

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
SECTION OF SLAVONIC STUDIES

PAPER SL15: Topics in Slavonic Studies: Cultural Histories of the Present

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**2021/2022 Title: Russia Since 1991**

HANDBOOK



**USING THE HANDBOOK**

The handbook is divided into four sections:

- Section 1 the exam
- Section 2 lectures & seminars
- Section 3 supervisions
- Section 4 reading

## INTRODUCTION

### COURSE AIMS

The course is designed to provide you with a thorough grounding in and advanced understanding of the cultural history of Russia, Poland, and/or Ukraine after 1989-1991. In the 2021-22 academic year, the paper centres on the case of post-Soviet Russia, examining the various ways in which Russian history and memory intersect with and contribute to the study of Russian culture.

Russian history today is a highly complex and contested ideological battleground. Works of literature and film wander this terrain, navigating competing legacies of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union to help shape contemporary national identity. In 2021-22, you will explore this dynamic exchange by focussing on pivotal events of the past three decades – the fall of the Soviet Union, the war in Chechnya, the rise of Vladimir Putin, the annexation of Ukraine’s Autonomous Republic of Crimea. Analyse them through a variety of primary and secondary texts to ponder ever-evolving questions of Russia’s democratization, national security, civil society, and foreign policy.

### BEFORE THE COURSE BEGINS

Familiarise yourself with the general progression of Russian history since 1991 by reading through one or more of the following:

Belton, Catherine	<i>Putin’s People: How the KGB Took Back Russia and then Took on the West</i> (2020)
Chebankova, Elena	<i>Political Ideologies in Contemporary Russia</i> (2020)
Gel’man, Vladimir	<i>Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes</i> (2015)
Gessen, Masha	<i>Future is History</i> (2018)
Lovell, Stephen	<i>Destination in Doubt: Russia Since 1989</i> (2006)
Ostrovsky, Arkady	<i>The Invention of Russia: The Journey from Gorbachev’s Freedom to Putin’s War</i> (2015)

**Briefing meeting:** There’ll be a meeting before the first teaching day of Michaelmas. Check with the departmental secretary for time and venue.

### COURSE STRUCTURE

**Lectures:** sixteen lectures, eight in Michaelmas and eight in Lent. The lectures provide an overview of the course and help you structure your reading. It is important to understand that the lectures alone will not enable you to cover the course, nor will they by themselves prepare you for the exam.

**Seminars:** four seminars in Easter term.

**Supervisions:** ten supervisions: four in Michaelmas, four in Lent and two in Easter.

**Reading:** to study history is, primarily, to read, so reading is the most important aspect of the course. You must understand from the outset that this is primarily a reading course and that, above all, you will need to commit to reading extensively and consistently. That is why the bulk of the handbook is devoted to providing you with detailed guidance on reading.

## **SECTION 1: THE EXAM**

### **DESCRIPTION**

The exam paper is divided into three sections. All questions have equal weight. Under normal circumstances you have to answer three questions, one from each section.

**Section A** deals with the course's four primary sources and has one question for each source.

**Section B** has six questions. Most cover the period 1991 to 2000 but there will be one or two questions of a general nature covering the whole period of the paper.

**Section C** has six questions. Most cover the period 2000 to 2021 but, as in section B, there will be several questions of a general nature covering the whole period.

### **PREPARING FOR THE EXAM**

**Section A** is predictable because you can choose in advance which primary source you want to concentrate on in the knowledge that it will always come up on the paper. You should study the sources as part of your specialist reading (section 4.2) and we will look at them in detail in supervisions (section 3) and in the Easter term seminars (section 2).

**Sections B&C** are periodized (with the occasional general question included in each), but you will be asked to respond to problems and issues within periods, not simply to periods. You should note that there is no guarantee that a particular problem or issue will always come up in sections B&C, or that problems or issues will not be conflated. This means that you cannot 'topic spot' by focussing your work on a narrow aspect of the course – mugging up a couple of problems and hoping they will see you through, for instance. You will have to do the whole course in order to be prepared for the exam. On the other hand, you will not be asked to respond to anything outside the course aims.

You should look at SL12 past papers to get a feel for the style of questions.

## SECTION 2: LECTURES & SEMINARS

Check with the section's secretary for venues and times.

### MICHAELMAS

- 0 Pre-term Meeting: Introduction to the Course
- 1 The Collapse of the USSR
- 2 Transition to Democracy
- 3 Westernization of Culture
- 4 Transition to Capitalism
- 5 Chechnya and National Security
- 6 Return to Autocracy
- 7 Remembering the 1990s
- 8 Religion

### LENT

- 9 Putin
- 10 Opposition
- 11 Civil Society
- 12 Gender and Sexuality
- 13 Nationalism
- 14 Ethnic Minorities
- 15 Russia's Youth
- 16 Foreign Policy and Crimea Annexation

### EASTER

- 17 Seminar: Yeltsyn, Boris, "I made a decision. I am leaving" Speech on 31st December 1999.
- 18 Seminar: Aleksievich, Svetlana, *Second-Hand Time* (2013).
- 19 Seminar: Yavlinsky, Grigoriy, 'Russia Today: The History of How and Why It Came to Be' from *The Putin System: An Opposing View* (2019).
20. Seminar: Putin, Vladimir, "75th Anniversary of the Great Victory: Shared Responsibility to History and our Future" (2020).

## SECTION 3: SUPERVISIONS

### MICHAELMAS

**1 Essay supervision**

Choose a question Supervision 1 in the Michaelmas list. Preparation: you can do any question you like from the list in Supervision 1. Aim at **five to six** sides of A4, **typed and double-spaced**; research using the general and topic-related reading in the reading lists; cite quotations by footnoting; end with a full bibliography. Email me your essays 4 days before supervision.

**2 Essay supervision**

Choose a question from Supervision 2 of the Michaelmas list. Preparation: as for 1.

**3 Essay supervision**

Choose a question from Supervision 3 of the Michaelmas list. Preparation: as for 1.

**4 Essay supervision**

Choose a question from Supervision 4 of the Michaelmas list. Preparation: as for 1.

### LENT

**5 Essay supervision**

Choose a question from Supervision 5 of the Lent list. Preparation: as for 1.

**6 Essay supervision**

Choose a question from Supervision 6 of the Lent list. Preparation: as for 1.

**7 Essay supervision**

Choose a question from Supervision 7 of the Lent list. Preparation: as for 1.

**8 Essay supervision**

Choose a question from Supervision 8 of the Lent list. Preparation: as for 1.

### EASTER

**9 Essay supervision**

Choose a question on one of the primary sources. Preparation: as for 1.

**10 Essay supervision**

Choose a question on a different primary source. Preparation: as for 1.

**MICHAELMAS LIST**

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**Supervision 1**

- 1 Was the breakdown of the Soviet state a result of domestic politics primarily?
  - 2 'Boris Yeltsin was not committed to democracy.' Discuss.
  - 3 'A lack of popular support for democracy resulted in the failure of Russia's democratization in the 1990s.' Discuss.
  - 4 'Economics derailed democratization in Russia.' Discuss.
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**Supervision 2**

- 1 Account for major sources of anti-Westernism in Russia, and is it likely to endure?
  - 2 Assess the impact of Westernization on Russian culture in the 1990s.
  - 3 Did market transition in the 1990s facilitate Russia's authoritarian reversal?
  - 4 'Informal practices of the 1990s outpowered the Russian state.' Discuss.
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**Supervision 3**

- 1 'The conflict in Chechnya reflected wider crises in Russia in the 1990s.' Discuss.
  - 2 'Did the Kremlin win the war in Chechnya but lose the peace?' Discuss.
  - 3 Why has authoritarian rule proved to be durable in post-Soviet Russia?
  - 4 If Russia is not a democracy, what purpose do elections and other democratic institutions serve?
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**Supervision 4**

- 1 Assess the major sources of historical memory and political legitimacy active in Russian discourse in the 1990s.
  - 2 1990s: 'troubled' or 'free'? Assess various interpretations of the period.
  - 3 'Who are the enemies of Russia?' Explain major tropes in conspiracy theories.
  - 4 'Religion is used by the regime to solidify its power.' Discuss.
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**LENT LIST**

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**Supervision 5**

- 1 Assess the central reasons for Putin's enduring popularity.
- 2 Does Russia's weakening economy threaten Putin's regime?
- 3 Can the opposition play a meaningful role in Russian politics?
- 4 Account for the major transformations of the political opposition in Russia since 1991.

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**Supervision 6**

- 1 'The weakness of civil society in post-Soviet Russia is due to the nature and duration of Soviet rule.' Discuss.
- 2 'The cult of Great Patriotic War has been unwavering popular in Russia.' Discuss.
- 3 What gendered strategies are used for legitimating Putin's regime?
- 4 'Since 1991 the LGBT community faces no discrimination in Russia.' Discuss.

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**Supervision 7**

- 1 'Nationalism as an effective strategy for legitimacy in Russia.' Discuss.
- 2 'Nationalism threatens the Russian state.' Discuss.
- 3 'Social mobility for ethnic minorities has been declining steadily since 1991.' Discuss.
- 4 'Today Russian nationality is based on political values, not ethnic origin.' Discuss.

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**Supervision 8**

- 1 To what extent is Russia's foreign policy driven by domestic political concerns?
- 2 'Russia's foreign policy is motivated by fears of foreign encroachment.' Discuss.
- 3 Account for the ways the leadership engages with Russia's youth.
- 4 'Cultural texts critical of the authorities, like the documentaries by Dud' or *Leviathan* (2014) by Zvyagintsev, appeal to a very narrow audience.' Discuss.

**EASTER LIST**

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**Supervision 9**

- 1 Aleksievich in *Second-Hand Time* reveals a diversity in perceptions of the early post-Soviet periods.' Discuss.
- 2 'Yeltsyn's resignation speech on 31 December 1999 only revealed him to be a weak leader.' Discuss.

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**Supervision 10**

- 1 Assess the plausibility of Yavlinskii's argument that Putin was a product of 'the system'.
- 2 'Vladimir Putin's article "The 75th Anniversary of the Great Victory: Shared Responsibility to History and our Future" revives a Stalinist vision of modern history.' Discuss.

## SECTION 4: READING

### LOCATIONS

**Hardcopy** Many books and articles are in our MMLL library and online. Some, however, are not and very few will be in your college libraries, so you might need to use Seeley Library (in the History Faculty next to the Law building) and Marshall Library (in the Economics Faculty beside the Buttery) as well as the UL.

**Online** JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org/>) is an excellent site for journal articles. Avoid popular sites like Wikipedia – they can be inaccurate.

### GENERAL WORKS

1. Belton, Catherine. *Putin's People: How the KGB Took Back Russia and then Took on the West* (2020)
2. Chebankova, Elena. *Political Ideologies in Contemporary Russia* (2020)
3. Dawisha, Karen. *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia* (2014)
4. Gel'man, Vladimir. *Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes* (2015)
5. Gessen, Masha. *Future is History* (2018)
6. Lovell, Stephen. *Destination in Doubt: Russia Since 1989* (2006)
7. Ostrovsky, Arkady. *The Invention of Russia: The Journey from Gorbachev's Freedom to Putin's War* (2015)

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Aleksievich, Svetlana, *Second-Hand Time* (2013)
- Putin, Vladimir, "75th Anniversary of the Great Victory: Shared Responsibility to History and our Future"  
in English: <http://static.kremlin.ru/media/events/files/en/VIMXXg4uCU1W0iGCMNzd8sPyIujZg3y.pdf>  
in Russian: <http://static.kremlin.ru/media/events/files/ru/hOAWB1GRwEMuVtAAGREjC8Vvl3VxqiW4.pdf>
- Yavlinsky, Grigoriy, 'Russia Today: The History of How and Why It Came to Be' from *The Putin System: An Opposing View* (2019)
- Yeltsyn, Boris, I made a decision. I am leaving. Speech on 31st December 1999  
in English: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24080>  
in Russian: <https://www.bbc.com/russian/address.htm>



## Biographies

1. Breslauer, George W. *Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders* (2002)
2. Brown, Archie, and Lilia Shevtsova. *Gorbachev, Yeltsin, & Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition* (2001)
3. Brudny, Yitzhak M. "In Pursuit of the Russian Presidency: Why and How Yeltsin Won the 1996 Presidential Election." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 30, no. 3 (1997): 255–75.
4. Colton, Timothy J. *Yeltsin: A Life* (2008)
5. Gessen, Masha. *The Man without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin* (2013)
6. Hill, Fiona and Gaddy, Clifford G. *Mr Putin: Operative in the Kremlin* (2015)
7. Yeltsin, Boris. *Midnight Diaries* (2000)
8. Yeltsin, Boris. *The Struggle for Russia*. Translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick (1994)

## SPECIALIST READING

### The collapse of the USSR

1. Beissinger, Mark R. "How Nationalisms Spread: Eastern Europe Adrift the Tides and Cycles of Nationalist Contention." *Social Research* 63, no. 1 (1996): 97–146
2. Beissinger, Mark R. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (2002)
3. Brown, Archie. *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (2010)
4. Bunce, Valerie. "Subversive Institutions: The End of the Soviet State in Comparative Perspective." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 14, no. 4 (1998): 323–54
5. Dallin, Alexander. "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 8, no. 4 (1992): 271–8
6. Hale, Henry E. "The Double-Edged Sword of Ethnofederalism: Ukraine and the USSR in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 40, no. 3 (2008): 293–312.
7. Kotkin, S. *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000* (2008)
8. Marples, David. *The Collapse of the Soviet Union, 1985-1991* (2004)
9. Plokhyy, Serhii. *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (2015)
10. Smith, J. *Red Nations: The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR* (2013)
11. Suny, Ronald Grigory. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (1993)

### Transition to democracy

1. Bahry, Donna. "Comrades into Citizens? Russian Political Culture and Public Support for the Transition." *Slavic Review* 58, no. 4 (1999): 841–53
2. Bunce, Valerie. "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience." *World Politics* 55, no. 2 (2003): 167–92
3. Carnaghan, Ellen. 2001. "Thinking about Democracy: Interviews with Russian Citizens." *Slavic Review* 60 (2): 336–366
4. Fish, M. Steven. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (2005)
5. Gel'man, Vladimir. *Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes* (Ch. 3) (2015)
6. Lobacheva, Irina. *Russia in 1990s: Sunset of the Soviet Socialism* (2013)
7. Medvedev, Roy. *Post-Soviet Russia: A Journey through the Yeltsin Era*, trans. G. Shriver (2000)
8. Offe, Claus. "Capitalism by Democratic Design? Democratic Theory Facing the Triple Transition in East Central Europe." *Social Research* (4) 58 (1991): 865–893
9. Rose, Richard, William Mishler, and Neil Munro. *Popular Support for an Undemocratic Regime: The Changing Views of Russians* (2011)
10. Shevtsova, Lilia. *Russia—Lost in Transition: The Yeltsin and Putin Legacies* (2007)
11. Sperling, Valerie. *Building the Russian State: Institutional Crisis and the Quest for Democratic Governance* (2000)
12. Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn. *Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia* (2006)

### Westernization of Culture

1. Barker, Adele-Marie, ed., *Consuming Russia: Popular Culture, Sex and Society after Gorbachev* (1999)
2. Bartlett, Djurdja. *In Russia, At Last and Forever: The First Seven Years of Russian Vogue* (2015)
3. Chebankova, Elena. 'Ideas, Ideology & Intellectuals in Search of Russia's Political Future' *Daedalus*, Vol. 146, No. 2, (Spring 2017), pp. 76-88
4. Deriglazova, Larisa. "How Much 'Europeanness' Remains in Contemporary Russia?" *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* Vol. 26, No. 1, Thematic Focus: Que reste-t-il de nos amours? The Expectations of 1989–1991 Revisited (2017), pp. 75-97
5. Hashamova, Yana. *Pride and Panic: Russian Imagination of the West in Post-Soviet Film* (2007)
6. Mickiewicz, Ellen. *Changing Channels: Television and the Struggle for Power in Russia* (1999)
7. Pelevin, Viktor. *Clay Machine Gun* (1998)
8. Troitsky, Artemy, 'No limits: what was the cost of a decade of sex, drugs and excess?': <http://calvertjournal.com/features/show/3838/Russian-90s-Artemy-Tiotsky-sex-drugs-excess>

### Transition to capitalism

1. Allina-Pisano, Jessica. *The Post-Soviet Potemkin Village: Politics and Property Rights in the Black Earth* (2008)
2. Åslund, Anders. *How Capitalism Was Built: The Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia* (2007)
3. Blasi, Joseph R., Maya Kroumova, and Douglas Kruse. *Kremlin Capitalism: The Privatization of the Russian Economy* (1997)
4. Gaidar, Yegor. *The Economics of Russian Transition* (2003)
5. Galligan, D. J., and Marina Kurkchiyan. *Law and Informal Practices: The Post-Communist Experience* (2003)
6. Goldman, Marshall I. *Petrostate: Putin, Power, and the New Russia* (2008)
7. Gorlitsky, Yoram, Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *Substate Dictatorship: Networks, Loyalty, and Institutional Change in the Soviet Union* (2020) Conclusion
8. Heinzen, James. *The Art of the Bribe: Corruption, Politics, and Everyday Life in the Soviet Union, 1943-1953* (2017) Skim Introduction and Conclusion
9. Ledeneva, Alena. *Can Russia Modernise? Sistema, Power Networks and Informal Governance* (2013).
10. ——. "Russia's Practical Norms and Informal Governance: The Origins of Endemic Corruption." *Social Research* 80, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 1135–62
11. ——. *How Russia Really Works: The Informal Practices That Shaped Post-Soviet Politics and Business* (2006)
12. Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz. *Political Consequences of Crony Capitalism inside Russia* (2010)
13. Tompson, William. "The Political Implications of Russia's Resource-Based Economy." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21, no. 4 (2005): 335–59
14. Volkov, Vadim. *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism* (2002)

### Chechnya and national security

1. Anemone, Anthony. *Just Assassins: The Culture of Terrorism in Russia* (2010)
2. Babchenko Arkady. *One Soldier's War*. Trans. Nick Allen (2007)
3. Bloom, Mia. "*The Black Widow Bombers*" *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism* (2011)
4. Clowes, Edith. *Russia on the Edge: Imagined Geographies and Post-Soviet Identity* (2011) Ch. 6
5. Eichler, Maya. *Militarizing Men: Gender, Conscription, and War in Post-Soviet Russia* (2011)
6. Galeotti, Mark. *Russia's Wars in Chechnia, 1994-2009* (2014)
7. Harding, Sue-Ann. *Beslan: Six stories of the siege: Six stories of the siege* (2012)
8. Holiman, Alan. "The Case of Nord-Ost: Dubrovka and the Search for Answers" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (March 2009), pp. 283-311
9. Hughes, James. *Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad* (2007)
10. Oushakine, Sergeui Alex. *The Patriotism of Despair: Nation, War and Loss in Russia* (2009)
11. Politkovskaya, Anna. *A Dirty War*. Trans. John Crowfoot (2001)
12. Sadulaev, German. *I am a Chechen!* Trans. Anna Gunin (2010)

### Return to autocracy

1. Balzer, Harley. "Managed Pluralism: Vladimir Putin's Emerging Regime." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 19, no. 3 (2003): 189–227
2. Bunce, Valerie, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (2010)
3. Levitsky, Stephen, and Lucan A. Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 51–65
4. Hale, Henry E. 2010. "Eurasian Polities as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin's Russia." *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1 (1): 33–41
5. Robertson, Graeme, and Samuel Greene. 2017. "How Putin Wins Support." *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017): 86–100
6. Forrat, Natalia. 2018. "Shock-Resistant Authoritarianism: Schoolteachers and Infrastructural State Capacity in Putin's Russia." *Comparative Politics* 50 (3): 417–449
7. Marten, Kimberly. "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria." *Problems of Post-Communism* 62, no. 2 (2015): 71–87
8. McFaul, Michael. 2018. "Choosing Autocracy: Actors, Institutions, and Revolution in the Erosion of Russian Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 50 (3): 305–325. (skim)
9. Ostrow, Joel M., Georgiy A. Satarov, Irina M. Khakamada. *The Consolidation of Dictatorship in Russia: An Inside View of the Demise of Democracy* (2007)
10. Petrov, Nikolay, Maria Lipman, and Henry E. Hale. "Three Dilemmas of Hybrid Regime Governance: Russia from Putin to Putin." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 30, no. 1 (2014): 1– 26. doi:10.1080/1060586X.2013.825140
11. Reddaway, Peter. "Is Putin's Regime Becoming More Like Brezhnev's? Some Similarities & Differences." *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 20, no. 2 (2012): 97–112

### Remembering the 1990s

1. Aleksievich, Svetlana. *Second-Hand Time* (2013)
2. Borestein, Eliot. *Overkill: Sex and Violence in Contemporary Russian Popular Culture* (2008)
3. Chandler, Andrea, 'Russia's Social Welfare Crisis in Theoretical Perspective' in *Shocking Mother Russia: Democratization, Social Rights, and Pension Reform in Russia, 1990-2001* (2004)
4. Chitnis, Rajendra A. *Literature in Post-Communist Russia and Eastern Europe* (2005)
5. Clark, Katerina. *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (1981)
6. Dashkova, Polina, *Madness Treads Lightly* (2002)
7. Kotkin, Stephen, "The Resistible Rise of Vladimir Putin'  
[http://stephenkotkin.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/23\\_Kotkin.pdf](http://stephenkotkin.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/23_Kotkin.pdf)
8. Lovell, Stephen and Birgit Menzel (eds), *Reading for Entertainment in Contemporary Russia: Post-Soviet Popular Literature in Historical Perspective* (2005)
9. Marinina, Alexandra. *Byli 90-kh* (2017)

10. —, 'A Confidence of Circumstances', trans. Jeremy Dwyer, *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review*, 29 (2002), 1-2, pp. 1-220.
11. Milov, Vladimir, *Лихолетье до реформ*  
[www.gazeta.ru/column/milov/2540383.shtml](http://www.gazeta.ru/column/milov/2540383.shtml)
12. Morgan, Lyndall. 'Sleuthettes': A Case of the Rendering of the Post-Soviet Russian Detektiv? *Australian Slavonic & East European Studies* 19, no. 1-2, 2006, pp. 95-116
13. Slobodchikova, Ol'ga, «Лихие» или «разные»: почему в России снова спорят о 90-тых?  
[www.bbc.com/russian/society/2015/09/150924\\_90s\\_argument\\_russia](http://www.bbc.com/russian/society/2015/09/150924_90s_argument_russia)
14. Smith, Kathleen. *Mythmaking in the New Russia: Politics and Memory during the Yeltsin Era* (2002)
15. Volkov, Vadim. 'Violent Entrepreneurship in Post-communist Russia', *Europe-Asia Studies* 51.5 (1999)

## Religion

1. Benussi, Teo. "Sovereign" Islam and Tatar "Aqīdah": normative religious narratives and grassroots criticism amongst Tatarstan's Muslims. *Contemporary Islam*, 14 (2), (2020) 111-134.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-018-0428-8>
2. Borenstein, Eliot. 'Ruining Russia: Conspiracy, Apocalypse, and Melodrama' in *Plots against Russia: Conspiracy and Fantasy after Socialism* (2019), pp. 53-98
3. Evans, Geoffrey and Ksenia Northmore-Ball. "The Limits of Secularization? The Resurgence of Orthodoxy in Post-Soviet Russia" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (December 2012), pp. 795-808
4. Kemper, Michael and Alfrid K. Bustanov, eds. *Russia's Islam and Orthodoxy beyond the Institutions: Languages of Conversion, Competition and Convergence* (2019) Ch. 1
5. Kenworthy, Scott and Alexander Agadjanian. *Understanding World Christianity. Russia* (2021)
6. Köllner, Tobias. *Religion and Politics in Contemporary Russia. Beyond the Binary of Power and Authority* (2021) Skim
7. Kozhuharov, Valentin. 'Freedom of Religion and Christian Mission' in *Russia before and after the Era of the Soviet Union* (2015)
8. Livers, Keith A. 'From the "Dulles Plan" to Pussy Riot: Conspiracy Theories' *Today's Russia* (2020), pp. 126-164
9. Maslovskiy, Mikhail and Nikita Shangin. 'Orthodox Religion and Politics in Post-Soviet Russia' *Religion and Politics: European and Global Perspectives* (2014), pp. 140-156
10. Malashenko Alexei V. and Aziza Nuritova. "Islam in Russia", *Social Research*, Vol. 76, No. 1, (Spring 2009), pp. 321-358
11. Warhola, James W. 'The Useful God: Religion and Public Authority in Post-Soviet Russia' *The Dangerous God: Christianity and the Soviet Experiment* (2017), pp. 210-225
12. Yablokov, Ilya. "Anti-Jewish Conspiracy Theories in Putin's Russia", *Antisemitism Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Fall 2019), pp. 291-316

## Putin

1. Aslund, Anders. *Russia's Crony Capitalism: The Path from Market Economy to Kleptocracy* (2019)
2. Chiozza, Giacomo, and Dragomir Stoyanov. "The Myth of the Strong Leader in Russian Public Opinion." *Problems of Post-Communism* 65, no. 6 (2018): 419–33.
3. Frye, Timothy. "Economic Sanctions and Public Opinion: Survey Experiments from Russia." *Comparative Political Studies* 52, no. 7 (2019): 967–94.
4. Frye, Timothy, Scott Gehlbach, Kyle L. Marquardt, and Ora John Reuter. "Is Putin's Popularity Real?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 33, no. 1 (2017): 1–15.
5. Gorham, Michael S. "When Soft Power Hardens: The Formation and Fracturing of Putin's "Russian World"" in Kevin M.F. Platt, ed. *Global Russian Cultures* (2019)
6. Kara-Murza, Vladimir V. "Putin Is Not Russia." *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017): 110–16.
7. Kazun, Anastasia. "Framing Sanctions in the Russian Media: The Rally Effect and Putin's Enduring Popularity." *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 24, no. 3 (2016): 327–50.
8. Robertson, Graeme and Samuel Greene. "How Putin Wins Support." *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017): 86–100.
9. Rose, Richard, William Mishler, and Neil Munro. *Popular Support for an Undemocratic Regime: The Changing Views of Russians* (2011)
10. Treisman, Daniel. "Putin's Popularity since 2010: Why Did Support for the Kremlin Plunge, Then Stabilize?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 30, no. 5 (2014): 370–88.
11. Willerton, John P. "Russian Public Assessments of the Putin Policy Program: Achievements and Challenges." *Russian Politics* 1, no. 2 (2016): 131–58.
12. Wilson, Kenneth, and Jaechul Lee. "Questioning Putin's Popularity." *Problems of Post-Communism* 67, no. 1 (2020): 37–52.

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