**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.