

POLS 4500/POLS 5500: Russian Political Culture
Political Science, Saint Louis University
Tuesday 7:15-10:00pm
Spring 2017

Dr. Ellen Carnaghan
McGannon Hall, Room 140
carnagep@slu.edu
314.977.3038

A Soviet era joke:

- Where is the USA heading?
- To catastrophe.
- Where are we heading?
- We are trying to overtake and surpass them.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

Welcome! This course examines the fundamental political beliefs, values, and preferences of Russians. Topics range from traditional collectivist orientations under the tsars and Soviet commissars to emerging democratic beliefs today. We study ideas that supported the government as well as alternative orientations that people developed in resistance to authoritarian rulers.

Throughout the course, one of the questions we will be trying to answer is *how we can study* the fundamental political beliefs and values of a culture other than our own, especially in a context like Russia where at many points in time it was impossible for people to express their ideas freely. In an effort to answer that question, we will examine a number of different kinds of sources of data, trying to determine which is most helpful for understanding what people think: works of fiction, political philosophies, academic debates, historical analysis, first-hand accounts, ethnographies, and quantitative studies of public opinion.

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

- Evaluate the usefulness of the concept of political culture in the study of politics
- Compare the shared values that underlie political communities
- Distinguish among the diversity of traditions in political science
 - Examine methodological and epistemological problems in the study of culture.
 - Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of various kinds of data and methodological approaches
 - Critique competing theoretical explanations
- Read carefully and evaluations and construct analytical arguments in clear and logical prose
- Identify and gather information from credible primary and secondary sources
- Design original research to test arguments and hypotheses with qualitative and/or quantitative approaches

Graduate students will also:

- Produce a comprehensive review of the scholarly literature relevant to their research topic

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

OFFICE HOURS: Monday 4-5pm, Wednesday 3-4pm, and by appointment. Also, feel free to drop by.

REQUIRED BOOKS AND READINGS

- Petro, Nikolai. 1995. *The Rebirth of Russian Democracy: An Interpretation of Political Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 978-0674750029
- Dostoevsky, Fyodor. 1993. *The Grand Inquisitor*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co. 978-0872201934
- Viola, Lynne. 1996. *Peasant Rebels Under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 978-0195131048
- Ries, Nancy. 1997. *Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation During Perestroika*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 978-0801484162
- Alexievich, Svetlana. 2016. *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets*. Translated by Bela Shayevich. New York: Random House. 978-0399588822

There are also some additional readings, available either through various internet databases or e-reserve (password: polcult17).

ACADEMIC HONESTY

The University is a community of learning, whose effectiveness requires an environment of mutual trust and integrity. Academic integrity is violated by any dishonesty such as soliciting, receiving, or providing any unauthorized assistance in the completion of work submitted toward academic credit. While not all forms of academic dishonesty can be listed here, examples include copying from another student, copying from a book or class notes during a closed book exam, submitting materials authored by or revised by another person as the student's own work, copying a passage or text directly from a published source without appropriately citing or recognizing that source, taking a test or doing an assignment or other academic work for another student, securing or supplying in advance a copy of an examination or quiz without the knowledge or consent of the instructor, sharing or receiving the questions from an on-line quiz with another student, taking an on-line quiz with the help of another student, and colluding with another student or students to engage in academic dishonesty.

All clear violations of academic integrity will be met with appropriate sanctions. In this course, academic dishonesty on an assignment will result in an automatic grade of 0 for that assignment and a report of academic dishonesty sent to the Academic Honesty Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences. In the case of Class B violations, the Academic Honesty Committee may impose a larger sanction including, but not limited to, assigning a failing grade in the course, disciplinary probation, suspension, and dismissal from the University.

Students should refer to the following SLU website for more information about Class A and B violations and the procedures following a report of academic dishonesty:
www.slu.edu/college-of-arts-and-sciences-home/undergraduate-education/academic-honesty

STUDENT LEARNING

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. Students who think they might benefit from these resources can find out more about:

- Course-level support (e.g., faculty member, departmental resources, etc.) by asking your course instructor.
- University-level support (e.g., tutoring/writing services, Disability Services) by visiting the Student Success Center (BSC 331) or by going to www.slu.edu/success.

Students who believe that, due to a disability, they could benefit from academic accommodations are encouraged to contact Disability Services at [314-977-3484](tel:314-977-3484) or visit the Student Success Center.

Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries. Course instructors support student accommodation requests when an approved letter from Disability Services has been received and when students discuss these accommodations with the instructor after receipt of the approved letter.

WRITING CENTER. I encourage you to take advantage of University Writing Services; getting feedback benefits all writers! Trained writing consultants can help with any writing, multimedia project, or oral presentation. During one-on-one consultations, you can work on everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. *These services do fill up*, so please make an appointment! Also, bring your assignment description, and a few goals, to the consultation! For more information, or to make an appointment, visit www.slu.edu/writingservices.xml or call 977-3484.

GRADING SCALE

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

ASSIGNMENTS—65 percent of your course grade

One essay of around 5 pages on a question I provide, due March 9—approximately 15 % of your grade

One longer research paper, 10-15 pages for undergrads—approximately 35 % of your grade
 For grad students, this paper will be 20-25 pages and have somewhat different requirements.

This paper may treat an aspect of Russian political culture, may *compare* Russian and non-Russian political cultures, or may take an idea from your study of Russian political culture and *apply it in another context or country*. In any event, your paper should either test a hypothesis or support a claim that you want to make. You will need to identify, employ, and evaluate a method for creating the data you need in order to support your claim or hypothesis.

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

Final exam—15 % For undergraduates, this will be a small group oral exam. For grad students, it will be an in-class written exam.

All students must complete a course evaluation for the class.

ATTENDANCE, PARTICIPATION, AND READING—35 percent of your final grade

This is a seminar class, and that means that it is grounded in discussion by students, not lecturing by me. You should think about class as a time for exploration: for figuring out what the readings mean; for critically evaluating arguments made by various authors, by other students, and by me; for connecting the assigned materials to other things you think are relevant and important. A number of things follow from this:

Attendance is required. There is no way to recreate this process of discussion by yourself. It is not enough to understand the readings or to get notes from a fellow student. Students are permitted ONE unexcused absence. Students who miss more than three classes for any reason may not be able to finish the course. If you do miss a class for a reason that I excuse, you must hand in the reading paragraphs as soon as you are able but before the next class. These “make-up” readings paragraphs will not count toward the required total (see below).

Laptops (and, of course, phones) may not be used in class. Laptops tend to reduce uninterrupted focus on the discussion. Even the physical presence of a laptop or phone on the table is an obstacle to an honest and direct interaction with the person behind it. In any event, class time will not be spent taking detailed notes on information provided by me.

Careful reading is essential. Students must carefully read all assignments, noting questions or points that they want to raise in class. You will receive a discussion grade for every class. This grade will be based on your contributions to class discussion, any oral presentations, group projects, or short written assignments that contribute to class discussion. Quizzes, both pre-announced and not, could occur and would be factored into this discussion grade.

In the first half of the semester, we will start each class with small group conversations aimed at developing key questions for the class discussion. In the second half of the semester, two students will be responsible for developing questions for class discussion for each week. Those students will need to meet with me *after* they have completed the readings and talked about them with each other but *before* 5pm on class day. You are responsible for proposing times you can meet with me.

Graduate students will have some separate meetings with me.

READING PARAGRAPHS—seven, graded 2 or higher, required for course credit

To advance our discussion, you must write two paragraphs (no more than two pages double-spaced) on the class readings. The first paragraph should summarize each of the week’s readings in three sentences each. For each reading, you should (1) identify the author’s primary question, (2) describe the answer, and (3) describe the data and methods the author used to reach the answer.

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

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

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

PART I: WHAT IS POLITICAL CULTURE? WHAT CAN IT EXPLAIN?

January 17 *Thinking about culture, political culture, and American political culture*

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

No reading paragraphs, for this week.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Norris, Pippa. 1999. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Putnam, Robert. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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

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

January 24 *Methodology and causality in the study of political culture*

ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING PARAGRAPHS THIS WEEK.

Marc Howard Ross, "Culture and Identity in Comparative Political Analysis," in *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, ed. By Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman (New York: Cambridge University, 1997), pp. 42-80 (e-reserve).

Nikolai Petro, *The Rebirth of Russian Democracy*, ch. 1, "Political Culture and the Failure of Sovietology," and ch. 2, "Constrained Autocracy in Russian History," pp. 1-59.

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

Grad students only: read Lisa Wedeen, "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 4 (2002): 713-28 (e-reserve or JStore). You should meet with me as a group prior to class time and be prepared to present the main arguments from this article in class.

Related Readings:

- Almond, Gabriel A. 1983. "Communism and Political Culture Theory." *Comparative Politics* 15 (January): 127-138.
- Bates, Robert H., Rui J.P. de Figueiredo Jr., and Barry R. Weingast. 1998. "The Politics of Interpretation: Rationality, Culture, and Transition." *Politics & Society* 26, no. 2 (June): 221-256.
- Brown, Archie, ed. 1984. *Political Culture and Communist Studies*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Bush, Sarah Sunn, Aaron Erlich, Lauren Prather, and Yael Zeira. 2016. "The Effects of Authoritarian Iconography: An Experimental Test." *Comparative Political Studies* 49, no. 13: 1704-1738.
- Elkins, David J. and Richard E.B. Simeon. 1979. "A Cause in Search of Its Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics* 11, no. 2 (January): 127-145.
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lane, Ruth. 1992. "Political Culture: Residual Category or General Theory?" *Comparative Political Studies* 25, no. 3 (October): 362-387.
- McAuley, Mary. 1984. "Political Culture and Communist Politics: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back." In Archie Brown, ed. *Political Culture and Communist Studies*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., pp. 13-36.
- Muller, Edward N., and Mitchell A. Seligson. 1994. "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships." *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September): 635-652.
- Sardamov, Ivelin. 2007. "Burnt into the Brain: Towards a Redefinition of Political Culture." *Democratization* 14, no. 3 (June): 407-424.
- Da Silva, Filipe Carreira, Terry Nichols Clark, Susana Cabaco. 2014. "Culture on the Rise: How and Why Cultural Membership Promotes Democratic Politics." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 27: 343-366.
- Vainshstein, Grigory I. 1994. "Totalitarian Public Consciousness in a Post-Totalitarian Society." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 27, no. 3: 247-259.
- Welch, Stephen. 1987. "Review Article: Issues in the Study of Political Culture—The Example of Communist Party States." *British Journal of Political Science* 17, no. 4: 479-500.
- Welzel, Christian. 2007. "Are Levels of Democracy Affected by Mass Attitudes? Testing Attainment and Sustainment Effects on Democracy." *International Political Science Review* 28: 397-424.
- Welzel, Christian. 2013. *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilson, Richard. 2000. "The Many Voices of Political Culture: Assessing Different Approaches," *World Politics* 52, no. 2 (January): 246-273

January 31 Competing interpretations of traditional Russian ideas

Edward Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *The Russian Review* 45, no. 2 (April 1986): 115-181 (Available through e-reserve or JSTOR).

Petro, ch. 3, "Orthodoxy's Symphonic Ideal," pp. 60-87.

Petro, ch. 4, "The 'Russian Idea': Forging an Alternative National Identity," pp. 88-111.

Related Readings:

- Berdiaev, Nikolai. 1992. *The Russian Idea*. Translated by R. M. French. Hudson, NY: Lindisfarne Press.
- Berdiaev, Nikolai, Sergei Bulgakov, Mikhail Gershenzon, A. S. Izgoev, Bogdan Kistiakovskii, Petr Struve, and Semen Frank. 1994. *Vekhi [Landmarks]*. Translated and Edited by Marshall S. Shatz and Judith E. Zimmerman. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Crummey, Robert O. 1987. "The Silence of Muscovy." *The Russian Review* 46: 157-164.
- Daniels, Robert V. 1987. "Russian Political Culture and the Post-Revolutionary Impasse." *The Russian Review* 46 (April): 165-176.
- Hellie, Richard. 1987. "Edward Keenan's Scholarly Ways." *The Russian Review* 46: 177-190.

- Korogodina, Maria. 2007. "Penitential Texts and the Changing Political Culture of Muscovy." *The Russian Review* 66 (July): 377-90.
- McDaniel, Tim. 1996. *The Agony of the Russian Idea*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mead, Margaret. 1951. *Soviet Attitudes Toward Authority: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Problems of Soviet Character*. New York: William Morrow.
- Pipes, Richard. 2005. *Russian Conservatism and Its Critics: A Study in Political Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rancour-Laferriere, Daniel. 1995. *The Slave Soul of Russia: Moral Masochism and the Cult of Suffering*. New York: New York University Press.
- Sergeyev, Victor, and Nikolai Biriukov. 1993. *Russia's Road to Democracy: Parliament, Communism and Traditional Culture*. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar Publishing Company/ Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Walicki, Andrzej. 1979. *A History of Russian Thought: From the Enlightenment to Marxism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- White, Stephen. 1984. "Political Culture in Communist States: Some Problems of Theory and Method." *Comparative Politics* 16, no. 3 (April): 351-365.

PART II: RUSSIAN WRITERS AS A WINDOW TO POLITICAL CULTURE

February 7 *Russian socialism and Dostoevsky*

ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING PARAGRAPHS THIS WEEK.

Fyodor Dostoevsky, "The Grand Inquisitor" (ch. 5; read additional chapters if you are interested; read this one again if you have to).

Andrzej Walicki, "The Origins of 'Russian Socialism'." From *A History of Russian Thought: From the Enlightenment to Marxism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press., 1979), pp. 162-182 (e-reserve).

Walicki, "Two Prophetic Writers," pp. 309-326 (e-reserve).

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

Related readings:

- Bakunin, Michael. 1970. *God and the State*. Dover Publications.
- Chernyshevsky, Nikolai. 1986. *What is to be done?* Introduction by Kathryn Feuer. Translated by N. Dole and S.S. Skidelsky. Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis.
- Christman, Henry M., ed. 1966. *Essential Works of Lenin*. New York: Dover.
- Dostoevsky, Fyodor. 1960. *Notes from Underground*. Translated by Ralph E. Matlaw. New York: Dutton.
- Gleason, Abbott. 1980. *Young Russia: The Genesis of Russian Radicalism in the 1860s*. New York: Viking.
- Herzen, Alexander. 1968. *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*. Translated by Constance Garnett. Revised by Humphrey Higgens. Introduction by Isaiah Berlin. New York: Knopf.
- Horsbrugh-Power, Anna, ed. 1993. *Memories of Revolution: Russian Women Remember*. New York: Routledge.
- Kollontai, Alexandra. 2011. *The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Kropotkin, Peter. 2002. *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings*. Dover Publications.
- Kropotkin, Peter. 2014. *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*. Edited by Will Jonson. Create Space Independent Publishing Platform.

- Tucker, Robert C. 1971. *The Soviet Political Mind*. Revised Edition. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Tucker, Robert C. 1987. *Political Culture and Leadership in Soviet Russia: From Lenin to Gorbachev*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Tucker, Robert C., ed. 1977. *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Tucker, Robert C. ed. 1978. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

February 14 Citizen response to arbitrary autocracy

- Mikhail Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita* (New York: Penguin Books, 1966), chapter 7: "A Naughty Apartment," and chapter 8: "An Unquiet Day," pp. 75-85, 183-194 (e-reserve).
- Tatiana Varsher, "Things Seen and Suffered," from *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women from 1917 to the Second World War*. Edited by Sheila Fitzpatrick and Yuri Slezkine. Translated by Yuri Slezkine (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), pp. 113-117 (e-reserve).
- Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "Live not by lies," *Index on Censorship* 33, no. 2 (April 2004): 203-207. (Available through e-reserve or Academic Search Premier.) or at www.orthodoxytoday.org/articles/SolzhenitsynLies.php
- Alexei Yurchak, "Soviet Hegemony of Form: Everything Was Forever Until It Was No More," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 3 (July 2003): 480-510. (Available through e-reserve or Academic Search Premier.)
- Graduate students only:** also read Oleg Kharkhordin, "Civil Society and Orthodox Christianity," *Europe-Asia Studies* 50, no. 6 (1998): 949-968 (Academic Search Premier). Plan both to meet with me before class and to present this article in class.

Related readings:

- Bulgakov, Mikhail. 1994. *Heart of a Dog*. New York: Grove Press.
- Crouch, Martin, and Robert Porter. 1984. *Understanding Soviet Politics through Literature: A book of readings*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Dunham, Vera S. 1976. *In Stalin's Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gladkov, F. V. 1985. *Cement: A Novel*. Translated by A.S. Arthur and C. Ashleigh. Continuum, F. Ungar.
- Havel, Vaclav. 1990. "The Power of the Powerless." In William M. Brinton and Alan Rinzler, eds. *Without Force or Lies: Voices from the Revolution of Central Europe in 1989-90*. San Francisco: Mercury House, Inc.
- Kagarlitsky, Boris. 1988. *The Thinking Reed: Intellectuals and the Soviet State 1917 to the Present*. Translated by Brian Pearce. New York: Verso.
- Kharkhordin, Oleg. 1999. *The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study of Practices*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kozlov, Vladimir A. 2002. *Mass Uprisings in the USSR: Protest and Rebellion in the Post-Stalin Years*. Translated and edited by Elaine McClarnand MacKinnon. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Meerson-Aksenov, Michael, and Boris Shragin, eds. 1977. *The Political, Social and Religious Thought of Russian 'Samizdat'—An Anthology*. Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company.
- Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. 1963. *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch*. New American Library, Dutton.
- Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. 1974. *The Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Tolstaya, Tatyana. 2003. *Pushkin's Children: Writings on Russia and Russians*. Translated by Jamey Gambrell. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

- Tsipko, Alexander. 1990. *Is Stalinism Really Dead? The Future of Perestroika as a Moral Revolution*. Translated by E. A. Tichina and S. V. Nikheev. San Francisco: Harper.
- Turchin, Valentine. 1981. *The Inertia of Fear and the Scientific Worldview*. Trans. Guy Daniels. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Voinovich, Vladimir. *Moscow 2042*. Trans. Richard Lourie. New York : Harcourt Brace.
- Yurchak, Alexei. 2006. *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Zamyatin, Yevgeny. 1984. *We*. Trans. Mirra Ginsburg. Avon.

February 21 *Views of and from the Putin Regime*

- Vladimir Gel'man, *Authoritarian Russia*, chapter 2, "Russia's Flight from Freedom: Why?," pp. 17-42 (e-reserve).
- Yegor Gaidar, *State and Evolution*, chapter 6, "The Choice," pp. 106-118 (e-reserve).
- Vladislav Surkov, "Russian Political Culture: The View from Utopia," *Russian Social Science Review* 49, no. 6 (November-December 2008), pp. 81-97 (e-reserve or Academic Search Premier).
- Vladimir Putin, "Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly," December 1, 2016.
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/53379>
- Garry Kasparov, "America, Your Election is Not Rigged," *New York Times*, 29 October 2016 (e-reserve).
- Garry Kasparov, "The U.S. doesn't have a problem with Russia. It has a problem with Vladimir Putin: Russian aggression is for Putin's personal benefit," *Washington Post*, 3 January 2017 (e-reserve).

Related readings:

- Gaidar, Yegor. 2003. *State and Evolution: Russia's Search for the Free Market*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- Gel'man, Vladimir. 2004. "The Unrule of Law in the Making: the Politics of Informal Institution Building in Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 56, no. 7 (November).
- Gel'man, Vladimir. 2015. *Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Gessen, Masha. 2013. *The Man Without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin*. Riverhead Books.
- Gessen, Masha. 2014. *Words Will Break Cement: The Passion of Pussy Riot*. Riverhead Books.
- Gessen, Masha. 2017. "Russia, Trump & Flawed Intelligence," NYR Daily, *New York Review of Books*.
<http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2017/01/09/russia-trump-election-flawed-intelligence/>
- Kasparov, Garry. 2015. *Winter is Coming: Why Vladimir Putin and the enemies of the free world must be stopped*. New York: Public Affairs
- Kertman, Grigorii. 2008. "The Status of the Party in Russian Political Culture." *Russian Social Science Review* 49, no. 4: 24-39.
- Lipman, Maria. 2005. "How Russia is Not Ukraine: The Closing of Russian Civil Society." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Policy Outlook* (January).
- Lukin, Alexander. 2000. *The Political Culture of the Russian 'Democrats'*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. 2017. "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections": The Analytic Process and Cyber Incident Attribution." Available here:
https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf
- Ostrovsky, Arkady. 2015. *The Invention of Russia: From Gorbachev's Freedom to Putin's War*. New York: Viking.
- Panyushkin, Valery. 2011. *Twelve who don't agree: The battle for freedom in Putin's Russia*. Europa

Editions.

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

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

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

PART III: THE BEHAVIOR AND IDEAS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE

February 28 *Resisting Tyranny*

James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*.

Undergrads should read chapter 1, "Behind the Official Story," pp. 1-16 (e-reserve).

Grad students should read chapter 1 and chapter 2, "Domination, Acting, and Fantasy," pp. 17-44 (e-reserve), and meet with me prior to class to discuss chapter 2.

Lynne Viola, *Peasant Rebels Under Stalin*, Introduction and ch. 1, "Collectivization as Civil War," pp. 3-44.

Viola, ch. 3, "We Have No Kulaks Here," pp. 67-99.

Viola, ch. 4, "Sawed-Off Shotguns and the Red Rooster: Peasant Terror and Civil War," pp. 100-131.

Related readings:

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

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

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

Scott, James C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

March 7 *Weapons of the Weak*

Viola, part of ch. 5, "Peasant Terror," pp. 132-145.

Viola, ch. 6, "We Let the Women Do the Talking," pp. 181-204

Viola, ch. 7, "Everyday Forms of Resistance," and Conclusion, pp. 205-240.

Petro, *The Rebirth of Russian Democracy*, ch. 5, "Russia's Alternative Political Organizations," pp. 112-134, 144-148.

ESSAY ONE DUE BY MARCH 9th AT 5pm (submit a Word document to carnagep@slu.edu)

Related readings:

- Allina-Pisano, J. 2004. "Sub rosa resistance and the politics of economic reform – Land redistribution in post-soviet Ukraine." *World Politics* 56, no. 4 (July): 554 - .
- Davis, Sarah. 1997. *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent, 1934-1941*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ginzburg, Eugenia. 2002. *Journey into the Whirlwind*. Mariner Books.
- Grossman, Vasily. 2009. *Everything Flows*. New York Review Books Classics.
- Koester, Arthur. 1941. *Darkness at Noon*. (many editions)
- Shalamov, Varlam. 1995. *Kolyma Tales*. New York: Penguin.
- Stites, Richard. 1992. *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<p>March 14 NO CLASS—Spring break</p>
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March 21 *Russian Talk*

Nancy Ries, *Russian Talk*, Introduction, pp. 1-14.

Ries, ch. 1: "The World of Russian Talk in the Time of Perestroika," pp. 15-41.

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

ONE PAGE STATEMENT ON YOUR FINAL PAPER DUE BY MARCH 24 at noon. I want to meet with each of you either before or after you hand in the one-page statement. The statement should include your thesis/hypothesis and the kinds of data you intend to collect in order to test it.

Related readings:

- Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fisher, Lois. 1993. *Survival in Russia: Chaos and Hope in Everyday Life*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Kotkin, Stephen. 1991. *Steeptown, USSR*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Lourie, Richard. 1991. *Russia Speaks: An Oral History from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Markowitz, Fran. 2000. *Coming of Age in Post-Soviet Russia*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Pesmen, Dale. 2000. *Russia and Soul*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Richards, Susan. 1990. *Epics of Everyday Life: Encounters in a Changing Russia*. New York: Penquin.
- Scott, John. 1942. *Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

March 28 *The Inertia of Complaint*

Ries, ch. 3: "Litanies and Laments: The Discursive Art of Suffering" pp. 83-125.

Ries, ch. 4: "Mystical Poverty and the Rewards of Loss," pp. 126-140. This is not the whole chapter; feel free to read the rest if you want to.

Ries, "Conclusion: The Rituals and Paradoxes of Perestroika," pp. 161-188.

Ries, Epilogue, pp. 188-201.

Related readings:

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

Ashwin, Sarah. 1999. *Russian Workers: The Anatomy of Patience*. New York: Manchester University Press.

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

Shenfield, Stephen D. 2001. *Russian Fascism: Traditions, Tendencies, Movements*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

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

Smith, Kathleen E. 2002. *Mythmaking in the New Russia: Politics and Memory during the Yeltsin Era*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

April 4 *Responses to the Collapse of the Soviet Union*

Svetlana Alexievich, *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets*, pp. 3-281.

All students should read pp. 1-106.

We'll divide up the remaining part of this reading.

Related readings:

Alexander, James. 2000. *Political Culture in Post-Communist Russia: Formlessness and Recreation in a Traumatic Transition*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Alexievich, Svetlana. 2006. *Voices from Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster*. Picador.

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

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

Carnaghan, Ellen. 2007. *Out of Order: Russian Political Values in an Imperfect World*. State College, PA: Penn State University Press.

Carnaghan, Ellen. 2007. "Do Russians Dislike Democracy?" *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 40, no. 1, January 2007: 494-499.

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

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

Pelevin, Victor. 1998. *Omon Ra*. New Directions.

Pelevin, Victor. 2002. *Homo Zapiens*. New York: Penguin Books.

Petro, Nicolai N. 2004. *Crafting Democracy: How Novgorod Has Coped with Rapid Social Change*. Ithaca: Cornell.

Yurchak, Alexei. 2003. Russian Neoliberal: The Entrepreneurial Ethic and the Spirit of 'True Careerism.' *The Russian Review* 62 (January): 72-90.

April 11 *Surviving the new Russia*

Secondhand Time, pp. 287-470.

All students should read 287-349 and 434-470.

We'll divide up the remaining part of the reading.

Related readings:

Dawisha, Karen. 2015. *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Garrels, Anne. 2016. *Putin Country: A Journey into the Real Russia*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Hemment, Julie. 2009. "Soviet-Style Neoliberalism? Nashi, Youth Voluntarism, and the Restructuring of Social Welfare in Russia." *Problems of Communism* 56, no. 6 (November/December): 36-50.

Henderson, Sarah L. 2003. *Building Democracy in Contemporary Russia: Western Support for Grassroots Organizations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Shteyngart, Gary. 2002. *The Russian Debutante's Handbook*. New York: Riverhead Books, Penguin Putnam Inc.

McMann, Kelly M. 2006. *Economic Autonomy and Democracy: Hybrid Regimes in Russia and Kyrgyzstan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sorokin, Vladimir. 2012. *Day of the Oprichnik*. Translated by Jamey Gambrell. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Sperling, Valerie. 2014. *Sex, Politics, and Putin: Political Legitimacy in Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press.

April 18 Draft of RESEARCH PAPER due. This draft should be as complete as possible.

Be prepared to talk about your paper in class today.

April 25 *Protest in the Putin Regime*

Karine Clement, "New Social Movements in Russia: A Challenge to the Dominant Model of Power Relationships?" *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 24, no. 1 (March 2008): 68-89 (e-reserve or Academic Search Premier).

Jussi Lassila, "Alekssei Naval'nyi and Populist Re-ordering of Putin's Stability," *Europe-Asia Studies* 68, no. 1 (January 2016): 118-137 (e-reserve).

Graduate students should also read Lucan Way, "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine," *World Politics* 57, no. 2 (January 2005): 231-261 (Project Muse). Plan to meet with me before class and to present Way's argument in class.

Related readings:

Ambrosio, Thomas. 2007. "Insulating Russia from a Colour Revolution: How the Kremlin Resists Regional Democratic Trends." *Democratization* 14, no. 2 (April): 232 - .

Beissinger, Mark R. 2007. "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 2 (June): 259-276.

Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2006. "International diffusion and postcommunist electoral revolutions." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39: 283-304.

Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2010. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62, no. 1 (January): 43-86.

Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

- Carnaghan, Ellen. 2016. "From Balcony to Barricade: Mobilizing Citizens in Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68, no. 9 (November): 1579-1607.
- Evans, Alfred B, Jr., and Laura A. Henry, and Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, eds. 2005. *Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Greene, Samuel A. 2014. *Moscow in Movement: Power and Opposition in Putin's Russia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hale, Henry. 2006. "Democracy or autocracy on the march? The colored revolutions as normal dynamics of patronal presidentialism." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39: 305-329.
- Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Yabloko and the Challenge of Building a Liberal Party in Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 56, no. 7 (November).
- Henry, Laura A. 2010. *Red to Green: Environmental Activism in Post-Soviet Russia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Javeline, Debra. 2003. "The Role of Blame in Collective Action: Evidence From Russia." *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1: 107-121.
- Javeline, Debra. 2003. *Protest and the Politics of Blame: The Russian Response to Unpaid Wages*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kernen, Beat. 2004. "Putin and the Parliamentary Elections in Russia: The Confluence (Slijanie) of Russian Political Culture and Leadership." *East European Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (March): 85-107.
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44 (October): 7-48.
- Lyall, Jason . 2006. "Pocket Protests: Rhetorical Coercion and the Micropolitics of Collective Action in Semiauthoritarian Regimes," *World Politics* 58, no. 3 (April): 378-412.
- Mendelson, Sarah E., and Theodore P. Gerber. 2007. "Activist Culture and Transnational Diffusion: Social Marketing and Human Rights Groups in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 23, no. 1: 50-75.
- Robertson, Graeme B. 2007. "Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes." *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 4 (November): 781-798.
- Robertson, Graeme B. 2009. "Managing Society: Protest, Civil Society, and Regime in Putin's Russia." *Slavic Review* 68, no. 3 (Fall): 528-547.
- Robertson, Graeme. 2013. "Protesting Putinism: The Election Protests of 2011-2012 in Broader Perspective." *Problems of Post-Communism* 60, no. 2 (March-April): 11-23.
- Steinberg, Marc W. 2004. "When Politics Goes Pop: on the intersections of popular and political culture and the case of Serbian student protests." *Social Movement Studies* 3, no. 1 (April): 3-29.
- Topalova, Viktoriya. 2006. "In Search of Heroes: Cultural Politics and Political Mobilization of Youths in Contemporary Russia and Ukraine." *Demokratizatsiya* 14, no.1 (Winter): 23-41.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 3 (September): 535-551.
- Ulfelder, Jay. 2005. "Contentious Collective Action and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes." *International Political Science Review* 26, no. 3: 311-334.
- Volkov, Denis. 2012. "The Protesters and the Public." *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 3 (July): 55-62.
- Wengle, Susanne, and Michael Rasell. 2008. "The Monetisation of *L'goty*: Changing Patterns of Welfare Politics and Provision in Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 5 (July): 739-756.
- Way, Lucan. 2005. "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine." *World Politics* 57, no. 2 (January): 231-261.
- Yusupova, Marina. 2014. "Pussy Riot: a feminist band lost in history and translation." *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 4: 604-610.

May 2 **Change and Continuity in Russian Public Opinion**

- William Mishler and Richard Rose, "Generation, Age, and Time: The Dynamics of Political Learning during Russia's Transformation," *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 4 (October 2007): 822-834 (e-reserve or JSTOR).
- Henry E. Hale, "The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 8 (October 2011): 1357-1375 (e-reserve).

Related readings:

- Inkeles, Alex, and Raymond A. Bauer. 1959. *The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bahry, Donna L. 1999. "Comrades into Citizens? Russian Political Culture and Public Support for the Transition." *Slavic Review* 58 (Winter): 841-853.
- Carnaghan, Ellen. 2011. "The difficulty of measuring support for democracy in a changing society: Evidence from Russia," *Democratization* 18, no. 3 (June): 682-706.
- Carnaghan, Ellen. 2001. "Thinking about Democracy: Interviews with Russian Citizens," *Slavic Review* 60 (Summer): 336-366.
- Colton, Timothy J. 2000. *Transitional Citizens: Voters and What Influences Them in the New Russia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Eckstein, Harry, Frederic J. Fleron Jr., Erik Hoffmann, and William Reisinger, eds. 1998. *Can Democracy Take Root in Post-Soviet Russia? Explorations in State-Society Relations*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Fleron, Frederic J., Jr. 1996. "Post-Soviet Political Culture in Russia: An Assessment of Recent Empirical Investigations." *Europe-Asia Studies* 48 (March): 225-260.
- Gill, Graeme. 2008. "'Lenin Lives': Or Does He? Symbols and the Transition from Socialism." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 2 (March): 173-196.
- McAllister, Ida, and Stephen White. 2008. "Voting 'against all' in postcommunist Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 1 (January 2008).
- Millar, James R, ed. 1987. *Politics, work, and daily life in the USSR*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Oates, Sarah. 2006. "Framing Fear: Findings from a Study of Election News and Terrorist Threat in Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 58, no. 2 (March).
- Rose, Richard. 2008. "Is Russia Becoming a Normal Society?" *Demokratizatsiya* 16, no. 1 (Winter): 75-86.
- Rose, Richard, and Neil Munro, and William Mishler. 2004. "Resigned Acceptance of an Incomplete Democracy: Russia's Political Equilibrium." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 20, no. 3 (July-September): 195-218.
- Rose, Richard, and William Mishler, and Neil Munro. 2006. *Russia Transformed: Developing Popular Support for a New Regime*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, Richard, and William Mishler, and Neil Munro. 2008. "Time Matters: Adapting to Transformation." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 24, no. 1 (March): 90-114.
- Sedov, L.A. 2007. "Traditional Features of Russian Political Culture in Their Current Perspective," *Sociological Research* 46, no. 4 (July-August 2007): 33-.
- Shlapentokh, Vladimir. 1985. "Two Levels of Public Opinion: The Soviet Case." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 49 (Winter): 443-459.
- White, Stephen. 2005. "Political disengagement in post-communist Russia: a qualitative study." *Europe-Asia Studies* 57, no. 8 (December): 1121 -.

May 5 FINAL DRAFT OF RESEARCH PAPER DUE

Submit a Word document to carnagep@slu.edu by 5pm.

May 9 FINAL EXAM

Grad students: Students taking the class for graduate credit will take a written exam during the scheduled exam time, May 9, 6:30-8:30pm. This exam is designed to give you practice that will help with the field exam required for the MA.

Undergrads: Undergrads will take an oral final exam in groups of 3 or 4. We'll schedule these exams at times convenient for you, either earlier on May 9 or later during exam week.