

EURR 4008A/5008F

Nationalism, Conflict, and Legitimacy in Russia and the former Soviet Union

Carleton University

Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies

Fall 2022

Mackenzie Building 3165, Tuesdays 2:35-5:25 pm

Brightspace: <https://brightspace.carleton.ca/d2l/home/156430>

Dr. Paul Goode

Office: Richcraft Hall 3306, Office hours: Tues 1-2, Wed 11-12 and by appointment

Email: paul.goode@carleton.ca

Objectives

Russia's war on Ukraine has riveted international attention on the role of nationalism in Russia's foreign and domestic politics, reminding us that nationalism and ethnic politics are pervasive aspects of politics in Russia and Eurasia. This course surveys various manifestations of nationalism in Russia and the former Soviet states since 1991. It begins with an overview of nations and national identities in the Soviet Union and nationalist mobilization against the Soviet state. The following weeks cover domestic nation-building, ethnofederalism, patriotism and regime legitimation, memory politics, migration, and the far right, and everyday nationalism. The final three weeks examine the international politics of ethnic conflict and war, de facto states, and diasporas. While the course sustains a focus on Russia's experience throughout, the course is designed as a comparative examination with weekly readings that include a theoretical overview as well as comparative case studies.

"Nations" and "nationalism" as concepts are widely used yet poorly understood in popular usage. In addition to the substantive focus on nationalism and ethnic politics in Russia and the former Soviet states, the course devotes a substantial portion of each class to introducing students to theoretical concepts and methodological approaches from the broader study of nationalism. The goal is to provide students with the tools for critically evaluating scholarship and for potentially conducting their own research into nationalist politics.

While this seminar casts a wide net, its omissions are perhaps even wider. The various weeks of this course intersect with a variety of categories of national identification that could potentially be studied in their own right, including gender, language, class, religion, and civilization. In addition, there are a range of nationalist politics and processes that deserve equal attention but could not be included for lack of space, such as ethnic boundary-making, nation-branding, gastronationalism, and economic nationalism. These omissions should not be taken as a sign that these topics are irrelevant or unimportant. On the contrary, students may wish to investigate them for their research projects.

Readings

- Each week has a set of required readings (roughly 100-140 pages), which will be accessible via the course page on Brightspace.
- There are also "methodology review" articles listed for each week. These articles are intended to be read by students completing the methodology outline and presentation (or short methodology paper for online students) for that week, though other students are certainly welcome to read them, as well.

- Each week has an extensive (though not exhaustive) list of recommended readings. It is neither expected nor required that students read the recommended readings for class on any given week! The recommended reading lists are included to give you a sense of the range of existing research on a topic, and to provide a starting point for those wishing to delve further into a subject for their research.

Assignments summary:

Undergraduate students:

Attendance and participation	20%	Weekly
Discussion paper (~750 words)	20%	Student choice (due on Mondays)
Methodology outline & presentation	20%	Student choice
Research essay proposal (250-350 words plus working bibliography)	10%	Friday, October 21
Research essay (~3000 words)	30%	Tuesday, December 13

Graduate students:

Attendance and participation	20%	Weekly
Discussion paper (~1000 words)	20%	Student choice (due on Mondays)
Methodology outline & presentation	20%	Student choice
Research essay proposal (250-500 words plus working bibliography)	10%	Friday, October 21
Research essay (~4000 words)	30%	Tuesday, December 13

Assignments for in-person students

Attendance & participation: 20%

This is a seminar-based class, meaning that students’ attendance and active participation in seminar discussions are essential to learning. *Active participation* in a seminar is different from listening to a lecture and asking questions afterward. Rather, active participation requires that all students will have read the required readings in advance of class. When reading, do not just highlight but take note of the main argument/finding, key concepts, and the kinds of evidence or data used. Think about connections between the readings (i.e., do they agree or are they at odds?). Active participation also requires active listening. *Active listening* means carefully considering other students’ comments and engaging with them in a productive way—in other words, in a way that adds value to the discussion for everyone.

In all seminar discussions, **mutual respect and consideration is essential**. The seminar addresses topics that may hit home or seem controversial for some students. The concepts can be challenging and difficult to master. The seminar is a place where students can grapple with those ideas and issues and benefit from the feedback of the instructor and their peers.

In terms of grading, I will keep track of seminar performance and offer preliminary feedback mid-way through the semester.

- An A-level grade means that a student actively engages with the readings, contributes to the discussion, and listens to one's peers.
- A B-level grade means that the student participates and listens in discussions and demonstrates knowledge of the readings but does not rigorously engage with them.
- A C-level grade means that the student does not reliably participate or is disruptive.

Discussion papers: 20%

Students will write a discussion paper for a week's readings during the course. **Discussion papers are due on Mondays before class by noon.** The papers will be made available for the other students to read and will provide the foundation for our discussion of the readings at the start of class for each week.

Discussion papers should not merely summarize the readings. Rather, they should identify the main contributions (theoretical or empirical) of each reading and put them into dialogue with the other readings: how do they compare in terms of their approaches to the subject or core concepts? How do their findings highlight shortcomings, omissions, or avenues for future research in relation to the other readings or more broadly in the literature?

The required length for discussion papers is 750 words for undergraduate students and 1000 words for graduate students (+/- 10%).

Methodology outline & presentation: 20%

Each student will read and outline an article's methodology once during the course. **Outlines should be submitted by noon on the Monday prior to class** and will be shared with the other students in the class and presented during the seminar discussion.

Outlines should be no more than 1-2 pages. They should provide a quick reference: what is the article's research question, what is the method(s) used to examine it, and what kinds of data are used in the analysis. Students may also attach copies of relevant tables, figures, or annexes (like an interview schedule or content analysis codebook).

For the in-class presentation portion of the assignment, students should briefly present their outline and then evaluate how the article's method and data links to the research question and core concept(s), or how the reading addresses a methodological or ethical challenge. For example, how are key ideas converted into data by way of survey or interview questions? What are the limitations of the method and/or data? Does the article make reasonable inferences, or does it push the data too far? Presentations should also consider whether a different/additional method would have been useful. **Presentations should be about 10 minutes in length.**

Research proposal: 10% Students will submit a 1-2 paragraph proposal for their research essay along with a working bibliography or sources. **Proposals should be submitted by noon on Friday, October 21.**

The proposal should clearly indicate a research question or thesis, identify the country or cases to be examined, and suggest why the topic is important in relation to a theory or theories of nationalism. Students are encouraged to discuss their research interests with the instructor in advance of drafting their proposal.

Research essay: 30% The research essay is an opportunity for students to dive into a subject of interest. Research essays should follow the research proposal and any change of topic for the research essay must first be approved by the course instructor. Topics for the research essay may vary widely, including in-depth examinations of a specific case, comparisons across a variety of cases, or a methodological survey of the literature on a particular nationalist phenomenon. It is expected that research essays will focus on contemporary or relatively recent (i.e. within the last decade) cases or debates.

The required length for research essays is 3000 words for undergraduate students and 4000 words for graduate students (+/- 10%). Additional guidelines will be provided in class. **Research essays are due by noon on Tuesday, December 13.**



Late policy Late papers will lose a half-letter grade for each day late (e.g., from A to A-) except in cases involving serious medical circumstances.

If your circumstances otherwise are likely to prevent you from submitting your assignments on time, please do not suffer in silence: get in touch to make an appointment and let's talk about it.

Course schedule outline:

Week 1 Sep 13	Introduction
Week 2 Sep 20	Nations in the Soviet system
Week 3 Sep 27	Nation-building
Week 4 Oct 4	Ethnofederalism
Week 5 Oct 11	Patriotism
Week 6 Oct 18	Memory
FALL BREAK	
Week 7 Nov 1	Migration
Week 8 Nov 8	Far Right
Week 9 Nov 15	Everyday nationalism
Week 10 Nov 22	Ethnic conflict and war
Week 11 Nov 29	De facto states
Week 12 Dec 6	Diasporas and kin-states

COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

Week 1 Sep 13	Introduction	
Required	Barrington, Lowell W. "Nationalism & Independence." In <i>After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial & Postcommunist States</i> , 3–30. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.	
Recommended	Delanty, Gerard, and Patrick J. O'Mahony. <i>Nationalism and Social Theory: Modernity and the Recalcitrance of the Nation</i> . London: SAGE, 2002. Özkirimli, Umut. <i>Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction</i> . New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. Smith, Anthony D. <i>Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism</i> . New York: Routledge, 1998.	
Week 2 Sep 20	Nations and nationalism in the Soviet system	
Required	Slezkine, Yuri. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism." <i>Slavic Review</i> 53, no. 2 (1994): 414–52. Hirsch, Francine. <i>Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union</i> . Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. (Ch.4, "Border-Making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities," pp.145-186)	

Beissinger, Mark R. "How Nationalisms Spread: Eastern Europe Adrift the Tides and Cycles of Nationalist Contention." *Social Research* 63, no. 1 (1996): 97–146.

Bunce, Valerie. "Subversive Institutions: The End of the Soviet State in Comparative Perspective." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 14, no. 4 (1998): 323–54.

Methodology review:

Markowitz, Lawrence P. "How Master Frames Mislend: The Division and Eclipse of Nationalist Movements in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32, no. 4 (2009): 716–38.

Recommended

Beissinger, Mark R. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Bremmer, Ian. "Post-Soviet Nationalities Theory: Past, Present, and Future." In *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations*, edited by Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, 3–28. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Bunce, Valerie. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Carrere d'Encausse, Helene. *The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Connor, Walker. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Goff, Krista A. *Nested Nationalism: Making and Unmaking Nations in the Soviet Caucasus*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021.

Hale, Henry E. *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Leff, Carol Skalnik. "Democratization and Disintegration in Multinational States: The Breakup of the Communist Federations." *World Politics* 51, no. 2 (1999): 205–35.

Martin, Terry. *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Matsuzato, Kimitaka. "The Rise and Fall of Ethnoterritorial Federalism: A Comparison of the Soviet Union (Russia), China, and India." *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, no. 7 (2017): 1047–69.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2017.1374056>.

Motyl, Alexander J., ed. *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities: History and Comparison in the Study of the USSR*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.


Roeder, Philip G. "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization." *World Politics* 43, no. 2 (1991): 196–232.

Shcherbak, Andrey. "Nationalities Policy in the USSR: Explaining the 'Pendulum Swing' Using Randall Collins' Geopolitical Theory." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 10 (2019).

Smith, Jeremy. *Red Nations: The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Suny, Ronald Grigory. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

- Tishkov, Valery. *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict In and After the Soviet Union: The Mind Aflame*. London: Sage, 1997.
- Vujačić, Veljko. *Nationalism, Myth, and the State in Russia and Serbia: Antecedents of the Dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Week 3 Sep 27 **Post-Soviet nation building** 

Required

Theoretical overview:

Stewart, Katie L. "Democratic and Autocratic Nation Building." *Nationalities Papers* 49, no. 2 (2021): 205–12.

Cases and comparisons:

Ponarin, Eduard, and Michael Komin. "Imperial and Ethnic Nationalism: A Dilemma of the Russian Elite." In *Russia Before and After Crimea: Nationalism and Identity, 2010-17*, edited by Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud, 50–67. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018.

Kulyk, Volodymyr. "National Identity in Ukraine: Impact of Euromaidan and the War." *Europe-Asia Studies* 68, no. 4 (2016): 588–608.

Kudaibergenova, Diana T. "The Archaeology of Nationalizing Regimes in the Post-Soviet Space." *Problems of Post-Communism* 64, no. 6 (2017): 342–55.

Methodology review:

Insebayeva, Sabina, and Nafissa Insebayeva. 2022. "The Power of Ambiguity: National Symbols, Nation-Building and Political Legitimacy in Kazakhstan." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74(4):660–82.

Recommended

Adams, Laura L. *The Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Aktürk, Şener. *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Barrington, Lowell W., ed. *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial & Postcommunist States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Berglund, Christofer. "Accepting Alien Rule? State-Building Nationalism in Georgia's Azeri Borderland." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 2 (2020): 263–85.

Bekus, Nelly. 2022. "Reassembling Society in a Nation-State: History, Language, and Identity Discourses of Belarus." *Nationalities Papers* 1–16. (published online ahead of print: <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2022.60>)

Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Brubaker, Rogers. "Nationalizing States Revisited: Projects and Processes of Nationalization in Post-Soviet States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 11 (2011): 1785–1814.

- Clement, Victoria. "Articulating National Identity in Turkmenistan: Inventing Tradition through Myth, Cult and Language." *Nations and Nationalism* 20, no. 3 (2014): 546–62.
- Ergun, Ayça. 2022. "Citizenship, National Identity, and Nation-Building in Azerbaijan: Between the Legacy of the Past and the Spirit of Independence." *Nationalities Papers* 50(4):813–30.
- George, Julie A. "The Dangers of Reform: State Building and National Minorities in Georgia." *Central Asian Survey* 28, no. 2 (2009): 135–54.
- Goode, J. Paul. "Russia's Ministry of Ambivalence: The Failure of Civic Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2019): 140–60.
- Isaacs, Rico, and Abel Polese, eds. *Nation-Building and Identity in the Post-Soviet Space: New Tools and Approaches*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Kolstø, Pål. "National Symbols as Signs of Unity and Division." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29, no. 4 (2006): 676–701.
- Kudaibergenova, Diana T. *Toward Nationalizing Regimes: Conceptualizing Power and Identity in the Post-Soviet Realm*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020.
- Laruelle, Marlene. *Central Peripheries: Nationhood in Central Asia*. London: UCL Press, 2021. [Open Access: <https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781800080133>.]
- Kuzio, Taras, and Paul D'Anieri, eds. *Dilemmas of State-Led Nation Building in Ukraine*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2002.
- Megoran, Nick. *Nationalism in Central Asia: A Biography of the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan Boundary*. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017.
- Oskanian, Kevork K. "A Very Ambiguous Empire: Russia's Hybrid Exceptionalism." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 1 (2018): 26–52.
- Polese, Abel. "Language and Identity in Ukraine: Was It Really Nation-Building?" *Studies of Transition States and Societies* 3, no. 3 (2011): 36–50.
- Polese, Abel, and Slavomir Horák. "A Tale of Two Presidents: Personality Cult and Symbolic Nation-Building in Turkmenistan." *Nationalities Papers* 43, no. 3 (2015): 457–78.
- Rees, Kristoffer, and Aziz Burkhanov. "Constituting the Kazakhstani Nation: Rhetorical Transformation of National Belonging." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 24, no. 4 (2018): 433–55.
- Shevel, Oxana. "Russian Nation-Building from Yel'tsin to Medvedev: Ethnic, Civic or Purposefully Ambiguous?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 2 (2011): 179–202.
- Stewart, Katie L. 2021. "Building the Nation Through Celebrating the Nation: A Comparison of Holidays in Russia's Regions." *Europe-Asia Studies* 73(10):1876–1907.
- Torbakov, Igor. *After Empire: Nationalist Imagination and Symbolic Politics in Russia and Eurasia in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Century*. ibidem Press, 2018.
- Zakharov, Nikolay, and Ian Law. *Post-Soviet Racisms*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Zhuravlev, Oleg, and Volodymyr Ishchenko. "Exclusiveness of Civic Nationalism: Euromaidan Eventful Nationalism in Ukraine." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36, no. 3 (2020): 226–45.

**Required***Ethnofederalism and autonomy:*

Cornell, Svante E. "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective." *World Politics* 54, no. 2 (2002): 245–76.

Hale, Henry E. "The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell." *Perspectives on Politics* 3, no. 1 (2005): 55–70.

Ethno-linguistic minorities:

Kulyk, Volodymyr. "Identity in Transformation: Russian-Speakers in Post-Soviet Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 1 (2019): 156–78.

Yusupova, Guzel. 2022. "How Does the Politics of Fear in Russia Work? The Case of Social Mobilisation in Support of Minority Languages." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74(4):620–41.

Methodology review:

Berglund, Christofer. "'Forward to David the Builder!' Georgia's (Re)Turn to Language-Centered Nationalism." *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 4 (July 2016): 522–42. (esp. pp.530-6)

Recommended

Blackburn, Matthew. "Discourses of Russian-Speaking Youth in Nazarbayev's Kazakhstan: Soviet Legacies and Responses to Nation-Building." *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 2 (2019): 217–36.

Broers, Laurence. "Filling the Void: Ethnic Politics and Nationalities Policy in Post-Conflict Georgia." *Nationalities Papers* 36, no. 2 (2008): 275–304.

Bureiko, Nadiia, and Teodor Lucian Moga. "The Ukrainian–Russian Linguistic Dyad and Its Impact on National Identity in Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 1 (2019): 137–55.

Busygina, Irina, Mikhail Filippov, and Elmira Taukebaeva. "To Decentralize or to Continue on the Centralization Track: The Cases of Authoritarian Regimes in Russia and Kazakhstan." *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2018): 61–71.

Chaisty, Paul, and Stephen Whitefield. "Citizens' Attitudes towards Institutional Change in Contexts of Political Turbulence: Support for Regional Decentralisation in Ukraine." *Political Studies* 65, no. 4 (2017): 824–43.

Foxall, Andrew. *Ethnic Relations in Post-Soviet Russia: Russians and Non-Russians in the North Caucasus*. Routledge, 2014.

George, Julie A. *The Politics of Ethnic Separatism in Russia and Georgia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Giuliano, Elise. *Constructing Grievance: Ethnic Nationalism in Russia's Republics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Gorenburg, Dmitry P. *Minority Ethnic Mobilization in the Russian Federation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Laitin, David D. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Maksimovtsova, Ksenia. "Language Policy in Education in Contemporary Ukraine: A Continuous Discussion of Contested National Identity." *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe (JEMIE)* 16, no. 3 (2017): 1–25.

- Marlin, Marguerite. "Concepts of 'Decentralization' and 'Federalization' in Ukraine: Political Signifiers or Distinct Constitutionalist Approaches for Devolutionary Federalism?" *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 22, no. 3 (2016): 278–99.
- Marquardt, Kyle L. "Framing Language Policy in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan: Political Symbolism and Interethnic Harmony." *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 2 (2011): 181–96.
- Nizamova, Liliya R. "Ethnic Tatars in Contention for Recognition and Autonomy: Bilingualism and Pluri-Cultural Education Policies in Tatarstan." *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 1 (2016): 71–91.
- Palermo, Francesco. "The Elephant in the Room: Ukraine between Decentralization and Conflict." *Ethnopolitics* 19, no. 4 (2020): 369–82.
- Prina, Federica. *National Minorities in Putin's Russia: Diversity and Assimilation*. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Prina, Federica. "National in Form, Putinist in Content: Minority Institutions 'Outside Politics.'" *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 8 (2018): 1236–63.
- Romanova, Valentyna, and Andreas Umland. "Decentralising Ukraine: Geopolitical Implications." *Survival* 61, no. 5 (2019): 99–112.
- Sasse, Gwendolyn. *The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict*. Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2007.
- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz. "Gestalt Switch in Russian Federalism: The Decline in Regional Power under Putin." *Comparative Politics* 45, no. 3 (2013): 357–76.
- Shavtvaladze, Mikheil. "The State and Ethnic Minorities: The Case of Georgia." *Region: Regional Studies of Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia* 7, no. 1 (2018): 43–68.
- Shcherbak, Andrey, and Kristina Sych. "Trends in Russian Nationalities Policy." *Problems of Post-Communism* 64, no. 6 (2017): 311–28.
- Shelest, Hanna, and Maryna Rabinovych, eds. *Decentralization, Regional Diversity, and Conflict: The Case of Ukraine*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.
- Silaev, Nikolai. "Ethnicity as a Tool and Nationalities Policy as Practice: The Case of Stavropol Krai." *Caucasus Survey* 8, no. 2 (2020): 196–213.
- Tsakhirmaa, Sansar. "Comparative Institutionalised Bilingualism in Kazan, Russia and Ürümqi, China." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 9 (2019): 1532–61.

Week 5 Oct 11

Patriotism and regime legitimization



Required

Theoretical overview:

Bar-Tal, Daniel. "The Monopolization of Patriotism." In *Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations*, edited by Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub, 246–70. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1997.

Cases and comparisons:

Kratochvíl, Petr, and Gaziza Shakhanova. "The Patriotic Turn and Re-Building Russia's Historical Memory: Resisting the West, Leading the Post-Soviet East?" *Problems of Post-Communism*, published online ahead of print.

Silvan, Kristiina. "From Komsomol to the Republican Youth Union: Building a Pro-Presidential Mass Youth Organisation in Post-Soviet Belarus." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 8 (2020): 1305–28.

Omelicheva, Mariya Y. "Authoritarian Legitimation: Assessing Discourses of Legitimacy in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan." *Central Asian Survey* 35, no. 4 (2016): 481–500.

Methodology review:

Mamonova, Natalia. "Patriotism and Food Sovereignty: Changes in the Social Imaginary of Small-Scale Farming in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine." *Sociologia Ruralis* 58, no. 1 (2018): 190–212. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12188>.

Recommended

Bækken, Håvard. "Patriotic Disunity: Limits to Popular Support for Militaristic Policy in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37, no. 3 (2021): 261–75.

Blackburn, Matthew. "Political Legitimacy in Contemporary Russia 'from Below': 'Pro-Putin' Stances, the Normative Split and Imagining Two Russias." *Russian Politics* 5, no. 1 (2020): 52–80.

Blackburn, Matthew, and Bo Petersson. "Parade, Plebiscite, Pandemic: Legitimation Efforts in Putin's Fourth Term." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 38, no. 4 (2022): 293–311.

Cannady, Sean, and Paul Kubicek. "Nationalism and Legitimation for Authoritarianism: A Comparison of Nicholas I and Vladimir Putin." *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): 1–9.

Dahlin, Johanna. "'No One Is Forgotten, Nothing Is Forgotten': Duty, Patriotism, and the Russian Search Movement." *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, no. 7 (2017): 1070–89.

Daucé, Françoise. "Patriotic Unity and Ethnic Diversity at Odds: The Example of Tatar Organisations in Moscow." *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 1 (2015): 68–83.

Fabrykant, Marharyta, and Vladimir Magun. "Dynamics of National Pride Attitudes in Post-Soviet Russia, 1996–2015." *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 1 (2019): 20–37.

Goode, J. Paul. "Love for the Motherland (or Why Cheese Is More Patriotic than Crimea)." *Russian Politics* 1, no. 4 (2016): 418–49.

Goode, J. Paul. "Patriotic Legitimation and Everyday Patriotism in Russia's Constitutional Reform." *Russian Politics* 6, no. 1 (2021): 112–29.

Goode, J. Paul. "Patriotism without Patriots? Perm'-36 and Patriotic Legitimation in Russia." *Slavic Review* 79, no. 2 (2020): 390–411.

Hemment, Julie. *Youth Politics in Putin's Russia: Producing Patriots and Entrepreneurs*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015.

Laine, Veera. "New Generation of Victors: Narrating the Nation in Russian Presidential Discourse, 2012–2019." *Demokratizatsiya* 28, no. 4 (2020): 517–40.

Le Huérou, Anne. "Where Does the Motherland Begin? Private and Public Dimensions of Contemporary Russian Patriotism in Schools and Youth Organisations: A View from the Field." *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 1 (2015): 28–48.

- Norris, Stephen M. *Blockbuster History in the New Russia: Movies, Memory, and Patriotism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.
- Oushakine, Serguei Alex. *The Patriotism of Despair: Nation, War, and Loss in Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Pynnöniemi, Katri, ed. *Nexus of Patriotism and Militarism in Russia: Quest for Internal Cohesion*. Helsinki University Press. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2021.
- Sanina, Anna. *Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia: Sociological Studies in the Making of the Post-Soviet Citizen*. ibidem Press, 2017.
- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz. 2022. "Public Opinion Formation and Group Identity: The Politics of National Identity Salience in Post-Crimea Russia." *Problems of Post-Communism* 69(3):219–31.
- Sperling, Valerie. "The Last Refuge of a Scoundrel: Patriotism, Militarism and the Russian National Idea." *Nations and Nationalism* 9, no. 2 (2003): 235–53.
- Teper, Yuri. "Official Russian Identity Discourse in Light of the Annexation of Crimea: National or Imperial?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 32, no. 4 (2016): 378–96.
- Torbakov, Igor. "A Parting of Ways?: The Kremlin Leadership and Russia's New-Generation Nationalist Thinkers." *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 23, no. 4 (2015): 427–57.

Week 6 Oct 18

Memory and monuments



Required

Theoretical overview:

Malinova, Olga. "Politics of Memory and Nationalism." *Nationalities Papers* 49, no. 6 (2021): 997–1007.

Cases and comparisons:

Forest, Benjamin, and Juliet Johnson. "Monumental Politics: Regime Type and Public Memory in Post-Communist States." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 27, no. 3 (2011): 269–88.

Shevel, Oxana. "No Way Out? Post-Soviet Ukraine's Memory Wars in Comparative Perspective." In *Beyond the Euromaidan: Comparative Perspectives on Advancing Reform in Ukraine*, edited by Henry E. Hale and Robert W. Orttung, 21–40. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016.

Gaufman, Elizaveta. *Security Threats and Public Perception: Digital Russia and the Ukraine Crisis*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017 (Chapter 5: "fascism and the Ukraine Crisis," pp.103-123)

Methodology review:

Khlevnyuk, Daria. "Narrowcasting Collective Memory Online: 'Liking' Stalin in Russian Social Media." *Media, Culture & Society* 41, no. 3 (2019): 317–31.

Recommended

Bernhard, Michael, and Jan Kubik, eds. *Twenty Years After Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

- Blakkisrud, Helge, and Faruh Kuziev. "Museums, Memory and Meaning-Creation: (Re)Constructing the Tajik Nation." *Nations and Nationalism* 25, no. 3 (2019): 997–1017.
- Foxall, Andrew. "A Contested Landscape: Monuments, Public Memory, and Post-Soviet Identity in Stavropol', Russia." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 46, no. 1 (2013): 167–78.
- Gaufman, Elizaveta. *Security Threats and Public Perception: Digital Russia and the Ukraine Crisis*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Gugushvili, Alexi, Peter Kabachnik, and Ana Kirvalidze. "Collective Memory and Reputational Politics of National Heroes and Villains." *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 3 (2017): 464–84.
- Hosaka, Sanshiro. "Hybrid Historical Memories in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 4 (2019): 551–78.
- Katchanovski, Ivan. "Terrorists or National Heroes? Politics and Perceptions of the OUN and the UPA in Ukraine." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, no. 2–3 (2015): 217–28.
- Klimenko, Ekaterina V. "Building the Nation, Legitimizing the State: Russia—My History and Memory of the Russian Revolutions in Contemporary Russia." *Nationalities Papers* 49, no. 1 (2021): 72–88.
- Klymenko, Lina. "Choosing Mazepa Over Lenin: The Transformation of Monuments and Political Order in Post-Maidan Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 5 (2020): 815–36.
- Koposov, Nikolay. *Memory Laws, Memory Wars: The Politics of the Past in Europe and Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Kovalov, Maksym. 2022. "When Lenin Becomes Lennon: Decommunisation and the Politics of Memory in Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74(5):709–33.
- Kozachenko, Ivan. "Fighting for the Soviet Union 2.0: Digital Nostalgia and National Belonging in the Context of the Ukrainian Crisis." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 52, no. 1 (2019): 1–10.
- Krawatzek, Félix. "Which History Matters? Surveying Russian Youth and Their Understandings of the Past." *Problems of Post-Communism* 68, no. 5 (2021): 402–14.
- Kulyk, Volodymyr. "Memory and Language: Different Dynamics in the Two Aspects of Identity Politics in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine." *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 6 (2019): 1030–47.
- Luxmoore, Matthew. "'Orange Plague': World War II and the Symbolic Politics of Pro-State Mobilization in Putin's Russia." *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 5 (2019): 822–39.
- Malinova, Olga. 2021. "Framing the Collective Memory of the 1990s as a Legitimation Tool for Putin's Regime." *Problems of Post-Communism* 68(5):429–41.
- McAllister, Ian, and Stephen White. "Nostalgia for the Demise of the USSR in Belarus, Russia and Ukraine." *Russian Politics* 1, no. 2 (2016): 113–30.
- Mohr, Rachel, and Kate Pride Brown. 2021. "Generational and Geographic Effects on Collective Memory of the USSR." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 54(1–2):156–75.

- Nelson, Todd H. *Bringing Stalin Back In: Memory Politics and the Creation of a Useable Past in Putin's Russia*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2019.
- Norris, Stephen M., ed. *Museums of Communism: New Memory Sites in Central and Eastern Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020.
- Oushakine, Serguei Alex. "Remembering in Public: On the Affective Management of History." *Ab Imperio*, no. 1 (2013): 269–302.
- Rees, Kristoffer Michael. "Recasting the Nation: Transforming Heroes of the Soviet Union into Symbols of Kazakhstani Patriotism." *Central Asian Survey* 39, no. 4 (2020): 445–62.
- Richter, James. "Famine, Memory, and Politics in the Post-Soviet Space: Contrasting Echoes of Collectivization in Ukraine and Kazakhstan." *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 3 (2020): 476–91.
- Shevel, Oxana. "The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society: A Comparison of Post-Franco Spain and Post-Soviet Ukraine." *Slavic Review* 70, no. 1 (2011): 137–64.
- Smith, Kathleen E. *Mythmaking in the New Russia: Politics and Memory During the Yeltsin Era*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Vázquez-Liñán, Miguel. "Historical Memory and Political Propaganda in the Russian Federation." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 50, no. 2 (2017): 77–86.
- Wanner, Catherine. "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War in Ukraine." *Slavic Review* 78, no. 2 (2019): 328–35.
- Wijermars, Mariëlle. *Memory Politics in Contemporary Russia: Television, Cinema and the State*. New York: Routledge, 2019.
- Wylegała, Anna, and Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper, eds. *The Burden of the Past: History, Memory, and Identity in Contemporary Ukraine*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2020.

RESEARCH PROPOSAL DUE: FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21 @ NOON

FALL BREAK: OCTOBER 24-28 (NO CLASSES)

Week 7 Nov 1	Migration	↗
Required	<p><i>Theoretical overview:</i></p> <p>Schenk, Caress. "The Migrant Other: Exclusion without Nationalism?" <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 49, no. 3 (May 2021): 397–408.</p> <p><i>Cases and comparisons:</i></p> <p>Urinboyev, Rustamjon. <i>Migration and Hybrid Political Regimes: Navigating the Legal Landscape in Russia</i>. Oakland: Univ of California Press, 2020. (Ch. 2 "Migration, the Shadow Economy, and Parallel Legal Orders in Russia" and Ch. 3 "Uzbek Migrant Workers in Russia," pp.27-61)</p>	

Werner, Cynthia Ann, Celia Emmelhainz, and Holly Barcus. "Privileged Exclusion in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Ethnic Return Migration, Citizenship, and the Politics of (Not) Belonging." *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, no. 10 (2017): 1557–83.

Methodology review:

Bloch, Alexia. *Sex, Love, and Migration: Postsocialism, Modernity, and Intimacy from Istanbul to the Arctic*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017. (Ch. 1 "Introduction: From the Arctic to Istanbul," esp. pp.23-33)

Recommended

- Akturk, Sener. "Post-Imperial Democracies and New Projects of Nationhood in Eurasia: Transforming the Nation through Migration in Russia and Turkey." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, no. 7 (2017): 1101–20.
- Alexseev, Mikhail. "The Asymmetry of Nationalist Exclusion and Inclusion: Migration Policy Preferences in Russia, 2005–2013." *Social Science Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (2015): 759–77.
- Bahry, Donna. "Opposition to Immigration, Economic Insecurity and Individual Values: Evidence from Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 68, no. 5 (2016): 893–916.
- Berlinschi, Ruxanda. "Migration and Geopolitical Preferences." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2019): 93–121.
- Bloch, Alexia. *Sex, Love, and Migration: Postsocialism, Modernity, and Intimacy from Istanbul to the Arctic*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017.
- Blum, Douglas W. *The Social Process of Globalization: Return Migration and Cultural Change in Kazakhstan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Brunarska, Zuzanna. "Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in Russia: The Group Position Model Reconsidered." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 9 (2019): 1508–31.
- Charron, Austin. "'Somehow, We Cannot Accept It': Drivers of Internal Displacement from Crimea and the Forced/Voluntary Migration Binary." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 432–54.
- Davé, Bhavna. "Keeping Labour Mobility Informal: The Lack of Legality of Central Asian Migrants in Kazakhstan." *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 3 (2014): 346–59.
- Gerber, Theodore P., and Jane Zavisca. "Experiences in Russia of Kyrgyz and Ukrainian Labor Migrants: Ethnic Hierarchies, Geopolitical Remittances, and the Relevance of Migration Theory." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36, no. 1 (2020): 61–82.
- Gorodzeisky, Anastasia. "Opposition to Immigration in Contemporary Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 35, no. 3 (2019): 205–22.
- Heusala, Anna-Liisa, and Kaarina Aitamurto, eds. *Migrant Workers in Russia: Global Challenges of the Shadow Economy in Societal Transformation*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2016.
- Herrera, Yoshiko M., and Nicole M. Butkovich Kraus. "Pride Versus Prejudice: Ethnicity, National Identity, and Xenophobia in Russia." *Comparative Politics* 48, no. 3 (2016): 293–315.
- Kuznetsova, Irina. "To Help 'Brotherly People'? Russian Policy Towards Ukrainian Refugees." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 505–27.

- Malakhov, Vladimir S. "Russia as a New Immigration Country: Policy Response and Public Debate." *Europe-Asia Studies* 66, no. 7 (2014): 1062–79.
- Markowitz, Lawrence P., and Vera Peshkova. "Anti-Immigrant Mobilization in Russia's Regions: Local Movements and Framing Processes." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 32, no. 3 (2016): 272–98.
- Myhre, Marthe Handå. "Forced Migrant 'Compatriots' from Ukraine: Accessing Legal Residency and Citizenship in the Russian Federation." *Nationalities Papers* 46, no. 6 (2018): 1028–45.
- Ruget, Vanessa. "'Name the Republic That Was Joined to Russia in 2014:' Russia's New Civics and History Test for Migrants." *Nationalities Papers* 46, no. 1 (2018): 20–33.
- Ruget, Vanessa, and Burul Usmanalieva. 2021. "Migration and Soft Power: How Kyrgyz Labor Migrants View Russia." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 54(4):98–116.
- Sahadeo, Jeff. *Voices from the Soviet Edge: Southern Migrants in Leningrad and Moscow*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019.
- Schenk, Caress. *Why Control Immigration?: Strategic Uses of Migration Management in Russia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Schenk, Caress. 2021. "Producing State Capacity through Corruption: The Case of Immigration Control in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37(4):303–17.
- Shevel, Oxana. *Migration, Refugee Policy, and State Building in Postcommunist Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Spector, Regine A. "Manufacturing and Migration in Eurasia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 10 (2018): 1668–88.

Week 8 Nov 8

The Far Right



Required

Theoretical overview:

Bar-On, Tamir. "The Radical Right and Nationalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, edited by Jens Rydgren, 17–41. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Cases and comparisons:

Laruelle, Marlene. *Is Russia Fascist?: Unraveling Propaganda East and West*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021. (Ch. 6 "Russia's Fascist Thinkers and Doers," and Ch.7 "Russia's Honeymoon with the European Far Right," pp.100-137)

Umland, Andreas. "The Far Right in Pre-and Post-Euromaidan Ukraine: From Ultra-Nationalist Party Politics to Ethno-Centric Uncivil Society." *Demokratizatsiya* 28, no. 2 (2020): 247–68

Methodology review (choose one):

Kashpur, Vitaliy V., Mikhail Myagkov, Alexei A. Baryshev, Viacheslav L. Goiko, and Evgeniy V. Shchekotin. "Where Russian Online Nationalists Go When Their Communities Are Banned: A Case Study of Russian Nationalism." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 26, no. 2 (2020): 145–66.

Recommended

- Arnold, Richard. *Russian Nationalism and Ethnic Violence: Symbolic Violence, Lynching, Pogrom and Massacre*. Routledge, 2018.
- Arnold, Richard, and Lawrence P. Markowitz. "The Evolution of Violence within Far-Right Mobilization: Evidence from Russia." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41, no. 9 (2018): 1558–73.
- Bassin, Mark. *The Gumilev Mystique: Biopolitics, Eurasianism, and the Construction of Community in Modern Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016.
- Bustikova, Lenka. "Voting, Identity and Security Threats in Ukraine: Who Supports the Radical 'Freedom' Party?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, no. 2–3 (2015): 239–56.
- Clover, Charles. *Black Wind, White Snow: The Rise of Russia's New Nationalism*. Yale University Press, 2017.
- Gabowitsch, Mischa. "Are Copycats Subversive? Strategy-31, the Russian Runs, the Immortal Regiment, and the Transformative Potential of Non-Hierarchical Movements." *Problems of Post-Communism* 65, no. 5 (2018): 297–314.
- Glathe, Julia. "Football Fan Subculture in Russia: Aggressive Support, Readiness to Fight, and Far Right Links." *Europe-Asia Studies* 68, no. 9 (2016): 1506–25.
- Gomza, Ivan, and Johann Zajackowski. "Black Sun Rising: Political Opportunity Structure Perceptions and Institutionalization of the Azov Movement in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine." *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 5 (2019): 774–800.
- Horvath, Robert. *Putin's Fascists: Russkii Obraz and the Politics of Managed Nationalism in Russia*. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Kailitz, Steffen, and Andreas Umland. "Why Fascists Took over the Reichstag but Have Not Captured the Kremlin: A Comparison of Weimar Germany and Post-Soviet Russia." *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 2 (2017): 206–21.
- Kolstø, Pål. "Crimea vs. Donbas: How Putin Won Russian Nationalist Support—and Lost It Again." *Slavic Review* 75, no. 3 (2016): 702–25.
- Koposov, Nikolay. "Populism and Memory: Legislation of the Past in Poland, Ukraine, and Russia." *East European Politics and Societies* 36, no. 1 (2021): 272–97.
- Laruelle, Marlène. "The Ideological Shift on the Russian Radical Right." *Problems of Post-Communism* 57 (2010): 19–31.
- Laryš, Martin, and Jan Holzer. *Militant Right-Wing Extremism in Putin's Russia: Legacies, Forms and Threats*. S.l.: Routledge, 2021.
- Mareš, Miroslav, and Martin Laryš. "The Transnational Relations of the Contemporary Russian Extreme Right." *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 7 (2015): 1056–78.
- Mierzejewski-Voznyak, Melanie. "The Radical Right in Post-Soviet Ukraine." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, edited by Jens Rydgren, 608–29. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Shekhovtsov, Anton. *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir*. London; New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Tipaldou, Sofia, and Katrin Uba. "Movement Adaptability in Dissimilar Settings: The Far Right in Greece and Russia." *European Societies* 21, no. 4 (2019): 563–82.
- Umland, Andreas. "Challenges and Promises of Comparative Research into Post-Soviet Fascism: Methodological and Conceptual Issues in the Study of the

- Contemporary East European Extreme Right." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, no. 2–3 (2015): 169–81.
- Varga, Mihai. "Russia's Far-Right Violence Wave." *Problems of Post-Communism* 66, no. 3 (2019): 200–210.
- Verkhovskiy, Alexander. "The Russian Nationalist Movement at Low Ebb." In *Russia Before and After Crimea: Nationalism and Identity, 2010–17*, edited by Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud, 142–62. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018.
- Yudina, Natalia, and Alexander Verkhovskiy. "Russian Nationalist Veterans of the Donbas War." *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 5 (2019): 734–49.
- Zuev, Dennis. "The Movement against Illegal Immigration: Analysis of the Central Node in the Russian Extreme-Right Movement." *Nations and Nationalism* 16, no. 2 (2010): 261–84.

Week 9 Nov 15 **Banal & everyday nationalism** 

Required

- Theoretical overview:*
- Fox, Jon E., and Cynthia Miller-Idriss. "Everyday Nationhood." *Ethnicities* 8, no. 4 (2008): 536–63.
- Cases and comparisons:*
- Rohava, Maryia. "The Politics of State Celebrations in Belarus." *Nations and Nationalism* 26, no. 4 (2020): 883–901.
- Bulakh, Tetiana. "Made in Ukraine: Consumer Citizenship During EuroMaidan Transformations." In *Identity and Nation Building in Everyday Post-Socialist Life*, edited by Abel Polese, Jeremy Morris, Emilia Pawlusz, and Oleksandra Seliverstova, 73–90. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Shynkarenko, Mariia. 2022. "Compliant Subjects?: How the Crimean Tatars Resist Russian Occupation in Crimea." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 55(1):76–98.
- Methodology review:*
- Yusupova, Guzel. "Exploring Sensitive Topics in an Authoritarian Context: An Insider Perspective." *Social Science Quarterly* 100, no. 4 (2019): 1459–78.

Recommended

- Adriaans, Rik. "Dances with Oligarchs: Performing the Nation in Armenian Civic Activism." *Caucasus Survey* 5, no. 2 (2017): 142–59.
- Caldwell, Melissa L., ed. *Food and Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.
- Caldwell, Melissa L. "The Taste of Nationalism: Food Politics in Postsocialist Moscow." *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 67, no. 3 (2002): 295–319.
- Foxall, Andrew. "Performing Ethnic Relations in Russia's North Caucasus: Regional Spectacles in Stavropol' Krai." *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 1 (2014): 47–61.
- Goode, J. Paul. "Becoming Banal: Incentivizing and Monopolizing the Nation in Post-Soviet Russia." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44, no. 4 (2021): 679–97.

- Goode, J. Paul. "Humming Along: Public and Private Patriotism in Putin's Russia." In *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism*, edited by Michael Skey and Marco Antonsich, 121–46. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Jašina-Schäfer, Alina. *Everyday Belonging in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: Russian Speakers in Estonia and Kazakhstan*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2021.
- Kabachnik, Peter. "Wounds That Won't Heal: Cartographic Anxieties and the Quest for Territorial Integrity in Georgia." *Central Asian Survey* 31, no. 1 (2012): 45–60.
- Klumbytė, Neringa. "The Soviet Sausage Renaissance." *American Anthropologist* 112, no. 1 (2010): 22–37.
- Knott, Eleanor. "Generating Data: Studying Identity Politics from a Bottom-Up Approach in Crimea and Moldova." *East European Politics and Societies* 29, no. 2 (2015): 467–86.
- Knott, Eleanor. "What Does It Mean to Be a Kin Majority? Analyzing Romanian Identity in Moldova and Russian Identity in Crimea from Below." *Social Science Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (2015): 830–59.
- Kosmarskaya, Natalya, and Igor Savin. "Everyday Nationalism in Russia in European Context: Moscow Residents' Perceptions of Ethnic Minority Migrants and Migration." In *The New Russian Nationalism: Imperialism, Ethnicity and Authoritarianism 2000-2015*, edited by Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud, 132–59. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016.
- McGlynn, Jade. "United by History: Government Appropriation of Everyday Nationalism During Vladimir Putin's Third Term." *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 6 (2020): 1069–85.
- Militz, Elisabeth, and Carolin Schurr. "Affective Nationalism: Banalities of Belonging in Azerbaijan." *Political Geography*, Special Issue: Banal Nationalism 20 years on, 54 (2016): 54–63.
- Morris, Jeremy. "The Empire Strikes Back: Projections of National Identity in Contemporary Russian Advertising." *The Russian Review* 64, no. 4 (2005): 642–60.
- Morris, Jeremy, Abel Polese, Oleksandra Seliverstova, and Emilia Pawlusz, eds. *Informal Nationalism after Communism: The Everyday Construction of Post-Socialist Identities*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2018.
- Polese, Abel, Jeremy Morris, Emilia Pawlusz, and Oleksandra Seliverstova, eds. *Identity and Nation Building in Everyday Post-Socialist Life*. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Polese, Abel, Oleksandra Seliverstova, Tanel Kerikmae, and Ammon Cheskin. "National Identity for Breakfast: Food Consumption and the Everyday Construction of National Narratives in Estonia." *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 6 (2020): 1015–35.
- Schmoller, Jesko. "The Talking Dead: Everyday Muslim Practice in Russia." *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 6 (2020): 1036–51.
- Seliverstova, Oleksandra. "'Consuming' National Identity in Western Ukraine." *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 61–79.

Seliverstova, Oleksandra, and Emilia Pawlusz. "Everyday Nation-Building In The Post-Soviet Space." *Studies of Transition States and Societies* VIII, no. 1 (2016): 69–86.

Yusupova, Guzel. "Cultural Nationalism and Everyday Resistance in an Illiberal Nationalising State: Ethnic Minority Nationalism in Russia." *Nations and Nationalism* 24, no. 3 (2018): 624–47.

Zadora, Anna. "Daily Identity Practices: Belarus and Potato Eaters." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 52, no. 2 (June 1, 2019): 177–85.

Week 10 Nov 22 Ethnic conflict, geopolitics, and war



Required

Kazantsev, Andrei A., Peter Rutland, Svetlana M. Medvedeva, and Ivan A. Safranchuk. "Russia's Policy in the 'Frozen Conflicts' of the Post-Soviet Space: From Ethno-Politics to Geopolitics." *Caucasus Survey* 8, no. 2 (2020): 142–62.

Toal, Gerard. *Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017. (Ch.s 6-7, pp.198-273)

Putin, Vladimir. "Address by the President of the Russian Federation." *President of Russia*, February 24, 2022.

<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843>.

Methodology review:

Koval, Nadiia, Volodymyr Kulyk, Mykola Riabchuk, Kateryna Zarembo, and Marianna Fakhurdinova. 2022. "Morphological Analysis of Narratives of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict in Western Academia and Think-Tank Community." *Problems of Post-Communism* 69(2):166–78.

Recommended

Broers, Laurence, and Galina M. Yemelianova. "Ethno-Territorial and Secessionist Conflicts: Causes and Trajectories." In *Routledge Handbook of the Caucasus*, 239–56. New York, NY: Routledge, 2020.

Kaufman, Stuart J. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Megoran, Nick. "On Researching 'Ethnic Conflict': Epistemology, Politics, and a Central Asian Boundary Dispute." *Europe-Asia Studies* 59, no. 2 (2007): 253–77.

Megoran, Nick, and Shavkat Rakhmatullaev. "Authoritarianism, Ethnic Management and Non-Securitisation: The Kyrgyz Minority in Uzbekistan." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 2 (2022): 237–65.

Naylor, Francis, and John O'loughlin. "Who Are the 'Don't Knows'? Missing Data in Surveys of Post-Soviet Conflict-Affected Regions." *Europe-Asia Studies* 73, no. 7 (2021): 1236–56.

Ohayan, Anna, ed. *Russia Abroad: Driving Regional Fracture in Post-Communist Eurasia and Beyond*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2018.

Posen, Barry R. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27–47.

- Snyder, Jack. "Nationalism and the Crisis of the Post-Soviet State." *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 1–26.
- Souleimanov, Emil. *Understanding Ethnopolitical Conflict: Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia Wars Reconsidered*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Toft, Monica Duffy. *The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Zurcher, Christoph. *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus*. New York: NYU Press, 2009.

Russia-Ukraine (2014-present)

- Aliyev, Huseyn. "The Logic of Ethnic Responsibility and Progovernment Mobilization in East Ukraine Conflict." *Comparative Political Studies* 52, no. 8 (2019): 1200–1231.
- Aliyev, Huseyn. 2022. "Social Sanctions and Violent Mobilization: Lessons from the Crimean Tatar Case." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 38(3):206–21.
- Åtland, Kristian. "Destined for Deadlock? Russia, Ukraine, and the Unfulfilled Minsk Agreements." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36, no. 2 (2020): 122–39.
- Biersack, John, and Shannon O’Lear. "The Geopolitics of Russia’s Annexation of Crimea: Narratives, Identity, Silences, and Energy." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 55, no. 3 (2014): 247–69.
- Bukkvoll, Tor. "Fighting on Behalf of the State—the Issue of pro-Government Militia Autonomy in the Donbas War." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 35, no. 4 (2019): 293–307.
- Bunce, Valerie, and Aida Hozić. "Diffusion-Proofing and the Russian Invasion of Ukraine." *Demokratizatsiya* 24, no. 4 (2016): 435–55.
- D’Anieri, Paul. *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Driscoll, Jesse, and Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld. "Social Media and Russian Territorial Irredentism: Some Facts and a Conjecture." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36, no. 2 (2020): 101–21.
- Goble, Paul. "Russian National Identity and the Ukrainian Crisis." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 49, no. 1 (2016): 37–43.
- Harris, Erika. "What Is the Role of Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Russia–Ukraine Crisis?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 4 (2020): 593–613.
- Kolstø, Pål. "Crimea vs. Donbas: How Putin Won Russian Nationalist Support—and Lost It Again." *Slavic Review* 75, no. 3 (2016): 702–25.
- Kuzio, Taras. "Russian Stereotypes and Myths of Ukraine and Ukrainians and Why Novorossiia Failed." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 52, no. 4 (2019): 297–309.
- Laruelle, Marlene. "Russia as a ‘Divided Nation,’ from Compatriots to Crimea: A Contribution to the Discussion on Nationalism and Foreign Policy." *Problems of Post-Communism* 62, no. 2 (2015): 88–97.
- Laruelle, Marlene. "The Three Colors of Novorossiia, or the Russian Nationalist Mythmaking of the Ukrainian Crisis." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 32, no. 1 (2016): 55–74.

- Malyarenko, Tatyana, and Stefan Wolff. "The Logic of Competitive Influence-Seeking: Russia, Ukraine, and the Conflict in Donbas." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 34, no. 4 (2018): 191–212.
- Nedozhogina, Olena. "A Bitter Divorce: Narratives of Crimean Annexation and Their Relation to Larger State Identifications." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 7 (2019): 1069–90.
- O'Loughlin, John, and Gerard Toal. "Does War Change Geopolitical Attitudes? A Comparative Analysis of 2014 Surveys in Southeast Ukraine." *Problems of Post-Communism* 67, no. 3 (2020): 303–18.
- Suslov, Mikhail D. "'Crimea Is Ours!' Russian Popular Geopolitics in the New Media Age." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 55, no. 6 (2014): 588–609.
- Tabachnik, Alexander. "Russian Intervention in Ukraine: History, Identity Politics, and National Consolidation." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 26, no. 3 (2020): 299–318.
- Tsygankov, Andrei. "Vladimir Putin's Last Stand: The Sources of Russia's Ukraine Policy." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31, no. 4 (2015): 279–303.
- Wilson, Andrew. "The Donbas in 2014: Explaining Civil Conflict Perhaps, but Not Civil War." *Europe-Asia Studies* 68, no. 4 (2016): 631–52.
- Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. 2021. "Fighting Empire, Weaponising Culture: The Conflict with Russia and the Restrictions on Russian Mass Culture in Post-Maidan Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 73(8):1441–66.

Armenia-Azerbaijan (2020)

- Alieva, Leila, and Bakhtiyar Aslanov. "How Autocracy Impedes De-Securitization, or Why Democracy Matters: The Case of Nagorno-Karabagh in the Eyes of Azerbaijanis." *Caucasus Survey* 6, no. 3 (2018): 183–202.
- Broers, Laurence. "Cartographies of Consensus and Grievance: Visualising the Territory of Azerbaijan." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 9 (2020): 1468–97.
- Broers, Laurence. *Armenia and Azerbaijan: Anatomy of a Rivalry*. S.l.: Edinburgh University Press, 2019.
- Cheterian, Vicken. "The Uses and Abuses of History: Genocide and the Making of the Karabakh Conflict." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 6 (2018): 884–903.
- Coyle, James J. *Russia's Interventions in Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Armenia and Azerbaijan*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
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- Radnitz, Scott. "Historical Narratives and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: An Experiment in Azerbaijan." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35, no. 2 (2018): 154–74.
- Spina, Nicholas. "Threats to National Security and Public Support for Integration: The Case of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh." *Caucasus Survey* 6, no. 3 (2018): 230–51.

Week 11 Nov 29 De facto states



Required

Theoretical overview:

- Pegg, Scott. "Twenty Years of de Facto State Studies: Progress, Problems, and Prospects." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, 2017.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.516>.

Cases and comparisons:

- Caspersen, Nina. "Democracy, Nationalism and (Lack of) Sovereignty: The Complex Dynamics of Democratisation in Unrecognised States." *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 2 (2011): 337–56.
- Bakke, Kristin M., John O'Loughlin, Gerard Toal, and Michael D. Ward. "Convincing State-Builders? Disaggregating Internal Legitimacy in Abkhazia." *International Studies Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (2014): 591–607.
- Kolstø, Pål. "Biting the Hand That Feeds Them? Abkhazia–Russia Client–Patron Relations." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36, no. 2 (2020): 140–58.

Methodology review:

- Yemelianova, Galina M. "Western Academic Discourse on the Post-Soviet de Facto State Phenomenon." *Caucasus Survey* 3, no. 3 (2015): 219–38.

Recommended

- Aliyev, Huseyn, and Emil Aslan Souleimanov. "Why Do De Facto States Fail?" *Problems of Post-Communism* 66, no. 3 (2019): 161–71.
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- Coppieters, Bruno. "Four Positions on the Recognition of States in and after the Soviet Union, with Special Reference to Abkhazia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 6 (2018): 991–1014.
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- Gerrits, Andre W. M., and Max Bader. "Russian Patronage over Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Implications for Conflict Resolution." *East European Politics* 32, no. 3 (2016): 297–313.
- Isachenko, Daria, Mykhailo Minakov, and Gwendolyn Sasse, eds. *Post-Soviet Secessionism: Nation-Building and State-Failure after Communism*. ibidem Press, 2021.
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- King, Charles. "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States." *World Politics* 53, no. 4 (2001): 524–52.
- Kolstø, Pål, and Helge Blakkisrud. "Regime Development and Patron–Client Relations: The 2016 Transnistrian Presidential Elections and the 'Russia Factor.'" *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 25, no. 4 (2017): 503–28.
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- Malyarenko, Tetyana, and Stefan Wolff. *The Dynamics of Emerging De-Facto States: Eastern Ukraine in the Post-Soviet Space*. Routledge, 2019.
- Markedonov, Sergey. "De Facto Statehood in Eurasia: A Political and Security Phenomenon." *Caucasus Survey* 3, no. 3 (2015): 195–206.
- Nagashima, T. (2019). Russia's Passportization Policy toward Unrecognized Republics. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66(3), 186–199.
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- Ó Beacháin, Donnacha, Giorgio Comai, and Ann Tsurtsumia-Zurabashvili. "The Secret Lives of Unrecognised States: Internal Dynamics, External Relations, and Counter-Recognition Strategies." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 27, no. 3 (2016): 440–66.
- Voronovici, Alexandr. "Internationalist Separatism and the Political Use of 'Historical Statehood' in the Unrecognized Republics of Transnistria and Donbass." *Problems of Post-Communism* 67, no. 3 (2020): 288–302.

**Required***Theoretical overview:*

Brubaker, Rogers. "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 1–19.

Cases and comparisons:

Cheskin, Ammon, and Angela Kachuyevski. "The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Post-Soviet Space: Language, Politics and Identity." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 1 (2019): 1–23.

* Koinova, Maria. "Diasporas and Secessionist Conflicts: The Mobilization of the Armenian, Albanian and Chechen Diasporas." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 2 (2011): 333–56.

Kozachenko, Ivan. "Transformed by Contested Digital Spaces? Social Media and Ukrainian Diasporic 'Selves' in the Wake of the Conflict with Russia." *Nations and Nationalism* 27, no. 2 (2021): 377–92.

Methodology review:

Nikolko, Milana. "Diaspora Mobilization and the Ukraine Crisis: Old Traumas and New Strategies." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42, no. 11 (2019): 1870–89.

Recommended

Barrington, Lowell W., Erik S. Herron, and Brian D. Silver. "The Motherland Is Calling: Views of Homeland among Russians in the Near Abroad." *World Politics* 55, no. 2 (2003): 290–313.

Bonnenfant, Isik Kuscu. "Constructing the Homeland: Kazakhstan's Discourse and Policies Surrounding Its Ethnic Return-Migration Policy." *Central Asian Survey* 31, no. 1 (2012): 31–44.

Bureiko, Nadiia, Teodor Lucian Moga, Alexandra Gheorghiu, and Bogdan-Constantin Ibănescu. "Between the Home and Kin-State: Self-Identification and Attachment of Ukrainians and Romanians in the Ukrainian-Romanian Borderland of Bukovina." *Problems of Post-Communism* 68, no. 1 (2021): 53–65.

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Jašina-Schäfer, Alina. "Where Do I Belong? Narratives of Rodina among Russian-Speaking Youth in Kazakhstan." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 1 (2019): 97–116.

King, Charles, and Neil Melvin. *Nations Abroad: Diaspora Politics and International Relations in the Former Soviet Union*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.

Knott, Eleanor. "What Does It Mean to Be a Kin Majority? Analyzing Romanian Identity in Moldova and Russian Identity in Crimea from Below." *Social Science Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (2015): 830–59.

Knott, Eleanor. "Quasi-Citizenship as a Category of Practice: Analyzing Engagement with Russia's Compatriot Policy in Crimea." *Citizenship Studies* 21, no. 1 (2017): 116–35.

Koinova, Maria. *Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Contested States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.

- Kosmarskaya, Natalya. "Russia and Post-Soviet 'Russian Diaspora': Contrasting Visions, Conflicting Projects." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 17, no. 1 (2011): 54–74.
- Kuşçu, Işık. "Changing Perception of Homeland for the Kazakh Diaspora." *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 3 (2016): 380–96.
- Laruelle, Marlene. "Why No Kazakh Novorossiya? Kazakhstan's Russian Minority in a Post-Crimea World." *Problems of Post-Communism* 65, no. 1 (2018): 65–78.
- O'Loughlin, John, Gerard Toal, and Vladimir Kolosov. "Who Identifies with the 'Russian World'? Geopolitical Attitudes in Southeastern Ukraine, Crimea, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Transnistria." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 57, no. 6 (2016): 745–78.
- O'Loughlin, John, Gerard Toal, and Vladimir Kolosov. "The Rise and Fall of 'Novorossiya': Examining Support for a Separatist Geopolitical Imaginary in Southeast Ukraine." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 33, no. 2 (2016): 124–44.
- Pieper, M. (2020). Russkiy Mir: The Geopolitics of Russian Compatriots Abroad. *Geopolitics*, 25(3), 756–779.
- Schulze, Jennie L. "Does Russia Matter? European Institutions, Strategic Framing, and the Case of Stateless Children in Estonia and Latvia." *Problems of Post-Communism* 64, no. 5 (2017): 257–75.
- Shevel, Oxana. "The Post-Communist Diaspora Laws. Beyond the 'Good Civic versus Bad Ethnic' Nationalism Dichotomy." *East European Politics and Societies* 24, no. 01 (2010): 159–87.
- Waterbury, Myra A. "Kin-State Politics: Causes and Consequences." *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 5 (2020): 799–808.

RESEARCH ESSAY DUE: TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13 @ NOON

SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or CULearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and CULearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.

PLAGIARISM

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as *“presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.”* This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;

- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course or even suspension or expulsion from the University.

ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

Survivors of Sexual Violence: As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: <https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>

Accommodation for Student Activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for

accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

STATEMENT ON STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

STATEMENT ON PANDEMIC MEASURES

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are a number of actions you can take to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

Feeling sick? Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you must follow Carleton's symptom reporting protocols.

Masks: Carleton has paused the COVID-19 Mask Policy, but continues to strongly recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. It may become necessary to quickly reinstate the mask requirement if pandemic circumstances were to change.

Vaccines: Further, while proof of vaccination is no longer required as of May 1 to attend campus or in-person activity, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible, and submit their booster dose information in [cuScreen](#) as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the [University's COVID-19 website](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca.