

The 11th East Asian Conference on Slavic Eurasian Studies
December 10-11, 2022, at East China Normal University

Panel Proposal Form

Panel title (within 30 words)	Authoritarian political dynamics in the Post-Soviet countries through a domestic lens: Rulers, elites, and citizens
Panel categories (please mark)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anthropology/Cultural Studies • Arts, Architecture, Museum, Music, Theatre, Cinema • Economic History/Economics • Geography/Urban Studies • Gender/LGBTQ Studies • History • International Relations/Security Studies/Foreign Policy • Jewish Studies • Library/Information Sciences • Linguistics/Language Pedagogy/Translation • Literature • Politics/Law • Religion/Philosophy • Sociology/Public Health/Education • Others ()
Panel abstract (within 400 words)	<p>The Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 has attracted close attention from all over the world. While investigating current events through the lens of international relations theory is important, it is also crucial to shed light on domestic political dynamics to understand how and why the invasion is organized and reacted. Our panel with three papers focusing on different countries, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Russia examines the continuity and resilience of authoritarian governance. The presenters are based on various perspectives and focuses, i.e., the ruler-elite, elite-citizen, and ruler-citizen relationships, respectively.</p> <p>Torikai's study analyzes the elite continuity in Ukrainian party politics. He argues that even after the Euromaidan revolution in 2014, new parties, including a new ruling party, recruited a lot of elites formerly affiliated with the previous regime in order to maximize seats in the legislatures. In contrast, Higashijima's paper focuses on the elite-citizen linkage. His conjoint analysis conducted in Kazakhstan reveals hidden differences between politically motivated protests organized by opposition elites and economically motivated ones spontaneously organized by citizens. Finally, Reuter's work is involved with the citizen's perceptions of authoritarian rulers. His survey experiments show that Russian citizens' high support for President Vladimir Putin are conditioned by the polling number. Since even Putin's high popularity is based on fragile perceptions, the invincibility of Putin's regime could quickly disappear once their attitudes change.</p>

		The three papers offer many insightful implications from these different perspectives. Those findings of authoritarian governance are indispensable for deeper understanding of authoritarian resilience in the Post-Soviet countries. Also, those works present important clues of proper interpretations of reactions of those three countries to the current emergency.
Organizer	Name	Masatomo Torikai
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	Email address	masatomo.torikai@gmail.com
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	Short CV (within 150 words)	Masatomo Torikai is Associate Professor of Osaka University, Japan. He received a Ph.D. from University of Tokyo in 2021. He has been in the current position since October 2022. His articles on Ukrainian politics have been published in <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> , <i>Eurasian Geography and Economics</i> , and <i>Democratization</i> .
Chairperson	Name	Kimitaka Matsuzato
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	Short CV (Within 150 words)	Doctor of Law (1996). Assistant and full professor at the Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University in 1991-2014. Since 2014, the present position.
Paper 1	Paper title	Recruiting attractive candidates with stigmas of former regimes: Renomination patterns of former members of demised authoritarian ruling parties
	Paper abstract (within 200 words)	Although a growing body of the literature has devoted much attention to the authoritarian successor parties, a limited number of studies have investigated the fates of the former members of authoritarian ruling parties in the aftermath of the regime breakdown. What kind of former members of demised ruling parties can survive subsequent elections? Exploiting data on the regional deputies in Ukraine, this paper examines the factors which account for the survival of the former members of the ruling party, the Party of Regions. Empirical analysis unveils that ex-members of the PoR with individual resources are more likely, and those who served as the state officials in the collapsed regime are less likely to be renominated and reelected in the subsequent elections. Moreover, this tendency is also observed

		for renomination and reelection by the new ruling party, the Bloc of Petro Poroshenko. Those findings offers critical implications for the strands of the literature concerning democratizationas and the Post-Euromaidan politics in Ukraine.
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	Short CV (Within 150 words)	He received a Ph.D. from University of Tokyo in 2021. His dissertation centers on transformation of the federal, regional, and municipal governments in Russia. He has been in the current position since October 2022. His articles on Ukrainian politics have been published in <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> , <i>Eurasian Geography and Economics</i> , and <i>Democratization</i> .
Paper 2	Paper title	Popular Protests and the Elite-Mass Linkage in Autocracies: Experimental and Observational Evidence from Kazakhstan
	Paper abstract (within 200 words)	Why do some protests destabilize autocratic regimes and others not? This paper argues that when opposition elites and the masses disagree on why they protest, anti-regime mobilization is unlikely to gain momentum. Importantly, the lack of this elite-mass linkage may be deteriorated when autocrats selectively repress protests led by opposition elites while making concessions to protests organized by citizens. To test these hypotheses, I conducted a survey experiment on mass perceptions of popular protests as well as observational data analysis of protest issues and state reaction in Kazakhstan. Analysis of daily-coded protest data first shows that protests led by opposition elites mostly focus on human rights, elections, and political prisoners, whereas voluntary protests are primarily motivated by economic reasons, such as welfare, income, and utilities. A conjoint experiment then illuminates citizens' preferences on public dissent, showing that respondents tend to become more sympathetic towards protests targeting economic issues rather than political ones. Data analyses also suggest that the government represses protests organized by opposition leaders and accommodates demands by spontaneous protests; citizens does not necessarily show positive attitudes towards protests that are organized by opposition leadership, during elections, and reacted by the government with coercive measures.
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	Short CV (Within	Masaaki Higashijima is Associate Professor of Political Science at

	150 words)	Tohoku University, Japan. His research interests include comparative political economy, autocratic politics, and Central Asia. His articles appeared in journals including <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> , <i>Government and Opposition</i> , <i>Journal of Politics</i> , and <i>World Development</i> . His first book, <i>the Dictator's Dilemma at the Ballot Box</i> , is published at the University of Michigan Press (2022). He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Michigan State University.
Paper 3	Paper title	Endogenous Popularity: How Perceptions of Support Affect the Popularity of Authoritarian Regimes
	Paper abstract (within 200 words)	Being popular makes it easier for dictators to govern. A growing body of scholarship therefore focuses on the factors that influence authoritarian popularity. However, it is possible that the perception of popularity itself affects incumbent approval under autocracy. We use framing experiments embedded in four recent surveys in Russia to examine the extent to which information about the support an authoritarian leader enjoys influences the level of support individuals report for him. Using informational frames about Vladimir Putin's popularity, we find that respondents' support for the Russian president is significantly affected by perceptions of his poll numbers. Additional analyses, which rely on a novel combination of framing and list experiments, indicate that changes in support are not due to preference falsification, but instead reflect sincere preference updating. This study has implications for research on the origins of incumbent approval and dramatic defection cascades in nondemocratic regimes.
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	Short CV (Within 150 words)	Ora John Reuter is associate professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. His research focuses on authoritarianism and politics in Russia. He is the author of <i>The Origins of Dominant Parties: Building Authoritarian Institutions in Post-Soviet Russia</i> and multiple articles in leading political science journals.
Discussant	Name	Mathew Y. H. Wong
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	Short CV (Within 150 words)	Mathew Y. H. Wong is Assistant Professor at the Department of Social

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