



## ***PONARS Eurasia Academic Workshop on Modernization***

March 14-15, 2019 | St. Petersburg, Russia

### **AGENDA**

Updated: March 8, 2019

#### **Day 1, Thursday, March 14**

Location: European University at St. Petersburg (EUSP), 6/1A Gagarinskaya Street

**09:45-10:00** Introductory Remarks: Vadim Volkov, Rector, EUSP [[ROOM 201](#)]

**10:00-12:00** Session 1: Transformations of Social Mobilizations and Protests

*(Plenary Session)*

Chair: **Vladimir Gel'man**, European University at St. Petersburg; University of Helsinki

**Regina Smyth**, Indiana University

*State Policy and Popular Participation: The Case of Moscow's Housing Renovation Program*

**Theodore Gerber**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

*Homeownership, the Middle Class, and Political-Economic Ideology: Modernization Theory Revisited in Four Post-Soviet Countries*

**Elena Sirotkina** (presenting), Higher School of Economics (Moscow), **Andrei Semenov**, Perm State University, and **Jan Matti Dollbaum**, University of Bremen

*Who Are the Navalny Supporters? Evidence from Alexei Navalny's 2017/18 Presidential Campaign*

**Anna Dekalchuk**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)

*A New Age Cohort Entering Politics: How Generational Belonging Influences Transition from Civic to Political Activism in Local Communities (The Case of Sosnoviy Bor)*

Discussants: **Kirill Rogov**, Liberal Mission Foundation (Moscow), and **Andrey Shcherbak**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)

**12:00-13:00** **Lunch, Bretzel - Chaikovskogo str., 4**

**13:00-14:30** Session 2: Modernizing Security at Home and Abroad (*Breakout Session*)

[[ROOM 430](#)]

Chair: **Eduard Ponarin**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)

**Brian Taylor**, Syracuse University

*How Modern is Russian Security Policy-Making?*

**Ivan Kurilla**, European University at St. Petersburg

*Modernization Viewed as An Outcome of Russian-American Encounters*

**Erica Marat**, National Defense University

*Technological Solutions for Complex Problems: Emerging Electronic Surveillance Regimes in Eurasian Cities*

Discussant: **Irina Busygina**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)



**13:00-14:30 Session 3: Symbolic Power, Political Theater, and Conspiracy (*Breakout Session*)**  
[\[ROOM 429\]](#)

Chair: **Joshua Tucker**, New York University

**Jessica Pisano**, The New School (New York City)

*Modernizing Concepts? Political Theatre in Russia and Ukraine*

**Viatcheslav Morozov**, University of Tartu (Estonia)

*Putin and the Peasant: Russia's Entangled Modernity and Interscalar Effects in Semi-Peripheral Politics*

**Scott Radnitz**, University of Washington

*Machiavellian Maneuvers: Testing the Effectiveness of Conspiratorial Appeals*

Discussant: **Gulnaz Sharafutdinova**, King's College London

**14:30-15:00 Coffee Break**

**15:00-16:30 Session 4: Institutional Modernization (*Breakout Session*)** [\[ROOM 430\]](#)

Chair: **Jessica Pisano**, The New School (New York City)

**Caress Schenk**, Nazarbayev University

*Symbol, Performance, and Legitimacy. Demonstrating State Capacity to Control Immigration in Russia.*

**Ivan Grigoriev**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)

*Institutional Decay Under Autocracy: Evidence from Business-State Relations in Russia*

**Nikolay Petrov**, Higher School of Economics (Moscow)

*Regime Modernization in Russia?*

Discussant: **Theodore Gerber**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**15:00-16:30 Session 5: Economic and Social Modernization (*Breakout Session*)** [\[ROOM 429\]](#)

Chair: **Grigore Pop-Eleches**, Princeton University

**Mikhail Sokolov** (presenting) and **Katerina Guba**, European University at St. Petersburg

*Suspecting the Professor: The Logic of Authoritarian Modernization in Russian Academia*

**Ivan Lyubimov**, Gaidar Institute for Economic Policy/RANEPA

*Russia's Diversification Prospects*

**Sarah Wilson Sokhey**, University of Colorado Boulder

*Revenue & Spending in Oil-Rich Countries*

Discussant: **Scott Gehlbach**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**Dinner 19:00 - Salhino - Voznesenskiy av., 55**



## Day 2, Friday, March 15

Location: Higher School of Economics (HSE), St. Petersburg, 123 Griboyedova Canal Emb.

### 10:30-12:00 Session 6: Political Control, Domination, and Breakdown [ROOM 402]

*(Plenary Session)*

Chair: **Scott Radnitz**, University of Washington

**Scott Gehlbach**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

*Hiding Control*

**Gulnaz Sharafutdinova**, King's College London

*Disruptive Technologies Versus Identity Politics in Russia*

**Margarita Zavadskaya**, European University at St. Petersburg

*Economic or Ethnic Mobilization? Political Machines and the Integrity of Subnational Elections in Russia*

Discussants: **Vladimir Gel'man**, European University at St. Petersburg; University of Helsinki and **Graeme Robertson**, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

### 12:00-13:30 Lunch, Est! Cafe, 11 Kryukov canal quay

### 13:30-15:00 Session 7: Governance (*Breakout Session*) [ROOM 402]

Chair: **Theodore Gerber**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**Vsevolod Bederson**, **Irina Shevtsova**, **Stanislav Shkel**, and **Andrey Semyonov**, Perm State University

*No Country for Elections? Centralization, Models of Local Governance, and Public Goods Provision in Russia*

**Grigore Pop-Eleches**, Princeton University, and **Graeme Robertson**, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

*Can Modernizing Reforms Actually Reduce Corruption? Evidence from a Natural Experiment on Police Reform in Ukraine*

**Kirill Rogov**, Liberal Mission Foundation (Moscow)

*The Crisis of Transition: Was the October 1993 Violent Clash in Russia Inevitable?*

Discussant: **Regina Smyth**, Indiana University



**13:30-15:00 Session 8: Modernization of the Eurasian Space (*Breakout Session*) [ROOM 322]**

Chair: **Ivan Kurilla**, European University at St. Petersburg

**Irina Busygina**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)

*Post-Soviet Nations and Russia After 2014: New Shift in Bilateral Deals and the End of Russia-Driven Integration Projects*

**Eduard Dzhagityan**, Higher School of Economics (Moscow)

*Single Banking Regulation Mechanism as Driving Force of the EAEU Common Financial Market*

**Alexei Trochev**, Nazarbayev University

*Judicial Chiefs and Clientelism in Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from Kazakhstan*

Discussant: **Anna Dekalchuk**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)

**15:00-15:30 Coffee Break**

**15:30-17:00 Session 9: Modernization in Political Behavior (*Breakout Session*) [ROOM 402]**

Chair: **Irina Busygina**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)

**Grigore Pop-Eleches**, Princeton University, and **Joshua Tucker**, New York University

*Communist Legacies and Left-Authoritarianism*

**Boris Sokolov**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)

*Failed Modernization, Elite Ressentiment, and the Growth of Mass-Level Anti-Westernism in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*

Discussant: **Margarita Zavadskaya**, European University at St. Petersburg

**15:30-17:00 Session 10: Historical Legacies (*Breakout Session*) [ROOM 322]**

Chair: **Erica Marat**, National Defense University

**Lucan Ahmad Way**, University of Toronto

*Surviving Modernization: The Revolutionary Origins of Soviet Durability*

**Mark Kramer**, Harvard University

*The Soviet Legacy in Russian Foreign Policy*

**Andrey Shcherbak** and **Maria Ukhvatova**, Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg)

*From "the Red Belt" to "the Bible Belt": Historical Roots of the Shift in Russian Political Geography*

Discussant: **Ivan Kurilla**, European University at St. Petersburg

**19:00 Caravan - Voznesenskiy av., 46.**