

# Evidence of teaching effectiveness:

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## I. Evidence of teaching effectiveness:

This section summarizes instructor evaluations that I received at the George Washington University and Sciences Po (Paris, France) from Fall 2017 to Summer 2021. I present quantitative and qualitative responses from 6 courses in which I worked as the lead instructor or as the teaching assistant. The courses cover a comprehensive range of sub-fields in political science as well as substantive topics in identity and Russian politics.

### As lead instructor:

1. Introduction to the Social Sciences (at Sciences Po)
2. Introduction to International Politics
3. (Re)Thinking Social Identities: Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Politics (at Sciences Po)

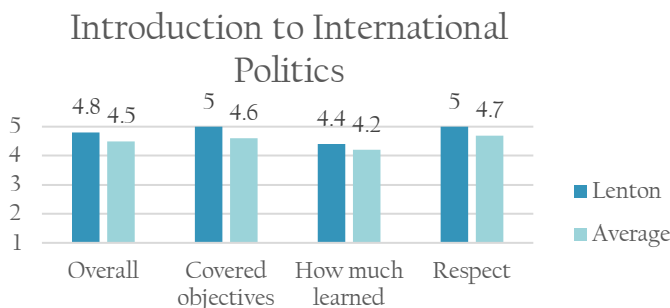
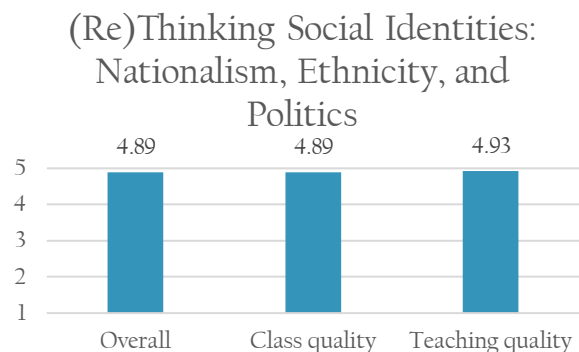
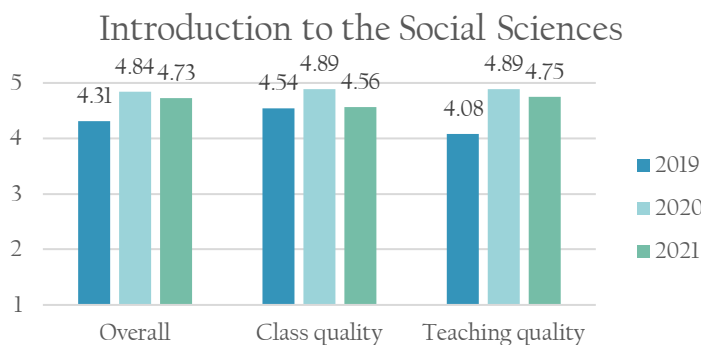
### As teaching assistant:

1. Introduction to Comparative Politics
2. Theory and Practice of Democracy in America (part of the Politics and Values Program)
3. Justice and Group Relations (part of the Politics and Values Program)

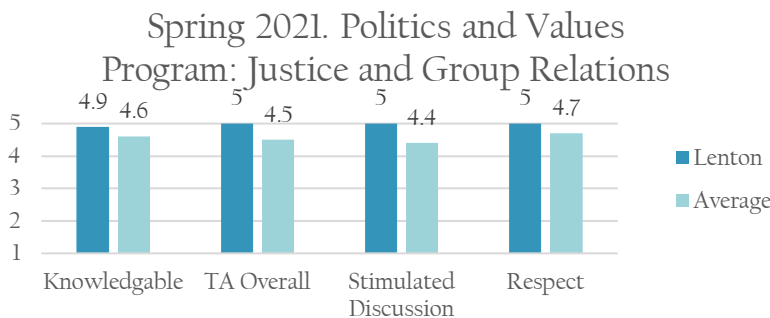
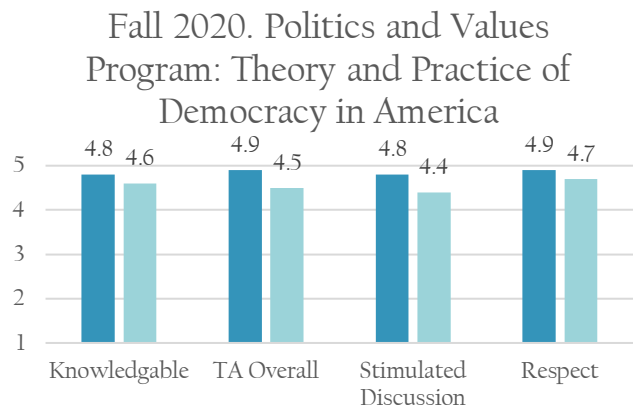
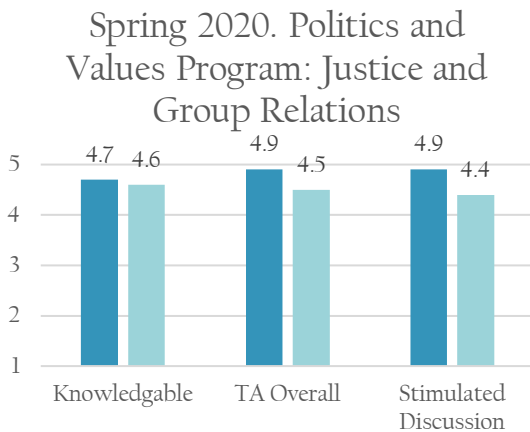
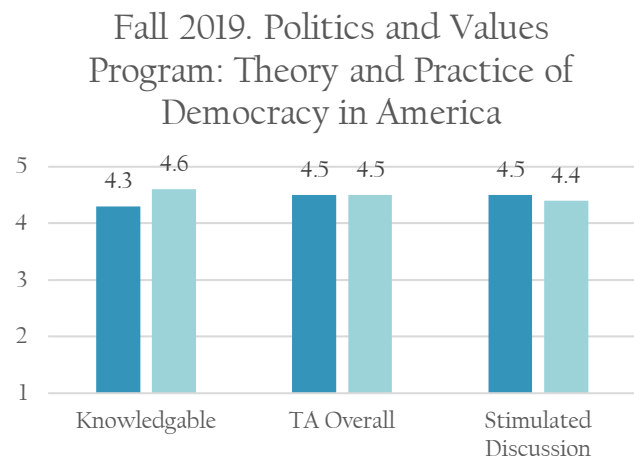
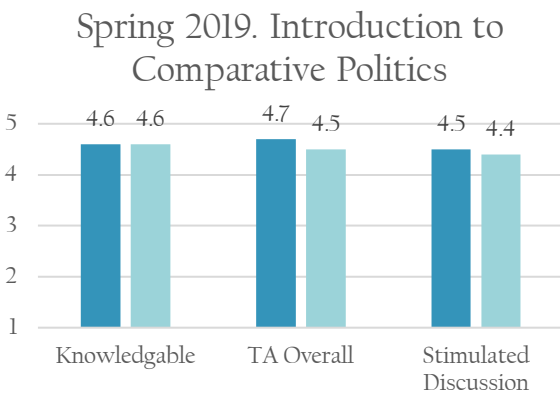
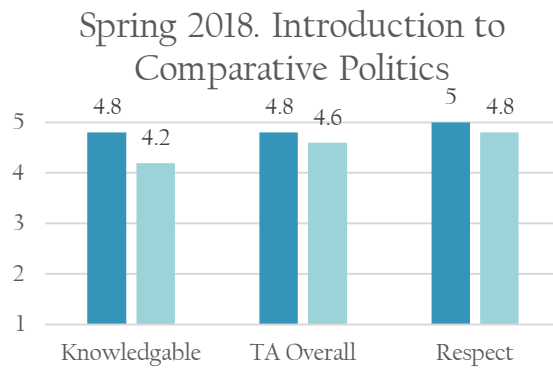
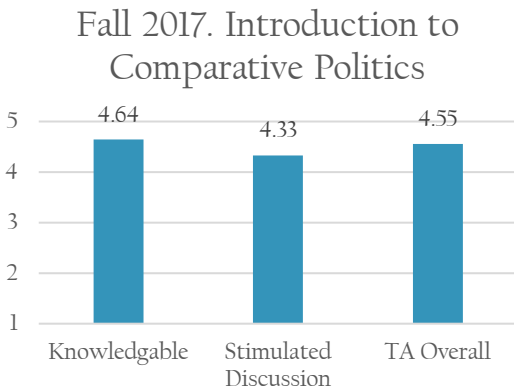
### Quantitative responses:

The figures below display the mean student responses in their course evaluations. The questions vary by year and by institution (original and full PDF evaluations available upon request). For each semester I have tried to provide data that are broadly comparable across years, courses, and institutions. Assessments are conducted on a 1-5 scale, and where available include the average scores from the school for that semester (in light blue).

### As lead instructor:



As teaching assistant:



■ Lenton  
■ Average

**Qualitative responses:****As lead instructor:****Summer 2020, Introduction to the Social Sciences**

*"I have thoroughly enjoyed the tutorials. It was a fantastic idea to put a young Ph.D. candidate as our teacher, as I believe that this made the teacher more approachable perhaps, and also someone we could maybe relate to a bit more. Mr. Lenton in particular was very, very inspiring, clearly fascinated by all the content we were covering, and always extremely helpful and kind, as well as very open and receptive to all inquiries of the students...it is without exaggeration that I can say that Mr. Lenton has played a decisive role in the confirmation of my will to study at Sciences Po, and I was truly happy to have had him as our tutorial teacher. I think this opinion was reflected throughout the class as the goodbyes were quite emotional, and when interacting with the other students outside of class, everyone seemed to genuinely appreciate our teacher."*

*"Adam Lenton was a very great teacher, always adapting to the level and the knowledge of his students. It was really great to approach complex terms with his explanations before the Master Classes. Furthermore, the videos he showed us were very useful."*

*"Mr. Adam Lenton is an amazing teacher, he explains so well and at the right speed. The level of difficulty was just perfect and the power points were very interesting. Mr. Lenton was always available to answer questions, and help."*

**Summer 2021, Introduction to the Social Sciences**

*"I think Adam was an amazing teacher, often encouraging students to discuss and debate their opinions after making sure that we had asked each and every question we had. This allowed for a very deep understanding of the subject matter. Overall amazing time in this tutorial group!"*

*"They were very interesting, clear and organized, the professor was really available and open, and we could also exchange a lot together, thus the class was dynamic (that is very good while they last 2h30)."*

*"Our teacher (Adam Lenton) was very dynamic, and gave a more interactive approach to the subjects (we often had interactive games, discussed in breakout rooms, etc.). We could at any time intervene, ask questions, which enabled a real exchange rather than a monologue."*

**Summer 2021, (Re)Thinking Social Identities: Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Politics**

*"I truly enjoyed this class!! Adam was an amazing professor and worked well to engage the students, while also being very supportive of our answers and making us feel good when we talked. I'd say my favorite moments were probably anytime we had full group discussions because each student had unique opinions and brought new ideas up to think about."*

*"I loved how he was able to present us the topic because he always gave us examples and made the topics we covered very easy to understand and gave us readings that at some points were difficult but in the long run were very helpful!"*

*"The class was very interactive, always a lot of possibilities to ask questions. All of the questions were answered with great detail and were easy to understand. The PowerPoint presentation was easy to follow and engaging."*

*“It was my favorite part of the Summer School and I believe the teacher had the greatest influence on this.”*

### **Summer 2021, Introduction to International Politics**

*“I loved that the lectures and readings we required to be finished before class so that we could focus on discussion during our class meeting time. The class presentation requirement was the best because it really sparked some very interesting conversations in class. And kept things relevant so we had to opportunity to grasp current events too.”*

*“I liked that the Professor was very accessible, and the homework/lectures were pretty self-explanatory. I also liked that there wasn't much homework, just quizzes.”*

### **As teaching assistant:**

#### **Fall 2017, Introduction to Comparative Politics**

*“TA was very helpful, welcoming and accessible”*

*“Adam responds to emails quickly and is very helpful. He is a great TA.”*

#### **Spring 2018, Introduction to Comparative Politics**

*“Adam was by far my favorite TA that I've had at GW. He was extremely organized and discussion sections were well structured. He answers students' questions and is willing to spend additional time to the class to clarify materials. He also really cares about the subject and is incredibly knowledgeable. I really enjoyed talking to him about different related topics. I loved his discussion class and will miss it.”*

*“A great TA who was very enthusiastic about the topic. He was very helpful and encouraging to all of the students, and he made the discussions more interesting by searching for fun videos or articles that pertained to what we were learning.”*

#### **Spring 2019, Introduction to Comparative Politics**

*“I liked the questions that you sent us for the readings. It helped me focus on what was important”*

*“Thank you for the guiding of the discussion and the tying in of the large concepts described in the first half of the semester (like civil society) to the case studies very fluidly. I felt well prepared to handle exam essays”*

*“Never leave GWU You are by far the most understanding, compassionate, kind, and overall best Teaching Assistant I have ever had. Continue being the wonderful person that you are and don't forget about us when you become a revolutionary academic”*

*“Adam was phenomenal. He genuinely cares about his students and he has a passion for politics that rubs off on students.”*

*“Adam was a very strong TA, he knows the material inside and out. The presentations of the slides he gives cover all materials”*

*“Adam Lenton is an intelligent, thoughtful young man who engaged the class and improved the quality of a typical lecture discussion section. You're doing things right Adam”*

*“THANK YOU! I really appreciated all of the work you put into helping us learn. The discussion handouts really helped me understand some of the more difficult readings. You always were able to answer questions we had, and gave constructive feedback. Thanks for a great semester!”*

*“Adam was one of the best TA's I've had at GW. He is very accessible in his office hours and outside of his office hours. He did a great job with being able to keep up with the course even though we were behind because of snow days and I hardly felt rushed. He is also very knowledgeable about almost everything we talk about and I feel comfortable going to him with whatever questions I have.”*

*“I really enjoyed your slides that you used during our discussion sections, they were super helpful with enriching the material from lecture and you explained everything really well. The discussion questions as well were particularly helpful as they were deeper and required more thought than the clicker questions [administered during lecture].”*

*“The course was perfect and I was eager every Monday at 8am to go to discussion!”*

### **Fall 2019, Politics and Values Program: Theory and Practice of Democracy in America**

*“Adam was kind, friendly, an excellent resource, good grader, flexible and always available. A+”*

*“Keep up the good work! You're doing great as you are.”*

### **Spring 2020, Politics and Values Program: Justice and Group Relations**

*“Adam was excellent. Always available and always there for his students. He always added unique perspectives as well.”*

*“He did a great job, such a great guy, cared for all of us and our intellectual development”*

*“Adam is great. I think he made a lot of improvements over last semester and that showed in the quality of the discussions, among other things. He was very accessible, always generous to help and knowledgeable of the subject matter.”*

*“You gave solid feedback on papers and made yourself very available for questions. I think you will do great in the future.”*

*“I loved this semester of P&V. It was one of the few classes which did remote learning the way it was supposed to. It was stress free, convenient, and interesting”*

*“I really liked the "cheat sheets" you made comparing different schools of thought like the foreign policy ones. Thanks for always being open to explaining things and discussing other opinions! It's clear that you're really informed on the subjects and I think your outside knowledge helped our discussions go deeper.”*

### **Fall 2020, Politics and Values Program: Theory and Practice of Democracy in America**

*“I love the vivid discussions we have in class, and I highly appreciate the help Adam has offered me on most of the essays”*

*“Discussions we have are always interesting, helping to expound upon the course material. Its nice to be able to take the material from the previous week and apply it to a more broad or modern context, and to have an actual argument or discussion on a piece”*

*“Adam is extremely knowledgeable about the material and always put forwards his own opinions to help reinforce the discussion or to push us to consider a new aspect. He often made the rather old pieces we read have a more modernized context and was always easily available to provide good feedback and suggestions on any writing we had to do for the class.”*

### **Spring 2021, Politics and Values Program: Justice and Group Relations**

*“Adam is an AMAZING TA!! He always comes to each discussion section and lecture prepared for each discussion topic. He is very knowledgeable and very open to answering students’ questions and allowing us to pick his brain. Adam is also very generous and accommodating. Despite his very busy schedule, for every essay assignment, he always blocks out time in his schedule to allow students to make appointments with him to go over assignments, to get advice, or to ask questions. I could not ask for a better TA who is not just an amazing teacher and person to talk to but is also a very kind and down-to-earth human being. I greatly enjoyed my time in his section!”*

*“The discussions were great! The readings were always interesting, and I am glad that documentaries and movies were included in the syllabus in order to give the class and discussions a change of pace. I liked the flexibility that we as students had to bring up our own questions and curiosities and also being able to challenge each other through dialogue and debate.”*

*“Adam is incredible! Very hard to run a discussion class at 9 am, but he managed it! Also was always available and was nice enough to proofread our papers before we submitted them. Can’t recommend him enough.”*

## 2. Statement of teaching philosophy:

My courses create a space where students can enhance their theoretical and substantive knowledge to become critical, empathetic analysts of politics. As researchers, we use theory and empirical evidence to explain phenomena. My goal as a teacher is to equip students with higher order thinking skills so that they can understand politics using different theoretical and conceptual lenses, use evidence to assess these perspectives, and come away with expertise and renewed enthusiasm for the subject.

I emphasize active learning and encourage students to critically engage with theories and concepts. One strategy I use is to design interactive tasks that help students to grasp foundations that they can use to apply to real-world issues. For instance, when I introduced group categorization in “(Re)thinking Social Identities” at Sciences Po, I designed an activity that replicated Tajfel’s minimal group studies using breakout rooms and then asking students to vote on the distribution of goods (in this case, virtual macaroons!) to a random in- or out-group member. Students were surprised at the measurable in-group bias that had formed, which served as the basis for group discussion of how categorization works elsewhere in politics. When teaching constructivism and nation-building, students examined a country’s flag and anthem to “deconstruct” its constitutive story, after which I invited students to reflect upon how this might apply to their own national communities. In “Introduction to International Politics” I designed interactive games over Zoom to teach the logic of collective action and the security dilemma, which I incorporated into later classes to help students better understand the connections between IR theory and the real-world issues that motivate them.

Another strategy I developed during the pandemic was to adapt my teaching style to incorporate technology into classroom meetings. I find live polling software (WooClap) to be a great way to stimulate discussion, gauge student understanding, and to brainstorm topics using the word cloud function. I found that this also helps lower barriers for participation among students and leads to a more equitable discussion environment. For “Introduction to International Politics” I adapted a flipped classroom approach, in which I pre-recorded short lectures and focused on group activities in class, which were then reinforced with regular quizzes. Students found this approach to be efficient, which was reflected in their evaluations of learning outcomes, which were consistently above-average.

My advanced courses emphasize professional skills that are relevant outside of the world of academia. In “Russian Politics,” students will work towards a final project related to Russian politics that can take one of three pathways: academic, policy, or journalism. I am organizing practical workshops and activities throughout the semester that function as building-blocks for these. For instance, in week 2 I will introduce students to Russia resources at the university library and encourage students to find collections relevant to their interests. By writing regular reflection memos, students will be able to explore possible projects by exploring beyond the classroom and connecting the assigned material to real-life developments.

During my graduate school career, I have sought to develop a strong teaching and mentoring profile. I have taught both introductory and identity-oriented courses at Sciences Po’s Pre-College Summer School for the previous 3 years. Teaching highly motivated groups of high schoolers from diverse international backgrounds has helped me become a clearer and more accessible teacher. I have also taken opportunities to teach undergraduate courses across sub-fields in Washington, D.C., applying to teach “Introduction to International Politics” in summer 2021, and being awarded a Dean’s Graduate Instructorship to teach “Russian Politics” in spring 2022.

Ultimately, my teaching approach is adapted to my students’ needs: of the twelve courses I have taught, student evaluations have averaged 4.74 out of 5 in instructor excellence, and have been consistently higher than average across other key indicators, such as respect shown to students, ability to stimulate discussion, and instructor knowledge. Students enter my courses with different capacities, and leave with the skills and enthusiasm to critically engage in politics from a global perspective.



### 3. Syllabus for “Introduction to International Politics”:

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## Introduction to International Politics



Summer 2021

Instructor: Adam

Charles Lenton

Phone: [202-255-3804]

Virtual Office Hours: by  
appointment on Zoom

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### Course Description

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International politics directly impacts our lives, connecting us in important ways with people, places, and political phenomena across the world. Despite the scope and the complexity of these interactions, the core concern of international politics as a field of study revolves around a relatively simple – yet persistent – question: how can states guarantee their security and be made to keep promises in the absence of an overarching authority? Whether regarding questions of war and peace, of economic development, of tackling the spread of infectious diseases or in solving climate change, the answers to this question are of importance to us all.

This course provides an introduction to international politics, which can be primarily understood as the relationships between states, as well as their connections to other international actors, social structures, and processes. The course is divided into two halves. The first half of the course aims to provide students with a solid understanding of the major approaches to international relations theory. The second half of the course transitions from theory to practice, examining several key issues in international politics, from nuclear arms control and civil conflict to globalization, energy security, international development, and climate change. This is of course just a taster of the breadth of international politics, but will give you a good sense of the sorts of upper-level courses you may wish to take later on and provide a solid grounding in some of the core theoretical approaches and empirical phenomena studied in the discipline.

*Instructor bio: Adam Lenton is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at GWU. His research examines nation-building, political integration, and security in the former Soviet Union and the EU. Prior to joining GWU, he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and Sciences Po Paris, and has had research published in *Problems of Post-Communism* and *Russian Politics* (forthcoming).*

## Course Goals

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By the end of this course, you will be able to:

- Explain how politics in the international system differs from within the state
- Understand the key philosophical, historical, and normative foundations of international relations theories
- Comfortably apply different theoretical lenses to the analysis of policy issues
- Systematically explain challenges to international cooperation across issues of contemporary political significance
- Intelligently unpack and critique others' arguments
- Read and comprehend works of social science more effectively
- Become a better analyst of foreign affairs

## Textbooks & Materials

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No textbooks are required for this course. All readings will be uploaded to the course's Blackboard page.

## A note about Covid-19 and online instruction:

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The Covid-19 pandemic has impacted our lives in unprecedented ways, with higher education no exception. Unlike at the beginning of the pandemic, however, there is now an emerging body of social science research that examines the effects of online instruction on student learning outcomes, with empirical evidence of the following:

- Students (and instructors!) find long periods of synchronous instruction to be [draining](#);
- One [study](#) of over 10,000 participants examining the causes of Zoom fatigue found that nonverbal online mechanisms accounted for around one third of reported fatigue, with the effects disproportionately impacting women;
- Online instruction [disrupted](#) perceived peer-to-instructor and peer-to-peer connections;
- Overall, student learning outcomes were [lower](#) compared to in-person instruction.

These findings are unlikely to be surprising. But they also provide evidence of best practices that can help us as educators:

- Much of the negative impact of the shift to online instruction can be [mitigated](#) by a) the instructor having previous online experience; and b) increased peer interaction in the classroom;
- Zoom fatigue can be mitigated by [avoiding](#) multitasking, [reducing](#) nonverbal fatigue by hiding the self-window or limiting gallery view, as well as limiting the time in synchronous calls.

I have strived to design the course to be both **minimally fatiguing** whilst **maximally interactive**. Because we will meet for shorter, more interactive sessions (see below), I want this time to be useful for you and engaging.

## Methods of Instruction

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There will be a mixture of synchronous and asynchronous instruction.

**Lectures** will be mostly asynchronous and posted to Blackboard by Monday morning of each week. These will be split into manageable chunks of around 10-15 minutes each so you can watch them at your convenience. The lectures are required viewing.

**Discussion seminars** will take place on Zoom twice a week on Mondays and Wednesdays at 3:00pm Eastern time, and will last for 1 hour and 20 minutes each, consisting of two 30-minute halves, a 10-minute break, and 10 minutes for a quiz at the end of class. The first half will be more like a traditional discussion seminar: we will go over some questions from the reading (I will provide some, but students should also feel free to direct the conversation) and relate the topic to real-world events. The second half will usually be more practical, involving activities or small-group discussions.

**Reading:** before we meet you need to watch the lecture, read the assigned texts, and be ready to discuss them. Because this course is compressed into a six-week period, the reading load is heavy: upwards of 100-150 pages per week. Precise page numbers are provided in parentheses for each reading and each session to help you plan.

The readings are challenging, consisting of a mixture of scholarly articles or book excerpts and magazine pieces. You must be willing to read extensively to succeed in this course. This means: a) taking careful notes; b) distilling the key argument(s) made by the authors; c) being able to *explain* their arguments and consider their implications.

**Guest speakers:** in the second half of the semester we will be joined by some guest speakers who work professionally in international relations. The conversations will be a chance to meet and hear about their career paths, learn more about how governments and international organizations work, and to ask them questions in an off-the-record, informal setting.

**Zoom policy:** the quality of our discussions is a collaborative effort: as an instructor, I am responsible for helping to guide and facilitate learning, but I cannot do so without student input (see above). I strongly encourage you to enable video during our seminars: it is difficult for everyone to engage with blank screens.

## Technology prerequisites:

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As an online student, it is necessary to possess baseline technology skills to participate fully in the course. Please consult the GW Online website for further information about recommended

configurations and support. If you have questions or problems with technology for this course, please consult the Technology Help link in the left navigation menu in our course in Blackboard. You should be able to:

- Use a personal computer and its peripherals.
- Use word processing and other productivity software.
- Use the webcam and microphone on your device.
- Seek technology help by contacting GW Information Technology (202-994-4948).

## Learning Assessment

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I will evaluate your success in these goals in the following ways:

### Quizzes (45%)

In every seminar we will have a short quiz at the end of class to cover the material assigned for that day (lecture + readings). I will send you a link to the quiz during class and will leave 10 minutes at the end of class to complete the quiz. You should complete the quiz before leaving class: quizzes submitted after class will not be counted towards your grade. From those 11 quizzes I will drop your 2 lowest scores and average the result.

*Why quizzes? There are several reasons. First, frequent in-class quizzes have been found to increase student performance.<sup>1</sup> Quizzes can also help students who are struggling: one study found that quizzes drastically reduced the rate of students receiving grades D or lower in an introductory microeconomics course.<sup>2</sup> This is corroborated by findings showing that quiz assessment can help to narrow the achievement gap between socioeconomic classes, and that the positive effects on student performance hold in subsequent semesters, suggesting that quizzes help to develop effective study skills that have long-term payoffs.<sup>3</sup> They also help me as an instructor to identify areas to focus on in subsequent classes.*

Because I will distribute the quiz during class, you must attend all seminars to be eligible to participate in the quizzes. There will be no make-up quizzes unless you will be absent for observing religious holidays or for medical/family emergencies. Since I drop your 2 lowest scores, this means that you have up to 2 “get out of jail free” absences that you can use.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas, Ayanna K., et al. "Should you use frequent quizzing in your college course? Giving up 20 minutes of lecture time may pay off." *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition* 9.1 (2020): 83-95; Gokcora, Deniz, and Daniel DePaulo. "Frequent quizzes and student improvement of reading: a pilot study in a community college setting." *SAGE Open* 8.2 (2018): 2158244018782580. Batsell Jr, W. Robert, et al. "Ecological validity of the testing effect: The use of daily quizzes in introductory psychology." *Teaching of Psychology* 44.1 (2017): 18-23.

<sup>2</sup> Tallarico, Carol Diane, and Mary Ann Wisniewski. "A Better Way to Teach Principles of Microeconomics? Evidence from the Classroom." *Journal of the Academy of Business Education* 16 (2015).

<sup>3</sup> Pennebaker, James W., Samuel D. Gosling, and Jason D. Ferrell. "Daily online testing in large classes: Boosting college performance while reducing achievement gaps." *PLoS one* 8.11 (2013): e79774.

## Midterm (25%)

On Wednesday, July 7 I will distribute a short midterm essay (around 1500 words) that will be due the following Friday, July 16, on Blackboard at 11:59PM Eastern. It will be cumulative, covering the main theoretical paradigms in IR.

## Current affairs presentation (5%)

In the second half of the course we will be switching from theory to contemporary issues in international politics. Each student will sign up to give a short 5-minute presentation in class or send the group a 500-word memo in advance on a real-world issue that relates to that day's topic. Detailed instructions and a sign-up sheet will be distributed no later than in the third week of class.

## Final exam (25%)

A take-home final exam will be available on Blackboard after class on Wednesday, August 4 (our last day of class). It will be due on Thursday, August 5, on Blackboard at 11:59PM Eastern. It will be open-book and consist of a mixture of multiple-choice questions and short responses covering the entire course. You should aim to spend around 90 minutes on it. If you do not think you will be able to carve out a 90-minute slot during this period, please reach out before August 4.

## Grading scale:

This course uses a percentage-based grading schema, as shown below.

<i>Assignment Type</i>	<i>Percentage Value Per Assignment</i>	<i>Number of Assignments</i>	<i>Total [Percent] of Final Grade</i>
Quiz scores	5	9	45%
Midterm paper	25	1	25%
Current affairs presentation	5	1	5%
Final take-home exam	25	1	25%

The grading scale below determines your final letter grade. [Note: the scale below is based on 100 percent and is the default grading schema in Blackboard's Grade Center.]

96 – 94: A	93 – 90: A-	89 – 87: B+
86 – 84: B	83 – 80: B-	79 – 77: C+
76 – 74: C	73 – 70: C-	69 – 67: D+
66 – 64: D	63 – 60: D-	<60: F

## Diversity & Inclusion

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It is my aim to help facilitate and foster an inclusive, collegial environment, and I strongly believe that diversity in students' individual beliefs, backgrounds, and experiences is a strength in this endeavor. This is especially important given that we are discussing questions that are both serious and around which there is intense disagreement both among scholarly, policy, and political circles.

We will likely disagree on big questions: this is a politics class, after all! But whilst we may diverge in our interpretations, each of us must show respect for every other member of the class.

There are also well documented gender and racial biases in scholarship which reflect broader institutional and structural barriers and inequities. Political science is no exception, and scholars are increasingly trying to address this by including more gender and racial diversity in their syllabi.

Of the 35 required readings, 15 (43%) are authored or co-authored by a female scholar.

## Credit Hour Policy

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Summer courses are more than twice as intensive as those held during the academic year. Over 6 weeks, students will spend 4.67 hours per week engaging in direct instruction (recorded course videos, synchronous sessions and discussion exercises) and 14.1 hours per week doing independent learning, including, but not limited to, readings, assignments and course exams. This amounts to 28 hours of direct-instruction and 84.6 hours independent coursework to total 112.5 semester hours of instruction.

## Other Class Policies

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### Email Response Time

I will respond to emails within 24 hours during weekdays. To normalize digital detoxing, I will not respond to emails over the weekend unless of an urgent nature. I will return assignments and other written work within one week. I will not chase up students regarding assignments.

### Policies on Late Assignments

Sometimes we need help and/or an extension. This happens to all of us, and it is important to treat assignments as part of working in a professional environment. If a line manager/colleague/editor has asked you to submit work by a certain date, it is professional courtesy to inform them *in advance* if this might not be possible. Oftentimes this is not a problem. But it may come across as disrespectful if a deadline passes and no advance notice has been given: the person may have set aside time in their day or weekend to go through the submitted work, or they may have a deadline for their own manager, etc.

Accordingly, I will accept late assignments (this applies exclusively to the midterm and final exams) for no penalty and for any reason if: a) this is communicated to the instructor via email at least **24 hours before** the deadline; and b) you reach out to me to strategize when it will be submitted. Please note that the final decision regarding an extension rests with me, and I will confirm this via email as soon as possible.

Otherwise, standard late policies will apply without exception: 1/3 of a letter grade will be applied at the passing of the deadline, and each 24-hour period afterwards.

### Incomplete grades

Incomplete grades may be given to undergraduate students only if for reasons beyond the student's control (such as medical or family emergency) s/he is unable to complete the final work of the course. Faculty should not assign an Incomplete grade if not asked by the student.

A contract must be signed by the instructor and the student and filed in the department office. A copy should be submitted to the Academic Advising office in Phillips 107. A student has up to a calendar year to finish the coursework for the class, and when completed a grade change form must be submitted to the Academic Advising office to update the grade. For further policy and contract information for undergraduate students, please consult with your advisor and also visit the website for [Columbian College of Arts and Sciences Academic Advising](#).

### Academic Integrity and Honesty

All members of the university community are expected to exhibit honesty and competence in their academic work. Students have a special responsibility to acquaint themselves with, and make use of, all proper procedures for doing research, writing papers, and taking exams. Members of the community will be presumed to be familiar with the proper academic procedures and will be held responsible for applying them. Deliberate failure to act in accordance with such procedures will be considered academic dishonesty. Academic dishonesty is defined as “cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one’s own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.” Acts of academic dishonesty are a legal, moral, and intellectual offense against the community and will be

prosecuted through the proper university channels. The University Code of Academic Integrity can be found at <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>.

### Support for Students with Disabilities

GW's Disability Support Services (DSS) provides and coordinates accommodations and other services for students with a wide variety of disabilities, as well as those temporarily disabled by injury or illness. Accommodations are available through DSS to facilitate academic access for students with disabilities. Additional information is available at <https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/>.

Please speak with me in the first week of class to discuss what kinds of accommodations can be made for you.

### Mental Health Services 202-994-5300

The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: <https://healthcenter.gwu.edu/counseling-and-psychological-services>

### University Policy on Religious Holidays

Students should notify me during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance.



## Schedule & Weekly Learning Goals

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Note that the schedule is subject to change. The numbers in parentheses refer to the number of pages reading for that session.

### Unit one: foundations: the state and anarchy in international politics [107]

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June 28 (Monday)

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1. Introduction: the state and classical realism [59]

Hobbes. *Leviathan*, Chs. 13, 14, 18 [47].

Morgenthau, Hans. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Fifth Edition, Revised, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), pp. 4-15. [12]

Recommended:

Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, excerpts.

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June 30 (Wednesday)

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2. Neo-realism: offensive, defensive, motivational [45]

Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics* (Addison-Wesley, 1979), Chp. Six + preface to 2001 edition. [31]

Glaser, Charles L. "Realism," in Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Oxford University Press, 2013). [14]

Recommended:

Allison, Graham. "Thucydides Trap," *The Atlantic*, September 24, 2015.

## Unit two: the liberal critique of realism [52]

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July 5 (Monday): NO CLASS: INDEPENDENCE DAY OBSERVED

July 7 (Wednesday)

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### 3. Liberalism, neoliberal institutionalism [52]

Mathews, Jessica T. "Power Shift," *Foreign Affairs*, 6 May 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1997-01-01/power-shift>. [22]

Morgan, Patrick. "Liberalism," in Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Oxford University Press, 2013) [14]

Doyle, Michael W. 'Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace'. *The American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (2005): 463–66 [4]

Gowa, Joanne S. *Ballots and Bullets the Elusive Democratic Peace* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1999), introduction & conclusion. [12]

*Recommended:*

Kant, "Perpetual Peace." [24]

Copeland, Dale C. 'Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations'. *International Security* 20, no. 4 (1996): 5–41. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539041>. [37]

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*Midterm exam distributed*

## Unit three: social and critical theories [145]

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July 12 (Monday)

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### 4. Constructivism [104]

Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391–425. [35]

Larson, Deborah Welch, and Alexi Shevchenko. "Status Seekers: Chinese and Russian Responses to U.S. Primacy," *International Security* 34, no. 4 (Spring 2010): 63–95. [33]

Tannenwald, Nina. "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use." *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (1999): 433–68. [36]

*Recommended:*

Klotz, Audie. "Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and U.S. Sanctions Against South Africa." *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (1995): 451–78.

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*July 14 (Wednesday)*

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5. Critical theories: Marxism, post-colonialism, and feminism [43]

Adem, Gurminder K., et aBhambra, Yolande Bouka, Randolph B. Persaud, Olivia U. Rutazibwa, Vineet Thakur, Duncan Bell, Karen Smith, Toni Hastrup, Seifudein. "Why Is Mainstream International Relations Blind to Racism?" *Foreign Policy*, July 3, 2020.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/03/why-is-mainstream-international-relations-ir-blind-to-racism-colonialism/>. [16]

Walt, Stephen M. "Back to the Future: World Politics Edition", *Foreign Policy*, July 8, 2015. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/07/08/back-to-the-future-world-politics-edition-russia-isis-europe-china/>. [5]

True, Jacqui. "Feminism and Gender Studies in International Relations Theory," In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, by Jacqui True (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.46>. [22]

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*Midterm exam due Friday, July 16 on Blackboard (11:59PM Eastern)*

Unit four: coercion, security, and nuclear weapons [100]

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*July 19 (Monday)*

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6. Coercion, deterrence, nuclear weapons, cybersecurity [41]

Dan Reiter, "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War," *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 1 (March 2003): 27-30 and 33-34 [6]

Glenn H. Snyder, *Deterrence and Defense: Toward a Theory of National Security* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), 3-16. [14]

Daniel W. Drezner, “Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice”, *International Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2011): 96–108. [13]

Glaser, Charles L. “Deterrence of Cyber Attacks and U.S. National Security,” CSPRI Report (June 2011). [8]

Talmadge, Caitlin. “Beijing’s Nuclear Option”, *Foreign Affairs*, 16 April 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-10-15/beijings-nuclear-option> [15]

*Recommended:*

Sherman, Wendy. “How We Got the Iran Deal”, *Foreign Affairs*, 14 January 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-08-13/how-we-got-iran-deal> [18]

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July 21 (Wednesday)

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7. Political violence, civil wars, terrorism [59]

Kalyvas, Stathis, and Laia Balcells, “International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict”, *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 3 (August 2010): 415–29, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055410000286>. [15]

Walter, Barbara. “Why Moderates Support Extremist Groups,” *Foreign Affairs*, June 18 2018. [8]

Pape, Robert A. “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343–61. [19]

Fujii, Lee Ann. “The Puzzle of Extra-Lethal Violence”, *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 2 (2013): 410–26. [17]

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Unit five: economics and international politics [87]

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July 26 (Monday)

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8. The political economy of globalization: trade, migration, and populism [47]

Rodrik, Dani. “Populism and the Economics of Globalization”. *Journal of International Business Policy* 1, no. 1–2 (June 2018): 12–33. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s42214-018-0001-4>. [20]

Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman, “Chained to Globalization”, *Foreign Affairs*, 30 November 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2019-12-10/chained-globalization>. [15]

Khalili, Laleh. "Big Ships Were Created to Avoid Relying on the Suez Canal. Ironically, a Big Ship Is Now Blocking It", *Washington Post*, March 26, 2021.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/03/26/big-ships-were-created-avoid-relying-suez-canal-ironically-big-ship-is-now-blocking-it/>. [4]

Urbinati, Nadia. "The Pandemic Hasn't Killed Populism." *Foreign Affairs*, August 6, 2020.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-08-06/pandemic-hasnt-killed-populism>. [8]

*Recommended:*

Gilpin, Robert. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton University Press, 2016, chapter 2. [40]

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July 28 (Wednesday)

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9. Energy security and conflict [40]

Ross, Michael L. "Blood barrels: Why oil wealth fuels conflict." *Foreign Affairs* (2008): 2-8. [7]

Gholz, Eugene, and Daryl G. Press, "Protecting 'The Prize': Oil and the U.S. National Interest," *Security Studies* 19, no. 3 (2010): 453-485. [33]

*Recommended:*

Caitlin Talmadge, "Closing Time: Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz," *International Security* 33, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 82-117. [36]

Scott Borgerson, "The National Interest and the Law of the Sea", *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2009, pp.3-40. <https://www.cfr.org/report/national-interest-and-law-sea>. [37]

Unit six: Ethics and the environment [95]

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August 2 (Monday)

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10. Human rights, justice, and interventions [53]

Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou. "Human Security," in Cathal J. Nolan, ed., *Ethics and Statecraft: The Moral Dimension of International Affairs* (ABC-CLIO, 2015). [13]

Autesserre, Séverine. 'The Crisis of Peacekeeping', *Foreign Affairs*, 29 January 2019. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-12-11/crisis-peacekeeping>. [18]

Kuper, Andrew, and Peter Singer, "Debate: Global Poverty Relief." [22]

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*August 4 (Wednesday)*

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## II. Climate change [45]

Horton, Joshua B., and Jesse L. Reynolds. 'The International Politics of Climate Engineering: A Review and Prospectus for International Relations'. *International Studies Review* 18, no. 3 (1 September 2016): 438–61. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viv013>. [24]

Slaughter, Anne-Marie, and Gordon LaForge. 'Opening Up the Order', *Foreign Affairs*, 29 April 2021. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2021-02-16/opening-order>. [13]

Mearsheimer, John. J. (2021). Liberalism and Nationalism in Contemporary America. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 54, no. 1 (2021): 1-8. [8]

### *Recommended:*

Ostrom, Elinor. (2009). A polycentric approach for coping with climate change. The World Bank. [56]

Bostrom, Nick. "The vulnerable world hypothesis." *Global Policy* 10.4 (2019): 455-476. [22]

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*Final exam distributed- to cover all material. Due Thursday, August 5 (11:59PM) on Blackboard*

## 4.Syllabus for “(Re)Thinking Social Identities: Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Politics”:

**SciencesPo**  
SUMMER SCHOOL

### Course Overview

## (Re)thinking Social Identities: Nationalism, Ethnicity and Politics

Professor: Adam Lenton

Session: Pre-College Program 2021

Language of instruction: English

Number of hours of class: 14

### Objective of the Course

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The objective of this course is to help you to think critically about how social identities both shape and are shaped by politics. After taking this course you will be able to: a) understand the main theoretical approaches used to study social identities in politics; b) critically assess these approaches' benefits and drawbacks; and c) apply these insights to real-world issues across countries. As such, this course will provide you with several tools with which to engage critically with questions of identity and politics, whether in academic, political, or social settings.

### Summary

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Whether considering the rise of populist nationalism in Europe, racial injustice in the United States, or civil wars and conflicts across the globe, identity is of central importance for social scientists and citizens alike. But what is an identity? Why do some identities become politically important? And how do identities influence political behavior? This course will provide you with insights and perspectives from across the social sciences and humanities to think about and engage meaningfully with this important concept.

In our seven-session course we will focus predominantly on nationalism, ethnicity, and race. Whilst these identities are distinct, together they contribute a rich set of perspectives for thinking about issues of culture, societal organization, and human diversity. Each session will be structured around a key theoretical question and will address important contemporary political issues from across the globe.

We will start by asking what identities are and what functions they fulfil. Then, the course turns to ask how politics has influenced these identities. As social constructions, ethnicity, race, and nations did not naturally or inevitably emerge: we will explore how processes of industrialization and colonization profoundly affected - and continue to affect - these today.

The second part of the course asks how these identities impact politics. We will explore the role of group identity in voting behavior, party affiliations, and participation in social movements, protests, and rebellion. Importantly, we will critically evaluate the extent to which social identities explain political outcomes.

The final part of the course looks to the future. We will explore institutional and policy solutions aimed at resolving disputes within divided societies, paying particular attention to contemporary political challenges and debates.

### Organization of the Course

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Students must read the required readings before class. If you have time, I encourage you to look at some of the optional readings, which help to deepen topics covered in class.

#### Introduction

##### Session 1: What is identity?

Identity is a central concept in the social sciences, but what does it mean to "have" an identity? Which elements of our identities are most important to us, and why? Are identities inherently oppositional? In this session we will examine foundational approaches to conceptualizing group identities, drawing upon perspectives across the social sciences.

These offer pathways for answering the above questions, and we will use these to begin to think about why - and how - group identities can acquire political relevance.

Required reading:

- Geher, Glenn. 2019. "The Psychology of "Othering": Outgroup psychology and the roots of social conflict." <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/darwins-subterranean-world/201904/the-psychology-othering>

In-class material:

- Selasi, Taiye. 2015. "Don't ask me where I'm from, ask me where I'm local." (video). [https://www.ted.com/talks/taiye\\_selasi\\_don\\_t\\_ask\\_where\\_i\\_m\\_from\\_ask\\_where\\_i\\_m\\_a\\_local?language=en](https://www.ted.com/talks/taiye_selasi_don_t_ask_where_i_m_from_ask_where_i_m_a_local?language=en).

#### Part 1: How politics affects identities

##### Session 2: Where do nations come from?

One of the most enduring debates among scholars and individuals alike concerns the nature of national identities. Are national identities ancient or modern? Are they natural categories or social constructions? We will understand why most scholars would answer the second for both, paying particular attention to the French case.

Required reading:

- Renan, Ernst. 1882. "Renan, Ernest. "What Is a Nation?" (for those who can read French, see "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?")

Optional reading:

- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France*. Chapters 6-7.



**Session 3: Why are some identities easier to change than others?**

This session explores in more detail the political institutions and processes which make some identities durable and meaningful for individuals. We will explore how national, ethnic, and racial identifications have been institutionalized, and how meanings come to be reproduced over time.

Required readings:

- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Excerpts.

In-class material:

- Hall, Stuart. 1997. "Race as floating signifier." (video) <https://vimeo.com/87470149>.

Optional readings:

- Singletary, Michelle. 2020. "Credit scores are supposed to be race-neutral. That's impossible." *Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/10/16/how-race-affects-your-credit-score/?arc404=true>
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations* (1989): 7-24
- Stoler, Ann Laura. "Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France." *Public Culture* (2011) 23:1: 121-156.

**Part 2: How identities affect politics****Session 4: Do people vote based on interests or identities?**

In this session we transition to thinking about how identity impacts politics. Scholars and politicians alike strive to understand why voters choose certain candidates or parties over others, with identity-based appeals widely used among both populist and mainstream parties across the world. In this session we will examine some of the ways in which identities shape voting behavior, discussing the role of group identities and parties, together with economic factors and elite interests.

Required readings:

- Urbinati, Nadia. 2020. "The Pandemic Hasn't Killed Populism." *Foreign Affairs*. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-08-06/pandemic-hasnt-killed-populism>.
- Camus, Jean-Yves. 2014. "Not your father's far right." *Le monde diplomatique*. <https://mondediplo.com/2014/03/03populism>. (for those who can read French, see Camus, Jean-Yves. 2014. "Extrêmes droites mutantes en Europe," *Le monde diplomatique*. <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/03/CAMUS/50209>.)

**Session 5: Why are people willing to risk their lives for group struggles?**

Moving beyond voting, we will explore how groups mobilize outside of the electoral arena to achieve their goals, focusing on contentious politics. One way to explore the role of group identities is to ask more broadly why people engage in actions such as civil disobedience, revolutions, or insurgencies. In other words, why are people willing to risk their own lives - or others' - for political causes? We will examine this question by reading works of key political thinkers and actors, who offer useful - whilst

differing - perspectives on the connections between identity, action, and justice.

Required readings:

- Fanon, Frantz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Excerpts (for those who can read French, see Fanon. 1961. *Les Damnés de la Terre*. Excerpts)
- Gandhi, Mohandas. 1920. "The Doctrine of the Sword."
- King, Martin Luther. 1963. "Letter from Birmingham Jail."
- Malcolm X. 1964. "The Ballot or the Bullet."

### Part 3: Looking ahead to solutions

#### Session 6: Exploring institutional and policy solutions to divided societies

In this session we will study the institutional and policy solutions social scientists have proposed for divided societies. In the first half we will examine approaches to solving civil wars and conflict. Scholars continue to debate the merits and drawbacks of partition or federalism: we will evaluate and discuss their claims. In the second half of the class we will transition to institutional and policy solutions to address inequalities and discrimination within societies. These will help us to explore how ethnicity, nation, and race intersect with other social identities such as gender and class. Special attention will be paid to the French and American contexts, which are often seen as symbolizing diametrically opposed approaches to questions of diversity and difference, and which in recent years have both become increasingly politicized.

Required readings:

- Walter, Barbara. 2018. "Why Moderates Support Extreme Groups." *Foreign Affairs*.
- Calvès, Gwénaële. 2004. "Color-Blindness at a Crossroads in Contemporary France". In Herrick Chapman, Laura Levine Frader, *Race in France: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of Difference*.

Optional readings:

- Coaston, Jane. 2019. "The intersectionality wars" *Vox*.  
<https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/5/20/18542843/intersectionality-conservatism-law-race-gender-discrimination>.
- Htun, M., 2004. Is gender like ethnicity? The political representation of identity groups. *Perspectives on Politics*, pp.439-458.

#### Session 7: Are we moving towards a post-ethnic/racial/national world?

In our final session we will look at the state of contemporary politics in 2021 and consider the future. Reflecting upon what we've learned so far, are we moving towards a post-ethnic/racial/national world? Can, and should we be doing so? Is it possible to make identity (in)visible? Are there alternative group solidarities that may replace these?

Readings:

- Giridharadas, Anand. 2018. "What is identity?" *New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/27/books/review/francis-fukuyama-identity-kwame-anthony-appiah-the-lies-that-bind.html>
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2019. "Why Nationalism Works: And Why It Isn't Going Away." *Foreign affairs*.  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2019-02-12/why-nationalism-works>

## 5. Syllabus for “Russian Politics”:

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# Russian Politics




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Spring 2022

Instructor: Adam Charles Lenton  
 Phone: [202-255-3804]  
 Office: [Location]  
 Virtual Office Hours: [Hours]

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## Course Description

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With US-Russia relations at a post-Cold-War low, it is increasingly vital to know how to interpret and understand political developments in Russia. What explains Putin’s enduring popularity? How powerful are economic and political elites? Who decides policy? How did the transformations of the 1990s influence contemporary Russian politics? Is Russian nationalism a challenger or a cheerleader of the Kremlin? Why are protests sometimes permitted and sometimes repressed? How do relations with the US, Europe, China, and beyond influence Russian politics, and vice-versa?

This course offers a comprehensive introduction to the driving forces behind Russian politics, providing insights into the above questions and beyond. Students will have the chance to learn about Russian politics through not only lectures and readings, but films, workshops, expert practitioners, and music. They will also be able to develop a written project on a topic in Russian politics of their choosing: either an academic research paper, a policy memo, or a long-form journalistic report.

In the first part of the course, we will examine the historical legacies of the Soviet (and pre-Soviet) eras on the challenges faced by the nascent Russian state in the 1990s. Then we will look at political economy, focusing on the transition to capitalism under Yeltsin and economic development under Putin, as well key topics such as energy, oligarchs, and private business. In the third section we will turn to questions of identity and federalism. With over 190 ethnic groups inhabiting 1/7<sup>th</sup> of the globe’s land mass, how has the Russian state sought to govern and foster a shared sense of political community? In section four we examine the nuts and bolts of the political system and its relationship to other organizations in society, including religion, the media, civil society, and the politics of protest. In the final section we look outside of Russia to examine links between domestic and foreign politics.

*Instructor biography: Adam Lenton is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at GWU. His dissertation research examines nation-building and symbolic politics in Eurasia, with a focus on regionalism in Russia. Prior to joining GWU, he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and Sciences Po Paris, and has spent over three years working and studying in Russia.*

## Course Goals

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By the end of this course, you will be able to:

- (1) Identify details of Russia’s political system and viewpoints of leading Russian and Western analysts of Russian politics;
- (2) Critically analyze and compare these viewpoints, paying close attention to any implicit (or explicit) normative and/or political implications;
- (3) Draw upon a wide range of academic, policymaking, and journalistic analysis within and outside of Russia to interpret its political developments;
- (4) Identify, evaluate, and use a wide range of data sources (i.e. surveys/censuses, Russian government publications, speeches, archival materials) to transition as a consumer to a producer of knowledge about issues in Russian politics;
- (5) Apply this knowledge to different professional and academic settings;
- (6) Discuss Russian politics intelligently, actively, and creatively.

### Prerequisites

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Students ideally should have completed an introduction-level course in political science or international affairs (i.e. PSC1001 *Introduction to Comparative Politics* or equivalent).

### Textbooks & Materials

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Students are expected to have read the readings listed for each lecture *before* class on the day of that lecture. Lectures will not simply repeat readings, but will assume knowledge of the reading material, as will class activities other than the lecture.

All required materials will be in English, and films will have English subtitles. Optional readings and media in Russian will be marked with an asterisk \*.

### Diversity & Inclusion

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It is my aim to help facilitate and foster an inclusive, collegial environment as we seek to understand political dynamics in Russia. I strongly believe that diversity in students’ individual beliefs, backgrounds, and experiences is a strength in this endeavor. Whilst we may diverge in our interpretations and analyses, each student must show respect for every other member of the class.

There are well documented gender and racial biases in scholarship which reflect broader institutional and structural barriers and inequities. Political science scholarship on Russia is no exception. It is also important to reflect upon what it means to “study” a foreign country. This raises several ethical and scholarly questions: whose voices are elevated and promoted in this endeavor, and whose remain marginalized, both in the United States and Russia? How do our positionalities as students based in the United States influence or filter the perspectives or viewpoints we engage with? These are important questions beyond the academy.

One of my duties as an instructor is to help us to critically engage with and evaluate perspectives on Russian politics. Where possible, I have tried to ensure a balance of both Russian- and non-Russian perspectives. The assigned readings in this course are split approximately as follows: \*

	Russian	Non-Russian	<i>Total</i>
Male	22%	30%	52%
Female	28%	20%	48%
<i>Total</i>	50%	50%	

*\*For the purposes of this syllabus, I consider “Russian” perspectives to be those of an author who is based in the Russian Federation and/or is a citizen of that country. It is also important to engage with perspectives which reach beyond privileged zones of knowledge production. I have tried to ensure that this is the case across the syllabus.*

## Course Requirements

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### *Attendance and Participation:*

Attendance is required unless prior accommodations have been granted in coordination with the instructor. Students should come prepared with questions and comments about the week’s readings in order to engage meaningfully with their peers on the subject. Both attendance and active participation count equally.

To participate actively means to constructively contribute to our learning process and our discussions, either through raising questions or responding to points that others raise. Participation is reflective of the quality of contributions, not by the amount of time or frequency thereof.

### *Readings/required course preparation:*

Students are expected to have read the readings listed for each lecture *before* class. Lectures will not simply repeat readings, but will assume knowledge of the reading material, as will class activities other than the lecture.

On average you will have 50 pages of readings to complete per week. To help you budget your time, estimates of the number of pages for each week’s readings are given in brackets (for example, for the first class meeting the Remnick reading is 52 pages and the Tsygankov reading is 12 pages, so a total of 64 pages of reading needs to be done before the first class).

For each credit, students are expected to spend a minimum of 100 minutes on independent coursework for every 50 minutes of direct instruction.

### *Additional films/podcasts:*

For each week I have also provided links to relevant films and podcasts. I strongly encourage you to watch at least one of these films during the semester and to check out some of the podcasts listed.

### *Class Spotify playlist:*

For each week there will be a selection of recommended albums, artists, and podcasts. All of them can be accessed via a Spotify link I will send to the class.

### *Class Telegram account/social media:*

I will create a class Telegram account and use this to share news and information about current affairs and Russian politics. I also encourage you to share interesting and relevant news items. Especially for those of you who read Russian, it can be helpful to follow trends in Russian social media (TikTok, VKontakte, Instagram, Twitter).

### *Workshops/invited guests:*

During the semester we will take part in various workshops during the second half of the lecture. Some of these are designed to help develop practical skills for your research projects and which you may use in a future internship or professional setting. At other times we will have more informal talks by invited guest speakers to provide insights from their professional, academic, or policymaking fields of expertise with a focus on Russia.

*Weekly quizzes:*

Each week we will have short reading quizzes. Each quiz is worth 1% of your final grade: I will drop the lowest 2 results, so the grade for this will represent the top 10 of 12 quiz scores. The quizzes are designed to help better understand the group's grasp of the material and to follow up where appropriate.

*Weekly reflections:*

Each student is required to submit five weekly reflection memos, worth 3% of the final grade each. These should be around one side of paper, 1.5 line spacing and in a standard 11- or 12-size font (around 500 words). Reflections are due at 11:59PM on Sundays via email. You are responsible for deciding which weeks to submit. Some guidance and recommendations for the reflections:

- The reflections should bring together connections and observations on any Russia-related issue that you have engaged with and encountered that previous week. These will be graded on the following basis:
  - *3/3: Excellent. The memo brings together several different sources (2-5) to bear on a Russia-related topic. It does not simply summarize or describe their content, but identifies connections and implications between them, dwells on tensions or disagreements, or relates to specific readings and topics from the course. The memo is sufficiently insightful to inform somebody with a professional or academic interest in Russia about something new, as well as making a case for why this may be important. This could mean looking at a specific aspect of a well-known topic, or examining something with a local or regional focus that general specialists may not be acquainted with. It is clear that the writer has engaged meaningfully with the topic and could confidently use the memo as a rough draft for a more substantial analytical report in a professional or academic setting.*
  - *2/3: Requires some revisions. The memo may in part resemble the above, but may also display some of the following limitations: it may be based on limited or similar sources, it may engage in more superficial description or summary in parts, it may fail to draw connections or present a coherent topic. It is clear that the writer is engaging with material, but the memo would require revisions to serve as a draft for a more substantial piece.*
  - *1/3: Requires substantial revisions. In its current state the memo would not be able to serve as a draft for a more substantial piece, and displays most or all of the above limitations.*
- They do not need to be directly linked to the week's topic, but you may wish to use the topic as a starting point.
  - Alternatively, you may wish to base your memos on something you have read in the news, reports from think tanks, events/presentations you have attended in DC, or even trends you have noticed in social media.
  - You may also write a reflection memo on any of the recommended films. In this case you do not need to consult additional sources, but you should at a minimum identify a key theme or issue that the film raises and reflect upon these with relation to Russian political developments.

*Midterm exam:*

20% of the final grade will come from an open-book take-home midterm exam, to be distributed during week 7 and covering the first three parts of the course: legacies, political economy, and identity and nationalism. It will consist of six questions (two from each part of the course). You will be required to provide short (1000-word) essay responses to any three of these questions. You will have 10 days to work on this. Outside research is not required for a top grade, but use of additional material from the syllabus (including optional readings and media) and sources from the below list will be looked upon favourably.

#### *Final written project:*

Each student will produce a final written project for the course of approximately 4000-5000 words. This is worth 35% of your grade. This project is designed to be a standalone piece that showcases your ability to use your knowledge of Russian politics in academic, journalistic, or policy-related spheres. As such, there are three broad tracks available to you for this project: an academic research paper, a long-form journalistic piece, or a policy memo.

I will consult with you individually to help you identify a topic and approach that interests you. I will also assign short assignments during the semester to help you prepare and start work on the project.

#### Sources to consult:

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Developing expertise in a region or country requires continual investment. One goal of this course is to encourage you to keep ahead of current affairs, scholarly analysis, policy trends, and societal developments related to Russia. This is especially important if one is based outside of the region in question.

Below are some helpful sources to bookmark and regularly consult. Note that this list is not exhaustive. It is also important to stress that English-language media tend to skew pro-opposition.

#### *News/current affairs:*

- Meduza (<https://meduza.io/en>) [Rus: <https://meduza.io/>]
- Johnson's Russia List (<https://russialist.org/>)
- The Moscow Times (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/>)
- Current Digest of the Russian Press (<https://dlib.eastview.com/browse/publication/6765/udb/350#/>) – weekly digest of articles translated into English
- TASS (<https://tass.com/>) [Rus : <https://tass.ru/>]
- Caucasian Knot (<https://www.eng.kavkaz-uzel.eu/>) [Rus: <https://www.kavkaz-uzel.eu/>]
- RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty (<https://www.rferl.org/>) [Rus: <https://www.svoboda.org/>]- there are also some good regional versions (for instance, the North Caucasus/Volga region).
- Major Western outlets (*New York Times, BBC, Washington Post, CNN, Le Monde, Der Spiegel, The Economist, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, Le Monde Diplomatique*)

#### Think tanks/policy:

- Russian International Affairs Council (<https://russiancouncil.ru/en/>) [Rus: <https://russiancouncil.ru/>]
- INEMO (<https://www.imemo.ru/en>) [Rus : <https://www.imemo.ru/>]
- Carnegie Center Moscow (<https://carnegie.ru/?lang=en>) [Rus: <https://carnegie.ru/>]
- Russia in Global Affairs (<https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/>) [Rus: <https://globalaffairs.ru/>]

- CSIS (<https://www.csis.org/programs/europe-russia-and-eurasia-program/russia-and-eurasia>)
- Kennan Institute (<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/program/kennan-institute>)
- IERES, GWU (<https://ieres.elliott.gwu.edu/>)
- PONARS Eurasia (<https://www.ponarseurasia.org/>)
- Chatham House (<https://www.chathamhouse.org/regions/russia-and-eurasia/russia>)
- Brookings Institute (<https://www.brookings.edu/topic/russia-eurasia/>)
- RAND Corporation (<https://www.rand.org/topics/russia.html>)
- Atlantic Council (<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/programs/eurasia-center/>).

*Data sources:*

- Levada Center (public opinion, surveys) (<https://www.levada.ru/en/>) [*Rus:* <https://www.levada.ru/>]
- President of Russia (official speeches, transcripts) (<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts>) [*Rus:* <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts>]
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (official documents, speeches, transcripts) ([https://www.mid.ru/en/main\\_en](https://www.mid.ru/en/main_en)) [*Rus :* <https://www.mid.ru/ru/home>]
- Federal State Statistic Service (ROSSTAT) (<https://eng.gks.ru/>) [*Rus:* <https://rosstat.gov.ru/>]

Also see the GW Library's research guide to contemporary Russian politics, compiled by Dr. Mark Yoffe: <https://libguides.gwu.edu/c.php?g=258862&p=1728605>.

*Academic journals (available via GW library):*

- *Post-Soviet Affairs*
- *Problems of Post-Communism*
- *Russian Politics*
- *Democratizatsiya*
- *Nationalities Papers*
- *Europe-Asia Studies*
- *Eurasian Geography and Economics*
- *The Russian Review*
- *Slavic Review*
- *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*
- *Ab Imperio*
- *Kritika*

## Grading

This course uses a percentage-based grading schema, as shown below.

<i>Assignment Type</i>	<i>Percentage Value Per Assignment</i>	<i>Number of Assignments</i>	<i>Total [Percent] of Final Grade</i>
Attendance and Participation	-	-	20%
Weekly quizzes	1	10	10%
Weekly reflections	3	5	15%
Midterm exam	-	-	20%
Final project	-	-	35%



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The grading scale below determines your final letter grade. [Note: the scale below is based on 100 percent and is the default grading schema in Blackboard's Grade Center.]

100 – 97: A+	96 – 94: A	93 – 90: A-
89 – 87: B+	86 – 84: B	83 – 80: B-
79 – 77: C+	76 – 74: C	73 – 70: C-
69 – 67: D+	66 – 64: D	63 – 60: D-
<60: F		

## Policies

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### Email Response Time

I will respond to emails within 24 hours during weekdays. To normalize digital detoxing, I will not respond to emails over the weekend unless of an urgent nature.

I will return assignments and other written work within one week. I will not chase up students regarding assignments.

### Policies on Late Assignments

Sometimes we need help and/or an extension. This happens to all of us, and it is important to treat assignments as part of working in a professional environment. If a line manager/colleague/editor has asked you to submit work by a certain date, it is professional courtesy to inform them *in advance* if this might not be possible. Oftentimes this is not a problem. But it may come across as disrespectful if a deadline passes and no advance notice has been given: the person may have set aside time in their day or weekend to go through the submitted work, or they may have a deadline for their own manager, etc.

Accordingly, I will accept late assignments for no penalty and for any reason if: a) this is communicated to the instructor via email at least 24 hours before the deadline; and b) you reach out to me to strategize when it will be submitted.

Otherwise, standard late policies will apply without exception: 1/3 of a letter grade will be applied at the passing of the deadline, and each 24-hour period afterwards.

### Academic Integrity and Honesty

All members of the university community are expected to exhibit honesty and competence in their academic work. Students have a special responsibility to acquaint themselves with, and make use of, all proper procedures for doing research, writing papers, and taking exams. Members of the community will be presumed to be familiar with the proper academic procedures and will be held responsible for applying them. Deliberate failure to act in accordance with such procedures will be considered academic dishonesty. Academic dishonesty is defined as “cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one’s own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting

them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.” Acts of academic dishonesty are a legal, moral, and intellectual offense against the community and will be prosecuted through the proper university channels. The University Code of Academic Integrity can be found at <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>.

### Support for Students With Disabilities

GW’s Disability Support Services (DSS) provides and coordinates accommodations and other services for students with a wide variety of disabilities, as well as those temporarily disabled by injury or illness. Accommodations are available through DSS to facilitate academic access for students with disabilities. Additional information is available at <https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/>.

Please speak with me in the first week of class to discuss what kinds of accommodations can be made for you.

### Mental Health Services 202-994-5300

The University’s Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students’ personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: <https://healthcenter.gwu.edu/counseling-and-psychological-services>

### University Policy on Religious Holidays

Students should notify me during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance.

### Safety and security

In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

## Schedule & Weekly Learning Goals

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The schedule is tentative and subject to change.

### Part one: Legacies

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#### 1. Introduction – the Soviet experiment and the collapse of the USSR:

##### *Required reading: [64 pages]*

- Remnick, David. *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*. Vintage Books, 1994, chapter 4, "The Return of History," chapters 22-23 "The October Revolution," "May day! May day!", pp. 36-51, 306-340. [52]
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. *The Strong State in Russia: Development and Crisis*. Oxford University Press, 2014, chapter 6, "The Soviet Breakup," pp.75-86. [12]

##### *Additional films/music:*

- *Cold Summer Of 1953*, directed by Alexander Proshkin, 1987. Available at: <https://youtu.be/pgCGGSKPia0>. [96 minutes]
- *\*Zharkij avgust 91-go*, directed by Alexander Stepanovich, 2001. Available at: <https://youtu.be/Q2KJ3uG9arA>. [55 minutes]
- [Music] Kino, *Chernyi al'bom*, 1990. Available at: <https://open.spotify.com/album/69ZJ5dzcZJdcgcs8hBLgtu?si=p2M84715SBqr-57WFCJHAW>.

#### 2. What sort of historical legacy?

##### *Required reading: [59 pages]*

- Hale, Henry. *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*, 2014, chapter 3, "Eurasian History as Patronal Politics", pp. 39-61.[23]
- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz, *The Red Mirror*, 2021, chapter 3, "Shared Mental Models of the Late Soviet Period", pp. 53-78. [26]
- King, Charles. 'How a Great Power Falls Apart'. *Foreign Affairs*, 30 June 2020. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2020-06-30/how-great-power-falls-apart> [10].

##### *Workshop:*

- Accessing Soviet and post-Soviet newspapers and journals (Gelman Library, Global Resources Center, or online).

##### *Additional films/music:*

- *Burnt by the Sun*, directed by Nikita Mikhalkov, 1994. [152 minutes]
- *Stilyagi*, directed by Valery Todorovsky, 2008. [120 minutes]
- *Pokrovskie vorota*, directed by Mikhail Kozakov, 1982. [132 minutes]
- *Angely Revolyutsii*, directed by Alexey Fedorchenko, 2014. [113 minutes]
- [Music] Mashina Vremeni, *Desyat' Let Spustya*, 1997. Available at: <https://open.spotify.com/album/1P6Yjcg4dsKRixODuiB2iF?si=B66yk-boQKC2dso9blrOig>

## Part two: Political economy

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### 3. Economic reforms in the Yeltsin era

#### *Required reading: [27 pages]*

- Zubarevich, Natalia. ‘Four Russias: Rethinking the Post-Soviet Map’. openDemocracy. 29 March 2012. Available at : <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/four-russias-rethinking-post-soviet-map/>. [17]
- Vladimir Popov, “Russia’s Mortality Crisis: Will We Ever Learn?” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 127, October 2010. Available at: <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/russias-mortality-crisis-will-we-ever-learn>. [4]
- Vadim Volkov, “Security and Rule-Enforcement in Russian Business: The Role of the Mafia and the State,” PONARS Policy Memo no.79, October 1999. Available at: <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/security-and-rule-enforcement-russian-business-role-mafia-and-state>. [6]

#### *Additional films/music:*

- *Oligarh*, directed by Pavel Lungin, 2002. [128 minutes]
- *Zhmurki*, directed by Alexey Balabanov, 2005. [111 minutes]
- *Brat*, directed by Alexander Balabanov, 1997. [100 minutes]
- [Music] Mikhail Krug, *Vladimirskii Tsentral*, 1999. Available at: <https://open.spotify.com/album/1SRL6Nq511Oq02mqeBikCK?si=rOJJ4otNTbmyhtbOb5bs-A>.

#### *Workshop:*

- Interpreting the 2020 Russian Census: key demographic and societal trends from the 1990s to the present day

### 4. Energy, elites, and economics under Putin and Medvedev

#### *Required reading: [52 pages]*

- Guriev, Sergei, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. ‘Why Russia Is Not South Korea’, *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring/Summer 2010, Vol. 63, No. 2, pp. 125-139 [15].
- Miller, Chris. ‘The Surprising Success of Putinomics’. *Foreign Affairs*, 7 February 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2018-02-07/surprising-success-putinomics>. [5]

#### *Workshop:*

- Examining the 1990s using statistical data (World Bank, ROSSTAT, Levada).

## Part three: Identity and nationalism

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### 5. The “Parade of Sovereignties” and the rise and decline(?) of regionalism

#### *Required reading: [39 pages]*

- Elise Giuliano and Dmitry Gorenburg, “The Unexpectedly Underwhelming Role of Ethnicity in Russian Politics 1991-2011,” *Demokratizatsiya*, v.20, no.2, Spring 2012, pp.175-88. [14]
- Guzel Yusupova, “Why Ethnic Politics in Russia Will Return,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo no.584, March 2019. [5]

- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz. ‘Gestalt Switch in Russian Federalism: The Decline in Regional Power under Putin’. *Comparative Politics* 45, no. 3 (2013): 357–76 [20]

*Additional films/music:*

- [series] *Zuleikha Opens Her Eyes*, Russia 1, 2020 [6 episodes]. Available at: <https://youtu.be/RakP6GdMs5w>.

*Workshop:*

- Coming up with a research topic

## 6. The Chechen Wars and politics in the North Caucasus

*Required reading: [86 pages]*

- Treisman, Daniel. *The Return: Russia’s Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev*. 2011, chapter 8, “The Mountains,” pp. 262-309. [37]
- Zhemukhov, Sufian N., Sergey Markedonov, and Akhmet A. Yarlykapov. ‘The North Caucasus and Nearby Border Regions’. *Religion and Violence in Russia*. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2018. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22453.11>. [35]
- Theodore Gerber and Sarah Mendelson, “How Russians Think About Chechnya,” PONARS Policy Memo no.243, January 2002. [8]
- Javeline, Debra. ‘Anger and Prejudice after the Beslan School Hostage Taking’. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 6 August 2014. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/anger-and-prejudice-after-beslan-school-hostage-taking>. [6]

*Recommended reading:*

- Jean-Francois Ratelle and Emil Souleimanov, “A Perfect Counterinsurgency? Making Sense of Moscow’s Policy of Chechenisation,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, v.68, no.8, September 2016, pp.1287-1314. [27]
- Shnirelman, Victor. ‘The Politics of a Name : Between Consolidation and Separation in the Northern Caucasus’. *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, no. 23 (2006). [38]

*Additional films/music:*

- *Prisoner of the Mountains*, directed by Sergei Bodrov, 1996. [100 minutes]
- *Prikazano zabyt’*, directed by Hussein Erkenov, 2014. [94 minutes]. Available at: <https://youtu.be/wIam0Wuvcdg>.

*Guest speaker:*

- TBD

## 7. Russian nationalism and nation-building:

*Required reading: [71 pages]*

- Laruelle, Marlene. ‘Is Nationalism a Force for Change in Russia?’ *Daedalus* 146, no. 2 (April 2017): 89–100. [https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED\\_a\\_00437](https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00437). [12]
- Shevel, Oxana. "Russian Nation-building from Yel'tsin to Medvedev: Ethnic, Civic or Purposefully Ambiguous?." *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 2 (2011): 179-202. [26]
- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz, *The Red Mirror*, 2021, chapter 5, “Constructing the Collective Trauma of the 1990s”, pp. 105-32. [33]
- Trenin, Dmitri. ‘A Country in Search of a Nation’. Carnegie Moscow Center. 4 November 2013. <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/53488>. [2]

*Recommended reading:*

- Suleymanova, Dilyara. ‘Between Regionalisation and Centralisation: The Implications of Russian Education Reforms for Schooling in Tatarstan’. *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 1 (2 January 2018): 53–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2017.1413171>.
- McGlynn, Jade. ‘United by History: Government Appropriation of Everyday Nationalism During Vladimir Putin’s Third Term’. *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 6 (November 2020): 1069–85. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.20>.

*Additional films/music:*

- *Russia 88*, directed by Pavel Bardin, 2009. [104 minutes].
- *Admiral*, directed by Andrey Kravchuk, 2008. [124 minutes].

*Guest speaker:*

- TBD

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*Midterm exam distributed- to cover the previous material*

## Part four: Political system and state-society relations

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### 8. Formal Institutions: the presidency, parliament, courts

*Required reading: [41 pages]*

- Ross, Cameron. ‘Regional Elections in Russia: Instruments of Authoritarian Legitimacy or Instability?’ *Palgrave Communications* 4, no. 1 (December 2018). [9]
- Hale, Henry. ‘The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime,’ *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 63, No. 8, 2011, pp. 1357-1375. [19]
- Schullman, Ekaterina. ‘The Russian Parliament and the Pandemic: A State of Emergency, Post-constitutional Changes, Retaliatory Laws’. *PonarsEurasia – Policy Memos*, February 2021. [The Russian Parliament and the Pandemic: A State of Emergency, Post-constitutional Changes, Retaliatory Laws | PONARS Eurasia](#). [7]
- Smyth, Regina. ‘How the Kremlin Is Using the Moscow Renovation Project to Reward and Punish Voters’. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 6 March 2018. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/kremlin-using-moscow-renovation-project-reward-punish-voters>. [6]

### 9. State-society relations 1: elections & parties, security services & law enforcement

*Required reading: [29 pages]*

- Laruelle, Marlene ‘The Kremlin’s Ideological Ecosystems,’ *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* no.493, November 2017. [6]
- Ferris, Emily. ‘Corruption, No Confidence, Poor Communication: How Governors Behaving Badly Will Impact Russia’s Regional Elections’. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 21 July 2020. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/corruption-no-confidence-poor-communication-how-governors-behaving-badly>. [6]
- Smyth, Regina. ‘How the Kremlin Is Using the Moscow Renovation Project to Reward and Punish Voters’. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 6 March 2018. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/kremlin-using-moscow-renovation-project-reward-punish-voters>. [6]
- Taylor, Brian D. ‘The Russian Siloviki & Political Change’. *Daedalus* 146, no. 2, 27 March 2017: 53–63. [https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED\\_a\\_00434](https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00434). [11]

*Additional films/music:*

- *Leviathan*, directed by Andrey Zvyagintsev, 2014. [2014].

*Guest speaker:*

- TBD (journalist from Russia)

## 10. State-society relations 2: religion and media

*Required reading: [29 pages]*

- Iakimova, Olga. 'A Decade of Religious Education in Russian Schools: Adrift Between Plans and Experiences'. *Ponars Eurasia - Policy Memos*, 19 November 2020. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/decade-religious-education-russian-schools-adrift-between-plans-and-experiences>. [6]
- Medvedev, Sergei. 'The State and the Human Body in Putin's Russia: The Biopolitics of Authoritarian Revanche'. *Ponars Eurasia - Policy Memos*, 30 May 2019. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/state-and-human-body-putins-russia-biopolitics-authoritarian-revanche>. [6]
- Yusupova, Guzel. 'The Islamic Representation of Tatarstan as an Answer to the Equalization of the Russian Regions'. *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 1 (2016): 38–54. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2015.1061983>. [17]

*Additional films/music:*

- *The Student*, directed by Kirill Serebrennikov, 2016. [118 minutes].

## 11. The politics of protest

*Required reading: [31 pages]*

- Tucker, Joshua. 'Analysis | Alexei Navalny's Return to Russia — and His Arrest — Have Upended Russian Politics'. *Washington Post*. Accessed 7 February 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/01/28/alexei-navalnys-return-russia-his-arrest-have-upended-russian-politics/>. [3]
- Stanovaya, Tatiana. 'Russia's In-System Opposition Gets Second Chance in Khabarovsk'. *Carnegie Moscow Center*. Accessed 7 February 2021. <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/82363>. [3]
- Chebankova, Elena. 'Competing Ideologies of Russia's Civil Society'. *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 2 (7 February 2015): 244–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2014.1002695>. [25]

*Recommended podcast:*

- Podcast: Ostrovsky, Arkady, and Alexander Gabuev. 'Podcast: Are Russia's Protests a Serious Threat to the Kremlin?' *Carnegie Moscow Center*. 29 January 2021. <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/83762>.

*Additional films/music:*

- *Dear Comrades*, directed by Andrei Konchalovsky, 2020 [120 minutes].

*Guest speaker:*

- TBD

## Part five: Connections between foreign and domestic politics

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### 12. Cross-border flows: trade, migration, sanctions, and corruption

#### *Required reading: [28 pages]*

- Lipman, Maria, and Yulia Florinskaya ‘Labor Migration in Russia’, *PONARS Point & Counterpoint*. 9 January 2019. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/point-counter/article/labor-migration-russia>. [12]
- Nigel Gould-Davies, “Oligarchs and Western Sanctions: The Dilemmas Facing Russia’s Ultra Wealthy,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo no.589, April 2019. [7]
- Closson, Stacy. ‘Diminishing Returns: How Effective Are Sanctions Against Russia?’ *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 23 January 2019. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/diminishing-returns-how-effective-are-sanctions-against-russia>. [6]
- Mitrova, Tatiana. ‘Western Sanctions on Russia’s Oil and Gas Sector: A Damage Assessment’. Carnegie Moscow Center. Accessed 9 February 2021. <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/76909>. [3]

#### *Additional films/music:*

- *Ayka*, directed by Sergei Dvortsevov, 2018. [100 minutes]

#### *Guest speaker:*

- TBD

### 13. Russian foreign policy: the former Soviet Union

#### *Required reading: [46 pages]*

- Radin, Andrew, and Clint Reach. *Russian Views of the International Order*. RAND Corporation, 2017, pp. 7-36. Available at: [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1826.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1826.html). [30]
- Treisman, Daniel. “Russia’s Gambler in the Kremlin,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2016, pp.47-54. [7]
- Remler, Philip,. ‘Russia’s Stony Path in the South Caucasus’. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 20 October 2020. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/10/20/russia-s-stony-path-in-south-caucasus-pub-82993>. [6]
- Johnson, Juliet, and Benjamin Forest. ‘Waving the EU Flag in Eurasia’. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 23 April 2019. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/waving-eu-flag-eurasia>. [6]

#### *Recommended material:*

- Podcast: “War in the Arctic (Russia's Hypersonic Missile Program)” *The Red Line*. 5 April 2020. Available at: <https://www.theredlinepodcast.com/post/episode-14-war-in-the-arctic>.
- Laruelle, Marlene, and Dylan Royce. ‘No Great Game: Central Asia’s Public Opinions on Russia, China, and the U.S.’, *Kennan Cable* no. 56 (2020), pp. 1-17. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/kennan-cable-no-56-no-great-game-central-asias-public-opinions-russia-china-and-us>. [18]
- Shraibman, Artyom. ‘Can Moscow Manage a Power Transition in Belarus?’ Carnegie Moscow Center. Accessed 8 February 2021. <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/82715>. [3]

#### *Guest speaker:*

- TBD



## 14. Russian foreign policy: Europe and the United States

### *Required reading: [19 pages]*

- Şener Aktürk, “Five Faces of Russia’s Soft Power,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo no.623, November 2019. [6]
- Arutunyan, Anna. ‘Putin Is Not Smiling’. *Foreign Affairs*, 17 June 2020. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2020-06-17/putin-not-smiling>. [6]
- Timofeev, Ivan. ‘Why Russia-EU Relations Remain Stable Against All Odds’. *Russian International Affairs Council*. 3 February 2021. <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/why-russia-eu-relations-remain-stable-against-all-odds/>. [3]
- Yatsyk, Alexandra. “Promoting Islam within the “Russian World”: The Cases of Tatarstan and Chechnya”, PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo, 28 August 2015. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/new-policy-memo-promoting-islam-within-russian-world-cases-tatarstan-and-chechnya>. [4]
- Appel, Hilary. ‘Are Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin Partners? Interpreting the Russia-China Rapprochement’. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 19 July 2019. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/are-xi-jinping-and-vladimir-putin-partners-interpreting-russia-china-rapprochement>. [6]

### *Additional films/music:*

- *Brat 2*, directed by Alexey Balabanov, 2000. [127 minutes].

### *Guest speaker:*

- TBD

## 15. Wrap-up session:

### *Required readings/preparation:*

- No required readings on the final day of class. Either guest speaker (TBD) or possibility of organizing round table with students at MGIMO (instructor’s alma mater) on Russia-America relations (TBD).