

## CEURR 5101/PSCI 5112

### RUSSIAN DOMESTIC POLITICS - ACTORS AND PROCESSES

Wednesday 2.35 – 5.25 EST

This course will be held in class, location TB 206

#### I General information

Instructor: Professor Piotr Dutkiewicz

Online Office Hours: Monday 12.00 p.m. – 2.00 p.m.

Email: [piotr.dutkiewicz@carleton.ca](mailto:piotr.dutkiewicz@carleton.ca)

#### II Course description

The course will examine the evolution of Russian domestic politics and society since the collapse of the Soviet Union until winter 2022. The themes discussed include the transformation of Russia's political system, changes in the behavior of political elites, the evolution of Russia's social structure, and federal-regional relations.

#### III Course Format

This course will be delivered synchronously in person.

#### IV Learning outcomes

Russia is rapidly transforming, and her international behavior frequently overshadows a complex and dynamic domestic evolution. The purpose of the course is to critically examine key processes in Russian domestic politics and society since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and to explore a complex evolution of the interplay of the Russian political, social, and institutional system at the federal and regional levels.

#### V Texts/ Readings

Most required readings (journal articles and book chapters) will be in electronic format via the Ares Course Reserves system. Compulsory readings assigned for all students are marked with an asterisk (\*). There are also suggested additional readings (without mark \*). Most of these optional supplemental readings are also available online. It is advisable for given week presenters to read additional readings as well.

If you find that required reading is not available for a given week, please notify the instructor for that session immediately.

For details regarding placing materials on reserve in MacOdrum Library, please visit:

<http://www.library.carleton.ca/services/library-reserves-faculty-and-instructors/ares>.

#### VI Evaluation at a glance

Course evaluation	%
Seminar participation	25
One (short – 12-15 min. max.) presentation in class and a short (5-6 pp.) discussion paper	25

Strategic Policy Analysis	25
One (short) critical comment on a suggested video	25
Total	100

For the evaluation details, please see below.

## VII Evaluation in detail

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- **Seminar participation:** Regular weekly online attendance is **compulsory** for this class. Unexcused absences will reduce the participation mark for the course, which can have a pronounced impact on the course grade. Students will be graded based on attendance, the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion, and, most importantly, demonstrated **familiarity with required course readings**. Each student will be evaluated according to these criteria during each seminar session.
- **Discussion paper:** The paper should address specific issues (considered as main arguments in the required readings) selected by the student from the required readings for the week. Its length should be **5-6 pages** (typed, double-spaced, 12-point font). The paper should contrast, critique, and analyze the required readings offering a concrete argument with respect to the given question. The instructor may specify additional reading(s) beyond what is needed for the week to enrich your discussion. Clarity and conciseness are essential; the paper should **NOT** simply describe or reiterate the readings but critically assess them. The paper should be submitted electronically to the instructor for the respective session by 10 a.m. each WEDNESDAY before the class presentation. The paper **must be submitted on time since both the instructor and the class need time to read it before the session**. The presenter of the discussion paper must perform on the agreed day and time.
- **Discussion paper presentation:** All students will present their discussion paper to the class (dates will be assigned after the first meeting). In the presentation of their discussion paper, each student should focus on the critical arguments made within the written discussion paper, drawing on examples from the readings where appropriate. The student should be prepared to present the ideas verbally in a presentation of a **maximum of FIFTEEN minutes**. Presenters should **NOT** simply read the written paper. PPP are a welcome component of the presentation but they are not obligatory. The discussion paper and presentation will be evaluated based on the coherency of the argument, presentation form, the effectiveness of communication, and demonstrated familiarity with and reflection on course readings, with a combined grade for the oral and written components. **Please note: Neither the paper nor the oral presentation should provide lengthy summaries of course readings. (Presenter may give a short synopsis of the relevant reading, up to one page in the written paper).**
- **Strategic / Predictive policy analysis:** The paper shall analyze the potential trajectories of Russian domestic policy's development in one of the critical areas chosen by the student. The areas can either be based on the seminars' topics (e.g., migration or regional policy etc.) or address the issues not mentioned explicitly in the course outline. In the latter case, the student shall contact the course instructor to get his authorization prior to preparing the paper. The consent shall be received **no later than three weeks before** the deadline for the paper's submission. Predictive policy analysis shall thoroughly analyze the current state of a specified area's policy, identify the crucial factors impacting (likely to be impacting) the policy's development, and reflect the student's assumptions (suggestions, expectations) regarding policy's evolution. The paper shall be no longer than **five pages** (typed, double-spaced, 12-point font). The student might want to provide recommendations for improving (altering) state policy. In such a case, the paper's

length shall not exceed **six pages**. The course instructor will give more information about the assignment in early February.

- **Critical comment (1 page) on suggested video:** Pick up ONE video related to area of your interest. After watching it please evaluate it in a one page review. The comment shall critically evaluate the video's clarity, key message, potential bias, and main conclusion suggested to the viewer. **The deadline for this assignment is March 24, 2023. I will accept earlier delivery throughout January 14 – March 24, 2023 period.**

### **Submission, Return, and Grading of Term Work:**

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the guidelines in the course outline. Alphabetical grades will show final standing in courses. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points, is:

<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Letter grade</b>	<b>12-point scale</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Letter grade</b>	<b>12-point scale</b>
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

### **Late Penalties and Failure to submit assignments:**

Any student who fails to hand in the discussion paper will receive a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late assignments will be as follows:

Discussion paper: late assignments will have an immediate deduction of 15% (on a 100% scale) and 3% for each day late.

Students absent on the date of oral presentations or commentary will receive a "0" unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. Advance notice should be provided to the instructor.

### **VIII General reading recommendations**

The following titles might be helpful to those with little or no prior experience studying Russian politics. Please, contact the course instructor if you have any further questions.

**Aleksashenko, Sergey.** *Putin's Counterrevolution*. Brookings Institution Press. 2018.

**Belton, Catherine.** *Putin's People: How the KGB Took Back Russia and Then Took On the West*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2020.

**Dutkiewicz Piotr and Richard Sakwa, (eds),** *Social History of Post-Communist Russia*, Routledge (London & New York), 2016

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

**Laruelle, Marlene and Radvanyi, Jean.** *Understanding Russia: The Challenges of Transformation*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2018.

**Sakwa, Richard.** *Russian Politics and Society*. Routledge. 2020.

**Shirayev, Eric.** *Russian Government and Politics*. Red Globe Press. 2021.

**Slezkine, Yuri.** *The House of Government: A Saga of the Russian Revolution*. Princeton University Press. 2017.

**Studin, Irvin.** *Russia: Strategy, Policy and Administration*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2018.

**Taubman, William.** *Gorbachev: His Life and Times*. WW Norton. 2018.

**Zygar, Mikhail.** *All the Kremlin's Men: Inside the Court of Vladimir Putin*. PublicAffairs. 2016.

**Routledge Handbook of Russian Politics and Society**. Edited by Graeme Gill and James Young. Routledge. 2015.

**Routledge Handbook of Russian Politics and Society**. Edited by Graeme Gill. Routledge. 2023. [To be released on December 23, 2022].

**Russian politics under Putin**. Edited by Cameron Ross. Manchester University Press. 2004.

## **IX Course schedule**

### **COURSE OUTLINE**

#### **WEEK 1 INTRODUCTION**

1. Explanation of requirements and contents of the course.
2. Minilecture on significant transformations in Eastern Europe (key issues).
3. Discussion of academic resources.
4. Selection of presenters.

#### **WEEK 2 RUSSIA AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION (From Yeltsin to Putin)**

The demise of the Soviet Union caused the emergence of the new Russia led by President Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin's rule was marked by dramatic events turning the period of the 1990s into one of the most challenging and turbulent periods in Russian history. The war in Chechnya, drastic impoverishment of the citizens, and troubled transition from a "planned economy" seriously affected Russia's much anticipated "democratic turn" and forestalled the ascendance of Vladimir Putin.

#### **Weekly goals:**

- Identify the main trajectories of Russia's evolution in the 1990s.
- Identify events that defined the Yeltsin era.
- Analyze whether President Yeltsin was capable of shaping democratic society.
- Discuss whether Russia's internal problems of the 1990s predetermined the choice of Putin as Yeltsin's successor.

#### **\* Required readings:**

**Gill, Graeme.** *The Failure of Democracy in Russia. Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 3, no. 2 (2002): 169-197.

**Gill, Graeme.** "A new turn to authoritarian Rule in Russia?" *Democratisation*, 13, no. 1 (2006): 58-77.

**Kagarlitsky, Boris.** *Russia under Yeltsin and Putin: Neo-Liberal Autocracy*. Pluto Press. 2002.

Chapter 9. The War of the Kremlin Succession. 223-250.

Chapter 10. The Putin Regime. 251-279.

**McFaul, Michael.** Yeltsin's Legacy. *The Wilson Quarterly* 24, no. 2 (2000): 42-58.

**Robinson, Neil.** *Russia: a state of uncertainty*. Routledge. 2001.

Chapter 3. Russian politics under Boris Yeltsin. 69-101.

Chapter 4. From planned economy to 'virtual economy.' 102-131.

**Shevtsova, Liliia.** *Russia lost in transition: the Yeltsin and Putin legacies*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2007.

Chapter 1. Boris Yeltsin: A Revolutionary Who Preserved Tradition. 1-24.

#### **Additional readings:**

**Bowker, Mike.** "Russia and Chechnya: the issue of secession." *Nations and Nationalism* 10, no. 4 (2004): 461-478.

**Treisman, Daniel.** "Presidential Popularity in a Hybrid Regime: Russia under Yeltsin and Putin." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 3 (2011): 590-609.

#### **Videos:**

**25 Years Ago: The Day The Russian White House Was Shelled**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3PJuIVIZ72k>

**Boris Yeltsin Historic Address to U.S. Congress**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HwemQR59wbw>

**Vladimir Putin's Early Political Life – the fifth estate**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXhYoypVDT8>

**Russia in the late 1990s: Apartment bombings that accelerated Vladimir Putin's rise to power**

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_arwGPwLXRw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_arwGPwLXRw)

### **WEEK 3 GOVERNANCE AND REGIME EVOLUTION (Who rules Russia and how)**

From Yeltsin's moderate and cautious attempts at democratization, Russia made a noticeable turn to authoritarianism under President Putin. President Putin's early rule was defined by the strengthening of the "vertical of power" ["*vertikal' vlasti*"], narrowing federalization, and arbitrary expansion of the state's interference in private affairs. President Putin's third term was a turning point in Russia's shaping as a full-fledged authoritarian state. Constitutional amendments of 2020 and Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 further accelerated the regime's deterioration and its orientation toward preserving power.

#### **Weekly goals:**

- Identify the transformation of the regime during Putin's first terms.
- Evaluate the changes in regime dynamics after Putin's comeback in 2012.

- Analyze the main attributes of the Russian regime and its evolution.
- Assess the credibility of Sakwa's view of Russia as a "dual state."
- Discuss the potential dynamic for the regime's transformation.
- Discuss Kolesnikov's assessment of Russia's transition to hybrid totalitarianism.

**\* Required readings (pre-2022)**

**Russia. *The challenges of transformation*.** Edited by Piotr Dutkiewicz and Dmitri Trenin. New York University Press. 2011.

Piotr Dutkiewicz, Chapter 1. Missing in Translation: Re-conceptualizing Russia's Developmental State. 9-40.

**Casula, Philipp.** "Sovereign Democracy, Populism, and Depoliticization in Russia." *Problems of Post-Communism* 60, no. 3 (2013): 3-15.

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

Chapter 5. The Unpredictable 2010s. Rising Challenges.

**Gudkov, Lev.** "The Nature of "Putinism"." *Russian Social Science Review* 52, no. 6 (2011): 21-47.

**Monaghan, Andrew.** "The vertikal: power and authority in Russia." *International Affairs* 88, no. 1 (2012): 1-16.

**Sakwa, Richard.** "Heterarchy: Russian politics between chaos and control." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37, no. 3 (2021): 222-241.

**Sakwa, Richard.** *The Crisis of Russian Democracy: The Dual State, Factionalism and the Medvedev Succession*. Cambridge. 2011.

Chapter 1. The dual state in Russia. 1-51.

**Stanovaya, Tatiana.** "The Putin Regime Cracks." *Carnegie Moscow Center*. May 2020. [https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Stanovaya\\_Putin\\_Elite-Final.pdf](https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Stanovaya_Putin_Elite-Final.pdf).

**\* Required readings (post-2022):**

**Kolesnikov, Andrei.** "Putin's War Has Moved Russia From Authoritarianism to Hybrid Totalitarianism." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. April 19, 2022. <https://carnegiemoscow.org/2022/04/19/putin-s-war-has-moved-russia-from-authoritarianism-to-hybrid-totalitarianism-pub-86921>.

**Treisman, Daniel.** "Putin Unbound: How Repression at Home Presaged Belligerence Abroad." *Foreign Affairs* 101, no. 3 (2022): 40-53.

**Additional readings:**

**Kozyrev, Andrei.** "Why Putin Must Be Defeated." *Journal of Democracy* 33, no. 3 (2022): 14-22.

**Pavlovsky, Gleb.** "Russian Politics Under Putin. The System Will Outlast the Master." *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (2016): 10-17.

**Ross, Cameron.** "Federalism and electoral authoritarianism under Putin." *Demokratizatsiya* 13, no. 3 (2005): 347-371.

**Shevtsova, Liliia.** *Russia lost in transition: the Yeltsin and Putin legacies.* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2007.

Chapter 8. The *Siloviki* in Power. 97-103.

Chapter 9. Oligarchy as Myth and Reality. 104-112.

**Taylor, Brian D.** *The Code of Putinism.* Oxford University Press. 2018.

Chapter 7. Putinism Forever? 195-210.

**Yudin, Greg.** "Governing Through Polls: Politics of Representation and Presidential Support in Putin's Russia." *Javnost – The Public. Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture* 27, no. 1 (2020): 2-16.

### Videos:

#### Understanding Putinism

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mOJt3tjOCco>

#### From spy to president: The rise of Vladimir Putin

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lxMWSmKieuc>

### WEEK 4

#### STATE CONTROL

(How the Russian state manages society)

The steady entrenchment of authoritarianism intensified the imminent strengthening of state control. Arguably, civil society became the state's primary target. The Russian authorities consistently enhanced administrative and criminal liability measures and introduced two notorious concepts to tame regime opponents: "foreign agents" and "undesirable organizations." Simultaneously, Russia's judicial system became affected by the transformation of the Russian regime. The cases of Yukos, Pussy Riot, Ivan Golunov, and many others demonstrated the covert connection between the judiciary and the executive power.

#### Weekly goals:

- Find out how the Russian state uses the law to counter dissent.
- Identify how the Russian state blocks or prohibits activities of civil society.
- Analyze the influence of Russia's war against Ukraine on the state control dynamic.
- List the main characteristics of Russia's criminal justice.
- Discuss the extent of independence of the Russian judicial system.

#### \* Required readings (pre-2022):

**Brechenmacher, Saskia.** *Civil Society under Assault. Repression and Responses in Russia, Egypt, and Ethiopia.* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2017.

Chapter 1. Delegitimization and Division in Russia.

**Daly, Jonathan.** *Crime and Punishment in Russia: A Comparative History from Peter the Great to Vladimir Putin.* Bloomsbury Academic. 2018.

Chapter 7. Criminal Justice since the Collapse of Communism. 151-172.

**Ledeneva, Alena.** "Telephone Justice in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 24, no. 4 (2008): 324-350.

**Lipman, Maria.** "Dissent, its Persecutors, and the New Russia." *New Perspectives* 30, no. 1 (2022): 6-18.

**Popova, Maria.** "Putin-Style "Rule of Law" & the Prospects for Change." *Daedalus* 146, no. 2 (2017): 64-75.

**Soldatov, Andrei.** "From the "New Mobility" to the KGB." *Russian Social Science Review* 61, no. 6 (2020): 442-451.

**Sakwa, Richard.** *Putin Redux. Power and contradiction in contemporary Russia.* Routledge. 2014.  
Chapter 8. Tightening the screws. 159-189.

**Schulmann, Ekaterina and Galeotti, Mark.** "A tale of two councils: the changing role of the security and state councils during the transformation period of modern Russian politics." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37, no. 5 (2021): 453-469.

**Solomon Jr., Peter H.** "Post-Soviet criminal justice: The persistence of distorted neo-inquisitorialism." *Theoretical Criminology* 19, no. 2 (2015): 159-178.

**Tompson, William.** "Putting Yukos in Perspective." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21, no. 2 (2005): 159-181.

"Created and (or) distributed. Discriminatory aspects of the application of legislation on 'foreign agents.'" *OVD-Info*. November 29, 2021. <https://inoteka.io/ino/created-and-or-distributed-en>.

#### \* Required readings (post-2022):

**Russell, Martin.** "Foreign agents' and 'undesirables.' Russian civil society in danger of extinction?" *European Parliamentary Research Service*. March 08, 2022.  
[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2022/729297/EPRS\\_BRI\(2022\)729297\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2022/729297/EPRS_BRI(2022)729297_EN.pdf).

"No to war. How Russian authorities are suppressing anti-war protests." *OVD-Info*. Last modified April 14, 2022. <https://reports.ovdinfo.org/no-to-war-en#1>.

"Internet blocks as a tool of political censorship." *OVD-Info*. June 07, 2022.  
<https://reports.ovdinfo.org/internet-blocks-tool-political-censorship#1>.

#### Additional readings:

**Puddington, Arch.** "Breaking Down Democracy: Goals, Strategies, and Methods of Modern Authoritarians." *Freedom House*. Accessed August 27, 2022.  
[https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/June2017\\_FH\\_Report\\_Breaking\\_Down\\_Democracy.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/June2017_FH_Report_Breaking_Down_Democracy.pdf)

#### Videos:

**Russia: how Putin is silencing his opponents**  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_NrV0UegeuM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_NrV0UegeuM)

**Почему в России пытают / Why They Torture People in Russia**  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E\\_2Vy9B8hic](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_2Vy9B8hic)

### WEEK 5 CIVIL SOCIETY

(Civic activism as a governmental counterweight)

Under President Putin, the state started to view civil society's activities as a threat. As mentioned in the previous week, the state made apparent attempts to minimize the influence of civil society on Russian



society. The state not only prohibited or restricted civil society's activities but likewise began promoting its agenda through the network of loyal state-owned or state-backed organizations.

#### **Weekly goals:**

- Evaluate the state's vision of civil society and its role.
- Formulate the main obstacles to civil society's development (formal and informal).
- Discuss how the state tries to promote its agenda through state-owned or state-backed organizations.
- Assess the harmful consequences of the "foreign agent" ("undesirable organization") designation.

#### **\* Required readings (pre-2022):**

**Berls Jr., Robert E.** "Civil Society in Russia: Its Role under an Authoritarian Regime, Part I: The Nature of Russian Civil Society." *The Nuclear Threat Initiative*. July 13, 2021. <https://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/civil-society-russia-its-role-under-authoritarian-regime-part-i-nature-russian-civil-society/>.

**Janet Elise Johnson and Aino Saarinen**, Twenty-First-Century Feminisms under Repression: Gender Regime Change and the Women's Crisis Center Movement in Russia, *Signs*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Spring 2013), pp. 543-567 (25 pages). Published By: The University of Chicago Press <https://doi.org/10.1086/668515>

**Coleman, Heather J**, Translating Canadian Models: International Partnerships and Public Policy Reform in Russia. *Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (March 2009), pp. 25-52

**Piotr Dutkiewicz and Vladislav Inozemtsev (eds.)**. Democracy versus Modernization, A Dilemma for Russia and for the World. Routledge 2012  
Chapter 9 - G. Pavlovsky, Democracy and How it is used in Russia. pp. 97-110

**Evans, Jr., Alfred B.** "Protests and civil society in Russia: The struggle for the Khimki Forest." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, no. 3-4 (2012): 233-242.

**Hemment, Julie.** "Nashi, Youth Voluntarism, and Potemkin NGOs: Making Sense of Civil Society in Post-Soviet Russia." *Slavic Review* 71, no. 2 (2012): 234-260.

**Henry, Laura and Plantan, Elizabeth.** "Activism in exile: how Russian environmentalists maintain voice after exit." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 38, no. 4 (2022): 274-292.

**Henderson, Sarah L.** "Civil Society in Russia. State-Society Relations in the Post-Yeltsin Era." *Problems of Post-Communism* 58, no. 3 (2011): 11-27.

**Lipman, Maria.** "At the Turning Point of Repression. Why There Are More and More "Undesirable Elements" in Russia." *Russian Politics & Law* 54, no. 4 (2016): 341-350.

**Ljubownikow, Sergej, Crotty, Jo, Rodgers, Peter W.** "The state and civil society in Post-Soviet Russia: The development of a Russian-style civil society." *Progress in Developmental Studies* 13, no. 2 (2013): 153-166.

**Owen, Catherine.** "A Genealogy of *Kontrol'* in Russia: From Leninist to Neoliberal Governance." *Slavic Review* 75, no. 2 (2016): 331-353.

**Rose, Richard.** "Rethinking Civil Society: Postcommunism and the Problem of Trust," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 3 (1994): 21.

**Stuvoy, Kirsti.** "The Foreign Within': State-Civil Society Relations in Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 7 (2020): 1103-1124.

**Sundstrom, Lisa McIntosh, Henry, Laura A., and Sperling, Valerie.** "The Evolution of Civic Activism in Contemporary Russia." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* (2022): 1-23.

**Ilia Matveev** , The "Two Russia's" Culture War: Constructions of the "People" during the 2011–2013 Protests,  
<https://read.dukeupress.edu/south-atlantic-quarterly/article/113/1/186/3735/The-Two-Russias-Culture-War-Constructions-of-the>

**\* Required readings (post-2022):**

*Case of Ecodefence and Others v. Russia.* No. 0614JUD000998813. ECHR 2022.

**Fischer, Sabine.** "Russia on the Road to Dictatorship." *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.* April 30, 2022.  
[https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/comments/2022C30\\_Russia\\_Dictatorship.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/comments/2022C30_Russia_Dictatorship.pdf).

**Additional readings:**

**Bunce, Valerie J. and Wolchik, Sharon L.** *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries.* Cambridge University Press. 2012.

Chapter 12. Conclusions. 327-352.

**Chebunkova, Elena.** *Civil Society in Putin's Russia.* Routledge. 2015.

Chapter 5. State-sponsored civic associations in Russia: systemic integration or a 'war of position'? 99-117.

Chapter 7. Grassroots movements in modern Russia: a cause for optimism? 140-163.

**Lipman, Masha and McFaul, Michael.** "Managed democracy" in Russia. Putin and the Press." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 6, no. 3 (2001): 116-127.

**Stuvoy, Kirsti.** "Power and Public Chambers in the development of civil society in Russia." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47, no. 3-4 (2014): 409-419.

*Resourceful Civil Society. Navigating the Changing Landscape of Civil Society Organizations.* Edited by Zhanna Kravchenko, Lisa Kings, and Katarzyna Jezierska. Palgrave Macmillan. 2022.

Chapter 7. Between Autonomy and Compliance: The Organizational Development of Russian Civil Society. 171-193.

**Yefanov, Aleksander and Tomin, Vitaly.** "The Significance of Protest Mood in Forming a Developed Civil Society in Russia." *Russian Politics* 7, no. 1 (2022): 147-165.

**Videos:**

**Russian civil society development in dynamics**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DdszmYDER18>

**Round Table of Russian Human Rights Defenders and Media recognised as Foreign Agents | Live on 22.11**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tqBywLePG1A>

## IDEOLOGY

(What views drive Russia's politics)

Communist ideology was prevalent in the Soviet Union and dictated the norms and rules of everyday life. Article 6 of the 1977 Soviet Constitution stated that the Communist Party was the "leading and guiding force of the Soviet society." Any grain of dissent or disagreement with the general Party line was harshly penalized. With the fall of the USSR, the new Russia did not inherit the communist tenets of its predecessor. The 1993 Constitution prohibited the imposition of any state ideology. However, many scholars believe that the presidency of Vladimir Putin is marked by the emergence and entrenchment of distinct state-imposed ideology claiming its dominant role.

### Weekly goals:

- Contrast different views on Russia's ideology.
- Identify what ideological currents influence decision-making.
- Analyze the ideology behind Putin's speeches of 2014 and 2022.
- Discuss the role of antifascist and anti-Nazi discourses in Russia.
- Model the ideological tenets of modern Russia.

### \* Required readings (pre-2022):

**Eltchaninoff, Michel.** *Inside the Mind of Vladimir Putin*. Hurst & Company. 2017.  
Chapter 5. The Russian Way. 75-95.

**Koposov, Nikolay.** "The Only Possible Ideology": Nationalizing History in Putin's Russia." *Journal of Genocide Research* 24, no. 2 (2022): 205-215.

**Laruelle, Marlene.** *Is Russia Fascist? Unraveling Propaganda East and West*. Cornell University Press. 2021.

Chapter 3. Antifascism as the Renewed Social Consensus under Putin. 43-61.

Chapter 5. The Putin Regime's Ideological Plurality. 84-99.

Chapter 6. Russia's fascist Thinkers and Doers. 100-120.

**Lewis, David G.** *Russia's New Authoritarianism. Putin and the Politics of Order*. Edinburgh University Press. 2020.

Chapter 5. Defining the Enemy. 100-116.

**Lewis, Charlie.** "Contemporary Russian Messianism under Putin and Russian Foreign Policy in Ukraine and Syria." *Slavonic and East European Review* 98, no. 3 (2020): 531-559.

**Putin, Vladimir.** "Address by President of the Russian Federation." *Kremlin*. March 18, 2014. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603>.

**Putin, Vladimir.** "Article by Vladimir Putin "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians." *Kremlin*. July 12, 2021. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181>.

**Suslov, Mikhail.** "Russian World" Concept: Post-Soviet Geopolitical Ideology and the Logic of "Spheres of Influence"." *Geopolitics* 23, no. 2 (2018): 330-353.

**Umland, Andreas.** "Alexander Dugin and Moscow's New Right Radical Intellectual Circles at the Start of Putin's Third Presidential Term 2012-2013: The Anti-Orange Committee, the Izborsk Club and the Florian Geyer Club in Their Political Context." *Europolity* 10, no. 2 (2016): 7-31.

*The New Russian Nationalism. Imperialism, Ethnicity and Authoritarianism 2000-15.* Edited by Pal Kolsto and Helge Blakkisrud. Edinburgh University Press. 2016.

Chapter 10. Russia as an anti-liberal European civilisation. 275-297.

*The State of Russia: What Comes Next?* Edited by Maria Lipman and Nikolay Petrov. Palgrave Pivot London. 2015.

Chapter 6. Putin's 'Besieged Fortress' and Its Ideological Aims. 110-136.

**\* Required readings (post-2022):**

**Doris, Andrew and Graham, Thomas.** "What Putin Fights For." *Survival. Global Politics and Strategy* 64, no. 4 (2022): 75-88.

**Additional readings:**

**Abalov, Alexander and Inozemtsev, Vladislav.** "Russia: The Everlasting Empire?" *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 13, no. 3 (2019): 329-338.

**Chebankova, Elena.** "Ideas, Ideology & Intellectuals in Search of Russia's Political Future." *Daedalus* 146, no. 2 (2017): 76-88.

**Feklyunina, Valentina.** "Soft power and identity: Russia, Ukraine and the 'Russian world(s)'." *European Journal of International Relations* 22, no. 4 (2016): 773-796.

**Kozyrev, Andrei.** "Russia: A Chance for Survival." *Foreign Affairs* 71, no. 2 (1992): 1-16.

**Laruelle, Marlene.** "Making Sense of Russia's Illiberalism." *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 3 (2020): 115-129.

**Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz.** "The Pussy Riot affair and Putin's demarche from sovereign democracy to sovereign morality." *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 42, no. 4 (2014): 615-621.

**Videos:**

**Alexander Asmolov:** «If the enemy does not exist, we will create the enemy» // «Skazhi Gordeevoy»  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CL9bigv1hek>

**Aleksandr Dugin:** 'We have our special Russian truth' – BBC Newsnight  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGunRKWtWBs>

**Vladimir Putin's Speech on Ukraine and US Foreign Policy and NATO - 24 February 2022, ENG Subtitles**  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1qS6J-WbTD8>

**WEEK 7  
SOCIETY**

(Russia's societal evolution and society's structure)

Russian society has been undergoing massive transformation since the middle of the 1980s. The collapse of the Soviet Union gave birth to multiple internal conflicts and peculiarities, resulting in interethnic, interpersonal, and (at times) interterritorial disputes. The turbulent history of Russian society calls for a multi-tangled portrait reflecting its multi-ethnic and multi-confessional structure. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights of specific categories of Russian citizens, namely, women and sexual minorities.

### Weekly goals:

- Identify the main attributes of modern Russian society.
- Describe the process of Russian society's evolution in post-Soviet times.
- Specify distinct changes in Russian society which occurred during Putin's era.
- Evaluate how the annexation of Crimea influenced patriotic feelings among Russians.
- Discuss Russian society's perception of sexual minorities and its reasons.
- Discuss the consequences of Russia's invasion of Ukraine for Russian society.

### \* Required readings (pre-2022):

**The Social History of Post-Communist Russia.** Edited by Piotr Dutkiewicz, Richard Sakwa, Routledge. 2016.

Chapter 7. The Russian roller coaster: Changes in social structure in the post-communist period. 148-168.

Chapter 8. New Russia: The evolution of Russian public opinion, 1989-2014. 151-184.

**Alyukov, Maxim.** "Making Sense of the News in an Authoritarian Regime: Russian Television Viewers' Reception of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 3 (2022): 337-359.

**Berls Jr., Robert E.** "Civil Society in Russia: Its Role under an Authoritarian Regime, Part II: Russian Society Today: Life, Opinions, Nostalgia." *The Nuclear Threat Initiative*. July 13, 2021. <https://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/civil-society-russia-its-role-under-authoritarian-regime-part-ii-russian-society-today-life-opinions-nostalgia/>.

**Berls Jr., Robert E.** "Civil Society in Russia: Its Role under an Authoritarian Regime, Part III: The Leader and Society: Prospects for Change." *The Nuclear Threat Initiative*. July 13, 2021. <https://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/civil-society-russia-its-role-under-authoritarian-regime-part-iii-leader-and-society-prospects-change/>.

**Byzov, Leontiy.** "Conservative Trends in Contemporary Russian Society. Origins, Content, and Prospects." *Russian Social Science Review* 59, no. 1 (2018): 39-58.

**Chebankova, Elena.** *Political Ideologies in Contemporary Russia*. McGill-Queen's University Press. 2020.

Chapter 9. Feminism. 230-259.

**Eremin, Akradiy and Petrovich-Belkin, Oleg.** "State Policies Regarding Sexual Minorities in Russia: From Russian Empire to Modern Day Russian Federation." *Sexuality & Culture* 26, no. 1 (2022): 289-311.

**Greene, Samuel A. and Robertson, Graeme.** "Affect and Autocracy: Emotions and Attitudes in Russia after Crimea." *Perspectives on Politics* 20, no. 1 (2022): 38-52.

**Gulevich, Olga, Osin, Evgeny, Isaenko, Nadezhda, and Brainis, Lilia.** "Scrutinizing Homophobia: A Model of Perception of Homosexuals in Russia." *Journal of Homosexuality* 65, no. 13 (2018): 1838-1866.

**Kondakov, Alexander.** "The influence of the 'gay-propaganda' law on violence against LGBTIQ people in Russia: Evidence from criminal court rulings." *European Journal of Criminology* 18, no. 6 (2019): 940-959.

**Kolesnikov, Andrei.** "Do Russians Want War?" *Carnegie Endowment for International Piece*. June 14, 2016. <https://carnegiemoscow.org/2016/06/14/do-russians-want-war-pub-63743>.

**Sanina, Anna.** "Patriotism and Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia." *Russian Social Science Review* 59, no. 5 (2018): 468-482.

**Sedysheva, Anna.** "Did #MeToo skip Russia?" *Baltic Worlds* XIII, no. 1 (2020): 37-44.

**Studin, Irvin.** *Russia: Strategy, Policy and Administration*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2018.  
Chapter 7. The Social Structure of Russia. 75-86.

**Valerie Sperling,** Women's Organizations: Institutionalized Interest Groups or Vulnerable Dissidents?" in Alfred Evans, Lisa McIntosh-Sundstrom, and Laura Henry, (eds.), *Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment* (M.E. Sharpe, 2006), pp. 161-177

#### **\* Required readings (post-2022):**

**Dubrovsky, Dmitry.** "War and the academic community in Russia." *Baltic Worlds* 15, no. 1-2 (2022): 38-44.

**Stoner, Kathryn.** "The War in Ukraine: How Putin's War in Ukraine Has Ruined Russia." *Journal of Democracy* 33, no. 3 (2022): 38-44.

**Yudin, Greg.** "Do Russians Support Putin?" *Journal of Democracy* 33, no. 3 (2022): 31-37.

#### **Additional readings:**

**Berend, Ivan T.** *History Derailed. Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century*. University of California Press. 2003.

Chapter 5. Social Changes: "Dual" and "Incomplete" Societies.

**Chimenson, Dina, Tung, Rosalie L., Panibratov, Andrei, and Fang, Tony.** "The paradox and change of Russian cultural values." *International Business Review* 31, no. 3 (2022): 1-11.

#### **Videos:**

**Broken Ties | A film by Andrey Loshak**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5qmQs2LbnaE>

**Nikolaj Epple: In this hierarchy, force is more important than values**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T7UEcXDZiWU>

**Russians Are Snitching On Friends and Relatives Who Oppose the War**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z3Z174zEnC8>

### **WEEK 8 OPPOSITION**

(Who opposes the Russian state)

During Yeltsin's era, systemic opposition was a genuine counterweight to the presidential authority. The parties present in the State Duma represented a broad range of political ideologies, namely, far left (CPRF), far right (LDPR), and liberal left (Yabloko). In 1996, the CPRF's leader Gennady Zyuganov was close enough to win the presidential race against acting President Yeltsin. Over the years, especially during the latest terms of President Putin, systemic opposition was getting less autonomous from the state. The actual center of opposition shifted toward its "non-systemic" form. As a response, the Russian state turned from moderate cohabitation with the opposition to severe resistance and greatly restricted its activities.

### Weekly goals:

- Analyze the manifestations of modern Russia's protest activity.
- Discuss the obstacles created by the state for opposition activists.
- Evaluate the state's general reaction to oppositional movements.
- Discuss the figure of Alexey Navalny as a prominent opposition leader.
- Discuss the existing potential for protests amid Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the worsening living conditions.

### \* Required readings (pre-2022)

**Denisova, Anastasia.** "Democracy, protest and public sphere in Russia after the 2011-2012 anti-government protests: digital media at stake." *Media, Culture & Society* 39, no. 7 (2017): 976-994.

**Dollbaum, Jan Matti, Lallouet, Morvan, and Noble, Ben.** *Navalny: Putin's Nemesis, Russia's Future?* Oxford University Press. 2021.

Chapter 4. The Protester. 103-138.

Chapter 5. Kremlin v. Navalny. 139-172.

**Gel'man, Vladimir.** "The Politics of Fear: How the Russian Regime Confronts Its Opponents." *Russian Social Science Review* 61, no. 6 (2020): 467-482.

**Glazunova, Sofya.** "Four Populisms" of Alexey Navalny: An analysis of Russian non-systemic opposition discourse on YouTube." *Media and Communication* 8, no. 4 (2020): 121-132.

**Greene, Samuel A.** *Moscow in Movement. Power and Opposition in Putin's Russia.* Stanford University Press. 2014.

Chapter 6. Our Home Is Russia: Russia's Housing-Rights Movements. 145-166.

**Greene, Samuel A. and Robertson, Graeme B.** *Putin V. The People: The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia.* Yale University Press. 2019.

Chapter 6. Russia at War. 159-195.

**Koesel, Karrie J. and Bunce, Valerie J.** "Putin, Popular Protests, and Political Trajectories in Russia: A Comparative Perspective." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28, no. 4 (2012): 403-423.

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

**Lewis, David G.** *Russia's New Authoritarianism. Putin and the Politics of Order.* Edinburgh University Press. 2020.

Chapter 5. Defining the Enemy. 100-116.

**Surman, Jan and Rossman, Ella.** "New dissidence in contemporary Russia: Students, feminism and new ethics." *New Perspectives* 30, no. 1 (2021): 27-46.

***Russia's Regions and Comparative Subnational Politics.*** Edited by William M. Reisinger. Routledge. 2012.

Chapter 5. Opposition Parties in Dominant-Party Regimes: Inclusion and Exclusion in Russia's Regions. 106-125.

***Systemic and Non-Systemic Opposition in the Russian Federation.*** Edited by Cameron Ross. Routledge. 2016.

Chapter 6. The Systemic Opposition in Authoritarian Regimes: A Case Study of Russian Regions. 121-138.

**\* Required readings (post-2022)**

**Pavlova, Uliana.** "Putin Is the Only Leader They've Known. And They're Done With Him." *POLITICO*. July 04, 2022. <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2022/04/07/russians-putin-fleeing-00023482>.

**Busygina, Irina and Paustyan, Ekaterina.** "Ready to Protest? Calculating Protest Potential in Russian Regional Capitals." *PONARS Eurasia*. June 05, 2022. [https://www.ponarseurasia.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Pepm779\\_Busygina-Paustyan\\_June2022.pdf](https://www.ponarseurasia.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Pepm779_Busygina-Paustyan_June2022.pdf).

**Petrov, Nikolai.** "Putin's support from Russian society may decline fast." *Chatham House*. March 05, 2022. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/03/putins-support-russian-society-may-decline-fast>.

**Additional readings**

**Kazun, Anastasia and Semyakina, Kseniia.** "Presidential Elections 2018: The Struggle of Putin and Navalny for a Media Agenda." *Problems of Post-Communism* 67, no. 6 (2020): 455-466.

**Lanskoy, Miriam and Suthers, Elspeth.** "Putin versus Civil Society: Outlawing the Opposition." *Journal of Democracy* 24, no. 3 (2013): 75-87.

**Videos:**

**Alexey Navalny's last word in the court**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ReFQzzHnEo>

**How young supporters of Navalny survive in Russia. "The age of disagreement," episode 1.**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TeDhrVN9NQ8>

**The Assassination of Boris Nemtsov: Kremlin's Biggest Critic**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vM04zNbsaJg>

**What are Russians risking by protesting Putin?**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qd8NdcqSBr8>

**WEEK 9**

**ECONOMY**

(Russia's economic transformation)

The fall of the Soviet Union called for the reconstruction of an existing economic system. The transition from "planned economy" to "market economy" became a tough challenge for Yeltsin's administration. Russia's economic transformation caused severe societal turbulence and drastically lowered the Russian citizens' quality of life. During President Putin's first terms, the Russian economy witnessed a revival largely impacted by growing oil prices. Still, it was severely injured by the repercussions of the 2008 global economic crisis and crippled by the sanctions imposed after the annexation of Crimea. Expanding tensions with the West required restructuring the Russian economy and reorientation to other partners. The 2022 invasion of Ukraine caused further intensification of sanction pressure and the departure of major brands from Russia. As of now, the consequences of sanctions are seemingly unpredictable as the unfolding of Russia's war will have a decisive role in determining the survival of the Russian economy.

**Weekly goals:**



- Identify the main challenges faced by Yeltsin's administration.
- Analyze the hardships caused by Russia's transition from a "planned economy" and their social impact.
- Discuss the role of oligarchs in 1990s Russia.
- Discuss the changes in the Russian economy under Putin.
- Analyze the economy's response to sanctions imposed since 2014.
- Model the economic consequences of the war against Ukraine and the sanction wave of 2022.

**\* Required readings (pre-2022):**

**Aslund, Anders and Snegovaya, Maria.** "The impact of Western sanctions on Russia and how they can be made even more effective." *Atlantic Council*. May 03, 2021. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/The-impact-of-Western-sanctions-on-Russia-and-how-they-can-be-made-even-more-effective-5.2.pdf>.

**Dutkiewicz Piotr and Richard Sakwa,** (eds), *Social History of Post-Communist Russia*, Routledge (London & New York), 2016; Chapter 3 (pp.41 – 58)

**Ellison, Herbert J.** *Boris Yeltsin and Russia's Democratic Transformation*. University of Washington Press. 2007.

Chapter 3. Building a New Economy. 179-223.

**Ellman, Michael.** "The Russian Economy under El'tsin." *Europe-Asia Studies* 52, no. 8 (2000): 1417-1432.

**Florio, Massimo.** "Economists, Privatization in Russia and the waning of the 'Washington consensus'." *Review of International Political Economy* 9, no. 2 (2002): 374-415.

**Guriey, Sergei and Andrei Rachinsky.** "The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (2005): 131-150.

**Lansky, Miriam and Myles-Primakoff, Dylan.** "The Rise of Kleptocracy: Power and Plunder in Putin's Russia." *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 1 (2018): 76-85.

**Volkov, Vadim.** *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*. Cornell University Press. 2016.

Chapter 5. The Privatization of the Power Ministers.

**Wanniski, Jude.** "The Future of Russian Capitalism." *Foreign Affairs* 71, no. 2 (1992): 17-25.

**\* Required readings (post-2022):**

**Cortright, David.** "How Sanctions Can Work." *Dissent* 69, no. 3 (2022): 62-66.

**Efremov, Sergey.** "Four Months of Sanctions: the State and Prospects of the Russian Economy." *Italian Institute for International Political Studies*. July 21, 2022. <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/four-months-sanctions-state-and-prospects-russian-economy-35843>.

**Liadze, Iana, Macchiarelli, Corrado, Mortimer-Lee, Paul, and Juanino, Patricia Sanchez.** "The Economic Costs of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict." *National Institute of Economic and Social Research*. March 02, 2022. <https://www.niesr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/PP32-Economic-Costs-Russia-Ukraine.pdf>.

**Pertsev, Andrey.** "Is Russia prepared for an economic crisis?" *Meduza*. March 16, 2022. <https://meduza.io/en/feature/2022/03/16/is-russia-prepared-for-an-economic-crisis>.

**Starostina, Yulia.** "Secret Economy: What Hiding the Stats Does for Russia." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. July 01, 2022. <https://carnegieendowment.org/eurasiainsight/87432>.

**"United States and Allies Target Russia and Belarus with Sanctions and Other Economic Measures."** *American Journal of International Law* 116, no. 3 (2022): 614-631.

**"The Crisis in Ukraine: Implications of the war for global trade and development."** *World Trade Organization*. April 11, 2022. [https://www.wto.org/english/res\\_e/booksp\\_e/imparctukraine422\\_e.pdf](https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/booksp_e/imparctukraine422_e.pdf).

#### Videos:

##### **Inside Russia's Difficult Transition to Capitalism**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAx6C0FJdHU>

##### **Has Russia's economy really recovered? | VideoLab | ABC News**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKSz5O417zE>

##### **Study shows: Western sanctions take a heavy toll on Russia's economy | DW News**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uSoJDIBdglM>

#### WEEK 10

#### REGIONS

(Is there a disparity among Russian regions?)

Russia's regions vary widely in terms of economic and social development. President Putin's administration abruptly stopped the scarce federalization attempts of the 1990s. The current model of federalism does not provide for broad self-determination or self-governance of Russian regions and makes them dependent on the state authorities. The federal government exercises vast control over the distribution of resources among the regions and can manually interfere with the regions' activities.

#### Weekly goals:

- Discuss the model of federalism under President Yeltsin.
- Analyze the change in state's attitude to regions' autonomy change under President Putin.
- Discuss and evaluate the causes of regional disparity.
- Discuss the credibility of Prof. Zubarevich's model of "four Russias."
- Analyze the case of Chechnya as a unique example of self-governance within Russia.
- Specify the primary goals of Russia's Arctic policy.

#### \* Required readings (post-2022):

**Maria Lipman and Nikolay Petrov, (eds.),** *Russia 2025 - Scenarios for the Russian Future*. Palgrave Macmillan 2013 - **Natalia Zubarevich,** *Four Russias: Human Potential and Social Differentiation of Russian Regions and Cities*. pp. 67-85

**Bezpalov, Valery, Lochan, Sergey, and Fedyunin, Dmitry.** "The Signs of Economic Disparity in Russia Following the Implosion of the USSR." *Visual Anthropology* 33, no. 2 (2020): 116-127.

**Boulegue, Mathieu.** "The militarization of Russian polar politics." *Chatham House*. June 06, 2022. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/06/militarization-russian-polar-politics>.

**Kahn, Jeff.** "The Parade of Sovereignities: Establishing the Vocabulary of the New Russian Federalism." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 16, no. 1 (2000): 58-89.

**Lazarev, Egor.** "Laws in Conflict: Legacies of War, Gender, and Legal Pluralism in Chechnya." *World Politics* 71, no. 4 (2019): 667-709.

**Rumer, Eugene, Sokolsky, Richard, and Stronski, Paul.** "Russia in the Arctic – A Critical Examination." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. March 29, 2021. [https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Rumer\\_et\\_al\\_Russia\\_in\\_the\\_Arctic.pdf](https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Rumer_et_al_Russia_in_the_Arctic.pdf).

**Sidorkin, Oleg and Vorobyev, Dmitriy.** "Political cycles and corruption in Russian regions." *European Journal of Political Economy* 52 (2018): 55-74.

**Stepan, Alfred.** "Russian Federalism in Comparative Perspective." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 16, no. 2 (2000): 133-176.

**Studin, Irvin.** *Russia: Strategy, Policy and Administration*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2018.

Chapter 5. Russian Federalism. 57-64.

Chapter 6. The North Caucasus. 65-74.

Chapter 13. Russia's Arctic Strategy. 135-144.

Chapter 32. Regional and Local Government. 367-380.

**Zakharov, Nikita.** "Does corruption hinder investment? Evidence from Russian regions." *European Journal of Political Economy* 56 (2019): 39-61.

**Zubarevich, Natalia and Safronov, Sergey.** "Russian Regions in the Acute Phase of the Coronavirus Crisis: Differences from Previous Economic Crises of the 2000s." *Regional Research of Russia* 10, no. 4 (2020): 443-453.

***Politics in the Russian regions.*** Edited by Graeme Gill. Palgrave Macmillan. 2007.

Chapter 1. Russia's Ethnofederalism: Under-institutionalized, Not Self-Sustaining. 16-53.

Chapter 3. Collaborative or Hegemonic? Tatarstan and Conflicting Visions of Federalism in Putin's Russia. 78-107.

***Russia's Regions and Comparative Subnational Politics.*** Edited by William M. Reisinger. Routledge. 2012.

Chapter 1. Studying Russia's Regions to Advance Comparative Political Science. 25-48.

### **Additional readings:**

**Blochliker, Hansjorg and Durand-Lasserre, Olivier.** "The drivers of regional growth in Russia: A baseline model with applications." *OECD*. December 10, 2018. [https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/the-drivers-of-regional-growth-in-russia\\_9279f6c3-en](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/the-drivers-of-regional-growth-in-russia_9279f6c3-en).

### **Videos:**

**Why Russia is Building an Arctic Silk Road**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pvy9usF7ohE>

## **WEEK 11**

### **MIGRATION**

(Who migrates to and from Russia)

Migration flows were severely restricted in Soviet times. Even Soviet citizens were prohibited from arbitrarily changing their residence. In contrast, the new Russia ranks as one of the top destinations and origins of global migration. Likewise, the country became one of the regional centers of labor migration,

with workers coming mainly from the former Soviet republics. The war against Ukraine accelerated the emigration of Russian citizens and impacted the intensity of migration from neighboring states.

### **Weekly goals:**

- Analyze the main types of migration to and from Russia.
- Evaluate Russia's attractiveness for labor migrants.
- Discuss the manifestations of xenophobic and racist attitudes in Russian society.
- Discuss the causes of Russians' hostility (unfriendliness, caution) toward migrants.
- Model the change of migration dynamic amid Russia's war against Ukraine.

### **\* Required readings (pre-2022):**

**Aleshkovskii, Ivan, Grebenyuk, Aleksandr, Kravets, Viktor, Maksimova, Anastasiya.** "Foreign Migrants in the Russian Labor Market: the Estimate of Their Overall Number and Their Contribution to Russia's GDP." *Economic and Social Changes: Facts, Trends, Forecast* 12, no. 6 (2019): 197-208.

**Gurinskaya, Anna, Nalla, Mahesh K., and Polyakova, Evgeniya.** "Does fear of migrant crime predict xenophobia: Evidence from three Russian cities." *European Journal of Criminology* (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1177/14773708221102131>.

**Gudkov, Lev and Pipiya, Karina.** "Xenophobia, Racism and Antisemitism Parameters in Present-Day Russia." *Levada Center*. Accessed August 25, 2022. <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Religion/Submissions/WJC-Annex3.pdf>.

**King, Elizabeth J., Dudina, Victoria, and Dubrovskaya, Svetlana.** "You feel sick, you get sick, you still keep going': Central Asian female labor migrants' health in Russia." *Global Public Health* 15, no. 4 (2020): 544-557.

**Kubal, Agnieszka.** *Immigration and Refugee Law in Russia*. Cambridge University Press. 2019.

Chapter 1. Socio-Legal Perspectives on Immigration and Refugee Law in Russia. 1-14.

Chapter 2. Immigration and Refugee Law in Russia: An Overview of the Legal Environment. 15-33.

Chapter 4. Everyday experiences of Russian Immigration Law: The Entry Bar Case Study. 60-77.

**Kuznetsova, Irina and Round, John.** "Postcolonial migrations in Russia: the racism, informality and discrimination nexus." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 39, no. 1/2 (2019): 52-67.

**Lebedeva, Nadezhda and Tatarko, Alexander.** "Multiculturalism and immigration in post-Soviet Russia." *European Psychologist* 18, no. 3 (2013): 169-178.

**Libman, Alexander and Obydenkova, Anastasia.** "Proletarian Internationalism in Action? Communist Legacies and Attitude Towards Migrants in Russia." *Problems of Post-Communism* 67, no. 4-5 (2020): 402-416.

**Nikiforova, Elena and Brednikova, Olga.** "On labor migration to Russia: Central Asian migrants and migrant families in the matrix of Russia's bordering policies." *Political Geography* 66 (2018): 142-150.

**Reeves, Madeleine.** "Living from the nerves: deportability, indeterminacy, and the 'feel of law' in migrant Moscow." *Social Analysis* 59, no. 4 (2015): 119-136.

**Schenk, Caress.** *Why Control Immigration? Strategic Uses of Migration Management in Russia*. University of Toronto Press. 2018.

Chapter 1. Why Control Immigration? 7-40.

Chapter 3. Scarcity Mechanism #1: Quotas as a Legacy of State Planning. 73-97.

Chapter 5. Local Politics of Immigration in Moscow. 125-150.

**Studin, Irvin.** *Russia: Strategy, Policy and Administration.* Palgrave Macmillan. 2018.  
Chapter 23. Population and Migration. 257-268.

**"World Migration Report 2022."** *IOM UN Migration.* December 01, 2021.  
[https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/WMR-2022\\_0.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/WMR-2022_0.pdf).

**\* Required readings (post-2022):**

**"Russia as a Country of Origin."** *European Union Agency for Asylum.* June 2022.  
[https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2022-06/2022\\_06\\_CIR\\_Russia\\_Origin\\_EN.pdf](https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2022-06/2022_06_CIR_Russia_Origin_EN.pdf).

**Videos:**

**The hidden life of labor migrants in Russia / Redaktsiya**  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yq-JJGv8Dk>

**WEEK 12**  
**Roundtable and consultations**

**Part I. Evaluating (presenting) policy papers.**

In this class, participants/students will present short Policy Papers on improving critical aspects of Russian state management, NGO capacity, revamping the economy, etc. Students will be given brief guidelines on preparing such a paper. Each student shall contact the instructor to discuss a topic and sources for this presentation/paper in advance.

**Part II. Consultations and free questions.**

**Appendix**

Covid-19 Pandemic Measures

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are [a number of actions you can take](#) to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

Feeling sick? Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton's [symptom reporting protocols](#).

Masks: Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

Vaccines: While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly

encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in [cuScreen](#) as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the [University's COVID-19 website](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact [covidinfo@carleton.ca](mailto:covidinfo@carleton.ca).

### Student Mental Health

As a university student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

*Emergency Resources (on and off campus):* <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

- *Carleton Resources:*
  - Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
  - Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
  - Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
  - Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
  - Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
  - Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>
  
- *Off Campus Resources:*
  - Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
  - Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
  - Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
  - Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
  - The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

### Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

*Pregnancy accommodation:* Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

*Religious accommodation:* Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

*Accommodations for students with disabilities:* If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to

send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, [click here](#).

*Accommodation for student activities:* Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

### Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support).

### Plagiarism

Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

More information on the University’s Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

### Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

### Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

### Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

### Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

### Carleton Political Science Society

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/>.

### Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.