



**National Research University "Higher School of Economics"
(Saint Petersburg)**

Saint Petersburg School of Social Sciences and Humanities

Department of Applied Political Science

"Contemporary Russian politics"
Course outline (Program) for bachelor level (2nd year)
41.03.04 "Political Science"

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Approved by the Head of the Student's Office

«28» декабря 2015

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Academic Director

«28» декабря 2015

Dr. Andrey Starodubtsev

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1. The sphere of program application and normative standards

The course outline *Contemporary Russian Politics* stipulates the minimum requirements for students' knowledge and skills and defines the content of the course, variety of learning activity and estimation. Curricular is aimed for teachers, teacher assistants and students studying at the bachelor program "Political Science" (2nd year).

The curricular is elaborated in accordance with the following educational standards:

- Federal state educational standard "Political Science" (http://www.edu.ru/db-mon/mo/Data/d_10/prm542-1.pdf)
- Educational program 41.03.04 "Political Science"
- University working studying plan "Political Science" on the studying program 41.03.04 "Political Science" approved in 2014

2. The main aim and tasks of the course

The **course aims at** forming a coherent knowledge of the recent political developments in Russia through the lens of various conceptual and theoretical approaches. The course revolves around four major issues in Russian politics: super-presidentialism, regionalisation, state weakness and weak political institutions, and its resource wealth. The tasks of the course are therefore covering these four components. The three former institutional characteristics are taken to be more stable and to produce stronger legacies traced back to the late Soviet times and the 1990s. The latter, being primarily the naughts' feature, enters analysis by the mid-term.

The course kicks off with a very brief crash introduction into Russian political history that aims at providing students with reference points for the rest of the course. It further moves on to discover the two major institutional features of Russian politics, namely, its presidentialism and regionalism. Presidentialism is analyzed in its connection to the weak legislature (inherent in the vertical separation of powers). Then the course proceeds with the regional dimension of Russian politics and its "federalism by default", and see how it plays out depending on the characteristics of political regime in the federal center.

Another important feature of Russian politics is state weakness. The course takes on a more Weberian approach to examine the state strength through its bureaucracy and puts an emphasis on how capable Russian state is of conducting reforms. Another application of Russian statehood is through its relation to business interests.

Finally, the course elucidates the specificities of the business-state relationship to take a closer look at one particular feature of this relationship, namely, of the resource dependency or the resource curse. Whether it is a curse is a worthy question in itself. We also find out the effects of the resource wealth on Russian politics, policies and society. All of these features seem to reinforce the existent regime. Is there any room for change?

In a nutshell, **the main tasks of the course** are:

- covering all major features of Russian politics as we observe it today, that is federalism, presidentialism, state weakness and resource curse;
- putting those in chronological perspective and relation to each other;
- referring this features of Russian politics to some of the most important and salient events in modern-day politics;
- introducing students to the major trends in political research on Russia;
- giving students a point of reference to do some research of their own, including the literature research and working with the primary sources;
- internationalising the study process on campus by having foreign students in the class along with Russian students, putting them in teamwork projects together, etc.



3. Common and special competencies to be acquired as a result of the course

The course aims at supplying students with all the necessary mental structures to think of modern Russian politics systematically. It also does so with a view of making them practice do that in English, which should inevitably be the case for those among them who will proceed with a scholarly career. The course also introduces and essay (a reaction paper) written in English, which is again a rare yet useful practice for those who wish to enter MA programs abroad after graduation.

1. Common competencies

Skills and competencies	Educational methods
A competence to clearly and deeply understand and be able to use contemporary methodology and theoretical conceptions	Reading analytical papers and academic literature and conducting analytical tasks (homework, individual tasks)
An analytical skill to built argumentation and explicitly express own position in English language	Reading analytical papers and academic literature, making presentations, work in groups
An analytical skill of making generalizations and represent ideas coherently in English language	Introduction of theoretical approaches, learning of the main notions and terms (work in groups and individual tasks)
An academic skill to effectively work in small groups and represent results of collective discussion	Arrangement of discussions in small groups which are to complete short tasks and represent the results

2. Special competencies

Skills and competencies	Educational methods
An analytical skill skill to conduct analysis of empirical data based on methodology of political and social sciences	To explore empirical data (using internet resources) and conduct analysis (preparation of final analysis of the interest group in Russia)
A skill of complex estimation of political and social situation from different theoretical and methodological perspectives	To arrange discussion in small groups with the task to represent argumentation from various theoretical and methodological perspectives (techniques of critical thinking)

4. The impact of the course for the educational program "Political Science"

The course *Contemporary Russian Politics* belongs to the core part of the working educational plan of the program "Political Science". Being an integral part of contemporary political science *Russian Politics* can be considered as fundamental for such discipline as *Interest groups, Public governance and Political reforms* and serves as an empirical 'playground' for the courses on *Comparative Politics and Methods of Research*. It places Russian Politics in such broader processes and phenomena studied by Political Theory and Comparative Politics as the development of political regime, party system, socio-economic devel-



opment and policy changes (policy reforms). It also places Russian political developments into broader comparative perspective of post-Soviet and post-communist countries. Thus, the course should be positioned as intermediary between the conceptual breadth of Comparative Politics and contextual specificity of area studies.

Course prerequisites

Students who plan to attend the course Contemporary Russian Politics are expected to possess basic knowledge on the main categories of political science such as power division, federalism, political parties and elections, representative democracy. Knowledge of Russian history and political system shall be of great help, though are not necessary. Students are to have basic analytical skills, should be ready to implement analytical frameworks for the analysis of given empirical situations, phenomena. Despite the fact that the course itself aims at developing English language academic skills, students need to be able to read and understand academic language, formulate and express their opinion in a comprehensive way. Therefore intermediate and upper-intermediate level of English skills is required for successful attendance and passage of the course.

5. The thematic plan of the course

The total number of academic hours - 190 hours (62 hours in the class, 128 hours of independent student's work) including 31 sessions: 15 lectures, 16 seminars.

Subjects covered

No	Subject	Hrs (total)	Class hrs		Self-study
			Lectures	Seminars	
1	Introduction to the course. Brief overview of Russian political history (1990s-2010s)	16	2	4	10
2	What is Russian politics made of? Presidentialism	22	4	4	14
3	Parties, media and opposition	24	4	4	16
4	Spiders in the box. Can federalism be a check on the all-mighty president?	24	4	4	16
5	Corruption, bureaucracy and state building	18	2	4	12
6	Institutions and the rule of law in Russia. Law and courts	24	4	4	16
7	Business and state in Russia. Oil and resource curse. Oligarchs	22	4	2	16
8	Protests and color revolutions	18	2	4	12
9	Societal, economic and political sources of autocratic resilience in Russia. A normal country?	22	4	2	16
Total		190	30	32	128

6. Forms of knowledge assessment

Final grade consists of the following components:

40%	work in class during seminars
20%	two reaction papers
10%	colloquium
30%	exam



Seminar work assessment

Every seminar starts with a brief overview of the subject by the instructor. This is followed by an in-depth discussion of the literature assigned for the class, with occasional team project presentations. The students' work in class during seminars amounts to 40% of the final grade. This mostly deals with the instructor's assessment of their reading.

Two reaction papers (one per module)

The other 20% of the grade come from two reaction papers students write covering the reading assignment for two classes of their choice (which they submit to the instructor after the first class where they get familiar with the course requirements and can ask some further questions to ascertain their points of interest for the course). The reaction paper is a 500 words long essay where a student reviews the literature assigned for the class, gives his/her opinion and some critiques on it. Reaction papers must be submitted via Dropbox to the folder Reaction papers not later than a day before the class (seminar) on the subject starts.

Colloquium

Colloquium takes place in the middle of the course (beginning of the second term) where students are expected to react to any question(s) asked by the instructor on the assigned topic. Colloquium's format differs from seminars because it does not imply discussion, rather a pure knowledge of the literature and resembles the oral mini-exam with brief and maximally precise answers. The colloquium's subject is the matter of agreement between the instructor and students. Students must read all the literature assigned and be prepared to immediately respond to the question(s). Each correct response amounts to 5 points. Two full and correct (to the reasonable extent) responses amount to the maximum of 10 points (10%).

Exam

With an aggregate grade (seminars+reaction papers+colloquium) of 5.6 (see the formula below) or higher a student is excused from taking the exam. The exam (30%) is a written answer to one of the broad questions covered in the course. The exam lasts two hours and can add up to the final grade as 30%.

Type of testing	Form of testing	Parameters
Current	Seminar attendance, individual and group presentations based on the suggested reading	Students are to show their understanding and critical evaluation of the reading materials. This estimation allows monitoring of the knowledge and skills acquired as well as the quality of independent work.
Intermediate	Reaction papers and colloquium	Reaction papers demonstrate students' ability to summarize and define the main points of scholarly debates and express their opinion in a succinct written form. Colloquium provides test of basic factual knowledge, quality of self-study as well as the skill to quickly react to the questions related with the course subject.
Final task	Exam	The final task for the course takes a form of a two-hours written essay on the topics covered



		during the course. The essay demonstrates the quality of factual and conceptual knowledge obtained as well as the skills of critical thinking and ability to express opinions in a coherent manner.
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Final grade is estimated in compliance with the following criteria:

Points	The grade
85 – 100%	8 – 10 grades
65 – 85%	6 – 7 grades
50 – 65%	4 – 5 grades
Less than 50%	1 – 3 grades

The final grade is calculated in accordance with the following criteria. The cumulative grade (*Gcumulative*) consists of the grade for the colloquium (*Gcolloq*), the grade for the reaction papers (*Gpapers*), and current grade (*Gcurrent*). The final grade consists of cumulative grade and the grade for the final exam (*Gexam*).

The final grade is calculated in accordance with the following formulae:

$$G_{current} = (G_{current} + 5) / 3$$

$$G_{cumulative} = G_{papers} + G_{colloq} + G_{current}$$

$$G_{final} = G_{cumulative} + G_{exam}$$

Max points	Form of activity	Formula	Term in the equation
40%	work in class during seminars	23 seminars × 5 points = 115 points max ($G_{current} + 5$) / 3 = 40 points	<i>Gcurrent</i>
20%	two reaction papers	2 reaction papers × 10 points = 20 points max	<i>Gpapers</i>
10%	colloquium	2 answers × 5 points = 10 points	<i>Gcolloq</i>
30%	exam	Knowledge of mandatory literature (authors and concepts) – 15 points Development of the argument, author's position – 15 points Total = 30 points max	<i>Gexam</i>

7. The content of the course

1) Introduction to the course. Brief overview of Russian political history (1990- 2010s)

Perestroika: why did it fail, or did it? August putsch and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Early Russian super-parliamentarism, Yeltsin's rule by decree and October 1993 stand-off. Presidential elections 1996 and the rise of oligarchs. "Who is mister Putin?" Popular and unpopular reforms of the first and second Putin administrations. Putin's political reforms and return to authoritarianism. Medvedev and the economic crisis in Russia. "The Return of the King", "stolen elections" and 2011-2012 protests. Puzzle of Russian political



trajectory: struggle between president and legislature in the 1990s, with regions idle. Building power vertical in 2000s and embedding regional political machines.

(6 hrs seminars, 4 hrs lectures)

Reading materials:

- ✓ *Gel'man V. (2015). *Authoritarian Russia. Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes*. University of Pittsburgh Press. Ch. 3. The Roaring 1990s. Ch. 4. The (In)Famous 2000s. Ch. 5. The Unpredictable 2010s (especially *Kremlin Strikes Back*).
- ✓ Treisman D. (1999) *After the Deluge*. Cornell University Press. Intro
- ✓ McFaul M. (2001) *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin*. Cornell University Press. Ch. 1. The Gorbachev Era, 1986-1990. Ch. 2. The First Russian Republic, 1991-1993. Ch. 3. The Emergence of the Second Russian Republic, 1993-1996.
- ✓ Shevtsova L. (2005) *Putin's Russia*. Carnegie Endowment international Peace.
- ✓ Shevtsova L. (1999) *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality*. Carnegie Endowment international Peace.

2) "Slugs, snakes and puppy-dogs' tails": What is Russian politics made of? Presidentialism.

First electoral cycle and the birth trauma of Russian politics. The 1992-1993 stallmate and the new Constitution. How big a role does president have in Russia? Presidentialism and government instability in late 1990s. Economic crisis and the Primakov left-wing government. 1999 impeachment attempt. (4 hrs lectures, 4 hrs seminars)

Reading materials

- ✓ *Juan J. Linz. 1992. "The Perils of Presidentialism" in Arend Lijphart, ed., *Parliamentary Versus Presidential Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 119-27.
- ✓ *Frye T. 1997. "A Politics of Institutional Choice. Post-Communist Presidencies". *Comparative Political Studies* 30(5): 523-552
- ✓ Remington, Thomas. 2008. "Patronage and the Party of Power: President-Parliament Relations Under Vladimir Putin." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60 (6): 959-87. doi:10.1080/09668130802161215.
- ✓ Fish, M Steven. 2005. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 7, pp. 193-245.
- ✓ Hale H. 2014. *Patronal Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

3) Parties, media and opposition. Did they all fall victims to the president?

Political parties in Russia. Where do they come from? Fate of the CPSU and the new communist party. What role did media play in Russian politics in the late 1990s? Oligarchs and the television. (8 hrs lectures, 8 hrs seminars).

Reading materials

Seminar 1. Political parties and opposition in Russia (4 hrs)

- ✓ *Golosov, Grigorii. 2004. *Political Parties in the Regions of Russia: Democracy Unclaimed*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. Ch. 2-3, pp. 19-56.



- ✓ *Gel'man, Vladimir. 2005. "Political Opposition in Russia: A Dying Species?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21 (3): 226–46. doi:10.2747/1060-586X.21.3.226.
- ✓ Hale H. 2005. *Why not parties in Russia?* Cambridge University Press
- ✓ Remington T. 2008. Patronage and the Party of Power: President–Parliament Relations Under Vladimir Putin. *Europe-Asia Studies* 60(6), 959-987

Seminar 2. Media in Russia (4 hrs)

- ✓ *Lipman, Masha, and Michael McFaul. 2005. "Putin and the Media." In *Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, edited by Dale R. Herspring, 55–74. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- ✓ Enikolopov, Ruben, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2011. "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia." *The American Economic Review* 101 (7): 3253–85.
- ✓ Gunitsky S. 2015. Corrupting the Cyber-Commons: Social Media as a Tool of Autocratic Stability. *Perspectives on Politics* 13(1), 42-54.
- ✓ Greene S. 2013. Beyond Bolotnaia: Bridging Old and New in Russia's Election Protest Movement. *Problems of Post-Communism* 60(2), 40-52.

4) What else is Russian politics made of? Federalism.

"Federalism by default": Soviet matryoshka federalism and chocolate-bar break-up after the Soviet collapse. The all-mighty governors and gubernatorial elections in 1990s. Regional machines and the Fatherland – All Russia party in 1999. Adverse effects of federalism on party formation. Defederalization of Russia and building governors into the power vertical. (4 hrs lectures, 4 hrs seminars)

Reading materials:

- ✓ *Golosov, Grigorii. 2004. *Political Parties in the Regions of Russia: Democracy Unclaimed*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. Ch. 3, pp. 57-90.
- ✓ Kahn, Jeffrey. 2002. *Federalism, Democratization, and the Rule of Law in Russia*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 8, pp. 234-278.
- ✓ Golosov, Grigorii V. 2011. "The Regional Roots of Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (4): 623–39. doi:10.1080/09668136.2011.566427.

5) So how strong is the state? Corruption, bureaucracy and state building in Russia

Russia's surprisingly weak state. What is state weakness? State autonomy, state capacity and corruption. Is Russian state stronger under Putin than under Yeltsin? Descending to the local level and seeking societal explanations. *Blat*. Political machines. (4 hrs lectures, 4 hrs seminars)

Reading materials:

- ✓ *Evans, Peter, and James E Rauch. 1999. "Bureaucracy and Growth: A Cross-National Analysis of the Effects of 'Weberian' State Structures on Economic Growth." *American Sociological Review*, 748–65.
- ✓ *Taylor, Brian D. 2011. *State Building in Putin's Russia: Policing and Coercion After Communism*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 4, pp. 112-155.
- ✓ Volkov, Vadim. 1999. "Violent Entrepreneurship in Post-Communist Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 51 (5): 741–54.



- ✓ Jowitt, Ken. 1983. "Soviet Neotraditionalism: The Political Corruption of a Leninist Regime." *Europe-Asia Studies* 35 (3): 275–97.
- ✓ Libman, Alexander, and Anastassia Obydenkova. Forthcoming. CPSU Legacies and Regional Democracy in Contemporary Russia. *Political Studies*.
- ✓ Libman, Alexander, and Anastassia Obydenkova. 2013. "Communism or Communists? Soviet Legacies and Corruption in Transition Economies." *Economics Letters* 119 (1): 101–3. doi:10.1016/j.econlet.2013.02.003.
- ✓ Kryshtanovskaya Olga and Stephen White (2003) Putin's Militocracy, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 19:4, 289-306
- ✓ Renz B. 2006. Putin's Militocracy? An Alternative Interpretation of Siloviki in Contemporary Russian Politics. *Europe-Asia Studies* 58(6), 903–924

6) What state weakness tells us about institutions and the rule of law?

Formal and informal institutions in Russian politics. Are courts another victim of the regime? How is law made in Russia? (4 hrs lectures, 4 hrs seminars)

Reading materials:

- ✓ *Ledeneva, Alena V. 1998. *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchange*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 4, pp. 104-138.
- ✓ Gel'man, Vladimir. 2004. "The Unrule of Law in the Making: The Politics of Informal Institution Building in Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 56 (7): 1021–40. doi:10.1080/1465342042000294347.
- ✓ *Solomon, Peter H. 2008. "Judicial Power in Authoritarian States: The Russian Experience." In *Rule by Law: The Politics of Courts in Authoritarian Regimes*, edited by Tom Ginsburg and Tamir Moustafta, 261. Cambridge University Press.
- ✓ Gel'man, Vladimir. 2012. "Subversive Institutions, Informal Governance, and Contemporary Russian Politics." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45 (3–4): 295–303. doi:10.1016/j.postcomstud.2012.07.005.

7) Business and state in Russia. Oil and resource curse. Oligarchs

Is Russia swinging between state-capture and business-capture? How big is the Big Oil in Russian politics? What is resource curse and why is it a curse? (6 hrs lectures, 6 hrs seminars)

Reading materials:

- ✓ *Orttung, Robert W. 2004. "Business and Politics in the Russian Regions." *Problems of Post-Communism* 51 (2): 48–60.
- ✓ *Volkov, Vadim. 2008. "Standard Oil and Yukos in the Context of Early Capitalism in the United States and Russia."
- ✓ *Hellman, Joel. 1998. *Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions*. *World Politics / Volume 50 / Issue 02 / January 1998*, pp. 203-234.
- ✓ Yakovlev, Andrei. 2006. "The Evolution of Business – State Interaction in Russia: From State Capture to Business Capture?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (7): 1033–56. doi:10.1080/09668130600926256.
- ✓ Gel'man, Vladimir. 2010. "The Logic of Crony Capitalism: Big Oil, Big Politics, and Big Business in Russia." In *Resource Curse and Post-Soviet Eurasia: Oil, Gas, and Modernization*, edited by Otar Marganiya and Vladimir Gel'man. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.



8) Can society strike back? Protests and color revolutions.

Who are the Russian protesters and what do they want? Why revolutions happen elsewhere but not in Russia? (4 hrs lectures, 4 hrs seminars)

Reading materials:

- ✓ *Robertson, Graeme B. 2009. "Managing Society: Protest, Civil Society, and Regime in Putin's Russia." *Slavic Review*, 528–47.
- ✓ *Hale H. 2006. Democracy or autocracy on the march? The colored revolutions as normal dynamics of patronal presidentialism. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39(3), 305–329
- ✓ Robertson G. 2013. Protesting Putinism. The Election Protests of 2011–2012 in Broader Perspective Problems of Post-Communism 60(2), 11–23.
- ✓ Volkov D. 2012. The Protesters and The Public. *Journal of Democracy* 23(3), 55–62.
- ✓ Finkel, Evgeny, and Yitzhak M. Brudny. 2012. "No More Colour! Authoritarian Regimes and Colour Revolutions in Eurasia." *Democratization* 19 (1): 1–14. doi:10.1080/13510347.2012.641298.
- ✓ Koesel, Karrie J, and Valerie J Bunce. 2012. "Putin, Popular Protests, and Political Trajectories in Russia: A Comparative Perspective." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28 (4): 403–23.

9) Societal, economic and political sources of autocratic resilience in Russia. A normal country?

Do Russians support their political regime? What are the major correlates of this support? Is it economy? Is it stability? Is it law and order? Are Russians autocratic by nature? What does regime do to stay? How popular are regime policies? (6 hrs lectures, 6 hrs seminars)

Reading materials:

- ✓ *Rose, Richard, William Mishler, and Neil Munro. 2011. *Popular Support for an Undemocratic Regime: The Changing Views of Russians*. Cambridge University Press.
- ✓ *Treisman D. 2011. Presidential Popularity in a Hybrid Regime: Russia under Yeltsin and Putin *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3), 590–609.
- ✓ *Shleifer, Andrei. 2005. *A Normal Country: Russia after Communism*. Harvard University Press.
- ✓ Chais-ty P. and S. Whitefield. 2012. The Effects of the Global Financial Crisis on Russian Political Attitudes. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28(2), 187–208.
- ✓ Taylor, Brian D. 2011. *State Building in Putin-S Russia: Policing and Coercion After Communism*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 8, pp. 284–322.
- ✓ Ambrosio, Thomas. 2009. *Authoritarian Backlash: Russian Resistance to Democratization in the Former Soviet Union*. Ashgate Publishing. Ch. 4, pp. 45–68.

8. Educational methods

In order to help students obtain analytical skills the course implies an intensive work on conflicting or diverging concepts, explanations and interpretations of political developments in Russia. Therefore the course implies the extensive work on the following notions: critical mass and tipping point models of protest actions, rent-seeking activity, selective incentives, common good, redistributive coalitions, free-rider problem, division of power, electoral and party systems, privatization schemes, business assets. Special emphasis is made on the basic knowledge of the institutional arrangements in late-USSR, early Russian republic, Yeltsin's and Putin's political reforms. There are different modes of bringing concepts and facts together: 1) interpreting the same event through at least two different theoretical frameworks; 2) carving out the main arguments suggested by scholars and summarizing disagreements and their sources



(group work, seminar discussions, comparing authors and their conceptual and methodological tools), 3) conducting small analyses at home and in the class etc.

9. Tasks for intermediate and current assessment of student's work

Every **seminar** starts with a brief overview of the subject by the instructor. This is followed by an in-depth discussion of the literature assigned for the class, with occasional team project presentations. The students' work in class during seminars amounts to **40%** of the final grade. This mostly deals with the instructor's assessment of their reading. Literature items marked by asterisks (*) stand for mandatory reading. The minimum reading requirement for a seminar is all mandatory items plus at least one item from the optional list of readings. Each seminar is evaluated on a scale from 0 to 5 points. Current grades are available in the special file in the Dropbox.

The **two reaction papers** students write covering the reading assignment for two classes of their choice (which they submit to the instructor after the first class where they get familiar with the course requirements and can ask some further questions to ascertain their points of interest for the course). The reaction paper is a 500 words long essay where a student reviews the literature assigned for the class, gives his/her opinion and some critiques on it. Reaction papers must be submitted via Dropbox to the folder *Reaction papers* not later than a day before the class (seminar) on the subject starts.

Colloquium takes place in the middle of the course (beginning of the second term) where students are expected to react to any question(s) asked by the instructor on the assigned topic. Colloquium's format differs from seminars because it does not imply discussion, rather a pure knowledge of the literature and resembles the oral mini-exam with brief and maximally precise answers. The colloquium's subject is the matter of agreement between the instructor and students. Students must read all the literature assigned and be prepared to immediately respond to the question(s). Each correct response amounts to 4.5 points. Two full and correct (to the reasonable extent) responses amount to the maximum of 10 points (**10%**).

10. Methodological and informational provision of the course

The course syllabus, literature assignments as well as the reading materials are available via Dropbox (free cloud service). Before the first seminar students receive a personal invitation to the Dropbox folder. Students are encouraged to upload and share any other relevant materials (papers, articles, blogue entries, statistics, videos) via Dropbox.

Apart from the recommended literature, students are encouraged to read daily and weekly digests (RBC.ru, slon.ru, meduza.io, lenta.ru, polit.ru, vedomosti.ru, the Monkey Cage blogue etc.) or journals (The Economist, The Moscow Times etc.) as well as regularly watch current news so as these developments could be incorporated into the course framework.

10.1 The main reading materials

1. Frye T. 1997. "A Politics of Institutional Choice. Post-Communist Presidencies". *Comparative Political Studies* 30(5): 523-552
2. Gel'man V. (2015). *Authoritarian Russia. Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes*. University of Pittsburgh Press
3. Gel'man, Vladimir. 2005. "Political Opposition in Russia: A Dying Species?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21 (3): 226-46. doi:10.2747/1060-586X.21.3.226.
4. Golosov, Grigorii. 2004. *Political Parties in the Regions of Russia: Democracy Unclaimed*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. Ch. 2-3, pp. 19-56.
5. Hale H. 2005. *Why not parties in Russia?* Cambridge University Press
6. Hale H. 2014. *Patronal Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
7. Linz, Juan J. 1992. "The Perils of Presidentialism" in Arend Lijphart, ed., *Parliamentary Versus Presidential Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 119-27.



8. Lipman, Masha, and Michael McFaul. 2005. "Putin and the Media." In *Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, edited by Dale R. Herspring, 55–74. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
9. McFaul M. (2001) *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin*. Cornell University Press.
10. Remington T. 2008. Patronage and the Party of Power: President–Parliament Relations Under Vladimir Putin. *Europe-Asia Studies* 60(6), 959-987
11. Rose, Richard, William Mishler, and Neil Munro. 2011. *Popular Support for an Undemocratic Regime: The Changing Views of Russians*. Cambridge University Press.
12. Shleifer, Andrei. 2005. *A Normal Country: Russia after Communism*. Harvard University Press.
13. Taylor, Brian D. 2011. *State Building in Putin's Russia: Policing and Coercion After Communism*. Cambridge University Press.
14. Treisman D. 2011. Presidential Popularity in a Hybrid Regime: Russia under Yeltsin and Putin. *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3), 590–609.

10.2 Additional reading materials

1. Ambrosio, Thomas. 2009. *Authoritarian Backlash: Russian Resistance to Democratization in the Former Soviet Union*. Ashgate Publishing. Ch. 4, pp. 45-68.
2. Chisty P. and S. Whitefield. 2012. The Effects of the Global Financial Crisis on Russian Political Attitudes. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28(2), 187-208.
3. Cook L. (2007). *Postcommunist Welfare States: Reforms and Politics in Russia and Eastern Europe*. Cornell University Press. P. 10 – 28
4. Enikolopov, Ruben, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2011. "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia." *The American Economic Review* 101 (7): 3253–85.
5. Evans, Peter, and James E Rauch. 1999. "Bureaucracy and Growth: A Cross-National Analysis of the Effects of 'Weberian' State Structures on Economic Growth." *American Sociological Review*, 748–65.
6. Finkel, Evgeny, and Yitzhak M. Brudny. 2012. "No More Colour! Authoritarian Regimes and Colour Revolutions in Eurasia." *Democratization* 19 (1): 1–14. doi:10.1080/13510347.2012.641298.
7. Fish, M Steven. 2005. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
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