* 22 (2005): 355-380 (e-reserve).

Susanne Wengle, Christy Monet, and Evgenia Olimpieva, "Russia's Post-Soviet Ideological Terrain: Zvyagintsev's Leviathan and Debates on Authority, Agency, and Authenticity," *Slavic Review* 77, no. 4 (Winter 2018): 998-1024 (e-reserve).

If you want, you can watch the movie about which Wengle and her co-authors write:
<https://russianfilmhub.com/movies/leviathan-2014/> .

Masha Gessen, "The Bodies in the Forest," *Harper's Magazine*, issue 2013, February 2018, pp. 11-14 (e-reserve).

Alexandra Arkhipova, "Jokes about Putin and the Elections Ten Years On, or Is There a Folklore of the 'Snow Revolution'?", *No 8 Forum for Anthropology and Culture* (2011), Appendix, pp. 316-333.

REFLECTION ESSAY DUE—REQUIRED, IN PLACE OF A READING REVIEW: In conditions of restricted political speech and action, people sometimes do not say or write what they mean. More generally, politicians often do not mean what they say. How can ordinary Russians navigate competing messages to decide who honestly intends to advance the public good? How do you do this? Use readings from this week and previous weeks to answer this question. Three pages. Due by 4:15pm. Submit through Canvas.

Related readings:

- Carnaghan, Ellen. 2007. "Do Russians Dislike Democracy?" *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 40, no. 1, January 2007: 494-499.
- Carnaghan, Ellen. 2007. *Out of Order: Russian Political Values in an Imperfect World*. State College, PA: Penn State University Press.
- Evans, Alfred B, Jr., and Laura A. Henry, and Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, eds. 2005. *Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Greene, Samuel and Graeme Robertson. 2019. *Putin v. People: The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hemment, Julie. 2009. "Soviet-Style Neoliberalism? Nashi, Youth Voluntarism, and the Restructuring of Social Welfare in Russia." *Problems of Communism* 56, no. 6 (November/December): 36-50.
- Henry, Laura A. 2010. *Red to Green: Environmental Activism in Post-Soviet Russia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Mendelson, Sarah E., and Theodore P. Gerber. 2007. "Activist Culture and Transnational Diffusion: Social Marketing and Human Rights Groups in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 23, no. 1: 50-75
- Mickiewicz, Ellen. 2008. *Television, Power, and the Public in Russia*. New York: Cambridge U Press.
- Mickiewicz, Ellen. 2014. *No Illusions: The Voices of Russia's Future Leaders*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Panyushkin, Valery. 2011. *Twelve who don't agree: The battle for freedom in Putin's Russia*. Europa Editions.
- Sperling, Valerie. 2014. *Sex, Politics, and Putin: Political Legitimacy in Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Steinberg, Marc W. 2004. "When Politics Goes Pop: on the intersections of popular and political culture and the case of Serbian student protests." *Social Movement Studies* 3, no. 1 (April): 3-29.
- Topalova, Viktoriya. 2006. "In Search of Heroes: Cultural Politics and Political Mobilization of Youths in Contemporary Russia and Ukraine." *Demokratizatsiya* 14, no.1 (Winter): 23-41.
- Vainshstein, Grigory I. 1994. "Totalitarian Public Consciousness in a Post-Totalitarian Society." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 27, no. 3: 247-259.

April 2 Protest

Marlene Laruelle, "Alexei Navalny and challenges in reconciling 'nationalism' and 'liberalism,'" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 30, no. 4 (2014): 276-297 (e-reserve).

Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, Laura A. Henry, and Valerie Sperling, "The Evolution of Civic Activism in Contemporary Russia," *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 36, no. 4 (November 2022): 1377-1399 (e-reserve).

DUE IN CLASS AND SUBMIT TO CANVAS: Introduction, Theoretical Framework, and at least an outline or (better) a partial draft of evidence for your final paper. Graduate Students must also hand in a Literature Review.

Related readings:

- Ambrosio, Thomas. 2007. "Insulating Russia from a Colour Revolution: How the Kremlin Resists Regional Democratic Trends." *Democratization* 14, no. 2 (April): 232 - .
- Beissinger, Mark R. 2007. "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 2 (June): 259-276.
- Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2006. "International diffusion and postcommunist electoral revolutions." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39: 283-304.
- Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2010. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62, no. 1 (January): 43-86.
- Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries* (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Carnaghan, Ellen. 2016. "From Balcony to Barricade: Mobilizing Citizens in Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68, no. 9 (November): 1579-1607.
- Clement, Karine. 2008. "New Social Movements in Russia: A Challenge to the Dominant Model of Power Relationships?" *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 24, no. 1 (March): 68-89.
- Gessen, Masha. 2014. *Words Will Break Cement: The Passion of Pussy Riot*. Riverhead Books.
- Greene, Samuel A. 2014. *Moscow in Movement: Power and Opposition in Putin's Russia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hale, Henry. 2006. "Democracy or autocracy on the march? The colored revolutions as normal dynamics of patronal presidentialism." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39: 305-329.
- Javeline, Debra. 2003. "The Role of Blame in Collective Action: Evidence From Russia." *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1: 107-121.
- Lyll, Jason . 2006. "Pocket Protests: Rhetorical Coercion and the Micropolitics of Collective Action in Semiauthoritarian Regimes," *World Politics* 58, no. 3 (April): 378-412.
- Robertson, Graeme B. 2007. "Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes." *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 4 (November): 781-798.
- Robertson, Graeme B. 2009. "Managing Society: Protest, Civil Society, and Regime in Putin's Russia." *Slavic Review* 68, no. 3 (Fall): 528-547.
- Robertson, Graeme B. 2011. *The Politics of Protest in Hybrid Regimes*. Cambridge University Press.
- Robertson, Graeme. 2013. "Protesting Putinism: The Election Protests of 2011-2012 in Broader Perspective." *Problems of Post-Communism* 60, no. 2 (March-April): 11-23.
- Smyth, Regina, and Irina V. Soboleva. 2016. "Navalny's Gamesters: Protest, Opposition Innovation, and Authoritarian Stability in Russia." *Russian Politics* 1: 347-371.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 3 (September): 535-551.
- Volkov, Denis. 2012. "The Protesters and the Public." *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 3 (July): 55-62.
- Wengle, Susanne, and Michael Rasell. 2008. "The Monetisation of *L'goty*: Changing Patterns of Welfare Politics and Provision in Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 5 (July): 739-756.
- Yusupova, Marina. 2014. "Pussy Riot: a feminist band lost in history and translation." *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 4: 604-610.

April 9 *The Red Mirror*

Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, *The Red Mirror: Putin's Leadership and Russia's Insecure Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 3-49, 78-132.

- Alexander, James. 2000. *Political Culture in Post-Communist Russia: Formlessness and Recreation in a Traumatic Transition*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., Ron Eyerman, Bernard Giesen, Neil Smelser, and Piotr Sztomka. 2004. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bal-Tar, Daniel. 2012. *Group Beliefs: A Conception for Analyzing Group Structure, Processes, and Behavior*. New York: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Bassin, Mark, and Catriona Kelly, eds. 2012. *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Belmonte, Alessandro, and Michael Rochlitz. 2019. "The Political Economy of Collective Memories: Evidence from Russian Politics." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 168: 229-250.
- Bernstein, Seth. 2016. "Remembering War, Remaining Soviet: Digital Commemoration of World War II in Putin's Russia." *Memory Studies* 9, no. 4: 422-436.
- Brandenberger, David. 2002. *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1931-1956*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Carleton, Gregory. 2011. "History Done Right: War and the Dynamics of Triumphalism in Contemporary Russian Culture." *Slavic Review* 70, no. 3: 615-636.
- Dawisha, Karen. 2015. *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Duckitt, John. 1989. "Authoritarianism and Group Identification: A New View of an Old Construct." *Political Psychology* 10, no. 1: 63-84.
- Garrels, Anne. 2016. *Putin Country: A Journey into the Real Russia*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Gerschewski, Johannes. 2013. "The Three Pillars of Stability: Legitimation, Repression, and Co-optation in Autocratic Regimes." *Democratization* 20, no. 1: 13-38.
- Gessen, Masha. 2013. *The Man Without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin*. Riverhead Books.
- Gessen, Masha. 2018. *The Future is History: How Totalitarianism Reclaimed Russia*. Riverhead Books.
- Kasparov, Garry. 2015. *Winter is Coming: Why Vladimir Putin and the enemies of the free world must be stopped*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Kharkhordin, Oleg. 1999. *The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study of Practices*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ostrovsky, Arkady. 2015. *The Invention of Russia: From Gorbachev's Freedom to Putin's War*. New York: Viking.
- Oushakine, Serguei Alex. 2009. "Stop the Invasion!": Money, Patriotism, and Conspiracy in Russia," *Social Research* 76, issue 1 (Spring 2009): 71-116.
- Pelevin, Victor. 1998. *Omon Ra*. New Directions.
- Pelevin, Victor. 2002. *Homo Zapiens*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Petro, Nicolai N. 2004. *Crafting Democracy: How Novgorod Has Coped with Rapid Social Change*. Ithaca: Cornell.
- Shenfield, Stephen D. 2001. *Russian Fascism: Traditions, Tendencies, Movements*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Shteyngart, Gary. 2002. *The Russian Debutante's Handbook*. New York: Riverhead Books, Penguin Putnam Inc.
- Smith, Kathleen E. 2002. *Mythmaking in the New Russia: Politics and Memory during the Yeltsin Era*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Sorokin, Vladimir. 2012. *Day of the Oprichnik*. Translated by Jamey Gambrell. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. 1979. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." *Information (International Social Science Council)* 13, no. 2: 65-93.
- Yurchak, Alexei. 2003. Russian Neoliberal: The Entrepreneurial Ethic and the Spirit of 'True Careerism.' *The Russian Review* 62 (January): 72-90.

April 16 Research papers**DUE IN CLASS AND SUBMIT TO CANVAS: Draft of RESEARCH PAPER.**

This draft should contain the Introduction, Theoretical Framework, Justification of Method, and at least a partial presentation of evidence. Graduate students must also include a Literature Review.

Be prepared to talk informally about your paper and any challenges you are facing in class today.

No reading reviews this week.

April 23 Change and Continuity in Russian Public Opinion

Henry E. Hale, "The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 8 (October 2011): 1357-1375 (e-reserve).

Bryn Rosenfeld, "Reevaluating the Middle-Class Protest Paradigm: A Case-Control Study of Democratic Protest Coalitions in Russia," *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 4 (2017): 637-652 (e-reserve).

Related readings:

Inkeles, Alex, and Raymond A. Bauer. 1959. *The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bahry, Donna L. 1999. "Comrades into Citizens? Russian Political Culture and Public Support for the Transition." *Slavic Review* 58 (Winter): 841-853.

Carnaghan, Ellen. 2011. "The difficulty of measuring support for democracy in a changing society: Evidence from Russia," *Democratization* 18, no. 3 (June): 682-706.

Carnaghan, Ellen. 2001. "Thinking about Democracy: Interviews with Russian Citizens," *Slavic Review* 60 (Summer): 336-366.

Chapman, Hannah S. 2021. "Shoring Up Autocracy: Participatory Technologies and Regime Support in Putin's Russia." *Comparative Political Studies* 54, no. 8: 1459-1489.

Colton, Timothy J. 2000. *Transitional Citizens: Voters and What Influences Them in the New Russia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Eckstein, Harry, Frederic J. Fleron Jr., Erik Hoffmann, and William Reisinger, eds. 1998. *Can Democracy Take Root in Post-Soviet Russia? Explorations in State-Society Relations*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Fleron, Frederic J., Jr. 1996. "Post-Soviet Political Culture in Russia: An Assessment of Recent Empirical Investigations." *Europe-Asia Studies* 48 (March): 225-260.

Gerber, Theodore, and Marlene Laruelle. 2021. "Who Cares? Russian Public Opinion during Medvedev's Presidency on the Importance and Politicization of History." *Problems of Post-Communism* 68, no. 5: 415-428.

Gill, Graeme. 2008. "'Lenin Lives!': Or Does He? Symbols and the Transition from Socialism." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 2 (March): 173-196.

McAllister, Ida, and Stephen White. 2008. "Voting 'against all' in postcommunist Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 1 (January 2008).

Melville, Andrei. 2020. "A Neoconservative Consensus in Russia? Main Components, Factors of Stability, Potential of Erosion." *Russian Social Science Review* 61, nos. 3-4: 220-235.

Millar, James R, ed. 1987. *Politics, work, and daily life in the USSR*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mishler, William and Richard Rose. 2007. "Generation, Age, and Time: The Dynamics of Political Learning

- during Russia's Transformation," *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 4 (October): 822-834.
- Oates, Sarah. 2006. "Framing Fear: Findings from a Study of Election News and Terrorist Threat in Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 58, no. 2 (March).
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore, and Joshua Tucker. 2020. "Communist Legacies and Left-Authoritarianism." *Comparative Political Studies* 53, no. 12: 1861-1889.
- Rose, Richard. 2008. "Is Russia Becoming a Normal Society?" *Demokratizatsiya* 16, no. 1 (Winter): 75-86.
- Rose, Richard, and Neil Munro, and William Mishler. 2004. "Resigned Acceptance of an Incomplete Democracy: Russia's Political Equilibrium." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 20, no. 3 (July-September): 195-218.
- Rose, Richard, and William Mishler, and Neil Munro. 2011. *Popular Support for an Undemocratic Regime: The Changing Views of Russians*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, Richard, and William Mishler, and Neil Munro. 2008. "Time Matters: Adapting to Transformation." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 24, no. 1 (March): 90-114.
- Sedov, L.A. 2007. "Traditional Features of Russian Political Culture in Their Current Perspective," *Sociological Research* 46, no. 4 (July-August 2007): 33-.
- Tertychnaya, Katerina. 2020. "Protests and Voter Defections in Electoral Autocracies: Evidence from Russia." *Comparative Political Studies* 53, no. 12: 1926-1956.
- White, Stephen. 2005. "Political disengagement in post-communist Russia: a qualitative study." *Europe-Asia Studies* 57, no. 8 (December): 1121 -.

April 30 Research presentations

We will devote class to presentations of your research. You should plan to speak for 10 minutes about your findings, supported by a Powerpoint presentation.

May 3 FINAL DRAFT OF RESEARCH PAPER DUE (no class)

Submit to Canvas by 5pm.

May 7 FINAL EXAM

Undergrads will take an oral final exam in groups of 3. We'll schedule these exams at times convenient for you, either on our scheduled exam date, May 11, or later during exam week.

Students enrolled in POLS 5500 will take a remote, written exam from 4-5:50pm.

University and College Policies and Available Support

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is honest, truthful and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors. The mission of Saint Louis University is “the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity.” Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service through which SLU fulfills its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity, and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern. The full University-level Academic Integrity Policy can be found on the Provost’s Office website at: <https://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/academic-and-course/academic-integrity-policy.pdf>.

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. Information for the College of Arts and Sciences can be found here: <https://www.slu.edu/arts-and-sciences/student-resources/academic-honesty.php>

Disability Accommodations

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations must formally register their disability with the University. Once successfully registered, students also must notify their course instructor that they wish to use their approved accommodations in the course.

Please contact the Center for Accessibility and Disability Resources (CADR) to schedule an appointment to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Most students on the St. Louis campus will contact CADR, located in the Student Success Center and available by email at accessibility_disability@slu.edu or by phone at 314.977.3484. Once approved, information about a student’s eligibility for academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors by email from CADR and within the instructor’s official course roster. Students who do not have a documented disability but who think they may have one also are encouraged to contact to CADR. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries.

Title IX

Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination, and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual harassment, including sexual assault, stalking, domestic or dating violence, we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident that involves a Title IX matter, **that faculty member must notify SLU’s Title IX Coordinator that you shared an experience relating to Title IX.** This is true even if you ask the faculty member not to disclose the incident. The Title IX Coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

Anna Kratky is the Title IX Coordinator at Saint Louis University (DuBourg Hall, room 36; anna.kratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886). If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK or make an anonymous report through SLU’s Integrity Hotline by calling 1-877-525-5669 or online at <http://www.lighthouse-services.com/slu>. To view SLU’s policies, and for resources, please visit the following web addresses: <https://www.slu.edu/about/safety/sexual-assault-resources/index.php>.

Student Success Center

The Student Success Center (SSC) supports students in reaching their goals in and out of the classroom. Providing a variety of resources, the Student Success Center houses both the Center for Accessibility and Disability Resources (CADR) and Academic Support, which includes Tutoring, Supplemental Instruction, University Writing Services, and Student Success Coaching. The Student Success Center is located in the Busch Student Center, Suite 331, and students can make an appointment with any SSC resource via EAB Navigate. To learn more about the Student Success Center and its resources, please visit: <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/index.php>.

University Writing Services

University Writing Services offers one-on-one consultations with trained writing consultants who help with everything from brainstorming, outlining, and proposing research questions to documenting sources, revising, and implementing feedback. These consultations can take place in-person, asynchronously, or via Zoom and can be scheduled through EAB Navigate – Student. Getting feedback benefits writers at all skill levels on different writing projects (including but not limited to class assignments, conference papers, cover letters, dissertations, group projects, multimedia assignments, personal statements, senior capstone projects, short answer questions on applications, speeches, and theses). For additional information, visit <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/academic-support/university-writing-services/index.php> or send an email to writing@slu.edu.

University Counseling Center

The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers free, short-term, solution-focused counseling to Saint Louis University undergraduate and graduate students. UCC counselors are highly trained clinicians who can assist with a variety of issues, such as adjustment to college life, troubling changes in mood, and chronic psychological conditions. To make an appointment, call 314-977-8255 (TALK), or visit the clinic on the second floor of Wuller Hall. For after hours needs, please press #9 after dialing the clinic number.

Wellness

All students experience stressors and challenges at some point, and seeking support is beneficial. Such challenges may be the result of academic concerns (such as those related to particular assignments or content in a course), or they may be more personal in nature (such as concerns related to relationships, mental health, loss, identities, alcohol or drugs, housing or food security, or finances, among other things). If you experience these or other difficulties, please consider seeking support from the resources available to you.

- For concerns related to this course, please contact me. I am invested in your success and will support your success in the ways I can.
- Additionally, you have access to the many resources SLU provides in support of your personal wellness. You will find a list of available resources on [the Well-being page of the SLU website](#).

If you or someone you know is experiencing a crisis: please consult [the Crisis Support and Warning Signs on the University Counseling Center website](#).

In the spirit of *cura personalis*, the University sees your academic success as connected to your health and well-being and provides resources to support your holistic wellness.

Use this QR code for easy access to SLU's mental health resources:



Basic Needs Security

Students experiencing food insecurity, housing insecurity, and any other challenges that are impacting their personal and/or academic wellbeing are encouraged to contact the Dean of Students Office for support. Students can submit an [intake](#) form, email deanofstudents@slu.edu, or call 314-977-9378 to connect with their office. Students may also communicate directly with their instructors about any challenges they are experiencing to receive support and resource referrals. class session in any term (or as soon thereafter as possible).