

**EURR 5001B**  
**INTER-DISCIPLINARY SEMINAR IN EUROPEAN AND RUSSIAN STUDIES**  
Fall 2020

**Instructors:**

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**GOALS OF THE COURSE**

This course and EURR 5010 are the core interdisciplinary seminars for graduate students in the Russia and Eurasia concentration in EURUS. Among the most important goals of EURR 5001B are the following:

- a) to familiarize students with major directions of research and debates in the field of study;
- b) to examine major themes and approaches within the major disciplines (political science, economics, sociology, history, cultural studies, international affairs) in dealing with the region;
- c) to consider how disciplinary approaches affect how a particular issue is viewed;
- d) to assess the importance and utility of theories and concepts in studying the region;
- e) to assist students in developing a research topic for the MA research essay or MA thesis

**CLASS WORK AND SCHEDULING:**

The course is intended to build students' knowledge and skills within the field through participation in a cumulative critical dialogue with their peers and professors. Capabilities to analyze the work of peers and to participate in a scholarly community are considered key parts of the research process. As a result, well-prepared participation in online and synchronous class discussions are crucial for students' success in the course. A certain portion of work for each class session, along with some recorded student presentations, will be prepared by students outside of the scheduled class time. In addition, each week we will meet together online in a synchronous manner for a 1.5 hours period between 2:30 p.m. and 5:30 p.m. (time to be specified) Thursdays. Please be sure that you have a good internet connection including a webcam and microphone for these sessions. The seminar will meet jointly with EURR 5001B for some of these synchronous class sessions to broaden your exposure to broader field of European and Eurasian studies.

This course outline provides a list of required and optional course readings for each week. One week before each class session the instructor for that session will post on CULearn a more detailed description of the activities and assignments for that week, including an introductory video presentation by the instructor.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Seminar participation (in class and posts to CU Learn)	25%
Discussion paper, video presentation and class Q and A	20%
Commentary on discussion paper of another student	10%
Proposal for critical literature review and proposal development brainstorming document I (due <b>October 26, 4 pm</b> )	5%
Critical literature review (due <b>December 14, 4 pm</b> )	30 %
Proposal development brainstorming document based on critical review due <b>December 21, 4 pm</b> )	10%

- ***Seminar participation:***

Weekly attendance in synchronous sessions and posts to the CULearn class website are compulsory and each will play significant roles in the participation grade.

On-line posts: Each student will write 2 posts of 100 words each and 1 response of 100 words to another student's comments based on pre-distributed discussion questions each week, drawing on readings and other assigned materials. Discussion questions will be posted on CULearn two weeks in advance of the class session; discussion questions circulated by the Professor for that week will explain the format (e.g., specific questions to be addressed, participating in a debate, etc). The initial two posts should be completed no later than the Tuesday before the class session at 5 PM. The discussion forum will be deactivated on Wed by 5:00 PM before the Thursday class, so all three posts must be completed by that time.

Participation in synchronous class sessions: Discussion in these sessions (1.5 hours between 2:30 and 5:30 p.m. on Thursdays) will draw on readings and other assigned materials and will elaborate on the presentation and commentary as well as issues raised in the discussion forum. All students will be required to participate orally at least once during the synchronous session.

Evaluation of participation: Evaluation will be based on a composite of online posts and participation in synchronous class sessions. Students will be graded on attendance, the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion, to the CULearn site and, most importantly, demonstrated familiarity with required course readings. Each student will be evaluated according to these criteria during each week.

Missed posts or absences: Unexcused absences and failure to write posts will result in a significant reduction in the participation mark, which can have a marked impact on the course grade. If a valid excuse is provided for a missed synchronous session or online posts (acknowledged in writing by the seminar instructor), the student may submit to the session instructor a short paper (~ 3 pages) discussing the required readings for that seminar session (beyond material in the CULearn posts), within one week of the missed session, in order to avoid losing participation marks. If special circumstances or an ongoing medical problem make it difficult for the student to complete this alternate assignment or to complete it in the specified time, the student should contact the session instructor to discuss the situation. This option is only available for excused absences.

- ***Discussion paper:*** The paper should address a specific question provided by the course instructors in advance (usually two weeks before the respective class). The length should be 6 pages (double-spaced, 12-point font). The paper should contrast, critique and analyze selected readings, offering a concrete argument with respect to a question developed with the relevant course instructor. Additional reading, beyond what is required for the week, may be specified

by the instructor to enrich your discussion. Clarity and conciseness are important; the paper should **NOT** simply describe or reiterate the readings. The paper should be submitted to the CULearn electronic drop-box and emailed to the student commentator by **4 pm on the Friday** before the class presentation. It is very important that the paper be submitted on time, since both the instructor and the commentator need time to read it before the session.

- **Presentation of the Discussion Paper:** Each student will present their discussion paper to the class (dates will be assigned in the first meeting). Students will record this presentation (15 minutes) and post it to the CULearn site by 4 pm on the Tuesday before the class. In the presentation, each student should focus on key arguments made within the written discussion paper, drawing on examples from the readings where appropriate. Students should **NOT** simply read the written paper. Students experiencing difficulties recording their presentations should contact course instructors for guidance

The discussion paper and presentation will be evaluated on the basis of the cogency of the arguments made, the presentation and effectiveness of communication, and demonstrated familiarity with and reflection on course readings, with a combined grade for the oral and written components. Neither the paper nor the oral presentation should provide lengthy summaries of course readings.

- **Commentary on the discussion paper:** Each student will also prepare an oral presentation commenting on one other student's written discussion paper. Students will record this presentation (10 minutes maximum) and post it to the CULearn site by **4 pm on the Tuesday** before the class. Commentators will analyze the substantive arguments of the paper, offer constructive critiques, and set the stage for discussion. The commentator should refer to specific course readings. If a discussion paper is not received or is received late, the commentator should post a video commenting on the question and reading(s) that were to be addressed in the paper.

- **Proposal for the critical literature review and proposal development brainstorming document I** (due **October 26 at 4 pm**), to be submitted to the CULearn drop-box. Each 3-page proposal should include
  - an introductory statement indicating the theme and principles that guided the selection of readings
  - the list of readings to be used (full bibliographic citation)
  - a one-page discussion of a prospective topic for your MA research essay or thesis, and how the readings will advance your ideas and research.

Comments on the proposal will be returned to you within 7 days. Each student is to meet with one of the instructors in two weeks preceding October 19 to discuss the review. Failure to receive approval of the list may also adversely affect your mark on the final essay.

- **Critical review of the literature:** This final essay should explore in depth a research topic by mining, analyzing, and critiquing major relevant bodies of literature. The selection of readings should involve a topic related to your prospective MA research essay or thesis. The goal of the assignment is to work towards identifying a topic that is situated within, but goes beyond, existing literature. The paper should be approximately 15 pages long (double-spaced, 12-point font). Additional information about the critical review will be handed out in class early in the term. Papers must be submitted to the CULearn drop-box **by December 14 at 4 pm**.

- ***Proposal development brainstorming document II***: a 3 page (double-spaced) discussion of the implications of your literature review for your prospective research essay or thesis. Considering the literature that you have read related to your topic, this short paper should provide an update on your idea for you research essay or thesis. Your paper should state the prospective research question and rationale for the study, and how you see your project contributing to the scholarly debates in the literature that you have surveyed so far. This assignment must be submitted to the CULearn drop-box **by December 21 at 4 pm.**

**Submission of coursework:**

All written assignments must be submitted to the electronic drop box in CULearn. Unless a specific exception has been arranged, the instructors will not accept assignments sent by email. In addition to submitting your assignments through CULearn:

- the presentation paper should be emailed to the designated student discussant through the CULearn email facility by the due date; and a video presentation of the paper should be posted on CULearn as indicated above.

**Late Penalties and Failure to submit assignments:**

- Any student who fails to hand in the critical review or the discussion paper will receive a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late assignments will be as follows:
  - Critical review, proposal for the critical review, and brainstorming documents: Two points (of a % scale) for each day late (including weekends). Papers will not be accepted more than one week after the due date without a valid (e.g., written medical) excuse.
  - Discussion papers: Late assignments will suffer an immediate deduction of 15% (on a 100% scale), and 3% for each day late.
- Students absent on a date of an oral presentations or commentary will receive a “0” unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. Advance notice should be provided to the instructor.
- Consistent attendance is required in this core seminar; it is expected that students who must miss a class for any reason will contact the instructor responsible for that session in advance, if at all possible.

**Course Readings:**

The main course readings will be accessible through the Ares Course Reserves system (there is a link in CU Learn to Ares). Readings assigned for the course that are compulsory for all students are marked with an asterisk (\*). There are also suggested additional readings. If you find that a required reading is not available for a given week, please notify the instructor for that session immediately.

**TENTATIVE COURSE OUTLINE**

\*Indicates a required reading for all students in the course. Specific readings required for the course may be altered during the term. Students will be notified through CULearn.

**Week 1 (September 10) INTRODUCTION TO INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES (Viju-Miljusevic) (A and B sections together)**

1. Explanation of requirements and content of the course.
2. Introduction of instructors and students (videos).
3. Selection of presenters.
4. Library resources (Aleksandra Blake).

**Week 2 (September 17) HISTORY (Sahadeo, meeting jointly with EURR5001B)**Approaches

\*Nicholas Dirks, Geoff Eley, Sherry Ortner (1994), “Introduction” *Culture/Power/History*, pp. 1-8.

\*Eric Hobsbawm (1983), “Introduction: Inventing Traditions” In *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, pp. 1-14.

\*Edward Said (1978), *Orientalism*, pp. 1-7.

\*Ania Loomba (1998), *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism* pp. 1-12.

#### Practice

\*Joe Perry (2005), “Nazifying Christmas: Political Culture and Popular Celebration in the Third Reich” *Central European History* 38, no. 4 : pp. 572-605.

\*Kate Brown (2001), “Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana are Nearly the Same Place” *American Historical Review* 106, no. 1 : pp. 17-48.

#### Additional Reading for Presenters

Stephen Kotkin (1994), “Coercion and Identity: Workers’ Lives in Stalin’s Showcase City” In Lewis Siegelbaum et. al., eds. *Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class, Identity* pp. 274-303.

Mark Roseman (2017), “Racial Discourse, Nazi Violence, and the Limits of the Racial State Model” in *Beyond the Racial State: Rethinking Nazi Germany* ed. Devin Pendas, Mark Roseman and Richard Wetzell , pp. 31-57.

#### Suggested Additional Reading:

Anthony Pagden (2002). *The Idea of Europe: from Antiquity to the European Union* .

Małgorzata Pakier and Bo Stråth eds. (2010), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance* .

Robert G. Moeller (2005), ‘Germans as Victims: Thoughts on a Post–Cold War History of World War II’s Legacies,’ *History & Memory* 17,1/2 : pp. 147-94.

Geoff Eley, “The Past under Erasure? History, Memory and the Contemporary” *Journal of Contemporary History* 46, no. 3: pp. 553-573.

Rosemary Wakeman (2003), ed., *Themes in Modern European History Since 1945*.

Matthias Middell and Lluís Roura, eds. (2013), *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*

Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, eds (2011). *The Collective Memory Reader*.

James Mark (2010), *The Unfinished Revolution: Making Sense of the Communist Past in Central-Eastern Europe* .

Michael Geyer (1989), “Historical Fictions of Autonomy and the Europeanization of National History,” *Central European History* 22, no. 3-4 : pp. 316-47.

Madeleine Reeves (2010), “A Weekend in Osh” *London Review of Books* 32, no. 13 .

Oksana Karpenko and Jana Javakishvili, eds. (2013). *Myths and Conflict in the South Caucasus. Volume 1: Instrumentalisation of Historical Narratives*.

Nikolay Kaposov (2018), *Memory Laws, Memory Wars: The Politics of the Past in Europe and Russia* .

Otto Boele (2011), “Remembering Brezhnev in the New Millenium: Post-Soviet Nostalgia and Local Identity in the City of Novorossiisk” *Soviet and Post-Soviet Review* 38, no. 1: pp. 3-29.

Anna Sorokina and Valeria Kasamara (2015), “Post-Soviet Collective Memory: Russian Youths about the Soviet Past” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, nos. 2/3: pp. 137-145.

### **Week 3 (September 24) HISTORY (RUSSIAN, EURASIAN) (Sahadeo, meeting separately)**

#### The Soviet Union: Was it Destined to Fail?

##### Approaches/ Disagreements

\*Martin Malia (1994), *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917-1991*, pp. 491-504.

\*Alexander Dallin (2003), “Causes of Collapse of the USSR, Suny, ed. *The Structure of Soviet*

*History: Essays and Documents*, pp. 549-64.

#### On the Ground

- \*John Bushnell (1986), "The New Soviet Man Turns Pessimist" *The Soviet Union since Stalin*, pp. 179-99.
- \*David Remnick (1994), *Lenin's Tomb*, pp. 198-215, 234-47.
- \*Jeff Sahadeo (2019), "Perestroika" *Voices from the Soviet Edge: Southern Migrants in Leningrad and Moscow*, pp. 169-197.

#### Additional Readings for Presenters

- Vladislav Zubok (2014), "With His Back against the Wall: Gorbachev, Soviet Demise and German Reunification" *Cold War History* 14, no. 4 : pp. 619-645
- Mark Beissinger (2009), "Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism" *Contemporary European History* 18, no. 3: pp. 331-347.

#### Suggested Additional Readings

- David R. Marples (2011), "Revisiting the Collapse of the USSR," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 53, nos. 2-4: pp. 461-73.
- Stephen Kotkin (2001), *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000*.
- Chris Miller (2016), *The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy: Gorbachev and the Collapse of the USSR*.
- Madeleine Reeves (2016), "'And Our Words Must Be Constructive!' On the Discordances of Glasnost' in the Central Asian Press at a Time of Conflict," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 26: pp. 77-110.
- David Lane (1992), *Soviet Society under Perestroika*.
- Taras Kuzio (2000), *Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence* 2nd ed. .
- Archie Brown (1991), *Seven Years That Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective*.
- Donna Bahry (1993), "Society Transformed? Rethinking the Social Roots of Perestroika," *Slavic Review* 52, no. 3.
- Luc Duhamel (2010), *The KGB Campaign against Corruption in Moscow, 1982-1987*.
- Deborah Adelman (1992), *The "Children of Perestroika": Moscow Teenagers Talk about Their Lives and the Future*.
- Robert Horvath (2005), *The Legacy of Soviet Dissent: Dissidence, Democratisation and Radical Nationalism in Russia*.
- William Moskoff (1993), *Hard Times: Impoverishment and Protest in the Perestroika Years; The Soviet Union, 1985-1991*.

#### **Week 4 (October 1) CULTURAL STUDIES (Sahadeo, meeting separately)**

- \*Clifford Geertz (1973), 'Thick Description: Toward and Interpretative Theory of Culture,' *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: BasicBooks), pp. 3-30.
- \*William Hagen (2005), 'Moral Economy of Popular Violence' in Robert Blobaum, ed., *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell), pp. 124-147.
- \*Rogers Brubaker (2006), *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton: Princeton UP), pp. 1-17, 207-238.

#### Additional Readings for Presenters

- \*Rogozen-Soltar, Mikaela (2016). "'We Suffered in Our Bones Just like Them': Comparing Migrations at the Margins of Europe." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 58, no. 4: pp. 880-907.

\*Reeves, Madeleine (2013). "Clean Fake: Authenticating Documents and Persons in Migrant Moscow." *American Ethnologist* 40, no. 3: pp. 508–24.

#### Suggested Additional Readings

- William H. Sewell, Jr. (1999), "The Concept(s) of Culture" in *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, ed. Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 35-61.
- Burke, Peter (2008). *What Is Cultural History?* Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity
- Lüdtke, Alf, ed. (1995) *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Clifford, James (1997). *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Luisa Passerini (2012), "Europe and its Others: Is there a European Identity?" *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History*, ed. Dan Stone (Oxford UP), pp.120-140.
- Kiran Klaus Patel (2013), "Where and when was Europe? Europeanness and its relationship to migration," *National Identities* 15, no. 1: pp. 21-32.
- Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford (2005), *Rethinking Europe: Social theory and the implications of Europeanization* (Routledge, 2005).
- Craig Calhoun (1993), "Nationalism and Ethnicity," *Annual Review of Sociology* 19: pp. 211-39.

### **Week 5 (October 8) SOCIAL SCIENCE: THEORY AND CONCEPTS (DeBardeleben, meeting separately)**

#### Required

- \*Vladimir Gel'man (2014), "The Rise and Decline of Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia," *Demokratizatsiya*, Fall 2014, vol 22, issue 4, pp. 503-22. (Optional: for background see Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2002), "Elections without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): pp. 52-65.
- \*Alena V. Ledeneva (2013), *Can Russia Modernize?: Sistema, Power Networks and Informal Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.18-41.
- \*Joanthan S. Davies, Jorn Holm-Hansen, Vadom Kononenko, and Asbjorn Rosieland (2016), "Network governance in Russia: an analytical framework," *East European Politics* 32(2): pp. 131-147.
- \*Henry E. Hale (2005), "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia", *World Politics* 58: pp.133-65. (Optional, for updating see Henry Hale (2019), "Eurasian Politics as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin's Russia", *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1 (1): pp. 33-41.

#### Further reading:

- Craig Leonard Brians, Lars Willnat, Jarol B. Manheim and Richard C. Rich (2011), *Empirical Political Analysis: Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods*, 8th edition (Boston: Longman, 2011), Chpt. 2, pp. 16-25.
- Vladimir Gel'man (2015), "Political Science in Russia: Scholarship without research?" *European Political Science* 14 (1) (March): pp. 28-36.
- Steve Levitsky and Lucan Way (2002), "The New Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 31 (1): pp. 51-65.
- Cameron Ross (2018), "Regional elections in Russia: instruments of authoritarian legitimacy or stability?" Palgrave Communications, <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41599-018-0137-1.pdf>



- Henry E. Hale, Maria Lipman and Nikolay Petrov (2019), "Russia's Regime-on-the-Move," *Russian Politics* (4)2: pp. 168–195.
- Alexander Baturo & Johan A. Elkink (2016), "Dynamics of regime personalization and patron–client networks in Russia, 1999–2014," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 32(1): 75-68.
- Henry Hale (2019), "Eurasian Politics as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin's Russia", *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1 (1): pp. 33-41.
- Graeme Gill (2015), "The Stabilization of Authoritarian Rule in Russia?," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 25:1, pp. 62-.
- Vadim Kononenko and Arkady Moshes(2011), *Russia as a Network State: What Works in Russia When Institutions Do Not* (Palgrave).
- Victor Voronkov and Elena Zdravomyslova (1996), "Emerging Political Sociology in Russia and Russian Transformation," *Current Sociology* 44(3): pp. 40-52.
- David White (2012), "Reconceptualizing Russian party politics," *East European Politics*, vol. 28, issue. 3, pp. 210-224.

Theory relating to the Soviet period (optional)

- Gabriel Almond and Laura Roselle (1993), "Model Fitting in Communism Studies," in Fleron and Hoffman, eds. *Post-Communist Studies and Political Science*, pp. 27-75.
- Stephen White (1979), "Political Culture and Political Science" (Chpt.1) in *Political Culture and Soviet Politics*, pp. 1-21.
- Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul (2013), "The Soviet Union and Russia: The Collapse of 1991 and the Initial Transition to Democracy" in Stoner and McFaul eds. *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective*, pp. 27-61.
- Alfred G. Meyer (1970), "Theories of Convergence," in Chalmers Johnson, ed., *Change in Communist Systems*, pp. 313-342.

**Week 6 (October 15) POLITICAL SCIENCE: Democratization: Internal and External Factors (DeBardeleben) (Meeting jointly with EURR 5001A)**

Background (if you don't have it): Ana E. Juncos and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borragain (2013), "Enlargement" in Cini and Borroagan, eds., *European Union Politics*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Oxford University Press), pp. 226-33, 235-8. ('The future of enlargement')

Required:

- \*Michael McFaul (2002), "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 53 (2): 221-244.
- \*Frank Schimmelfennig (2005), "The EU: Promoting Liberal-Democracy Through Membership Conditionality," in. *Socializing Democratic Norms: The role of International Organizations for the Construction of Europe*, ed. Trine Flockhart (Palgrave), pp. 106-126.
- \*Lucan Way (2010), "Resistance to Contagion: Sources of Authoritarian Stability in the Former Soviet Union," in Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner- Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (Cambridge), pp. 229-54.
- \*András Bozóki & Dániel Hegedűs (2018), "An externally constrained hybrid regime: Hungary in the European Union," *Democratization* 25 (7): pp. 1173-1189.

Further reading

Milada Vachudova (2010) "Democratization in Post-Communist Europe.: Illiberal Regimes and the Leverage of the European Union," in Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn

- Stoner- Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 82-104.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2020), "The New Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 31 (1): pp. 51-65.
- Charles E. Ziegler (2016), "Great powers, civil society and authoritarian diffusion in Central Asia," *Central Asia Survey*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 549-69.
- Esther Ademmer, Laure Delcour & Kataryna Wolczuk (2016) Beyond geopolitics: exploring the impact of the EU and Russia in the "contested neighborhood", *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 57:1, pp. 1-18.
- Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik (2011), Chpts. 1 and 3, *Defeating authoritarian leaders in postcommunist Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Geoffrey Pridham (2005) *Designing Democracy: EU Enlargement and Regime Change in Post-Communist Europe* (Palgrave, 2005).
- Heather Grabbe (2005), *The EU's transformative power: Europeanization through conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe* (Palgrave, 2005).
- The European Union and Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe* (2006), Paul G. Lewis and Zdenka Mansfedova, eds, (Palgrave, 2006)
- Milada Vachudova (2004), *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Gordon M. Hahn (2003), "The Impact of Putin's Federative Reforms on Democratization in Russia". *Post-Soviet Affairs* 19 (2): pp.114-153.
- R. Daniel Kelemen (2017), "Europe's Other Democratic Deficit: National Authoritarianism in Europe's Democratic Union," *Government and Opposition*, 52(2): pp. 211-238.

**Week 7 (October 22) ECONOMICS OF TRANSITION (Viju-Miljusevic, meeting separately)**

- \*Popov, V. (2007), "Shock Therapy versus Gradualism Reconsidered: Lessons from Transition Economies after 15 Years of Reforms", *Comparative Economic Studies* 49, pp. 1-31.
- \*Ryabov, A. (2012), "Democratization and Modernization in the Context of the Transformation of the Post-Soviet States", in Piotr Dutkiewicz and Vladislav L. Inozemtsev (eds.) *Democracy versus Modernization: A Dilemma for Russia and the World* (NY: Routledge), pp. 134 – 143.
- \*Linden, R.H. and Killian, S. (2015), "EU Accession and After", in Wolchik, S. and Leftwich, C.J. (eds.) *Central & East European Politics. From Communism to Democracy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition), pp. 189-212.
- \*Sakwa, R. (2014), "Challenges of Eurasian Integration", in Piotr Dutkiewicz and Richard Sakwa (eds.) *Eurasian Integration: The View from Within* (UK: Routledge), pp. 12-30.
- Inglehart, R. (2012), "Modernization and Democracy", in Piotr Dutkiewicz and Vladislav L. Inozemtsev (eds.) *Democracy versus Modernization: A Dilemma for Russia and the World* (NY: Routledge), pp. 113-132.
- Oleh Havrylyshyn, Xiaofan Meng and Marian L. Tupy (2016), "25 years of Reforms in Ex-Communist Countries. Fast and extensive Reforms Led to Higher Growth and More Political Freedom." *Policy Analysis CATO Institute*, <https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/25-years-reforms-ex-communist-countries-fast-extensive-reforms-led>.
- Martin Myant and Jan Drahekoupil (2011), *Transition Economies: Political Economy in Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia*, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 49-81 (Chapter 4).
- Janos Kornai (2006), 'The Great Transformation of Central Eastern Europe: Success and Disappointment', *Economics of Transition* 14 (2), pp. 207-44.

- Leszek Balcerowicz (1995), *Socialism, Capitalism, Transformation*, Budapest: Central European University Press, pp. 166-185.
- Jeffrey Sachs and Wing T. Woo (1994). "Structural factors in the Economic Reform of China, Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union". *Economic Policy*. Vol. 9, pp. 101-145.

**Week 8 (November 5) SOCIOLOGY: ROLE OF THE PUBLIC (DeBardleben) (Meeting separately)**

Required:

- \*Roberto Stefan Foa & Grzegorz Ekiert (2017), "The weakness of postcommunist civil society reassessed," *European Journal of Political Research*, vol 56, no. 2 (May 2017), pp. 419-39.
- \*Henry Hale (2011), 'The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime,' *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (8): pp. 1357-1375.
- \*Aadne Aasland, Mikkel Berg-Nordlie & Elena Bogdanova, "Encouraged but controlled: governance networks in Russian regions," *East European Politics* 32(2): pp. 148-169

OR

- Meri Kulmala and Anna Tarasenko (2016), "Interest Representation and Social Policy Making: Russian Veterans' Organizations as Brokers between the State."
- \*Bryn Rosenfeld (2017), "Reevaluating the Middle-Class Protest Paradigm: A Case-Control Study of Democratic Protest Coalitions in Russia," *American Political Science Review* 111(4): pp. 637-652.

Further reading:

- Natalia Shapovalova, and Olga Burlyuk, eds.(2018), *Civil Society in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine : From Revolution to Consolidation* (Ibidem Verlag).
- . Kirsti Stuvøy (2020) *'The Foreign Within': State-Civil Society Relations in Russia*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/09668136.2020.1753658.
- Cameron Ross, ed (2016) *Systemic and Non-Systemic Opposition in the Russian Federation: Civil Society Awakens?*, (Routledge).
- Kirill Rogov and Maxim Ananyev (2018), "Public Opinion and Russia Politics," in *The New Autocracy: Information, Policy, and Politics in Putin's Russia*, edited by Daniel Treisman (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press), pp. 191-216.
- Evgeny Gontmakher & Cameron Ross (2015) "The Middle Class and Democratization in Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 67:2, pp. 269-284.
- Elena Chebankova (2015), "Competing ideologies of Russia's civil society," *Europe-Asia Studies* 67(2): pp. 244-268.
- Kirill Rogov and Maxim Ananyev (2018), "Public Opinion and Russia Politics," in *The New Autocracy: Information, Policy, and Politics in Putin's Russia*, edited by Daniel Treisman (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press), pp. 191-216.
- Anton Sobolev and Alexei Zakharov (2018), "Civic and Political Activism in Russia," in *The New Autocracy: Information, Policy, and Politics in Putin's Russia*, edited by Daniel Treisman, pp. 249-276.
- Maria Lipman, Anna Kachkaeva, and Michael Poyker, "Media in Russia: Between Modernization and Monopoly," in *The New Autocracy: Information, Policy, and Politics in Putin's Russia*, edited by Daniel Treisman, pp. 159-191.
- Sergei M. Guriev and Daniel Treisman (2019), *A Theory of Informational Autocracy*. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3426238> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3426238>.

- Roberto Stefan Foa & Grzegorz Ekiert (2017), "The weakness of postcommunist civil society reassessed," *European Journal of Political Research*, vol 56, no. 2 (May 2017), pp. 419-39 OR
- S.D. Orr (2012), "Ethnic Identity and Civil Society in Latvia, Poland, and Ukraine: The Case of Environmental NGOs," *Ethnopolitics* 11 (2): pp. 158-81.
- Sarah Henderson (2011), "Civil Society in Russia: State-Society Relations in the Post-Yeltsin Era," *Problems of Post-Communism* 58 (3): pp. 11-27.
- David J. Trimbach and Shannon O'Lear (2015), "Russians in Estonia: Is Narva the Next Crimea?," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 56 (5): pp. 493-504.
- Paul Chaisty and Stephen Whitefield (2013), "Forward to democracy or back to authoritarianism? The attitudinal bases of mass support for the Russian election protests of 2011–2012," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 29 (5): pp. 387-403.
- "Quo Vadis? Prospects for Establishing Civil Society in Russia," A Round-table Discussion hosted by *Polis*, (2013) *Russian Politics & Law* 51:2, pp. 6-76.
- Kirsti Stuvoy (2014), "Power and Public Chambers in the development of Civil Society in Russia," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47(3-4), pp. 409-419.
- Laura Cleary (2016), "Half measures and incomplete reforms: the breeding ground for hybrid civil society in Ukraine," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 16 (1): pp. 7-23.
- Nino Pokleba, "Civil Society in Georgia expectations versus reality," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 16 (2): pp. 235-53.

**Week 9 (November 12) INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE EU AS A GLOBAL ACTOR (Viju-Miljusevic meeting jointly with EURR 5001A)**

Theory:

- \*Manners, I. (2006). "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13(2), pp. 182-199.
- \*Novotná, T. (2017), "The EU as a Global Actor: United We Stand, Divided We Fall", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55: S1, pp. 177-191.
- \*Meunier, S. and Vachudova, M.A. (2018), "Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7), pp. 1631-1647.
- Howorth, J. (2010), "The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48 (3), pp. 455-74.
- Nielsen, K.L. (2013), "EU Soft Power and the Capability-Expectations Gap," *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 9(5), pp. 723-739.
- Manners, I. (2002), "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2), pp. 235-258.
- Hyde-Price, A. (2008), "A 'tragic actor'? A realistic perspective on 'ethical power Europe'," *International Affairs* 84 (1), pp. 29-44.
- Romanova, T. (2016), "Russia's Challenge to the EU's Normative Power: Change and Continuity," *Europe-Asia Studies* 68 (3): pp. 371-390.

Select one of the topics below

Application: Trade (Be prepared to do a four-minute summary on one of them).

- \*Meunier, S. and Nicolaïdis, K. (2006), "The European Union as a conflicted trade power" *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(6), pp. 906-925.
- \*Damro, C. (2012). "Market Power Europe." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 19(5), pp. 682-699.

- Young, A. (2011). "The Rise (and Fall?) of the EU's Performance in the Multilateral Trading System." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 33(6), pp. 715-729.
- Stephen Woolcock (2014), "EU Policy on Preferential Trade Agreements in the 2000s: A Reorientation towards Commercial Aims", *European Law Journal* 20 (6): pp. 718-732.

Application: EU Democracy Promotion and the Arab Spring (Be prepared to do a four-minute summary on one of them).

- \*Pace, M. (2009), "Paradoxes and contradictions in EU democracy promotion in the Mediterranean: the limits of EU normative power." *Democratization* 6 (1), pp. 39-58.
- \*Lavenex, S. and Schimmelfennig, F. (2011), "EU democracy promotion in the neighbourhood: from leverage to governance? *Democratization*, 18 (4), pp. 885-909 (see also other articles in this issue).
- Schumacher, T. (2011), "The EU and the Arab Spring," *Insight Turkey*, 13(3), pp. 107-119.
- Hollis, R. (2012), "No friend of democratization: Europe's role in the genesis of the 'Arab Spring'," *International affairs* 88(1), pp. 81-94.
- Van Huellen, V. (2012), "Europeanisation through cooperation? EU democracy promotion in Morocco and Tunisia," *West European Politics*, 35(1), pp. 117-34.

### **Week 10 (November 19) INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: RUSSIA AS A FOREIGN POLICY ACTOR (Viju, jointly with EURR 5001A)**

#### Theory

- \*Snyder, J. (2004), "One World, Rival Theories", *Foreign Policy*, Nov-Dec, pp. 53-62 (R).
- \*Tsygankov, A.P. (2016), *Russian Foreign Policy*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (London: Rowman and Littlefield), Chpt. 1, pp. 1-28.
- \*Gunitsky, S. and Tsygankov, A. (2018), "The Wilsonian Bias in the Study of Russian Foreign Policy," *Problems of Post-Communism* 65(6): pp. 385-393.
- \*Romanova, T. (2016), "Russia's Challenge to the EU's Normative Power: Change and Continuity," *Europe-Asia Studies* 68 (3): pp. 371-390.
- Alexander Lukin (2016), "Russia in a Post-Bipolar World," *Survival* 58 (1): pp. 91-112.

Select one of the topics below

Application: Ukraine (Be prepared to do a four-minute summary on one of them).

- \*Mearsheimer, J.J. (2014), "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct.
- \*DeBardeleben, J. (2015), "Backdrop to the Ukraine Crisis: The Revival of Normative Politics in Russia's Relations with the West," in Roger E. Kanet and Matthew Sussex (eds.) *Power, politics, and confrontation in Eurasia*, pp. 161-185.
- Tsygankov, A. (2015), "Vladimir Putin's last stand: the sources of Russia's Ukraine policy," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 31(4): pp. 279-303.
- Forsberg, T. and Herd, G. (2015), Russia and NATO: From Windows of Opportunity to Closed Doors," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 23 (1): pp. 41-57.

Application: Post-Crimean world order (Be prepared to do a four-minute summary on one of them).

- \*Marten, K. (2015), "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria," *Problems of Post-Communism* 62(2): pp. 71-87.

- \*Renz, B. (2016), "Russia and 'hybrid warfare,'" *Contemporary Politics* 22(3): pp. 283-300.
- Sanovich, S. (2017), "Computational Propaganda in Russia: The Origins of Digital Misinformation," *Oxford Working Paper No. 2017.3 Working Paper No. 2017.3*, <http://blogs.oii.ox.ac.uk/politicalbots/wp-content/uploads/sites/89/2017/06/Comprop-Russia.pdf>.
- Sukhankin, S. (2018), "'Continuing War by Other Means': The Case of Wagner, Russia's Premier Private Military Company in the Middle East", *Defense, Middle East, Russia & Eurasia*, <http://www.dafz.org/regional-affairs/russia-eurasia/continuing-war-by-other-means-the-case-of-wagner-russias-premier-private-military-company-in-the-middle-east/>.

**Week 11 (November 26) INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND INTERNATIONAL LAW: EU AND RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVES (DeBardeleben, meeting jointly with EURR 5001A)**

Required

- \*Tom Casier (2018), "The EU and Russia in a Multilateral Setting," in Casier and DeBardeleben, eds., *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis* (Routledge), pp. 178-198, 201-218.
- \*Xymena Kurowska (2014) "Multipolarity as resistance to liberal norms: Russia's position on responsibility to protect," *Conflict, Security & Development* 14(4): pp. 489-508.
- \*Roy Allison (2017), "Russia and the post-2014 international legal order: revisionism and *realpolitik*," *International Affairs* 93(3): pp. 519-543.
- \*Derek Averre (2016), "The Ukraine Conflict: Russia's Challenge to European Security Governance," *Europe-Asia Studies* 68(4): pp. 699-725.

Further readings:

- Cindy Wittke (2018), "'Test the West': Reimagining Sovereignties in the Post-Soviet Space," *Review of Central and East European Law* 43 (1): pp. 1 -22
- Stephanie Cohen (2017), "The Carrot, the Stick, and Why: A Comparative Analysis of the European Union's Response to the Occupation of the Crimean Peninsula and the Disputed West Bank Territories," *Transnational Law & Contemp. Probs.* 27: pp. 127-160.
- Pamela A. Jordan (2017) Diminishing returns: Russia's participation in the World Trade Organization, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 33 (6): pp. 452-471.
- Andrej Krickovic (2016), "When ties do not bind: the failure of institutional binding in NATO Russia relations," *Contemporary Security Policy* 37 (2): pp. 175-199.

**Week 12 (December 3) POLICY STUDIES (DeBardeleben) (Meeting separately)**

Required:

- \*Marina Khmel'nitskaya (2016) "On Policymaking and Policy Change in Russia," *Baltic Worlds* 3:2016: pp. 73-75, <http://balticworlds.com/on-policymaking-and-policy-change-in-russia/>
- \*Ellen Martus (2017), "Contested Policymaking in Russia: Industry, Environment, and the 'Best Available Technology' Debate," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 33(4): pp. 276-97.
- \*Vladimir S. Malakhov (2014), "Russia as a New Immigration Country: Policy Response and Public Debate," 66 (7): pp. 1062-79.
- \*Brian D. Taylor (2014) "Police reform in Russia: the policy process in a hybrid regime," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 30:2-3, pp. 226-255.

\*Sarah Wilson Sokhey (2020), “What Does Putin Promise Russians? Russia's Authoritarian Social Policy,” *Orbis* 64 (3): pp. 390-402.

Further reading:

- Kropp, Sabine, and A. Aasland, M. Berg-Nordlie, J. Holm-Hansen, and J. Schuhmann (2018), *Governance in Russian Regions: A Policy Comparison* (Springer International).
- Martus, Ellen (2017), “Lake Baikal and Russia’s environmental policy process,” *Demokratizatsiya* 25 (2): pp. 137ff.
- Erin Trouth Hofmann, Julia L. Carboni, Beth Mitchneck, and Igor Kuznetsov (2015), ‘Policy Streams and Immigration to Russia: Competing and Complementary Interests at the Federal and Local Levels,’ *International Migration* 54: pp. 34-59.
- Malakhov, Vladimir S., and Mark E. Simon (2018), “Labour Migration Policy in Russia: Considerations on Governmentality.” *International Migration* 56 (3): pp. 61–72. doi:10.1111/imig.12402.
- Erin Trouth Hofmann, Julia L. Carboni, Beth Mitchneck, and Igor Kuznetsov (2015), ‘Policy Streams and Immigration to Russia: Competing and Complementary Interests at the Federal and Local Levels,’ *International Migration* 54: pp. 34-59.
- Vladimir Mau (2017) “Russia’s economic policy in 2015-16: the imperative of structural reform,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 33(1): pp. 63-83.
- Sutela, P. (2016), “Economic Policy,” in Wegren ed., *Putin’s Russia. Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain* (Rowman & Littlefield, sixth edition), pp. 177-193.
- Richard Sakwa (2016), “Political Leadership,” in Wegren ed., *Putin’s Russia. Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain* (Rowman & Littlefield, sixth edition), pp. 23-43.
- Marina Khmel'nitskaya (2015), *The Policy-Making Process and Social Learning in Russia: the Case of Housing Policy* (Palgrave).
- Anatole Boute (2013), “Renewable Energy Federalism in Russia: Regions as New Actors for the Promotion of Clean Energy,” *Journal of Environmental Law* 25 (2): pp. 261-91.
- Matthew Light (2016), *Fragile Migration Rights: Freedom of Movement in Post-Soviet Russia*, (Routledge).

Week 13 (December 10) **BREAK OUT GROUPS OR INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS**  
(brainstorming document, proposal thinking) (Casteel, DeBardeleben, Sahadeo, Viju)

## **SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION**

### **Academic Accommodation:**

#### **Requests for 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**

Please contact your instructor 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, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

### **Religious obligation**

Please contact your instructor 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, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

### **Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities**

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC 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 your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. [carleton.ca/pmc](https://carleton.ca/pmc)

### **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 its 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: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support)

### **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 must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor 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>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline)

### **Plagiarism:**

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own”. This can include:

- 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;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.



All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according to the Carleton's Academic Integrity Policy (<http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/>). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of F for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

**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. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 River Building. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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.