

EURR 4008A/5008F

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

Carleton University

Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies

Fall 2024

Wednesdays 2:35-5:25 pm

Brightspace: <https://brightspace.carleton.ca/d2l/home/292513>

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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 next few weeks examine nation-building after the collapse of the USSR, the emergence and persistence of unrecognized or "de facto" states and frozen conflicts in Eurasia, and the phenomenon of the far right in post-Soviet politics.

Over the last year, there was an enormous amount of published research (including a number of excellent books) related to Russia's war. The second half of the course is going to dive into the many dimensions of the war covered in this growing scholarly literature, including: how Russians experience the war in everyday life, the influence of pro-war propaganda in Russia and abroad, the war's consequences for migration and displacement, the political war over historical memory, youth and patriotic education, and the role of ethnic minorities in relation to war and autocracy. We conclude with a discussion of how best to understand Russia's war: nationalist, imperialist, rationalist, genocidal, or something else?

The weekly seminars are structured in three parts. Since "nations" and "nationalism" as concepts are widely used yet poorly understood in popular usage, the first part of each seminar meeting will be devoted to understanding core concepts in relation to the required readings. The second part of each seminar turns to practice and applied research, introducing a variety of methodological approaches, techniques, and data sources that are used in the 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. The final part of each seminar is devoted to guest speakers, who typically will be authors of one of the required readings. This is a rare opportunity to engage directly with the experts we'll be reading and the ask about their experiences, motivations, interpretations, or (almost) anything else.

While this seminar casts a wide net, its omissions are perhaps even wider—especially this year as we set aside some of the comparative research in the second half of the semester to concentrate on Russia's war. The various weeks of this course intersect with a variety of categories of nationalism 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

The following books are required. This does not mean that you must purchase them, but you are responsible for reading them on the weeks for which they are assigned. Books marked with an * will be available as eBooks through ARES. The others will be put on 4 hour reserve in the library.

Harris Mylonas and Maya Tudor. *Varieties of Nationalism: Communities, Narratives, Identities*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Brigid O’Keeffe. *The Multiethnic Soviet Union and Its Demise*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2022.

Elizaveta Gaufman. *Everyday Foreign Policy: Performing and Consuming the Russian Nation after Crimea*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023.

Jade McGlynn. *Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin’s Russia*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023.

Maria Popova and Oxana Shevel. *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States*. Cambridge: Polity, 2024.

- Other required readings (articles and book chapters) will be accessible via the course page on Brightspace.
- Starting in Week 2, you’ll notice that there are also “**methodology review**” **articles** listed for each week. These articles are required and should be read carefully by students who are completing the methodology outline and presentation for that week, while the rest of the class may safely skim these articles.
- A list of “**further readings**” is provided for each week. It is neither expected nor required that students read these additional readings. Rather, the “further reading” lists are included to give you a sense of the existing research on a topic, and they may further be used as a starting point for those wishing to delve further into a subject for their own research.

ASSIGNMENTS

Undergraduate students:

Attendance & participation	20%	Weekly
Methodology outline & presentation	20%	Due on Tuesday prior to seminar.
Discussion paper	20%	Due on Tuesday prior to seminar.
Research essay proposal	10%	Due on Friday, October 18, at 12 pm
Research essay	30%	Due on Monday, December 9, at 12 pm

Graduate students:

Attendance & participation	20%	Weekly
Methodology outline & presentation	20%	Due on Tuesday prior to seminar.
Discussion paper	20%	Due on Tuesday prior to seminar.
Research essay proposal	10%	Due on Friday, October 18, at 12 pm
Research essay	30%	Due on Monday, December 9, at 12 pm

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:

- 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%):

Starting Week 3, each student will write a short discussion paper for a week's readings during the course (one paper per student). **Discussion papers are due on Tuesdays at noon before the class for which the readings were assigned.** The papers will provide the foundation for our discussion of the readings at the start of class for each week, and students may be called upon to talk about points raised in their papers in seminar discussions.

Discussion papers should not merely summarize the readings. Rather, they should engage the questions listed for the week's readings, identifying their core contributions (theoretical or empirical) and putting them into dialogue: how do they compare in terms of their approaches to the subject? What concepts are introduced? How do their findings highlight shortcomings, omissions, or avenues for future research?

The required length for discussion papers is 800-1000 words (+/- 10%).

Methodology outline & presentation (20%)

Each student will read and outline an article's methodology once during the course, starting from Week 2.

Outlines should be submitted by noon on the Tuesday prior to class. The outlines will be shared with the other students on Brightspace and presented during the seminar discussion.

Outlines should follow the provided template and be no more than 1-2 pages in length. 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), which will not count against the page limit.

For the in-class presentation portion of the assignment, students should briefly present the article's core argument and finding(s), then discuss in greater detail the article's method and data. For example, the presentation may consider the link between the article's research question and core concept(s): how are key ideas converted into data? What are the limitations of the method and/or data? Does the article make reasonable claims based on the evidence, or does it push the data too far? Presentations may 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 one-page working bibliography consisting of *scholarly* books and articles. **Proposals should be submitted by noon on Friday, October 18th.**

The purpose of the proposal is to identify a research topic for which there is sufficient material to research. The proposal should clearly indicate a research question or thesis, identify the country or cases to be examined, and suggest why the topic is interesting in relation to nationalism. Students are welcome 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 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 Monday, December 9th.**

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.

IMPORTANT DATES

- September 4: Fall term begins
- September 17: Last day to withdraw from fall courses with a full fee adjustment.
- October 14: Statutory holiday. University closed.
- October 21-25: Fall Break

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WEEK 1 (SEP. 4): INTRODUCTION

WEEK 2 (SEP. 11): WHAT DO WE TALK ABOUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT NATIONALISM?

Guest speaker: Prof. Harris Mylonas (George Washington University), 4:30 pm

Required:

Harris Mylonas and Maya Tudor. *Varieties of Nationalism: Communities, Narratives, Identities. Elements in the Politics of Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023. (esp. pp.16-63)

Further reading:

- Abdelal, Rawi, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott. *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 2006.
- Barrington, Lowell W., ed. *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial & Postcommunist States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1995.
- Breuilly, John. *Nationalism and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Chandra, Kanchan, ed. *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Delanty, Gerard, and Patrick J. O'Mahony. *Nationalism and Social Theory: Modernity and the Recalcitrance of the Nation*. London: SAGE, 2002.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Kolstø, Pål. "Is Imperialist Nationalism an Oxymoron?" *Nations and Nationalism* 25, no. 1 (2019): 18–44.
- Malešević, Siniša. *Grounded Nationalisms: A Sociological Analysis*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. 3rd edition. London: Red Globe Press, 2017.
- Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

WEEK 3 (SEP. 18): NATIONS AND NATIONALISM IN THE USSR

Guest speaker: Prof. Brigid O’Keeffe (Brooklyn College), 3:30 pm

Required reading:

Brigid O’Keeffe. *The Multiethnic Soviet Union and Its Demise*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2022.

Methodology review:

Jessica Lovett. “The Fate of the Nation”: Population Politics in a Changing Soviet Union (1964–1991)? *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 4 (2023): 888–907.

Further reading:

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

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.

Hirsch, Francine. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

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

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

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.

Slezkine, Yuri. “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism.” *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (1994): 414–52.

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 4 (SEP. 25): NATION-BUILDING AFTER THE USSR

Guest speaker: Prof. Katie Stewart (Knox College), 3:30 pm

Required reading:

Peter Rutland. ‘Thirty Years of Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet States’. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 14–32.

Helge Blakkisrud. ‘Russkii as the New Rossiiskii? Nation-Building in Russia After 1991’. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 64–79.

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

Lowell Barrington. “Citizenship as a Cornerstone of Civic National Identity in Ukraine.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37, no. 2 (2021): 155–73.

Methodology review (pick one):

Christofer Berglund. “‘Forward to David the Builder!’ Georgia’s (Re)Turn to Language-Centered Nationalism.” *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 4 (2016): 522–42.

Katie L. Stewart “Building the Nation Through Celebrating the Nation: A Comparison of Holidays in Russia’s Regions.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 73, no. 10 (2021): 1876–1907.

Further reading:

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

Bekus, Nelly. ‘Reassembling Society in a Nation-State: History, Language, and Identity Discourses of Belarus’. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 98–113.

Broers, Laurence, and Ceyhun Mahmudlu. ‘Civic Dominion: Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan over 25 Years of Independence’. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 47–63.

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

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.

Insebayeva, Sabina, and Nafissa Insebayeva. “The Power of Ambiguity: National Symbols, Nation-Building and Political Legitimacy in Kazakhstan.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 4 (2022): 660–82.

Isaacs, Rico, and Abel Polese, eds. *Nation-Building and Identity in the Post-Soviet Space: New Tools and Approaches*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Kudaibergenova, Diana T. *Toward Nationalizing Regimes: Conceptualizing Power and Identity in the Post-Soviet Realm*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020.

Kulyk, Volodymyr. “What Have We Learned about Ethnonational Identities in Ukraine?” *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 5 (2023): 975–90.

Megoran, Nick. *Nationalism in Central Asia: A Biography of the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan Boundary*. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017.

Polese, Abel. “Language and Identity in Ukraine: Was It Really Nation-Building?” *Studies of Transition States and Societies* 3, no. 3 (2011): 36–50.

Shevel, Oxana. “Nationality in Ukraine: Some Rules of Engagement.” *East European Politics and Societies* 16, no. 2 (2002): 386–413.

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.

Wilmers, Leila. ‘The Local Dynamics of Nation Building: Identity Politics and Constructions of the Russian Nation in Kazan and Ekaterinburg’. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 2 (2023): 258–79.

WEEK 5 (OCT. 2): DE FACTO STATES & FROZEN CONFLICTS

Guest speaker: Prof. Magdalena Dembińska (Université de Montréal), 3:30 pm

Required reading:

Magdalena Dembińska. ‘Legitimizing the Separatist Cause: Nation-Building in the Eurasian de Facto States’. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 80–97.

Nina Caspersen. “Degrees of Legitimacy: Ensuring Internal and External Support in the Absence of Recognition.” *Geoforum* 66 (2015): 184–92.

Andrei A. Kazantsev, 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.

Adam Potočník and Miroslav Mares. “Donbas Conflict: How Russia’s Trojan Horse Failed and Forced Moscow to Alter Its Strategy.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 70, no. 4 (2023): 341–51.

Methodology review (pick one):

Christofer Berglund and Ketevan Bolkvadze. “Sons of the Soil or Servants of the Empire? Profiling the Guardians of Separatism in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 71, no. 1 (2024): 37–48.

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

Further reading:

Aliyev, Huseyn, and Emil Aslan Souleimanov. “Why Do De Facto States Fail?” *Problems of Post-Communism* 66, no. 3 (2019): 161–71.

Beyer, John, and Stefan Wolff. “Linkage and Leverage Effects on Moldova’s Transnistria Problem.” *East European Politics* 32, no. 3 (2016): 335–54.

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.

Gamaghelyan, Philip, and Sergey Rumyantsev. “The Road to the Second Karabakh War: The Role of Ethno-Centric Narratives in the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict.” *Caucasus Survey* (2021): 1–17.

Gueudet, Sophie. “Displays of Statehood: Hybrid Diplomatic Practices and International Representation of De Facto States.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 56, no. 4 (2023): 121–42.

Isachenko, Daria, Mykhailo Minakov, and Gwendolyn Sasse, eds. *Post-Soviet Secessionism: Nation-Building and State-Failure after Communism*. ibidem Press, 2021.

Kiryukhin, Denys. “Russia’s Policy towards Donbas Since 2014: The Nation-Building Process and Its Ideology.” *Russian Politics* 8, no. 2 (2023): 147–64.

Kolstø, Pål. “Authoritarian Diffusion, or the Geopolitics of Self-Interest? Evidence from Russia’s Patron–Client Relations with Eurasia’s De Facto States.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 73, no. 5 (2021): 890–912.

Malyarenko, Tetyana, and Stefan Wolff. *The Dynamics of Emerging De-Facto States: Eastern Ukraine in the Post-Soviet Space*. Routledge, 2019.

Miarka, Agnieszka. “Patron-Client Relations in the Post-Soviet Area in the 21st Century—The Case Study of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.” *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 5 (2023): 1189–1201.

Pegg, Scott. “Twenty Years of de Facto State Studies: Progress, Problems, and Prospects.” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, July 27, 2017.

Shesterinina, Anastasia. *Mobilizing in Uncertainty: Collective Identities and War in Abkhazia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021.

Toal, Gerard. *Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017.

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

WEEK 6 (OCT. 9): RUSSIA, UKRAINE, AND THE SOURCES OF WAR

Guest speakers: Prof. Maria Popova (McGill University) & Prof. Oxana Shevel (Tufts University), 3:30 pm

Required reading:

Maria Popova and Oxana Shevel. *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States*. Cambridge: Polity, 2024. (esp. Ch.s 3-6)

Methodology review (pick one):

Martin Shaw. “Russia’s Genocidal War in Ukraine: Radicalization and Social Destruction.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 25, no. 3–4 (2023): 352–70.

Nadiia Koval, Volodymyr Kulyk, Mykola Riabchuk, Kateryna Zarembo, and Marianna Fakhurdinova. “Morphological Analysis of Narratives of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict in Western Academia and Think-Tank Community.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 69, no. 2 (2022): 166–78.

Further reading:

Arel, Dominique, and Jesse Driscoll. *Ukraine’s Unnamed War: Before the Russian Invasion of 2022*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Charap, Samuel, and Timothy J. Colton. *Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Charron, Austin. “Russia’s Recolonization of Crimea.” *Current History* 119, no. 819 (2020): 275–81.

D’Anieri, Paul. *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Galeotti, Mark. *Putin’s Wars: From Chechnya to Ukraine*. Osprey Publishing, 2022.

“Ideological and Conspiratorial Underpinnings of Russia’s War Against Ukraine.” *Russian Analytical Digest*, no. 299 (4 August 2023). <https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-security-studies/pdfs/RAD299.pdf>

Kulyk, Volodymyr. “National Identity in Time of War: Ukraine after the Russian Aggressions of 2014 and 2022.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 71, no. 4 (2024): 296–308.

Marples, David R., ed. *The War in Ukraine’s Donbas: Origins, Contexts, and the Future*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2021.

McFaul, Michael. “Putin, Putinism, and the Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy.” *International Security* 45, no. 2 (2020): 95–139.

McGlynn, Jade. *Russia’s War*. Cambridge: Polity, 2023.

Morris, Jeremy. “Russians in Wartime and Defensive Consolidation.” *Current History* 121, no. 837 (2022): 258–63.

Onuch, Olga. ‘European Ukrainians and Their Fight against Russian Invasion’. *Nations and Nationalism* 29, no. 1 (2023): 53–62.

Oskanian, Kevork K. “A Very Ambiguous Empire: Russia’s Hybrid Exceptionalism.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 1 (2018): 26–52.

Polianskii, Mikhail. “Russian Foreign Policy Research and War in Ukraine: Old Answers to New Questions?” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 57, no. 2 (2024): 156–72.

Ploky, Serhii. *The Russo-Ukrainian War: The Return of History*. WW Norton, 2023.

Tsygankov, Andrei. ‘Russia, Eurasia and the Meaning of Crimea’. *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 9 (2022): 1551–73.

Wilson, Andrew. “Ukraine at War: Baseline Identity and Social Construction.” *Nations and Nationalism* 30, no. 1 (2024): 8–17.

Zaporozhchenko, Ruslan. “The End of Russian Hegemony in the Post-Soviet Space? War in Ukraine and Disintegration Processes in Eurasia.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 76, no. 6 (2024): 851–72.

Guest speaker: Prof. Elizaveta Gaufman (University of Groningen), 3:30 pm

Required reading:

Elizaveta Gaufman. *Everyday Foreign Policy: Performing and Consuming the Russian Nation after Crimea*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023. (esp. chapters 2-5)

Methodology review (pick one):

Marnie Howlett. “Nation-Building from (below) the Grassroots: Everyday Nationalism in Ukraine’s Bomb Shelters.” *Nations and Nationalism* 29, no. 1 (2023): 63–69.

Vitaliy V. Kashpur, 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.

Further reading:

Caldwell, Melissa L., ed. *Food and Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Fox, Jon E., and Cynthia Miller-Idriss. “Everyday Nationhood.” *Ethnicities* 8, no. 4 (2008): 536–63.

Gaufman, Elizaveta. ‘Eating Identity: Theorizing the Everyday Foreign Policy Assemblage’. *Global Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (2021): 1-9.

Goode, J. Paul. “Becoming Banal: Incentivizing and Monopolizing the Nation in Post-Soviet Russia.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44, no. 4 (2021): 679–97.

Jašina-Schäfer, Alina. *Everyday Belonging in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: Russian Speakers in Estonia and Kazakhstan*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2021.

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.

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* 54 (2016): 54–63.

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.

Rohava, Maryia. “The Politics of State Celebrations in Belarus.” *Nations and Nationalism* 26, no. 4 (2020): 883–901.

Seliverstova, Oleksandra. “‘Consuming’ National Identity in Western Ukraine.” *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 1 (2017): 61–79.

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 (2019): 177–85.

Guest speaker: **TBD**

Required readings:

Sarah Oates. “Putin’s New Propaganda Battle.” *Wilson Quarterly*, Summer 2022.

<https://www.wilsonquarterly.com/quarterly/ripples-of-war/putins-new-propaganda-battle>.

Vera Tolz and Stephen Hutchings. ‘Truth with a Z: Disinformation, War in Ukraine, and Russia’s Contradictory Discourse of Imperial Identity’. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 39, no. 5 (2023): 347–65.

Joanna Szostek and Dariya Orlova. “Free Speech versus Defence of the Nation? The Media as Sources of National Insecurity in Ukraine.” *European Security* (2023): 1–25.

Jade McGlynn. “Russian Propaganda Tactics in Wartime Ukraine.” Russia Program Online Papers. Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, December 17, 2023.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1xdmk4Mn2G-jNSWhljjuv7sCqMbE-LT3Y/view?usp=sharing&usp=embed_facebook.

Methodology review (pick one):

Irina Grigor (Khaldarova) and Mervi Pantti. “Visual Images as Affective Anchors: Strategic Narratives in Russia’s Channel One Coverage of the Syrian and Ukrainian Conflicts.” *Russian Journal of Communication* 13, no. 2 (2021): 140–62.

Michael Tschirky and Mykola Makhortykh. “#Azovsteel: Comparing Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches for Studying Framing of the Siege of Mariupol on Twitter.” *Media, War & Conflict* 17, no. 2 (2024): 163–78.

Further reading:

Alyukov, Maxim. “Making Sense of the News in an Authoritarian Regime: Russian Television Viewers’ Reception of the Russia–Ukraine Conflict.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 3 (2022): 337–59.

Claessen, Eva. ‘The Making of a Narrative: The Use of Geopolitical Othering in Russian Strategic Narratives during the Ukraine Crisis’. *Media, War & Conflict* 16, no. 1 (2023): 82–99.

Hoyle, Aiden, Charlotte Wagnsson, Thomas E. Powell, Helma van den Berg, and Bertjan Doosje. “Life through Grey-Tinted Glasses: How Do Audiences in Latvia Psychologically Respond to Sputnik Latvia’s Destruction Narratives of a Failed Latvia?” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 40, no. 1 (2024): 1–18.

Hutchings, Stephen. *Projecting Russia in a Mediatized World: Recursive Nationhood*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2022.

Lankina, Tomila, and Kohei Watanabe. “‘Russian Spring’ or ‘Spring Betrayal’? The Media as a Mirror of Putin’s Evolving Strategy in Ukraine.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, no. 10 (2017): 1526–56.

Maschmeyer, Lennart, Alexei Abrahams, Peter Pomerantsev, and Volodymyr Yermolenko. ‘Donetsk Don’t Tell – “Hybrid War” in Ukraine and the Limits of Social Media Influence Operations’. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* (2023): 1–16.

Moen-Larsen, Natalia. “‘Suitcase – Shelling – Russia’: Narratives about Refugees from Ukraine in Russian Media.” *East European Politics* 36, no. 1 (2020): 124–42.

Ptaszek, Grzegorz, Bohdan Yuskiv, and Sergii Khomych. “War on Frames: Text Mining of Conflict in Russian and Ukrainian News Agency Coverage on Telegram during the Russian Invasion of Ukraine in 2022.” *Media, War & Conflict* 17, no. 1 (March 1, 2024): 41–61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17506352231166327>.

Zavershinskaia, Polina. “‘Why Do We Need a World without Russia in It?’ Discursive Justifications of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine in Russia and Germany.” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 29, no. 2 (April 3, 2023): 129–53.

Guest speaker: Dr. Ivetta Sergeeva (George Washington University), 3:30 pm

Required readings:

- Oleksandra Tarkhanova. “Shades of Protracted Displacement: Reconciling Citizenship and the Status of Internally Displaced in Eastern Ukraine.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 49, no. 19 (2023): 4809–27.
- Irina Kuznetsova. “To Help ‘Brotherly People’? Russian Policy Towards Ukrainian Refugees.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 505–27.
- Aizada Arystanbek and Caress Schenk. “Racializing Central Asia during the Russian-Ukrainian War: Migration Flows and Ethnic Hierarchies.” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo. Washington, D.C., August 9, 2022. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/racializing-central-asia-during-the-russian-ukrainian-war-migration-flows-and-ethnic-hierarchies/>.
- Ivetta Sergeeva, “Pushing Away the Brain Gain: Effect of Discrimination on Integration of Politically Induced Migrants.” Unpublished manuscript [to be posted on Brightspace].

Methodology review (pick one):

- Viktoriya Sereda. “‘Social Distancing’ and Hierarchies of Belonging: The Case of Displaced Population from Donbas and Crimea.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 404–31.
- Vanessa Ruget. “‘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.

Further reading:

- “Brain Drain from Russia After February 24th 2022.” *Russian Analytical Digest*, no. 288 (21 November 2022). <https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/RAD288.pdf>
- Bulakh, Tania. “Entangled in Social Safety Nets: Administrative Responses to and Lived Experiences of Internally Displaced Persons in Ukraine.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 455–80.
- 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.
- Jaroszewicz, Marta, and Jan Grzymiski. “Securitization in the Shadow of Armed Conflict: The Internal Othering and Electoral Rights of IDPs in Ukraine.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 56, no. 1 (2023): 1–22.
- 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.
- Nikolko, Milana. “Diaspora Mobilization and the Ukraine Crisis: Old Traumas and New Strategies.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42, no. 11 (2019): 1870–89.
- Rimpiläinen, Emma. “Victims, Villains, or Geopolitical Tools? Representations of Donbas Displacement in Ukrainian and Russian Government Media.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 481–504.
- Sasse, Gwendolyn, and Alice Lackner. “The Displaced as ‘Ordinary Citizens’: Exploring Variation in the Political Attitudes of the Displaced from Donbas.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 354–82.
- Schenk, Caress. “Producing State Capacity through Corruption: The Case of Immigration Control in Russia.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37, no. 4 (2021): 303–17.
- Sereda, Viktoriya. *Displacement in War-Torn Ukraine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.
- Tarkhanova, Oleksandra. “Shades of Protracted Displacement: Reconciling Citizenship and the Status of Internally Displaced in Eastern Ukraine.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2023): 1–19.
- Uehling, Greta Lynn. “Three Rationalities for Making Sense of Internal Displacement in Ukraine.” *Migration Studies* 9, no. 3 (2021): 1536–59.
- Zavadskaya, Margarita. “The War-Induced Exodus from Russia.” *FIIA Briefing Paper* 358. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs, March 2023. <https://www.fiia.fi/en/publication/the-war-induced-exodus-from-russia>.

WEEK 10 (NOV. 13): MEMORY POLITICS AND WAR

Guest speaker: Dr. Jade McGlynn (King's College London), 3:30 pm

Required reading:

Jade McGlynn. *Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin's Russia*. London New York Oxford New Delhi Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023. (esp. chapters 1-4)

Methodology review (pick one):

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

Kirill Molotov and Daria Khlevniuk. "'Five Unknown Facts About...': How Stalin Is Represented on Russian-Language TikTok." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 57, no. 3 (2024): 81–103.

Further reading:

Bakke, Kristin M., Kit Rickard, and John O'Loughlin. "Perceptions of the Past in the Post-Soviet Space." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 39, no. 4 (2023): 223–56.

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

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.

Khlevnyuk, Daria. "'Framing' and 'Screening' the Gulag: Politics of Memory of the Great Patriotic War and Stalin's Repressions in Russian Regions." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 55, no. 3 (2022): 24–43.

Klimenko, Ekaterina V. "Martyrological in Form, Military-Patriotic in Content: The Russian Orthodox Church and the Memory of the Great Patriotic War." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 57, no. 3 (2024): 125–46.

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. "When Lenin Becomes Lennon: Decommunisation and the Politics of Memory in Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 5 (2022): 709–33.

Krawatzek, Félix, and Nina Frieß. "A Foundation for Russia? Memories of World War II for Young Russians." *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 6 (2023): 1336–56.

Kurilla, Ivan. "Understanding the Immortal Regiment: Memory Dualism in a Social Movement." *Europe-Asia Studies* 75, no. 8 (September 14, 2023): 1266–85.

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.

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.

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. Ortung, 21–40. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016.

Wanner, Catherine. "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War in Ukraine." *Slavic Review* 78, no. 2 (2019): 328–35.

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.

Guest speaker: **TBD**

Required readings:

- Mariia Shynkarenko. ‘Compliant Subjects?: How the Crimean Tatars Resist Russian Occupation in Crimea’. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 55, no. 1 (2022): 76–98.
- Mariya Vyushkova and Evgeny Sherkhonov. “Russia’s Ethnic Minority Casualties of the 2022 Invasion of Ukraine: A Data Story from the Free Buryatia Foundation.” *Inner Asia* 25, no. 1 (2023): 126–36. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22105018-02501011>.
- Kyle L. Marquardt. “Ethnic Variation in Support for Putin and the Invasion of Ukraine.” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo. Washington, D.C., January 12, 2023. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/ethnic-variation-in-support-for-putin-and-the-invasion-of-ukraine/>.
- Volodymyr Kulyk. “Language Shift in Time of War: The Abandonment of Russian in Ukraine.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 40, no. 3 (2024): 159–74.

Methodology review:

- Liliia Sablina. “The Role of Social Media in Facilitating Minority Mobilisation: The Russian-Language pro-War Movement in Germany amid the Invasion of Ukraine.” *Nations and Nationalism* 29, no. 4 (2023): 1422–38.
- Marlene Laruelle, Ivan Grek, and Sergey Davydov. “Culturalizing the Nation: A Quantitative Approach to the Russkii/Rossiiskii Semantic Space in Russia’s Political Discourse.” *Demokratizatsiya* 31, no. 1 (2023): 3–28.

Further reading:

- Aliyev, Huseyn. “The Logic of Ethnic Responsibility and Progovernment Mobilization in East Ukraine Conflict.” *Comparative Political Studies* 52, no. 8 (2019): 1200–1231.
- 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.
- Eras, Laura. ‘War, Identity Politics, and Attitudes toward a Linguistic Minority: Prejudice against Russian-Speaking Ukrainians in Ukraine between 1995 and 2018’. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (January 2023): 114–35.
- Kulyk, Volodymyr. “Is Ukraine a Multiethnic Country?” *Slavic Review* 81, no. 2 (2022): 299–323.
- Osipov, Alexander. “Crimea in Ukraine: Smoothing the Edges as Diversity Institutionalization.” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 29, no. 2 (2023): 204–23.
- Pupcenoks, Juris, Toms Rostoks, and Inta Mieriņa. “Microfoundations of Threat and Security Perceptions in Ethnically Diverse States: Lessons from Russia’s ‘Near Abroad.’” *Nationalities Papers* 52, no. 1 (2024): 120–45.
- Romanova, Valentyna, and Andreas Umland. “Decentralising Ukraine: Geopolitical Implications.” *Survival* 61, no. 5 (2019): 99–112.
- Shcherbak, Andrey, and Kristina Sych. “Trends in Russian Nationalities Policy.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 64, no. 6 (2017): 311–28.
- Silaev, Nikolai. “Ethnicity as a Tool and Nationalities Policy as Practice: The Case of Stavropol Krai.” *Caucasus Survey* 8, no. 2 (2020): 196–213.
- Yao, Hui, Andrew Crowden, and Radislav Vaisman. “Ukrainization and the Effect of Russian Language on the Web: The Google Trends Case Study.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 71, no. 4 (July 3, 2024): 309–25.
- Yusupova, Guzel. “How Does the Politics of Fear in Russia Work? The Case of Social Mobilisation in Support of Minority Languages.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 4 (2022): 620–41.
- Yusupova, Guzel. “The Digital Contestation of Racialized Nationhood in Russia: Manizha’s Eurovision Performance.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 57, no. 2 (2024): 135–55.

Guest speaker: **TBD**

Required reading:

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

Jussi Lassila and Anna Sanina. ‘Attitudes to Putin-Era Patriotism Amongst Russia’s “In Between” Generation’. *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 7 (2022): 1190–1209.

Michael Alexeev and William Pyle. ‘A Blind and Militant Attachment: Russian Patriotism in Comparative Perspective’. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 39, no. 5 (2023): 309–28.

Håvard Bækken. “Merging the Great Patriotic War and Russian Warfare in Ukraine. A Case-Study of Russian Military Patriotic Clubs in 2022.” *Political Research Exchange* 5, no. 1 (2023): 1-22.

Methodology review:

Dmitriy Skulskiy. “The Politics of (Historical) Love: On Patriotism, National History and the Annexation of Crimea.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 76, no. 4 (2024): 574–89.

Further reading:

Barbieri, Jaroslava. ‘Raising Citizen-Soldiers in Donbas: Russia’s Role in Promoting Patriotic Education Programmes in the Donetsk and Luhansk Peoples’ Republics’. *Ethnopolitics* (2023): 1–22.

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

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.

Garner, Ian. *Z Generation: Into the Heart of Russia’s Fascist Youth*. London: Hurst & Co., 2023.

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.

Hirsch, Francine. “How Russia’s Patriotic History Projects Support Putin’s War.” *Current History* 121, no. 837 (2022): 283–85.

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* 68, no. 5 (2021): 442–56.

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.

Oushakine, Serguei Alex. *The Patriotism of Despair: Nation, War, and Loss in Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Posylnyi, Ivan. “The Soviet Pillar of Belonging: How Donbas Schools Construct the Reality in Occupation.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 57, no. 2 (2024): 112–34.

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.

Sorokina, Anna, Valeria Kasamara, and Marina Maximenkova. “Between Hard and Soft Power: British and Russian Youth on National Pride.” *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 5 (2023): 1164–88.

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.

Academic Integrity

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, artworks, 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, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- 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.

Self-plagiarism: Students may not re-use their own work from a different course or assignment without the permission of the instructor.

Use of generative artificial intelligence (e.g. ChatGPT) is not permitted for producing assessed content.

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: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>

Emergency Resources (on and off campus)

- Suicide Crisis Helpline: call or text 9-8-8, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
- For immediate danger or urgent medical support: call 9-1-1

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: call 613-238-3311, text 343-306-5550, or connect online at <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: call 613-722-6914 or toll-free 1-866-996-0991, or connect online at <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me Counselling Service: call 1-844-741-6389 or connect online at <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: call 1-866-925-5454 or connect online at <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: for online or on-site service <https://walkincounselling.com>

Academic Accommodation

Carleton is committed to providing academic accessibility for all individuals. You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. The accommodation request processes, including information about the Academic Consideration Policy for Students in Medical and Other Extenuating Circumstances, are outlined on the Academic Accommodations website (students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

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

Informal accommodation due to short-term incapacitation: in the event that you are unable to make an assigned deadline or attend class owing to illness or incapacitation and you require an extension of no more than two weeks, please complete the Self-Declaration for Academic Considerations form (<https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/self-declaration.pdf>) and contact the instructor to make arrangements.

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, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) at the beginning of the term. Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. 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>