

ELLEN CARNAGHAN

Political Science Department
Saint Louis University
3750 Lindell Boulevard, McGannon Hall 140
Saint Louis, MO 63108
e-mail: carnagep@slu.edu
314 977-3038

Academic employment

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Saint Louis, MO. 1993- present
Professor of Political Science (2008 -); Associate Professor (1998-2008); Assistant Professor (1993-1998).
Member of the Graduate Faculty, secondary appointment in International Studies.
Chair of the Political Science department 2010 -

STRATHCLYDE UNIVERSITY, Glasgow, Scotland, summer 1994
Visiting Research Fellow

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, Fall 1992
Harriman Institute Post-Doctoral Fellow

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, New York, NY, 1988-1991
Instructor in Political Science

Education

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, 1986-1992
Ph.D., Politics Department, October 1992. Major: Comparative Politics, with a focus on Soviet and post-Soviet domestic politics. Minors: Political Theory, American Politics. Dissertation: "A Revolution in Mind: Russian Political Attitudes and the Origins of Democratization under Gorbachev." Dissertation Director: Donna Bahry. Deans' Dissertation Award, 1989-1990

INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, Moscow, Russia, 1990-1991
IREX exchange scholar conducting dissertation research on Russian political attitudes

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, New York, NY, summer 1989
Intensive Russian language practicum

THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY, 1979-1981
Master of Arts of Law and Diplomacy, 1981.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, 1975-1979
A.B. in Political Science/Economics, magna cum laude. Honors in Political Science. Three years Russian language study.

Ellen Carnaghan, page 2

Current research

Constructing Citizens: Mass Protest in Autocratic Regimes. Book manuscript and articles.

This project examines how opposition groups work to develop new identities for the people they hope will become their supporters, identities that create a group aggrieved enough to act, empowered enough to have a chance at success, and united enough to be a “people,” instead of a bunch of individuals with a variety of agendas. Field research for this project was conducted in Tbilisi, Kiev, Moscow, and St. Petersburg during March and April 2007 and in Russia in March 2008 and June 2011. This research was supported by the International Research and Exchanges Board, and the Beaumont and Mellon funds at Saint Louis University.

“Politics of the Absurd: Humor as a Mobilizing Tool in Russia,” paper under revision.

No Confidence. No Fear. Power and Protest at an American University. Edited book manuscript, with Kathryn Kuhn.

In 2012 and 2013, faculty from across Saint Louis University came together to protest an increasingly autocratic and out-of-touch administration. In this interdisciplinary edited volume, participants in the no-confidence movement analyze those events from a variety of disciplinary perspectives.

"The power of the powerless faculty member," chapter.

Publications: Book

Out of Order: Russian Political Values in an Imperfect World. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.

This book uses original intensive interviews with ordinary Russians to show how the sometimes disorderly and unpredictable reality produced by recent political and economic transformations has shaped the political values of Russian citizens. The interviews show how Russians’ experiences have left them with a preference for order, but they also show how this preference for order can be consistent with other democratic values.

The field research for this book consisted of more than sixty interviews conducted between 1998 and 2003 in Moscow, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk, Smolensk, Ulyanovsk, Voronezh and in a number of small towns in Moscow oblast and Siberia. This research was supported by Fulbright-Hays, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the American Political Science Association, and the Beaumont and Mellon funds at Saint Louis University.

Refereed articles

“From Balcony to Barricade: Mobilizing Citizens in Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68, no. 9 (November 2016): 1579-1607.

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

Ellen Carnaghan, page 3

“Do Russians Dislike Democracy?,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40, no. 1, January 2007, pp. 61-67. This article was abstracted in *International Political Science Abstracts* 57, no. 5 (October 2007): 634.

“Have Your Cake and Eat it too: Tensions between Democracy and Order Among Russian Citizens,” *Studies in Public Policy* 352. University of Strathclyde: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, 2001.

“Thinking About Democracy: Interviews with Russian Citizens,” *Slavic Review* 60, no. 2, Summer 2001: 336-366.

“Alienation, Apathy or Ambivalence?: 'Don't Knows' and Democracy in Russia,” *Slavic Review* 55, no. 2, Summer 1996: 325-363.

“Generational Effects on Attitudes to Communist Regimes: A Comparative Analysis.” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 11, January-March 1995: 28-56, (with Richard Rose).

“Political Attitudes and the Gender Gap in the USSR.” *Comparative Politics* 22, July 1990: 379-399, (with Donna Bahry).

Reviews and invited articles

Review of *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation*, by Christian Welzel, *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 4 (December 2016): 1255-1257.

Review of *No Illusions: The Voices of Russia's Future Leaders*, by Ellen Mickiewicz, *Nationalities Papers*, 44, no. 6 (November 2016): 1016-1017.

Review of *Invisible Hand, Russian Experience, and Social Science: Approaches to Understanding Systemic Failure*, by Stefan Hedlund, *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 3, September 2013, pp. 872-874.

“The fact that Russians favour the basic tenets of democracy ensures that the emerging opposition is not without a potential base of support,” EUROPP – European Politics and Policy, London School of Economics, November 2012, <http://bit.ly/Xea60u>.

“Popular Support for Democracy and Autocracy in Russia,” *Russian Analytical Digest*, 117, 19 September 2012, pp. 2-8. Also published as “Öffentliche Unterstützung für Demokratie und Autokratie in Russland,” in *Russland-Analysen*, 243, 21 September 2012, pp. 7-14.

Review of *Cultures in Power in Post-Communist Russia: An Analysis of Elite Political Discourse*, by Michael Urban, *New Political Science* 34, issue 1 (February 2012), pp. 106-109.

Review of *Understanding Post-Communist Transformation: A Bottom-Up Approach*, by Richard Rose, *Russian Review*, 68, issue 4, October 2009, p. 726.

Review of *Television, Power, and the Public in Russia*, by Ellen Mickiewicz, *Russian Journal of Communication*, Winter 2009.

Ellen Carnaghan, page 4

"Little Hope for Democracy," *The Chronicle Review*, September 5, 2008, p. B13.

Review of *Conflicting Loyalties and the State in Post-Soviet Russia and Eurasia*, by Michael Waller, Bruno Coppieters, and Alexei Malashenko, *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 2004, pp. 204-205.

Review of *Fears in Post-Communist Societies: A Comparative Perspective*, edited by Eric Shiraev and Vladimir Shlapentokh, *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 44, nos. 3-4, September-December 2002, pp. 351-352.

Review of *Political Culture in Post-Communist Russia*, by James Alexander, *Slavonica*, 8, no. 1, 2002, pp. 92-93.

Review of *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*, by David D. Laitin, *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 35, nos. 2-3, Summer-Fall 2001, pp. 352-353.

Review of *The Russian Parliamentary Elections of 1995*, by Laura Belin and Robert W. Orttung, *Europe-Asia Studies* 50, July 1998.

Review of *The Rise of the Russian Democrats: The Causes and Consequences of the Elite Revolution*, by Judith Devlin, *The Russian Review* 56, October 1997.

"What Russians Think About Themselves," *European Brief*, October 1995.

Recent papers

"Politics of the Absurd: Humor as a Mobilizing Tool in Russia," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 2015.

"The Power of the Powerless Faculty Member," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 2015.

"Politics of the Absurd: Humor as a Mobilizing Tool in Russia," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, 2012.

"Constraints of Structure and Culture on Activism: Comparing Student Opposition in Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, 2009.

"Serving the Nation: Student Opposition in Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, 2008.

"How intensive interviews can contribute to survey research: Listening while Russians talk," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, 2006. This paper was invited for inclusion in *Political Methodology*, the working paper series of the Committee on Concepts and Methods, International Political Science Association. <http://www.concepts-methods.org>

"Oligarchs and Democrats: Russians Confront Emerging Inequality," American Political Science Association

Ellen Carnaghan, page 5

Annual Meeting, Chicago, 2004.

“Out of Order: Russian Popular Support for Democracy in a Chaotic World,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, 2003.

“The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same: Russian Citizens Face Changing Institutions,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, 2003.

“Have Your Cake and Eat it too: Tensions between Democracy and Order Among Russian Citizens,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, 2001.

Discussant services

“Civil Society and Protest in Democratic Transitions,” discussant at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 2017.

“Participation in (Post-) Authoritarian Regimes: China, Eurasia, Eastern Europe,” discussant at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2015.

“Junior Scholar Seminar: Identity and Politics in Post-Communist Europe and Eurasia,” discussant at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 2015.

“Civil Society and Citizenship,” Charles Timberlake Memorial Symposium Panel, discussant at the Central Slavic Conference, St. Louis, November 2013.

“Public Opinion, Political Participation, and Political Regime in the Soviet Union and Russia,” discussant for a panel at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, August 2013.

“Gender and International Politics,” discussant for panel at the SLU Gender and Politics conference, April 2013.

“Post-Communist International Politics,” discussant for panel at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 2013.

“Public Opinion, Political Participation, and Political Regime in the Soviet Union and Russia,” discussant for panel at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, August 2012 (meeting was cancelled because of Hurricane Isaac; I prepared written comments).

“Authoritarianism in Post-Soviet Russia,” discussant for panel at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2012.

“Social Movements in Post Communist Systems,” discussant for panel at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington DC, August 2010.

“Authoritarian Institutions,” discussant for panel at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington DC, August 2010.

Ellen Carnaghan, page 6

“Regime Endurance and Regime Change in Communist and Postcommunist Countries,” discussant and chair for a panel at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 2010.

“Political Parties and Elections,” chair/discussant, International Studies Association—Midwest, November 2009.

“Gender, Policies, and Politics in Post-Soviet States,” discussant for panel at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, August 2008.

“New Approaches to Clientelism,” discussant for panel at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, August 2008.

“The European Union and Domestic Political Development,” discussant for panel at the International Studies Association Midwest/Central Slavic Conference, St. Louis, November, 2006.

“Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation in the Former Communist States,” discussant for panel at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 2006.

“Parties and Parliaments in the Postcommunist World,” discussant for panel at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 2005.

“Comparative Politics—Transitions Towards Democracy,” discussant for poster session at Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 2003.

“Whether Democracy: What Explains Institutional Choice,” discussant for panel, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, August 2003.

“Hearts and Flowers and Steel Fists: Political Development in Modern Central Europe and Russia,” discussant for panel, Social Science History Association, St. Louis, MO, October 2002.

Recent talks

“Russia Today,” American Association of University Women, February 2017.

“The U.S. and Russia,” Pi Sigma Alpha, Saint Louis University, November 2016.

“The Politics of Blame: Foreign Policy in the U.S. Presidential Election,” Political Round Table, Saint Louis University, November 2016.

“Is Pope Francis a Communist?,” Catholic Studies Program, Saint Louis University, May 2015.

“Russia and Ukraine,” Weidenbaum Center on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy, Washington University, April 2015.

“Russia and the Near Abroad,” World Affairs Council, St. Louis, March 2015.

Ellen Carnaghan, page 7

"Putin vs. Ukraine," Wednesday Club, October 2014.

"Russia and Ukraine," Weidenbaum Center on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy, Washington University, April 2014.

"(A)politics and the Sochi Olympics," Center for Intercultural Studies, Saint Louis University, February 2014.

"LGBT rights and the Sochi Olympics," Roundtable, Sigma Iota Rho, The International and Area Studies Honorary at Washington University Town Hall, December 2013.

"Should authority come from the majority?" Magisterial Respondent, Saint Louis University Philosophy Club Debate, November 2013.

"Global Citizens: Constructed Identities and the Soviet Experience," Center for Intercultural Studies, Saint Louis University, October 2013.

"What can political science tell us about shared governance?" Heithaus Forum, Saint Louis University, February 2013.

"The Politics of Protest," Contemporary Art Museum, November 2012.

"Student Social Movements," Roundtable participant, Sigma Iota Rho, The International and Area Studies Honorary at Washington University Town Hall, November 2012.

"Pussy Riot in the Context of Early Soviet Anti-Religious Propaganda Posters," Roundtable participant, Central Slavic Council, St. Louis, November 2012.

"Autocracy and Opposition in Today's Russia," Lindenwood College, 2012.

"Ethnic Conflict in the Caucasus," World Affairs Council, 2011.

"Russia and the Near Abroad," World Affairs Council, 2010.

"Women in International Studies," Roundtable participant, International Studies Association—Midwest, November 2009.

"The Weakness of Political Opposition in Russia," U.S. State Department, 2008.

"Observing the Russian Elections," World Affairs Council, 2008.

"Putin's Russia: The Price of Expanded Executive Authority," Saint Louis University Constitution Day, 2007.

"What do Russians See in Putin," Great Debates discussion group, Webster Groves, MO, 2005.

"Soaking and Poking: Interviewing Techniques," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting,

Ellen Carnaghan, page 8

2003.

“Out of Order: Russian Citizens and the State,” Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2001.

“Learning from Interviews with Russian Citizens,” St. Louis ATSEEL Bi-annual Meeting, 1999.

“Where are the missing entrepreneurs in Russia?,” South St. Louis County Rotary Club, 1998.

“Legitimnost' Vlasti v Novykh Rossiiskikh Gosudarstvennikh Uchrezhdeniakh,” Institute of Economics, Academy of Sciences, Novosibirsk, Russia, 1998.

Fellowships and awards

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND EXCHANGES BOARD, 2007
Short-term Travel Grant, for research in Russia, Spring 2008.

STATE OF MISSOURI, 2005
Governor’s Award for Excellence in Teaching, Fall 2005.

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND EXCHANGES BOARD, 1999
Short-term Travel Grant, for research in Russia, Spring 2000.

FULBRIGHT-HAYS FACULTY RESEARCH ABROAD, 1998
For research in Russia, Spring 1998.

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND EXCHANGES BOARD, 1998
Long-term Advanced Research Grant, for research in Russia, Spring 1998.

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION RESEARCH GRANT, 1997
Research support.

SUMMER RESEARCH LABORATORY, 1995-2009
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (participated seven times).

SSRC SUMMER WORKSHOP ON SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET POLITICS, 1995
Travel to St. Petersburg, Russia.

STRATHCLYDE UNIVERSITY, 1994
Research support and travel grant, Glasgow, Scotland.

HARRIMAN INSTITUTE POST-DOCTORAL FELLOW, 1992
Columbia University, New York, NY.

IREX LONG-TERM ADVANCED RESEARCH GRANT, 1990-1
International Research and Exchanges Board, Princeton, NJ. Research in Moscow for the academic year.

Ellen Carnaghan, page 9

SSRC SUMMER WORKSHOP ON SOVIET DOMESTIC POLITICS, 1990
Social Science Research Council and the University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.

IRES DEVELOPMENTAL FELLOWSHIP, 1989
International Research and Exchanges Board, Princeton, NJ.

Internal awards

JOHN A. SLOSAR SHARED GOVERNANCE AWARD, Saint Louis University, 2013.
ROBERT A. JOHNSTON, S. J. AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE IN TEACHING, Saint Louis University, 2009.
MELLON RESEARCH GRANT, Saint Louis University, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2012
BEAUMONT RESEARCH GRANT, Saint Louis University, 1998, 2000, 2006, 2011
SLU 2000 FACULTY RESEARCH LEAVE, 2004
Nominated for Nancy McNeir Ring Outstanding Faculty Award, 2003
STUDENT GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION FACULTY EXCELLENCE AWARD, 2002
Nominated for Nancy McNeir Ring Outstanding Faculty Award, 1999
OUTSTANDING TEACHING AWARD, College of Arts and Sciences, 1998
GOLDEN KEY NATIONAL HONOR SOCIETY, 1997, Honorary membership, SLU chapter
Nominated for Nancy McNeir Ring Outstanding Faculty Award, 1997
OUTSTANDING ADVISING AWARD, College of Arts and Sciences, 1996
Nominated for Nancy McNeir Ring Outstanding Faculty Award, 1996
SUMMER RESEARCH AWARD, 1995

University activities

Board of Directors, International Studies program board, 2010 –
Board of Directors, Center for Environmental Studies, 2010 –
Member, Russian and Eastern European Studies Program Council, 1999 –
Chairs' representative, Faculty Council, 2012-2014, 2016 –
Member, Core Curriculum Review Committee, 2016-2017.
Member, Board of Graduate Education, 2015-2017.
Senator, Faculty Senate, 2013-2016
Co-Chair, Faculty Senate Workload Policy Task Force, 2015-2016
Member, Catholic Studies Program Council, 2013-2016
Member, Resource Stewardship Strategic Planning Working Group, 2014-2015
Member, Adjunct Development Task Force, Provost's Office, 2014-2015
Chair, Strategy Committee, Faculty Council, 2012-2014
Faculty Representative, Academic Affairs Committee, Saint Louis University Board of Trustees, 2008-2012.
Member, University Honors Program Council, 1996-2012
Chair, Board of Graduate Education, College of Arts and Sciences, 2011-2012; member 2010-2011
Member, Graduate Academic Affairs Committee, 2010-2012
Chair, Core Curriculum Committee, College of Arts and Science, 2009-2010
Member, Ad Hoc Judicial Committee, 2007-2010.
Advisor, Political Science Club, 1996-2008
Member, Core Curriculum Committee, 2008-2009
Co-Chair, Core Working Group, Provost-level University committee, 2005-6

Ellen Carnaghan, page 10

Chair, Core Assessment Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, 2004-6
Department representative, Faculty Council, College of Arts and Sciences, 2004-6
Member, University Conflict of Commitment Committee, 2004
Member, Faculty Senate Academic Affairs Committee, 2001-4
Member, Core Curriculum Implementation Committee, Arts and Sciences, 2001-4
Member, Finance Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, 1999-2002
Referee, University Fulbright Scholarship Committee, 1993-2002
Chair, Faculty Senate Academic Affairs Committee, 1998-2001
Representative, Faculty Council, 1999
Member, Ad-Hoc Committee on Advising, College of Arts and Sciences, 1998-9
Member, Internal Review Committee, Pre-Professional Health Program, 1998-9
Vice Chair, Faculty Council, College of Arts and Sciences, 1996-7
Member, Nominations Committee, 1996-7
Member, Core Curriculum Implementation Committee, 1993-7
Member, Search Committee for the Department of Political Science Chair, 1995-6
Member, Dean's Travel Policy Committee, 1995

Professional service

Refereed articles for *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Electoral Studies*, *International Interactions*, *International Studies Perspectives*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, *Nationalities Papers*, *New Political Science*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Politics and Policy*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Russian Review*, *Slavic Review*, *Social Science Quarterly*.

External program reviewer, DePaul University, January 2015.

External program reviewer, Florida Atlantic University, April 2013.

External reader, American Councils for International Education: Research and Training Program, 2006 and 2008; National Endowment for the Humanities grants, 2007.

Mentored IREX research scholar visiting Saint Louis University from Smolensk, Russia. FSA Contemporary Issues Fellowship Program, 2002.

Member of 2000-2001 Selection Committee for the Russian-US Young Leadership Fellows for Public Service Program, International Research and Exchanges Board.

Selection committee, Fulbright junior scholar exchange, March 1998, Moscow.

Courses taught

Communism, Capitalism, and Social Justice
Comparative Revolution
Introduction to Comparative Politics
Ethnicity and Internal War

Ellen Carnaghan, page 11

Methods: Social Movements
Senior Inquiry: Political Capacity
Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics

Democratization (graduate)
Russian Political Culture (graduate)

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