Carleton University
Winter 2020
Department of Political Science
https://carleton.ca/polisci/

EURR 5101/PSCI 5112

Russian Domestic Politics -Actors and Processes
Tuesday : 14.35 – 17.25
Room: CB 2104

Instructor:

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Office Hours: Tuesday 12.00 – 14.00

GOALS OF THE COURSE

Course Description:

The course will examine the evolution of Russian domestic politics and society since the collapse of the Soviet Union. 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.

Course Objectives:

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.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Seminar participation   -   25%
2. Two discussion papers/ presentations in class (2 papers per class - 25% x 2 = max. 50%)
3. Policy recommendations and presentation to class -   25%
Total -   100%

- *Seminar participation:* Regular weekly attendance is compulsory for this class. Unexcused absences will result in a significant reduction in the participation mark for the course, which can have a marked impact of the course grade. Students will be graded on the basis of 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. Regular weekly attendance is compulsory for this class.

- *Discussion paper:* The paper should address a specific question provided by the course instructor in advance (usually 10 days before the respective class). The length should be 6-8 pages (typed, double-spaced, 12-point font). The paper should contrast, critique and analyze the readings offering a concrete argument with respect to the given question. Additional reading, beyond what is required for the week, may be specified by the instructor to enrich your discussion. Clarity and conciseness are important; the paper should **NOT** simply describe or reiterate the readings. The paper should be submitted electronically to the instructor for the respective session and to the student commentator by 10 a.m. . on each FRIDAY before the class presentation. It is very important that the paper be submitted on time, since both the instructor and the class need time to read it before the session.

- *Presentation of the Discussion Paper:* All students will present their discussion paper to the class (dates will be assigned in the first meeting). In the presentation of his or her discussion paper, each student should focus on the key arguments made within the written discussion paper, drawing on examples from the readings where appropriate. The student should be prepared to present the arguments verbally in a presentation of 15 minutes. Students should **NOT** simply read the written paper.

- The discussion paper and presentation will be evaluated on the basis of the cogency of the argument made, presentation and effectiveness of communication, and demonstrated familiarity with and reflection on course readings, with a combined grade for the oral and written components. Neither the paper nor the oral presentation should provide lengthy summaries of course readings. (You may provide a short synopsis of the relevant reading, however, up to one page in the written paper, or two pages if more than one reading is involved.)

- Policy paper (assignment for the last class) shall address key policy recommendations for week 12 of the seminar. The length should be 5- 6 pages (typed, double-spaced, 12-point font). Area of the policy paper shall follow key areas discussed during the seminar (for instance social policy or elite formation). Structure of the paper will be provided.

<u>Important Information regarding the course:</u>

Academic Integrity: Academic integrity is a core value of the university and essential for creating a constructive environment for teaching, learning, and research in the Institute's programs. Students are responsible for being aware of the University's Academic Integrity Policy, understanding what constitutes academic dishonesty, and ensuring that all course assignments submitted for evaluation abide by University policy. **Any suspected violations of the academic integrity policy will be referred to the Institute's Director and then to the appropriate Dean for further investigation.** Students who are found to have violated the standards of academic integrity will be subject to sanctions. An overview of the University's Academic Integrity Policy is available at http://www1.carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/ and the full policy at http://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Academic-Integrity-Policy1.pdf

Late Penalties and Failure to submit assignments:
- o 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 papers: Late assignments will suffer an immediate deduction of 15% (on a 100% scale), and 3% for each day late.
- o Students absent on a date of an 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.
- o Consistent attendance is expected in this core seminar; it is expected that students who must miss a class for any reason will contact the instructor responsible for that session in advance, if possible.

Course Readings:
The main course readings will be placed on reserve in the Carleton University Library (marked 'R' on the outline). Most required readings (journal articles and book chapters) will be available in electronic format via the Ares Course Reserves system (there is a link in CU Learn to Ares). In some cases, the library will only make items available on physical reserves to be consulted onsite in the library (they will be indicated as such in the Ares system). Readings assigned for the course that are compulsory for all students are marked with an asterisk (*). There are also suggested additional readings (without mark *). Most of these optional supplemental readings are available in the library stacks. If they are checked out, you may place a hold on them to receive them when they are returned. If you find that a required reading is not available for a given week, please notify the instructor for that session immediately.

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1 Jan.7
INTRODUCTION

1. Explanation of requirements and content of the course.
2. Seeing "it" from Russia . Approaches to the region(s) transformation - mini - lecture on "grand transformation in Eastern Europe – key issues.
3. Discussion of academic resources.
4. Selection of presenters.

Week 2 Jan.14
EVOLUTION OF THE POST-COMMUNIST REGIME – FROM YELTSIN TO PUTIN – PART ONE (System collapse – Yeltsin)

We will discuss two approaches to the regime change in Russia after collapse of communism.
1. Orthodox view on regime evolution:
- The collapse of the Soviet Union marked "*the end of history*," meaning that liberal democracy became the only viable model for organizing societies worldwide. Implication for Western policy toward Russia: non-intervention/non-confrontation.
- Later, it became apparent that liberalism in post-Soviet countries could not be achieved overnight. This led to the *transitionalist paradigm*, where the societies were understood as transitioning on a spectrum from A ("communist dictatorship") to B ("liberal democracy"). Implication for Western policy toward Russia: low-scale intervention,

promotion of civil society NGOs – i.e., small nudges toward the endpoint on the transition spectrum.

- (ongoing) Acceptance of entrenched authoritarianism (alternatively called by many other definitions, e.g.: hybrid regime, competitive authoritarianism, patrimonial presidentialism, superpresidentialism, etc.) as status-quo. Implication for Western policy toward Russia: non-intervention/confrontation.

2. Non-Orthodox view on regime evolution:
The style of power and the political process (liberal/authoritarian) is not instrumental for understanding regime evolution, as it would then appear static (authoritarian at all times, not the least due to remnants of the authoritarian Soviet institutions). Rather, it is more important to look at the regime's legitimation on social, economic, and ideological grounds, where each compete in terms of importance and complete each other to create a more or less solidified support base for the regime.

Readings:

*Neil Robinson, Russia: A State of Uncertainty, Routledge 2002
Chapter 3 Democrats on the Offensive, pp. 114-154
Chapter 4 August 1991 and the Decline of Russia's Democratic Movement, pp.156-196
*McFaul, Michael, Yeltsin Legacy, The Wilson Quarterly 24, 2 Spring 2000
*Vadim Volkov. Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism. Cornell University Press (THEME: ELITES or SOCIAL STRUCTURE or ECONOMY)
Chapter 5, "The Privatization of the Power Ministries," pp. 126-154
Chapter 6, "The Politics of State Formation," pp. 181-192 (final part of chapter, starting with "Putin's Dilemma" subsection)
 Richard Sakwa. *The Crisis of Russian Democracy*, Cambridge 2011, Chapter 1, Dual State in Russia, pp. 1-52
*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
Mark R. Beissinger, Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State, Cambridge University Press 2002
Chapter 8, "Russian Mobilization and the Accumulating "Inevitability" of Soviet Collapse," pp. 385-406, 441-442
 *Bunce and Wolchik, Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries (for another theme: NGOs), Conclusion, 327-352

Week 3 Jan. 21

EVOLUTION OF THE POST-COMMUNIST REGIME – FROM YELTSIN TO PUTIN – PART TWO (Putin and Putinism)

In order to make any change after taking over from Yeltsin, to define new rules and "bring state back" Putin's Kremlin elite needed more power and new resources in order to avoid becoming trapped in the new dependency cycle by the oligarchs. In fact, power and resources are synonymous with *accumulation*. What they were really looking for was a different mode of accumulation that would not differentiate between "economic" and "political power". We will unveil that – quite complex - process of regaining "undifferentiated power" by V.Putin's group.

Readings:
*Richard Sakwa. *Putin Redux*. Routledge 2014 :
> 1.   Chapter 2, The Contradictions of Putinism , pp. 14-38
> 2.   Chapter 3, The Impasse of Power, pp. 61-81

*Piotr Dutkiewicz and Dmitri Trenin (eds.). *Russia: The Challenges of Transformation*.
NYU Press 2011:
> 1.Chapter 1, Piotr Dutkiewicz. "Missing in Translation: Re-conceptualizing Russia's Developmental State," pp. 9-40
> 2.   Chapter 2, Vladimir Popov. "The Long Road to Normalcy: Where Russia Now Stands," pp. 41-72
> 3.   Chapter 3, G. Derluguian. "The Sovereign Bureaucracy in Russia's Modernizations," pp. 73-87
> 4.   Chapter 15, D. Trenin, "Of Power and Greatness," pp. 407-432

*Vadim Volkov. Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian
Capitalism. Cornell University Press:
Chapter 6, "The Politics of State Formation," pp. 181-192 (final part of chapter, starting with "Putin's Dilemma" subsection)

Week 4 Jan 28
RUSSIAN SOCIETY – EVOLUTION & STRUCTURE

We will paint the portrait of a contemporary Russian society that is undergoing a massive transformation since mid-1980s. With the help of selected readings based on large scale sociological surveys we will try to reconstruct social structure of the country in the context of a long, turbulent, socially costly and multi-faceted transformation from a centrally planned to a market economy, from socialism to capitalism and from the empire to a regional power.
One of our key tasks will be to show the complexity and dynamics of Russian society and its formal and informal mechanisms and rules, including in its relations to the state. Russian society in our seminar will be presented as socially complex, multi-ethnic, multi-confessional whose civilization is both deeply rooted historically and simultaneously representative of the post-modern system of unconstrained constructivism (an ability to transform almost anything into an object of capitalization).
One of the key goals of this class will be to provide evidence for our guiding thesis that Russian society is, in fact, not merely an object of high-level political processes, *but an adaptive, dynamic and – at times reluctant – subject of its own history*.
Readings:
Some background (optional): Ivan Berend, History Derailed, Univ. of California Press, 2003, Chapter 5: Social changes, pp.181- 234. Optional BUT important.

 *Natalya Tikhonova, The Russian roller coaster: Changes in Russia's social structure in   the post-communist period, in SOCIAL HISTORY OF POST-COMMUNIST RUSSIA, Piotr Dutkiewicz, Vladimir Kulikov and Richard Sakwa (eds), Routledge, 2016, pp. 1-18

* Valery Fedorov," New Russia: Cast of characters The evolution of Russian public opinion 1989-2014)" in SOCIAL HISTORY OF POST-COMMUNIST RUSSIA, Piotr Dutkiewicz, Vladimir Kulikov and Richard Sakwa (eds), Routledge, 2016, pp. 1-30
 *Mikhail Gorshkov,"The sociology of post-reform Russia," in Piotr Dutkiewicz & Dmitri Trenin eds., Russia: The Challenges of Transformation, New York University Press, 2011, pp.145 – 190

*Gorshkov, Mikhail K. Post Reform Russia as a New Social Reality Sociological Analysis of Social Structure // Russian Sociology in Turbulent Times / Ed. by V.A. Mansurov. – Moscow: RSS, 2011, pp. 54-68. (note: to be posted on CuLearn)

Week 5 Feb. 4

CIVIL SOCIETY IN RUSSIA or RUSSIAN CIVIL SOCIETY

The meaning of "civil society" has been contested over time. An ideologically-charged neoliberal understanding of it was imposed on the new Russian regime in the 1990s. This understanding was informed by the Western (mostly American) foreign policy objectives, which were informed by a desire to replicated the 1989 color revolutions in post-communist countries. Here, civil society is adversarial towards the state. However, the foreign NGOs did not do enough to engage the public or the market, focusing instead on political PR campaigns, which made them irrelevant to the Russian population. Further, their support for Western foreign policy and attempts to smear the Russian government also tarnished their reputation with the population.

After the US withdrew funding to the sector, the emergent vacuum – both *conceptual* and *institutional* – was overtaken by local initiatives. In effect, Putin's "crackdown" on the NGOs followed a withdrawal of funds. Since grassroots organizations concerned with service provision had not received much in foreign funding, the restrictions on foreign financing did not impact the actual service provision, but did curb foreign political influence. Further, some foreign-origin organizations, such as faith organizations, continue to operate and provide services to the disenfranchised.

Readings:
*Zbigniew Rau, (ed.) *The Reemergence of civil society in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, 1991. Chapter 8, **John Gray**, "Post-Totalitarianism, Civil Society, and the Limits of the Western Model," pp. 145-160

*Lisa McIntosh **Sundstrom**, *Funding civil society : foreign assistance and NGO development in Russia*, 2006. Chapter 1: Crossing Boundaries: Analyzing Civil Society and Transnational Influences (pp. 1-25)
*Lisa McIntosh **Sundstrom**, *Funding civil society: foreign assistance and NGO development in Russia*, 2006. Chapter 5, Implications for Theory and Practice, pp.169-182
Catherine Owen, "A Genealogy of Kontrol´ in Russia: From Leninist to Neoliberal Governance." Slavic Review, Vol. 75, No. 2 (SUMMER 2016), pp. 331-353
*Elena A. Chebankova, *Civil society in Putin's Russia*, 2013, *Civil Society in Putin's Russia*, chapter 5. "State-sponsored civic associations," pp. 99-117
* **Chebankova**, *Civil Society in Putin's Russia*, chapter 6. "Foreign-sponsored associations in Russia," pp. 118-139
*Chebankova, *Civil Society in Putin's Russia*, chapter 7. "Grassroots movements in modern Russia: A cause for optimism?" pp. 140-163

Lars Trägårdh; Nina Witoszek; Bron Raymond Taylor, (eds) Civil society in the age of monitory democracy, 2013. Chapter 4: "Monitory versus managed democracy: does civil society matter in contemporary Russia?" by **Kathryn Stoner-Weiss**, pp. 111-136

*Melissa L. Caldwell, "Placing Faith in Development: How Moscow's Religious Communities Contribute to a More Civil Society." Slavic Review, Vol. 71, No. 2 (SUMMER 2012), pp. 261-287

*Jo Crotty, "Making a Difference? NGOs and Civil Society Development in Russia." Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Jan., 2009), pp. 85-108

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

*Heather J. Coleman, 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

Bunce and Wolchik, Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries. Conclusion, 327-352

Week 6 Feb.11
RUSSIAN ELITES – WHO RULES RUSSIA

During this class we will define the composition of various elite groups in Russia, their evolution and links to the respective Soviet-era groups. We will reveal different patters of elite formation characteristic of different regimes (Yelstin -Putin-Medvedev). We will also discuss relations between "elites" and rest of the Russian society notably middle classes.

Readings:
*Iván Szelényi and Szonja Szelényi, "Circulation or Reproduction of Elites during the Postcommunist Transformation of Eastern Europe: Introduction," in: Theory and Society, Vol. 24, No. 5, Oct., 1995, pp. 615-638

*Natalia Zubarevich, Society and elites in Russian regions: post-Soviet changes, in SOCIAL HISTORY OF POST-COMMUNIST RUSSIA, Piotr Dutkiewicz, Vladimir Kulikov and Richard Sakwa (eds), Routledge, 2016, pp.1-27

 *Leonid Grigoriev, "Elites : the choice of Modernization," in Piotr Dutkiewicz & Dmitri Trenin eds., Russia: The Challenges of Transformation, New York University Press, 2011, pp.191 – 225

*Gaman-Golutvina O. V. [Changes in Elites Patterns](#) // *Europe-Asia Studies*. 2009. Vol. 60. No. 6

Ilja Viktorov,The Legacy of Tandemocracy Russia's political elite during Putin's
third presidency: Interview with the sociologist Olga Kryshtanovskaya (**note : this reading will be posted on CuLearn**)

Timothy Colton, "Leadership and the politics of modernization," in Piotr Dutkiewicz & Dmitri Trenin eds., Russia: The Challenges of Transformation, New York University Press, 2011, pp. 115 – 145. Optional BUT important. ▬

Week 7 Feb.25
GENDER IN RUSSIAN CONTEXT – SOCIO-POLITICAL and ECONOMIC ASPECTS

This section of our seminar will provide a broad overview of gender issues in Russia. Its aim is to introduce class to the development of Russian gender order in Pre-revolutionary, Soviet and Post-Soviet periods of Russian history. We will discuss such issues as :
* Russian gender culture in historical perspective and its conceptualization (women's movements, women's issues and man's question in the 20-th century),

- contemporary gender culture (transformation of the gender arrangements during the last two decades)
- gender inequality, within the spheres of economy and employment, politics, family, sexuality and citizenship

Readings:
*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
* Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, pp. 3-37;
89-99
(optional) Elizabeth Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade: Gender Politics in Revolutionary Russia*, pp. 1-12;
68-98.
*Gal, Susan, and Gail Kligman. *The Politics of Gender after Socialism*.
pp. 15-36.
F. Stella, *Lesbian Lives in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia: Post/Socialism and Gendered Sexualities*, pp. 111-160. (optional)

*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.

Week 8   March 3
RUSSIAN INCARNATION OF "THE ECONOMICS OF TRANSITION "

This seminar seeks to explore the milestones along the path of economic and social development in Russia in the 1991 - 2017 period. This time of transition from a centrally planned to a market economy, from socialism to capitalism, from authoritarianism to new forms of individual freedoms was, as is any turning point, brimming over with action and policies that – sometimes – had to be made overnight. It was a blur of events, from which it is not always so easy to sift out the really important moments that defined path of Russian economic transformation. During this seminar, we will attempt to draw as unbiased a picture of the economic   changes , anchoring the discussion in the central theme of this section, which is how economic transformations and transition affected the social structure of society and delineated the path of current Russian economic development.

Readings:

*Massimo Florio, "Economics, Privatization in Russia and the waning of the 'Washington consensus," Review of International Political Economy, vol. 9, no. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 374-415
*Myant, M. and Drahokoupil, J. (2011), *Transition Economies: Political Economy in Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia*, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 49-81 (Chapter 4) (R).
*Popov, V. (2007), "Shock Therapy versus Gradualism Reconsidered: Lessons from Transition Economies after 15 Years of Reforms", *Comparative Economic Studies* 49, pp. 1-31 (ON).
*Vadim Volkov. Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism. Cornell University Press
Chapter 5, "The Privatization of the Power Ministries," pp. 126-154

*Sachs, Jeffrey and Woo, Wing T. (1994). "Structural factors in the Economic Reform of China, Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union". *Economic Policy.* Vol. 9, pp. 101-145 (ON).

Week 9 Mar. 10
RUSSIAN REGIONS - Part 1: Politics – Economy – Society.

The goals of this class are to :
- Outline multiple ways to perceive regional complexity of Russia, countering a monolithic and unitary view of the country;
- Demonstrate how the focus of perception influences the research questions pursued;
- Emphasize questions related to populations and the representation of their political interests via institutional and non-institutional means ("Russia is not only Putin and the regime: there are people living there");
- Explore whether it is warranted to assume a radical break/discontinuity in regional politics between the Yeltsin and Putin regime;
- Explore whether Russia's institutional federalism should be equated with democracy/democratic procedure

Readings:

*William M. Reisinger, Ch. 1, "Studying Russia's regions to advance comparative political science," ed. by William M. Reisinger, Russia's Regions and Comparative Subnational Politics, New York: Routledge 2013 pp. 1-24
*Cameron Ross. *Federalism and Democratization in Post-Communist Russia*. Manchester, GB: Manchester University Press, 2003. Chapter 9 "From constitutional to political asymmetry: crafting authoritarian regimes in Russia's regions and republics," pp. 157-171
*Daniel S. Treisman, *After the Deluge: Regional Crises and Political Consolidation in Russia*, 1999. Chapter 3, "Fiscal Transfers and Fiscal Appeasement," pp. 47-80
*Hale, Henry E. 2005. "The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell." Perspective on Politics 3 (1): 55-70.
*Andreas Heinemann-Gruder, Chapter 1, "Russia's Ethnofederalism: Under-Institutionalized, not self-sustaining" by pp. 16-54 ed. By Graeme Gill. *Politics in the Russian Regions*, Palgrave Macmillan 2007
Ora John Reuter and Graeme B. Robertson, "Subnational Appointments in Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from Russian Gubernatorial Appointments," The Journal of Politics, Vol. 74, No. 4 (Oct., 2012), pp. 1023-1037
*William M. Reisinger and Bryon J. Moraski, "Deference or governance? A survival analysis of Russia's governors under presidential control," pp. 40-63 in ed. by William M. Reisinger, Russia's Regions and Comparative Subnational Politics, New York: Routledge 2013
*Zubarevich, Natalia.The Social History of Post-Communist Russia, eds. Piotr Dutkiewicz and Richard Sakwa, 2016, Post-Soviet Society and Elites in the Russian Regions, pp. 229- 254
*Zubarevich, Natalia. "Four Russias: Human Potential and Social Differentiation of Russian Regions and Cities" pp. 67-85 in Lipman et al (eds) *Russia 2025*, Palgrave Macmillan 2013.

*Alexander Sergounin, "Russia's regionalisation: The interplay of domestic and international factors," pp. 101-119 in eds. Graeme P. Herd and Anne Aldis, *Russian Regions and Regionalism: Strength through weakness,* Routledge 2003
*Nikolay Petrov, "From a Federation of Corporations to a Federation of Regions," in Lipman et al. (eds.), *Russia 2025* 2013, pp. 181-201.

RUSSIAN REGIONS Part 2: Regional Politics – 2018 Gubernatorial Elections

We will devote last hour of this seminar to discuss gubernatorial elections of 2018 as they set up the path for the Duma elections (2022) and Presidential election (2024).
Readings:
Press, news, social media .

Week 10 Mar. 17
 Migration to Russia – Opportunities and Obstacles

During the Soviet era immigration and emigration were severely restricted. In contrast, today Russia ranks as one of the most popular destinations of migration globally. This section of the seminar will provide a broad overview of migration related themes in Russia. Its aim is to introduce the class to the development of migration to Russia and migration policies since the end of the Soviet era. We will discuss such issues as:
- The type of immigration to Russia in terms of source countries, purpose (work, education, refuge), length of stay (temporary versus permanent), migrants' characteristics (gender, age, ethnicity, religion, etc) and its evolution over time;
- The push-pull factors of migration to Russia;
- The benefits and issues related to immigration;
- Current and past policies (or lack thereof) directed at managing migration flows and integrating migrants into society; and
- The connection between migration issues and the other topics/themes discussed in this class, including regimes, ideology, power structures, gender, civil society, regionalism, and economics.

Background (optional):
- Schenk, C. (2017). Why control immigration?: strategic uses of migration management in Russia. Introduction: Russia as an immigrant magnet (p. 1 – 6).

 Readings:
 *Hofmann, E. T., Carboni, J. L., Mitchneck, B., & Kuznetsov, I. (2016). Policy streams and immigration to Russia: Competing and complementary interests at the federal and local levels. *International Migration*, 54(2), 34-49. doi:10.1111/imig.12227 (15 pages)
 *Nikiforova, E., & Brednikova, O. (2018). On labor migration to Russia: Central asian migrants and migrant families in the matrix of russia's bordering policies. *Political Geography, 66*, 142-150. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2018.04.006 (8 pages)
 *Riazantsev, S. V., & Pis'mennaia, E. E. (2010). The effects of foreign academic migration for russia. *Russian Education & Society, 52*(5), 55-70. doi:10.2753/RES1060-9393520505 (15 pages)

*Reeves, M. (2015). Living from the nerves: Deportability, indeterminacy, and the 'feel of law' in migrant Moscow. *Social Analysis*, 59(4), 119-136. doi:10.3167/sa.2015.590408 (17 pages)

- Lebedeva, N., & Tatarko, A. (2013). Multiculturalism and immigration in post-soviet Russia. *European Psychologist*, 18(3), 169-178. doi:10.1027/1016-9040/a000161 (9 pages)
  *Karpova, G. G., & Vorona, M. A. (2014). Labour migration in russia: Issues and policies. *International Social Work*, 57(5), 535-546. doi:10.1177/0020872814536420 (11 pages)
  *Balzer, H. (2010). Migration between China and Russia. *Post-Soviet affairs*.(26)1. p.1 - 37. (36 pages)

Total page count: 101 pages

<u>Reading Details</u>
Hofmann, E. T., Carboni, J. L., Mitchneck, B., & Kuznetsov, I. (2016). Policy streams and immigration to Russia: Competing and complementary interests at the federal and local levels. *International Migration*, 54(2), 34-49. doi:10.1111/imig.12227 (15 pages)

Topic: Regionalism

Abstract: This article uses Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework to explain forms of national- and region-level governance used in the Russian Federation to manage unprecedented levels of international immigration. First, we identify the ways that the Russian federal government has legislated and governed international migration from 1991 through 2010. We then compare the federal level to the case of the Krasnodar region, an ethnically diverse region in the North Caucasus. We find that that migration policy adoption in Russia at the federal level is relatively immune to economic trends or labour needs but more sensitive to foreign and domestic political objectives. At the regional level, local socio-political and economic concerns predominate and political objectives are secondary. Finally, we argue that migration policy changes or adopted policy at the regional level may be explained by an interaction effect between changes in political leadership, federal level policy adoption, and regional level context.

Nikiforova, E., & Brednikova, O. (2018). On labor migration to Russia: Central Asian migrants and migrant families in the matrix of Russia's bordering policies. *Political Geography, 66*, 142-150. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2018.04.006 (8 pages)

Topic: Migration and Family (also good brief history of migration to Russia)

Abstract: Russia is a relatively recent addition to the list of the world's top destination countries for migrants. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has seen a number of re-configurations of its relationships with the other former USSR republics. These dynamic de- and re-bordering processes have been shaped by Russia's <u>policy-making</u> in the field of migration, as well as changes in the character of migration itself,

particularly from Central Asia. In this article, we explore the ways in which migrants from Central Asia are impacted by and negotiate this changing situation. The view of Russian society and the state of these migrants primarily as 'homo laborans'—working subjects—is not only erroneous, but creates a particular imaginary for policy-making which denies certain migrants the right to family life, often forcing family members and children to become undocumented and denying them access to state support and protection.

Riazantsev, S. V., & Pis'mennaia, E. E. (2010). The effects of foreign academic migration for Russia. *Russian Education & Society, 52*(5), 55-70. doi:10.2753/RES1060-9393520505 (15 pages)

Topic: Academic migration

Abstract: Academic migration could be important for the development of Russia, and could bring benefits that are social, political, demographic, and economic. Russian education could be improved through having a large population of foreign students, and Russian influence in the world would also increase through such a program.

Reeves, M. (2015). Living from the nerves: Deportability, indeterminacy, and the 'feel of law' in migrant moscow. *Social Analysis*, 59(4), 119-136. doi:10.3167/sa.2015.590408 (17 pages)

Topic: Bureaucracy

Abstract: While deportability has elicited interest as a legal predicament facing migrant workers, less attention has been given to the way in which this condition of temporal uncertainty shapes migrants' everyday encounters with state agents. Drawing on ethnography among Kyrgyzstani migrant workers in Moscow, I show that in conditions of documentary uncertainty 'legal residence' depends upon successfully enacting a right to the city and the personalization of the state. Alongside fear and suspicion, this space of legal uncertainty is characterized by a sense of abandon and awareness of the performativity of law. I explore 'living from the nerves' as an ethnographic reality for Kyrgyzstani migrant workers and as an analytic for developing a more variegated account of state power and its affective resonances in contemporary Russia.

Lebedeva, N., & Tatarko, A. (2013). Multiculturalism and immigration in post-soviet russia. *European Psychologist*, 18(3), 169-178. doi:10.1027/1016-9040/a000161 (9 pages)

Topic: Multiculturalism and Diversity

Abstract: This paper addresses some social and psychological issues concerning multiculturalism and immigration in post-Soviet Russia, which is one of the most multicultural societies in the world. The paper begins by describing the current cultural

and immigrant diversity in Russia, and then provides a short description of Russian immigrants and the social and psychological problems that immigrants and the larger society face. We present the conceptual framework and findings from empirical studies that examine the reciprocal acculturation and intercultural relations between migrants and members of the larger society. We analyze these studies with respect to their relevance to three hypotheses that have been advanced for examining intercultural relations: the multiculturalism hypothesis; the integration hypothesis; and contact hypothesis. Findings of the studies showed that measures of security, identity, perceived threat/discrimination have a significant relationship with ethnic tolerance, mutual attitudes, acculturation strategies and expectations, and the well-being and life satisfaction of both immigrants and members of the larger society. The results of these studies support all three hypotheses in both groups. The authors concluded that the efforts to improve relations between members of the larger society and immigrants should be directed at enhancing the basic sense of security and at developing programs that increase multicultural attitudes, ethno-cultural competence, and tolerance between both groups. (9 pages)

Karpova, G. G., & Vorona, M. A. (2014). Labour migration in Russia: Issues and policies.
International Social Work, 57(5), 535-546. doi:10.1177/0020872814536420 (11 pages)

Topic: integration

Abstract: Contemporary Russian reality is characterized by inconsistency in the official discourse regarding the problems and prospects of labour migration in Russia and the lack of a clear framework for building a network of social support for labour migrants. Research was carried out into the cultural resources for migrants provided by two types of regional social services: the territorial authorities and human rights NGOs providing social support for migrants. The authors argue that development of services requires integration mechanisms aimed at an inclusive culture for labour migrants.

Balzer, H. & Repnikova, M. (2010). Migration between China and Russia. Post-Soviet Affairs, Volume 26, Issue 1.

Topic: Chinese migration to Russia

Abstract: Drawing on data from a year's fieldwork in Northeast China and several visits to the Russian Far East, a senior scholar and a current PhD candidate examine migration between Russia and China, focusing on the Chinese context. Does evidence support claims of large-scale legal or illegal Chinese migration to Russia since 1991? The number of Chinese working in Russia is assessed in terms of Chinese global migration, and shifting economic and demographic conditions in the two countries are considered with respect to prospects for future Chinese migration.

Other Readings (not included)

Malakhov, V. (2014). Russia as a new immigration country: Policy response and public debate. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 66(7), 1062-1079. doi:10.1080/09668136.2014.934140

Abstract: Both the Russian public and its elites were taken by surprise by the fact that Russia has become an immigration country. It has resulted in widespread anti-immigrant sentiments and inconsistency in government actions. Russian immigration politics, as well as immigration politics in liberal democracies of the West, are characterised by a waver ng between protectionist and liberal *laissez faire* approaches. This leads to a mismatch between public rhetoric and legal decisions. However, two features seem to make the Russian situation specific: open borders with most of the countries of the former Soviet Union and omnipresent corruption. Corruption results in a discrepancy between formal (legal) decisions and informal (illegal) practices.

Nasritdinov, E. (2016). 'only by learning how to live together differently can we live together at all': Readability and legibility of central asian migrants' presence in urban Russia. *Central Asian Survey*, 35(2), 257-275. doi:10.1080/02634937.2016.1153837 (18 pages)

Topic: integration

Abstract: This paper questions the effectiveness and usefulness of the Russian government's policies of migrant integration. Using a unique combination of ethnographic research methods (observations, interviews and survey) with methods from psychology (cognitive mapping) and urban studies (GIS mapping), I depict the presence of Central Asian migrants and their interaction with local long-term residents in two cities of the Russian Federation: Kazan and Saint Petersburg. On the basis of my findings, I argue that the readability (defined as the ease with which the city can be 'read' and understood) and legibility (defined as the degree to which individual components of an urban environment are recognizable by their appearance) of urban space in Kazan have positive effects on the relationship between these two communities, while the ambiguity and uncertainty of urban identity in Saint Petersburg make the life of migrants very vulnerable and unpredictable, and result in the growth of xenophobic views among the local residents. This allows me to argue that the policy of migrant integration will be more successful if it is built on learning to live with differences, instead of trying to 'Russify' migrants or create various forms of supra-ethnic identity.

Gorenburg, D. (2013). Migration policy in Russia. *Russian Politics and Law*, 51(3), 3-5. doi:10.2753/RUP1061-1940510300

Judah, B. (2013). Russia's migration crisis. *Survival*, 55(6), 123.

Morgunova, A. B. (2014). Labor migrants in Russia. *Sociological Research*, 53(3), 39-70. doi:10.2753/SOR1061-0154530303

Round, J., & Kuznetsova, I. (2016). Necropolitics and the migrant as a political subject of disgust: The precarious everyday of Russia's labour migrants. *Critical Sociology*, 42(7-8), 1017. doi:10.1177/0896920516645934

Spahn, S. (2014). Managed xenophobia: Migration and the national question in Russia. *Osteuropa*, 64(7).

Vendina, O. (2013). Migrants in Russian cities. *Russian Politics & Law*, 51(3), 48-65. doi:10.2753/RUP1061-1940510303

Bahry, D. (2016). Opposition to immigration, economic insecurity and individual values: Evidence from Russia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68(5), 893-916. doi:10.1080/09668136.2016.1178710

Ivanov, S. (2012). International migration in Russia. *Problems of Economic Transition*, 55(5), 3-25. doi:10.2753/PET1061-1991550501

Klupt, M. A. (2012). Strategic management of international labor migration in Russia: Regional aspect. *Regional Research of Russia*, 2(1), 55-59. doi:10.1134/S2079970512010042

Week 11 Mar. 24
Ideological currents in the post-soviet Russian politics

There are roughly two types of ideological projects in the public space right now: ones that seek to imitate ideologies from the west , re-develop traditional Russian currents or amalgamate both. We will discuss : " Eurasianism" ,   New Russian traditionalism, Russian version of liberal democracy, Russian nationalism and so called "system" approach in the process of regime's (de)legitimization.

 Readings:
*A M. Kuznets (2007) Russia in Search of a National Idea, Russian Social Science Review, 48:3, 4-7
*Elena Chebankova (2015) Competing Ideologies of Russia's Civil Society, Europe-Asia Studies, 67:2, 244-268.
* *EURASIAN INTEGRATION: THE VIEW FROM WITHIN* Edited by Piotr
Dutkiewicz and Richard Sakwa (Routledge, Great Britain), 2014
EURASIANISM AS A "PHILOSOPHY OF THE NATION" by Valery Badmaev
(pp.31-46)
*Clover, Charles. 1999. "Dreams of the Eurasian Heartland: The Reemergence of Geopolitics."
 Foreign Affairs 78 (2): 9-13.
 *Ingram, Alan. 2001. "Alexander Dugin: Geopolitics and Neo-Fascism in Post-Soviet Russia."
 Political Geography 20: 1029-1051.
*Kipp, Jacop W. 2002. "Aleksandr Dugin and the ideology of national revival: Geopolitics,
        Eurasianism and the conservative revolution." *European Security* 11 (3): 91-125.

*Kuzio, Taras. 2016. "Nationalism and Authoritarianism in Russia: Introduction to the Special
        Issue." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 49: 1-11.
*Laruelle, Marlène. 2004. "The two faces of contemporary Eurasianism: an imperial version of
 Russian nationalism." *Nationalities Papers* 32 (1): 115-136.
*Morozova, Natalia. 2009. "Geopolitics, Eurasianism and Russian Foreign Policy Under
        Putin." *Geopolitics* 14 (4): 667-686.
Shekhovtsov, Anton, and Andreas Umland. 2009. "Is Aleksandr Dugin a Traditionalist? "Neo-
Eurasianism" and Perennial Philosophy." *The Russian Review* 68 (4): 662-678.
Shlapentokh, Dmitry. 2007. "Dugin Eurasianism: A Window on the Minds of the Russian Elite
or an Intellectual Ploy?" *Studies in East European Thought* 59 (3): 215-236.

*Tsygankov, Anrei P. 1998. "Hard-line Eurasianism and Russia's Contending Geopolitical
Perspectives." *East European Quarterly* 32 (3): 315-334.

Week 11 March 31

**A PEOPLE IN THE ABSENCE OF THE PEOPLE, OR A VIEW OF RUSSIAN
 POSTCOMMUNISM FROM BELOW**
Readings:

*Boris Kapustin, chapter 2 in : SOCIAL HISTORY OF POST-COMMUNIST RUSSIA, Piotr
Dutkiewicz, Vladimir Kulikov and Richard Sakwa (eds), Routledge, 2016,

Week 12 April 7
WHAT CAN/SHALL BE DONE -"Round Table Scenarios For Russia"
 What kind of policies for what kind of Russia ?
Presentations of the "policy papers".

In this class participants/students will present a short "policy papers" on how to improve key
aspects of Russian state management, improve NGO capacity, revamp economy etc. A short
guidelines on how to prepare such paper will be posted on CuLearn. Each student shall contact
instructor to discuss in advance a topic and sources for this presentation/paper.

Readings:
*Roderick Lane, "The Imaginary Curtain", pp.271 -300, in: Piotr Dutkiewicz & Dmitri
Trenin eds., *Russia: The Challenges of Transformation*, New York University Press,
2011 (R, EU)

* D. Trenin, "Of Power and Greatness", pp. 407 – 432, in: Piotr Dutkiewicz & Dmitri
Trenin eds., *Russia: The Challenges of Transformation*, New York University Press,
 2011 (R, EU)

<u>**Academic Accommodations:**</u>

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with
Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity
Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and
impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic

accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your *Letter of Accommodation* at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Survivors of Sexual Violence
As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is 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**

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 compete or perform 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

Plagiarism:

The University Senate defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own". This can include:

➢ 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;

- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according the Carleton's Academic Integrity Policy (http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of F for the course.

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, Return and Grading of Term Work:

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 River Building. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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 Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or

cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted on Pol.Science/ EURUS website is the official course outline.