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407 Woodburn Hall
Office Hours: Wednesday,
9:00-11:30 and 1:30-3:30
or by appointment



POLS Y490: Analyzing Russian Protest

In December 2011, mass protest broke out across the Russian Federation to contest election fraud in the parliamentary elections. Between the first protest, and June 2012, the Russian opposition challenged the “Putin System” and changed the narrative of Russian politics. In response, the Putin regime took an “authoritarian turn” refocusing its popular appeals on national pride and international security. In this class, we will study the causes and consequences of Russian protest and its effect on regime development using original data collected by the Professor and her research team in Moscow in Spring 2012.

Goals of the Class: This course has three distinct goals. The first is to familiarize students with the series of events loosely called “Colored Revolutions” that consisted of mass protest against election fraud in countries such as Serbia, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan. Moreover, we will think about how Russian events link to the global wave of protest that encompassed the Arab Revolutions, Occupy and the anti-Austerity Protests, as well as the Russian events. To understand these events, the class will cover new theories of protest mobilization, providing students with a secondary expertise. Finally, the class will provide an opportunity for students to structure original data-based research. That is, you will garner skills in political analysis. As part of this skill set, we will fulfill the obligations of the writing class by providing you with an opportunity to present your ideas in a research paper and policy memo.

Please do not panic. I am aware that you are not experts on Russian politics or post-Communist studies. I also know that you have not had much experience with data analysis or theories of political protest (often called social movements). You will

learn a lot and will have a chance to ask a lot of questions. We will do much of this work in workshops conducted during the class period.

Course Materials: No texts are necessary for this class. We will rely on materials drawn from scholarly and policy journals, reputable news sources, and documentaries. You can find the readings through CANVAS, the links on the syllabus, or through the online library system and Google scholar.

In each week, I have provided you with a few articles. I am realistic about this reading load, so begin with the articles most relevant for your own research. You should get through no fewer than three of the articles and come to class prepared to discuss them and ask questions. If articles are relevant for your own work, be sure to take notes and add them to your bibliography.

Course Requirements: Grades in this course will be derived from participation and writing exercises based on your independent research.

Participation: Attendance is mandatory. I will ask you to sign in on a roster every day and I will use that roster to keep track of participation. To facilitate class administration, please get to class on time in order to sign in. In order to participate effectively, you must do the reading or assignments prior to class and participate on that basis. In some cases, you will have short homework or discussion prep assignments that I will check to see how well you are preparing for class. These constitute part of your participation grade since they will be the basis of class discussion and must be turned in at the end of class.

Writing Assignments: In this class, you will write an original research paper of 12-15 pages in six steps and then you will condense this paper into a policy memo of less than three pages that informs policy makers of what you found and what they might expect in the next round of Russian Elections in September 2016:

Assignment 1: Research Statement and Annotated Bibliography (15 percent)

Assignment 2: Literature Review based on your bibliography (20 percent)

Assignment 3: Revision of Literature Review and Paper Introduction
(opportunity to enhance your grade)

Assignment 4: Data Analysis Section and Policy Implications (20 percent)

Assignment 5: Final Paper that Combines these pieces of writing and adds a Conclusion (20 percent)

Assignment 6: Optional Final Paper Revision
(opportunity to increase your grade)

An additional 15 percent of your grade is allotted to participation and attendance. It is not enough for you to show up and observe class. Clarifying questions and observations are a great way to kick off your participation. My expectation is that you will have done the reading or the assignments and participate in the discussion. Once we get to data analysis, which we will do together in class, then participation is

mandatory. You cannot miss those sessions and complete the project. Part of your participation grade will be based on completing the prep assignments and sharing your insights with the class. All work should be uploaded to CANVAS prior to class but you should also bring any prep assignments to class with you.

Academic Integrity: As a student at IU, you are expected to adhere to the standards and policies detailed in the [*Code of Student Rights, Responsibilities, and Conduct*](#) (*Code*). When you submit a paper with your name on it in this course, you are signifying that the work contained therein is all yours, unless otherwise cited or referenced. Any ideas or materials taken from another source for either written or oral use must be fully acknowledged. If you are unsure about the expectations for completing an assignment or taking a test or exam, be sure to seek clarification beforehand. All suspected violations of the *Code* will be handled according to University policies. Sanctions for academic misconduct may include a failing grade on the assignment, reduction in your final grade, a failing grade in the course, among other possibilities, and must include a report to the Dean of Students. If you have questions about what constitutes dishonesty, please do not hesitate to ask. Additionally, you may find the Campus Writing Program's information useful: www.indiana.edu/~wts/wts/plagiarism.html.

Students with Disabilities: If any student requires assistance or academic accommodations for a disability, please contact me after class, during my office hours, or by individual appointment. You must have established your eligibility for disability support services through the Office of Disability Services for Students in Wells Library W302, 812-855-7578.

Link to Campus Disability Services:

<http://studentaffairs.iub.edu/dss/faculty/faculty-resources/>

Week 1 – Monday, January 11

Course Introduction: Russian History, Post-Election Protest and the Authoritarian Turn

Documentary: *Winter Go Away*

Prep Assignment: Frontline Documentary: The Putin Plan, available at:

http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/russia703/video/video_index.html

In a page or annotated list, note what you learned, what surprised you, or what you have questions about.

Week 2 – Monday, January 18, MLK DAY, No Class

Honing in on your research topic

Prep Assignment details on CANVAS: Read the Mason chapters on CANVAS and distill the four major factors that he cites to explain the wave of global protest in 2010. Choose one of the themes in the chapter as the focus of your own research and construct a ten item annotated bibliography based on scholarly and policy literature as a foundation of your own work. Your bibliography should include articles and books on Russia but also about the general topic that you are exploring or about other political protests.

- ✓ Paul Mason, Chapter 2 and 4, Available on CANVAS.

Bibliography and Research Statement Due on CANVAS prior to class on January 25

Week 3: January 25, The Russian Protests

Please come prepared to discuss your writing analysis assignment and share your experiences with the construction of the annotated bibliography

Reading:

- ✓ Robert Conquest, "Russia's Election Protests and the Soviet Past," *The Daily Beast*, available at: <http://www.newsweek.com/robert-conquest-russias-election-protests-and-soviet-past-65957>
- ✓ Michael Idov, "The New Decembrists," *New York Magazine*, January 22, 2012. Available at: <http://nymag.com/news/features/russian-revolutionaries-2012-1/>
- ✓ Gel'man, Vladimir. "The Regime, the Opposition, and Challenges to Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia." *Russian Analytical Digest*, 2.118 (2012).
- ✓ Chaisty, Paul, and Stephen Whitefield. "Forward to Democracy or Back to Authoritarianism? The Attitudinal Bases of Mass Support for the Russian Election Protests of 2011–2012." *Post-Soviet Affairs* (2013): 1-17.
- ✓ Robertson, Graeme. "Protesting Putinism." *Problems of Post-Communism* 60.2 (2013): 11-23.

Week 4 – Monday, February 1

Background: Social Support For Putin, Putin Mania

Reading:

- ✓ Foxall, Andrew. "Photographing Vladimir Putin: Masculinity, Nationalism and Visuality in Russian Political Culture." *Geopolitics* 18.1 (2013): 132-156.
- ✓ Cassidy, Julie A., and Emily D. Johnson. "Putin, Putiniana and the Question of a Post-Soviet Cult of Personality." *Slavonic and East European Review*(2010): 681-707.
- ✓ Stoner, Kathryn, and Michael McFaul. "Who Lost Russia (This Time)? Vladimir Putin." *The Washington Quarterly* 38.2 (2015): 167-187.

Week 5 – Monday, February 8

Russian Protest and the Colored Revolutions

Documentary: *Bringing Down a Dictator*

Reading: Pick two of the papers below and one paper on another colored revolution case that is consistent with your topic (Belarus or Moldova and the Internet, Euromaidan and nationalism, Orange Revolution and elections)

- ✓ Beissinger, Mark R. "Mechanisms of Maidan: The Structure of Contingency in the Making of the Orange Revolution." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*.16.1 (2011): 25-43.
- ✓ Mark R. Beissinger, "An Interrelated Wave," *Journal of Democracy*, 20, 1 (January 2009): 74-77.
- ✓ Valerie J. Bunce, Sharon L. Wolchik, "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes" *World Politics*, Volume 62, Number 1, January 2010, pp. 43-86
- ✓ Kuran Timor, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics*. 44, 1 (1991): 7-48.
- ✓ Joshua Tucker, "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and the "2nd Wave" of Post-Communist Democratic Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics*, 53(5): 537-553.

Understanding Theory and Hypothesis Development

- ✓ **Prep exercise:** Based on your focus of research, your bibliographic work, and the reading for this week come up with a core question and hypothesis for your research. Look at the Survey Instrument under the DATA tab on CANVAS. Can you test the hypothesis that you have posed with the available data? If not, how might you alter your hypothesis? What questions will you use to test the hypothesis? We will provide lots of examples and go over these hypotheses in class. We will also look at the survey data to think about whether or not your hypotheses are testable given the evidence.

Week 6 – Monday, February 15

Russian Youth – Nashi, Inequality and the Opposition

Understanding Data/Working with the Survey Evidence to Prove a Hypothesis

Prep Assignment: Find and read one article in the popular press on Russian youth in the Putin-era. Bring the article to class to shape discussion. Watch the documentary *Putin's Kiss* available on Amazon, iTunes, and other online sources. In a page or two, write what surprises you about the documentary, note what you learned or what you have questions about.

- ✓ Lyytikäinen, Laura. "Gendered and Classed Activist Identity in the Russian oppositional youth movement." *The Sociological Review* 61.3 (2013): 499-524.
- ✓ Atwal, Maya, and Edwin Bacon. "The Youth Movement Nashi: Contentious Politics, Civil Society, and Party Politics." *East European Politics* 28, no. 3 (2012): 256-266.
- ✓ Mendelson, Sarah E. "Generation Putin: What to Expect from Russia's Future Leaders." *Foreign Affairs*. 94 (2015): 150.
- ✓ Worger, Peter. "A Mad Crowd: Skinhead Youth and The Rise of Nationalism in post-communist Russia." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* (2012).

Week 7 – Monday, February 22

Information In Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes

Read this paper:

- ✓ Valenzuela, Sebastián. "Unpacking the Use of Social Media for Protest Behavior the Roles of Information, Opinion Expression, and Activism." *American Behavioral Scientist* 57.7 (2013): 920-942.

And two of these papers and or another paper that links different types of new media (phones, blogs, twitter, facebook, youTube, to protest participation):

- ✓ Gladwell, Malcolm. 2010. "Small Change: Why The revolution will not be Tweeted." *The New Yorker* October 4. http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/10/04/101004fa_fact_gladwell?printable=true
- ✓ Reuter, Ora John, and David Szakonyi. "Online Social Media and Political Awareness in Authoritarian Regimes." *British Journal of Political Science* 45.01 (2015): 29-51.
- ✓ Tufekci, Zeynep, and Christopher Wilson. "Social media and the decision to participate in political protest: Observations from Tahrir Square." *Journal of Communication* 62.2 (2012): 363-379.
- ✓

In addition, read this paper on framing:

- ✓ Benford, Robert D. and David A. Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Review of Sociology*, 26: 611-639.

Week 8 – Monday, February 29

No class meeting this week. Instead, I will hold office hours (WH 407) during the class period to answer any last minute questions about your work. I will review your papers quickly and return them to you so that we can discuss them in office hours prior to break and be sure that requests for revisions are clear.

Literature Review and Research plan due on CANVAS

Week 9 –Monday, March 7

We will meet in our usual classroom. Working with the Data: Constructing Hypothesis, Defining Your Variables and using EXCEL to analyze data Please print out From Survey to Data Analysis Worksheet. We will complete this in class and it will serve as the basis of consultations following spring break.

*****Spring Break*****

Week 10 – Monday, March 21

Mandatory Paper Consultations During Class, Office Hours and by Appointment, Sign ups will be available prior to break. It is also possible to meet the week before break.

Week 11 – Monday, March 28 – We will meet in WH 200

Responsible handling of data – What information must be in your paper about the nature of the survey, the survey sample, the question wording, your coding strategies and your analysis?

Analyzing Data and Supporting Your Arguments: Hands on workshop to conduct the analysis for your individual paper.

Introduction and Lit Review Revision Due on CANVAS Prior to Class on March 28

Week 12 – Monday, April 4

Workshop on Presenting Your Evidence: Constructing, Figures, Charts and Graphs

Week 13, Monday, April 11

Student Data Presentations

Constructing your final papers: writings tips, style, questions about structure, re-evaluating background sections, revising the analysis, putting together a strong conclusion

**Data Analysis and Policy Implications Section Due on
CANVAS No Later than April 11**

Week 14, Monday, April 18

This week we will not meet. I will grade your paper submissions quickly and then we will meet independently to come up with a strategy for revision in order that you can improve your grades. We will also discuss your plan for a revision of the whole paper including the brief background section, a policy section if you want to include one, and your conclusions that will be submitted on April 18 in your final draft.

**Final Papers Due on CANVAS April
18, Revised Papers Due by May 2**