

HIST 4606A/EURR 4303A/EURR 5303F

The History of Populism and Authoritarianism in Contemporary Europe

Fall 2022

Carleton University

Department of History/EURUS

Thursdays, 8:35-11:25am, Paterson Hall 240

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### Objectives

This course is inspired by current events, including the rise and return of fascist, populist, and authoritarian parties and governments across the globe. Its aim is to use the tools of historical analysis to deepen our understanding of where and how these movements arose, how fascism/populism/authoritarianism has appealed to voters in different places and contexts and how leaders have harnessed popular sentiments to their own end. It explores the role of ideology and historical memory in governance and also how mass culture, the family, gender, and domestic life has been politicized in the service of far-right causes.

As much as our goal is to develop critical thinking skills to apply to contemporary events, our job is not to flatten out the past in order to see moments of similarity with the present (although sometimes it seems quite tempting). Rather, it is to decipher the different ways in which authoritarian policies have manifested over time, in distinct historical circumstances, from the role of charismatic leaders in harnessing mass sentiment to the steps average citizens could and did (or didn't) take to counter it. The past is not a blueprint for understanding the present. But it can help us make better sense of how authority is fostered and blunted in different spaces, places, and moments in time. It can guide us to think more substantively about the role of rhetoric, memory, the media, gender, race, political culture and identity. And it can aid us in analyzing how popular support has been drawn upon, seized as well as given up, as we interrogate the forms of opposition made possible under different historical conditions. In other words, the course will

contextualize choice, decision making, and outcomes by evaluating different arguments and claims, making matters more complicated at first so as to appreciate more fulsomely the current state of play.

A major component of this course is learning how to take high-level critical analysis of scholarly texts and translate them for diverse audiences. Our writing assignments will be tailored to writing in public and for publics. At the end of the course, students will have created their own online portfolio of sorts, including critical and informed commentary on today's events, understood through the lens of history. The goal is to leave with new research, writing, and analytical skills that you can take with you to other courses, classes, and careers.

### Required Readings

The course readings will be available for access on ARES.

### Grading and Evaluation

#### Undergraduate Students

Attendance and Participation	weekly	20%
Reading responses – 250 words	weekly (Tuesdays at midnight)	10%
Presentation and Leading Discussion	your choice	10%
Op/Ed #1	October 13th	15%
Op/Ed #2	November 3rd	15%
Blog Assignment	1 <sup>st</sup> half November 17 <sup>th</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> half December 8th	30%

#### Graduate Students

Attendance and Participation	weekly	15%
Reading responses – 250 words	weekly (Tuesdays at midnight)	15%
Presentation and Leading Discussion	your choice	10%
Op/Ed #1	October 13th	10%
Op/Ed #2	November 3rd	10%
Op/Ed #3	November 24th	10%
Blog Assignment	1 <sup>st</sup> half November 17 <sup>th</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> half December 8th	30%

## Assignments

- Seminar Participation

The bulk of work for this class occurs outside the seminar room. Everyone is expected to do the weekly readings, to read each other's reading responses, and come to class prepared to discuss them in detail. Seminar work is different than the reading you do for lecture. There, it is a kind of background preparation for the lecture material. You read it passively, let the content wash over you, knowing the instructor will focus your attention on relevant themes in lecture. In a seminar, the onus is on each participant to read the material actively and engage with it before walking into class. There are three things you absolutely must do to be ready for discussion: isolate the author's argument, take note of what they use as evidence, ie. note what kind of sources they are drawing on and identify how the author situates themselves in the larger academic conversation at hand. How is their article or chapter responding to an existing literature or debate? What makes the author's contribution unique or different? Take notes on the articles. Highlight passages that stand out to you as interesting for whatever reason (language used, argument, grandiosity). Then bring this with you to class along with a few questions you wish us to address in discussion. Active, thoughtful, and considerate participation is what I will be looking and listening for.

Although seminars are based around active discussion, building upon the ideas of others in the room, active listening is an important feature as well. For some students, it may be challenging to participate actively in class. This is an opportunity to work through that discomfort. Being able to articulate one's position is a skill that is of great benefit within and beyond the university. If you find yourself to be a shy student, please approach me outside of class for strategies, via email or in person. For other students, who are more forthright, the issue might be taking up a bit too much space. Active listening is also about sensing how much participation is productive. Most important of all is that we work together to ensure the seminar is a space of vigorous yet respectful engagement and critique of ideas. People come to the table with different learning styles; we are able to work with this and not against it, mindfully and collectively. But it is imperative that we think about this in our day-to-day meetings. It makes for a much better class!

In terms of how you will be graded, I will assign in my own notes grades for each student's performance in each class. Mid way through the semester, I will offer feedback and suggestions for ways to improve. An A-level grade reflects that a student listens to colleagues in class, builds on existing ideas and comments, and helps move the discussion forward in productive ways. I will also see an advanced engagement with the readings and online commentaries, where the student didn't simply read but demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the arguments. A B-level grade means the student demonstrates a knowledge of the readings, but they do not engage with them as rigorously, perhaps only offering up a few comments in the course of our session. A C-level grade and below is reserved for disruptive commentary or for no comments at all. Although I will give feedback mid semester, these grades will serve as a guide. I will look for improvement throughout the course.

\*\*The participation grade also includes your attendance record. If you aren't in class, you can't participate. In seminars, it is expected that students attend every session. Absences may be

excused for emergencies, illness, or religious observance. Talk with me about any concerns you may have along these lines. Seminar begins promptly at 8:30am and as we are a group, reliant upon group dynamics, it is essential to stay for the duration of class. No fears! We will have a break part way through.

\*\*\*Of course, it goes without saying that we are still very much in the throes of the pandemic. COVID presents all sorts of challenges. There may be health related issues that surface for us this term, or there might also be mental health challenges. I want students to know that my aim is to foster a robust and supportive intellectual exchange in this class, one where everyone can thrive knowing that there may be some weeks when attendance might not be possible. All I ask is to be kept in the loop so that we can find solutions, together, when and if situations present. We are all in this together!

- Presentation and Discussion Leading

In-class discussion each week will be structured around student thoughts posted on our course blog ([www.hate2point0.com](http://www.hate2point0.com)). Students will sign up in pairs and serve as facilitators for the week. The job of facilitator has several parts. First, they will present a prepared commentary of no longer than 10 minutes based around the weekly readings and the online discussion posted over the weekend (this is why your blog posts have to be uploaded by Monday at midnight). Important here is to take a critical stance, not just summarize what people said. Think about the common strands, the issues raised and also, if any, things that went unremarked upon. This will serve as a jumping off point for the class discussion. Second, facilitators will prepare several guiding questions to help propel the discussion, although all seminar participants should come with their prepared questions as well. If they choose, facilitators may bring in outside primary sources to share with the class, provided this is directly related to the discussion at hand. Students will be graded on the depth of analysis and how seamlessly they direct the flow of conversation.

- Weekly Reading Responses

A vital part of our course are the weekly blog responses that students will post to <http://www.hate2point0.com>. So that the facilitators will have time to prepare their comments and questions for discussion, these must be uploaded no later than Sunday at midnight. I will take off 1% for every late submission. These posts should be substantive, 250 word commentaries that weigh in directly on the arguments in the readings. In other words, they should not be abstract or descriptive. The task at hand is not to re-state the argument of the readings but to engage with it. There are several ways one might do this. No two student blog entries will be the same. You might link the readings together thematically, pose a series of questions of the material, or reflect on the author's blind spots. Blog entries need not reference outside sources. Imagine them as an opportunity to drill down deep on a select number of readings. Regardless of what you opt to do, the main task is to make sure you have encapsulated the core arguments and link whenever possible the specific issues in the readings to the larger questions and themes we are exploring over the course of the semester. These online commentaries will provide a starting point for Wednesday morning's discussion.

There are some caveats. Critical responses are constructive responses – comments should be made in good faith to build up and add value to our collective reading of the text. Good questions cannot be answered in a few words and might help someone else with a similar question or another student looking to make a comment. Good answers are thoughtful. Good arguments are productive, allowing for the possibility of misunderstanding on all sides, and creating spaces for further understanding. This doesn't mean we can't be critical, but our critique should be advanced to help us all see new sides to the issue at hand. At no point will a student be the target of a dismissive or otherwise negative comment. Online etiquette matters, and our discussion forum belongs to the entire class.

\*\*Please note, students are required to post at least one commentary a week on other student's blog post before we meet Wednesday morning.

- Op/Eds

Over the course of the semester, students will craft two Op/Eds (three for graduate students) of 700 words each on the subject of their choosing. These Op/Eds will be posted to our course blog, Hate 2.0. Op/Eds are opinion pieces, but they are also pieces of writing informed by an author's expertise and reading into a subject. The assignment is to take an issue or event in the headlines that interests you and analyze it with an historical and historiographical lens. Op/Eds are written for a broad audience. They are accessible while still making an argument. Part of the task here is to take scholarly analysis and translate it into suitable prose. It is about learning how to write in public and for diverse publics with care, accuracy, and precision. We will devote considerable time to these in class and students will be encouraged to try and place them in print, for which there is the possibility of bonus marks. The success of the assignment does not hinge on publication; rather it should be seen as encouragement to get your voice out there. As preparation, students might begin by familiarizing themselves with different Op/Ed and Opinion pieces in the world's major newspapers including *Haaretz*, *The New York Times*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Ottawa Citizen*, *The Financial Post*, *The New York Review of Books*, and *The Guardian*. Both *The Conversation* (<http://www.conversation.com/ca>) and *The Washington Post* ([https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/?utm\\_term=.30272932f5bc](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/?utm_term=.30272932f5bc)) have specific Op/Ed features devoted to higher education and historical analysis. These will prove helpful as well. More information will be provided in class.

- Blog Assignment

The major writing assignment for this course is a public blog (separate from the course reflections) which students will design, manage, and update throughout the semester. On the blog, hosted on Wordpress, students will curate thoughtful, critical commentaries drawing on contemporary news articles related to the themes of the course. Students are required to make 10 primary reflections of roughly 250-500 words by December 8<sup>th</sup>, 2022. To show change over time, these should be completed at weekly intervals but it is also acceptable for students to complete them in small clusters. Blogs might be organized around a particular set of themes or focused on a single country or region. You are encouraged to draw from a broad array of news sources however 75% should come from major newspapers and journals, with no more than 25% from other, reputable blogs

or social media sites. I will post examples on Brightspace of ideal sources. In addition to the 10 primary entries, students are required to make 10 comments on other other student blogs.

Blogs are indeed a more informal form of writing than traditional essay writing. This does not mean we throw away all academic conventions. Blog entries will reflect research and background reading. You do not need to cite your sources in the traditional sense, but there are ways to reference secondary material through hyperlinks and attribution. Blogs can also incorporate images and even sound. A good blog is an engaging, curated piece of informed opinion, supported with evidence. It takes historiographical debates – issues scholars debate in print – and places it in a language that everyone can engage with. It is a mix of analysis and everyday speech. Learning how to turn our academic work into something that contributes to the ongoing conversation is a lifelong skill. At the end of the course, you will have a kind of online writing portfolio that you can cite on your CV.

In addition to the general rules of writing and research, all entries will be graded for creativity, sophistication and nuance. In some instances, students may wish to remain anonymous online. We can talk in class about how to do this.

### Learning Outcomes

By the end of our class, students will:

- 1) Understand and explain historical events, people, institutions, movements, and ideas over several periods of the past and over several regions of the world
- 2) Analyze and assess historical documents, artifacts, and other primary sources
- 3) Evaluate historical arguments and historical scholarship
- 4) Recognize and apply historical methods and historical theories to make historical arguments
- 5) Conduct independent research using primary sources and historical scholarship
- 6) Express in writing the results of historical thinking and research
- 7) Express orally the results of historical thinking and research
- 8) Demonstrate professional skills in a workplace context (for coop especially)

### Technology in the Classroom

We will craft our own policy on what is acceptable use in the classroom.

### Late Policy

Assignments are to be uploaded to our course blog by midnight of the day they are due. Students must keep their own local copy in case there is a problem with the attachment. Late papers will lose marks for each day late (i.e. from A to A- etc.). Please obtain a note from a physician or from counseling services in the event of illness or family affliction.

### Covid Contingencies

As the pandemic situation continues to evolve, this class will adapt when necessary, following all university and public health guidelines. The schedule is designed to pivot to virtual instruction if necessary and I will give as much notice as possible should this change be required on a class-to-class basis. For instance, if I need to isolate due to symptoms, testing or other instructions from Ottawa Public Health or the university administration, I will let you know by email and then provide instruction virtually. Please check your Carleton email accounts regularly.

Everyone should be following Carleton University's policies and protocols regarding Covid-19, as well as public health guidelines. You should not present yourself for in-person instruction if you are feeling unwell, and especially if you are experiencing any Covid-19 symptoms.

Plagiarism and Student Accommodations – see last sheet of course outline.

## Class Schedule

\*In order to meet the educational needs of students, I might make some changes to the readings to enhance the learning experience. Be sure to check Brightspace regularly for updates.



The first few weeks of class, we will spend some time thinking about memory formations in the current moment. Then we will dive back into history for a few weeks, to clarify our thinking around definitions and practices of fascist and populist governance, social structures, and rule. This will provide some analytical tools with which to compare the post 1945 period.

### Week 1: September 8

Populism, Memory, and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Imagination

- How has the history of the Middle Ages been manipulated to serve contemporary ideas about the so-called crisis of civilization?

Patrick Geary, "Medieval Matters, Modern European Racism" <https://itunes.apple.com/ca/podcast/medieval-matters-modern-european-nationalism-fight/id385643787?i=1000085432471&mt=2>

Tracing the Deus Vault Meme, <https://oilab.eu/deus-vult-tracing-the-many-misuses-of-a-meme/>

Paulo Pachá, "Why the Brazilian Far Right Loves the European Middle Ages" *Pacific Standard* (February 18, 2019) <https://psmag.com/ideas/why-the-brazilian-far-right-is-obsessed-with-the-crusades>

S. J. Pearce, "The Medieval Fantasy that Fuels Israel's Far Right" *The Washington Post* (March 1, 2019) [https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/03/01/medieval-fantasy-that-fuels-israels-far-right/?utm\\_term=.2702b89649c3](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/03/01/medieval-fantasy-that-fuels-israels-far-right/?utm_term=.2702b89649c3)



Jennifer Schuessler, "Medieval Scholars Joust with White Nationalists" *New York Times* (May 5, 2019) <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/05/arts/the-battle-for-medieval-studies-white-supremacy.html>

## Week 2: September 15

### Defining Terms

- What are the different ways in which fascism, populism, and authoritarianism have been defined over time?

Rogers Brubaker, "Why Populism?" NUPI Podcast (51 minutes)  
<https://podcasts.apple.com/ca/podcast/why-populism-rogers-brubaker/id1200474003?i=1000449389000>

Federico Finchelstein, "Introduction: Thinking Fascism and Populism in terms of the Past" in Federico Finkelstein, *From Fascism to Populism in History* (University of California Press, 2017).

Cas Mudde, "Populism in Europe: An Illiberal Democratic Response to Undemocratic Liberalism" (The Government and Opposition/Leonard Schapiro Lecture 2019). *Government and Opposition*, (2021): 1-21.

Robert Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York, 2004), pp 3-23.

## Week 3: September 22

### Fascism: for the nation, against empire?

- How do we explain the relationship of the far right to internationalism?

Ruth Ben-Ghiat, "Conquest and Collaboration" in *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945* (University of California Press, 2004), pp. 17-45.

Paul Hanebrink, *A Specter Haunting Europe: The Myth of Judeo-Bolshevism* (Harvard University Press, 2018), pp. 1-10, 11-45.

David Motadel, "The Global Authoritarian Moment: The Revolt Against Empire" *American Historical Review* Vol. 124, Issue 3 (July 2019): 843-877.

And his article in the New York Times <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/03/opinion/the-surprising-history-of-nationalist-internationalism.html>

On your own time, watch the 2015 roundtable on Italian fascist cinema and take note of how feature film helped construct a cultural foundation for fascist internationalism. Listen to the portions where Dr. Ruth Ben-Ghiat introduces the film clips, and the discussion at the 1hr timestamp. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZbFFLXVvtXc>

#### Week 4: September 29

##### The Appeal of Fascism

- What was the appeal of fascism beyond ideology? How much agency did everyday people wield for and against the regime? Keep this in mind later when we explore populist formations and language around citizenship.

Justin Crumbaugh, "Prosperity and Freedom Under Franco: the Grand Invention of Tourism" in *Destination Dictatorship: the Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference* (SUNY Press, 2009), pp. 15-41.

Laurie Marhoefer, "Lesbianism, Transvestitism, and the Nazi State: a Microhistory of a Gestapo Investigation, 1939-1943" *The American Historical Review* 121: 4 (2016): 1167-1195.

Thomas Kühne, "Protean masculinity, Hegemonic Masculinity: Soldiers in the Third Reich" *Central European History* Vol 51, Issue 3 (September 2018): 390-418.

Sofía Rodríguez López and Antonio Cazorla Sánchez. "Blue Angels: Female Fascist Resisters, Spies and Intelligence Officials in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–9." *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 53, no. 4, (Oct. 2018), pp. 692–713.

Cynthia Miller-Idris, "The Extreme Gone Mainstream" IIITMedia lecture, May 2018  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QHYcakSDUCE>

Inside Spain's Fascism Fandom <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sqKSXPiGe7U>

#### Week 5: October 6

##### Nazism's Lessons and Legacies

- What did coming to terms with the past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*) look like in postwar Germany?

Mary Fulbrook, "Discomfort Zones" and "Voices of the Victims" in *Reckonings: Legacies of Nazi Persecution and the Quest for Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2018), pp: 314-336, 361-377.

W. Sollors, "Everybody Gets Fragebogened Sooner or Later': The Denazification Questionnaire as Cultural Text." *German Life & Letters*. Vol 71, Issue 2 (2018): 139-153.

Joachim Häberlen, "(Not) Narrating the History of the Federal Republic: Reflections on the Place of the New Left in West German History and Historiography" *Central European History* Vol. 52, Issue 1 (March 2019): 107-124.

Robert Moeller, "How to Judge Stanley Kramer's Judgement at Nuremberg" *German History* Vol. 31, Issue 4 (December 2013): 497-522.

### October 13

#### 1968 and the New Right

- How did the politics of the New Left and Right challenge the democratic foundation of postwar European states? Where do you see the shadow of WWII?

Frank Biess, "Revolutionary Angst" *German Angst: Fear and Democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2020), 195-241.

Tamir Bar-On, "Transnationalism and the French Nouvelle Droite." *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 45, no. 3 (July 2011): 199–223.

Roger Griffin, "Between Metapolitics and Apoliteia: The Nouvelle Droite's Strategy for Conserving the Fascist Vision in the 'Interregnum.'" *Modern & Contemporary France*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Feb. 2000): pp. 35–53.

Robert Deam Tobin, "The Evolian Imagination: Gender, Race, and Class from Fascism to the New Right" *Journal of Holocaust Research* vol. 35, Issue2 (Confronting Hatred; Neo-Nazim, Antisemitism, and Holocaust Studies): 75-90.

Norimitsu Onishi, "The Great Replacement and Renaud Camus" *New York Times* (September 20, 2019)

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/20/world/europe/renaud-camus-great-replacement.html>

### October 20

#### Neo-fascism in postwar Europe

- Right and leftwing violence was a core feature of European life in the 1960s and 1970s. What are the unique features of neofascist movements? How is neofascism different from midcentury?

Grant Amyot, "The Shadow of Fascism over the Italian Republic," *Human Affairs* 21, no. 1 (2011): 35–43

Benjamin Bland, "Global Fascism?: The British National Front and the Transnational Politics of the 'Third Way' in the 1980s," *Radical History Review* 2020, no. 138 (2020): 108–30

Andrea Mammon, "The Transnational Reaction to 1968: Neo-Fascist Fronts and Political Cultures in France and Italy." *Contemporary European History*, vol. 17, no. 2 (May 2008): 213–236.

Ruth Glynn, "Writing the terrorist self: the unspeakable alterity of Italy's female perpetrators" *Feminist Review* (Jul 2009): 1-18

Charlie Jarvis, "Milan Museum Commemorates Fascist Past at Expense of the Present" *Hyperallergic* (August 2, 2021), <https://hyperallergic.com/667010/milan-museum-commemorates-fascist-past-at-the-expense-of-the-present/>

Angelique Chrisafis, "From Le Pen to Alice Weidel: How the European far-right set its sight on women" *The Guardian* January 29, 2019  
<https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2019/jan/29/from-le-pen-to-alice-weidel-how-the-european-far-right-set-its-sights-on-women>

Week 6: October 24-28

Fall Break – no class



## Week 7: November 3

### Transitions

- 1989 brought widespread change to Europe. How did these transition years set up some of the challenges Europeans would face in the last two decades around migration, race, and democratization?

Anna Cento Bull, "The role of memory in populist discourse: the case of the Italian Second Republic" *Patterns of Prejudice*, 50:3 (2016): 213-231

Christopher Molnar, "Greetings from the Apocalypse": Race, Migration, and Fear after German Reunification" *Central European History*, (2021), 1-25.

Don Kalb, "Post-Socialist Contradictions. The Social Question in Central and Eastern Europe And the Making of the Illiberal Right" *The Social Question in the Twenty-First Century: a Global View* edited by Jan Breman et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019).

Natalia Mamonova, Jaume Franquesa, and Sally Brooks, "'Actually Existing' Right-Wing Populism in Rural Europe: Insights from Eastern Germany, Spain, the United Kingdom and Ukraine," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 47, no. 7 (2020): 1497–1525

## Week 8: November 10

### Multicultural Europe?

- How do myths surrounding European identity buckle when faced with the challenge of colonialism/postcolonialism and mass migration? How might progressives as well as populists reinforce similar platforms?

Dan Stone, "On Neighbours and Those Knocking at the Door: Holocaust Memory and Europe's Refugee Crisis." *Patterns of Prejudice* 52, no. 2/3 (May 2018): 231–43.

Ezgi Güner "Rethinking Whiteness in Turkey Through the AKP's Foreign Policy in Africa South of the Sahara," *Middle East Report* 299 (Summer 2021).

<https://merip.org/2021/08/rethinking-whiteness-in-turkey-through-the-akps-foreign-policy-in-africa-south-of-the-sahara/>

Ivan Kalmar, "Islamophobia and anti-semitism: the case of Hungary and the 'Soros Plot'" *Patterns and Prejudice* Vol. 54 (1-2) (2020): 182-98.

Dirk Moses, "Documenta, Antisemitism, and the Problem of Closed Universes" *New Fascism Syllabus* (July 24, 2022)  
<https://newfascismsyllabus.com/opinions/documenta/the-documenta-indonesia-and-the-problem-of-closed-universes/>

QAnon Goes European  
<https://www.politico.eu/article/qanon-europe-coronavirus-protests/>

How this TV Chef Turned COVID Truther Helped QAnon in Germany  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1yOqtbWrdg>

### Week 9: November 17

#### Anti-genderism

- What are the similarities and differences in how anti-gender populism plays out in different contexts?

David Paternotte and Roman Kuhar, "Disentangling and Locating the "Global Right": *Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe Politics and Governance* Vol. 6, No. 3 (2018): 6-19.

Andrea Peto, "Report from the Trenches: The Debate around Teaching Gender Studies In Hungary, 10 April 2017. Heinrich Böll Stiftung – Green Political Foundation,  
<https://www.boell.de/en/2017/04/10/report-trenches-debate-around-teaching-genderstudies-hungary>

Piotr Żuk and Paweł Żuk. "'Murderers of the Unborn' and 'Sexual Degenerates': Analysis of the 'Anti-Gender' Discourse of the Catholic Church and the Nationalist Right in Poland." *Critical discourse studies* 17.5 (2020): 566–588

Judith Butler, "Why is the Idea of Gender Provoking Backlash the World Over?"  
*the Guardian*, 23 October 2021  
<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/commentisfree/2021/oct/23/judith-butler-gender-ideology-backlash>

Sarah Marsh, Aamna Mohdin and Niamh McIntyre, "Homophobic and Transphobic Hate Crimes Surge in England and Wales" *The Guardian*, 14 June 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/14/homophobicand-transphobic-hatecrimes-surge-in-englandand-wales>

Trans teens in today's Hungary <https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2021/03/24/colors-of-tobi-bfi-flare-alexa-bakony-hungary-transgender/>

## Week 10: November 24

### The Medium is the Message

- How does new, legacy, and hybrid media construct particular kinds of populist formations? How is networked society different than what came before?

Imen Neffati, "Anti-sociologisme, Zionism, and Islamophobia in Philippe Val's Charlie Hebdo" *French Cultural Studies* (2021) 32(3):280-295.

Nicole Doerr, "Bridging language barriers, bonding against immigrants: A visual case study of transnational network publics created by far-right activists in Europe" *Discourse & Society* 28(1) (2017): 3–23.

Özçetin B, "The show of the people' against the cultural elites: Populism, media and popular culture in Turkey" *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. 22(5-6) (2019):942-957.

Simon Strick, "Reflexive Fascism in the Age of History Memes" *Journal of Modern European History* 22 (2022) <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1177/16118944221110451>

## Week 11: December 1

### Left/Right Comparisons

- What are the similarities and differences in left versus right leaning populism?

Catherine Fieschi, "A Plague on Both Your Populisms" (April 19, 2012) *Open Democracy* <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/plague-on-both-your-populisms/>

M. Rooduijn Akkerman T. "Flank attacks: Populism and left-right radicalism in Western Europe" *Party Politics* 23 (3) (2017): 193-204.

Cas Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser, C "Exclusionary vs. inclusionary populism: Comparing contemporary Europe and Latin America" *Government and Opposition* 48 (2013): 147–174.

March L. "Left and right populism compared: The British case" *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 19(2) (2017): 282-303.

Davide Vampa, "Competing forms of populism and territorial politics: the cases of Vox and Podemos in Spain" *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* vol. 28, issue 3 (2020).

Week 12: December 8

Hijacking Memory

Selections of the Berlin Conference and aftermath (to be announced)

<https://www.einsteinforum.de/tagung/hijacking-memory-the-holocaust-and-the-new-right/?lang=en>



## **REGULATIONS COMMON TO ALL HISTORY COURSES**

### **COPIES OF WRITTEN WORK SUBMITTED**

Always retain for yourself a copy of all essays, term papers, written assignments or take-home tests submitted in your courses.

### **PLAGIARISM**

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

### **COURSE SHARING WEBSITES and COPYRIGHT**

Classroom teaching and learning activities, including lectures, discussions, presentations, etc., by both instructors and students, are copy protected and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s). All course materials, including PowerPoint presentations, outlines, and other materials, are also protected by copyright and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s).

Students registered in the course may take notes and make copies of course materials for their own educational use only. Students are not permitted to reproduce or distribute lecture notes and course materials publicly for commercial or non-commercial purposes without express written consent from the copyright holder(s).

## STATEMENT ON CLASS CONDUCT

The Carleton University Human Rights Policies and Procedures affirm that all members of the University community share a responsibility to:

- promote equity and fairness,
- respect and value diversity,
- prevent discrimination and harassment, and
- preserve the freedom of its members to carry out responsibly their scholarly work without threat of interference.

**Carleton University Equity Services states that “every member of the University community has a right to study, work and live in a safe environment free of discrimination or harassment”.** [In May of 2001 Carleton University’s Senate and Board of Governors approved the Carleton University Human Rights Policies and Procedures. The establishment of these policies and procedures was the culmination of the efforts of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Human Rights and a Human Rights Implementation Committee.]

## GRADING SYSTEM

Letter grades assigned in this course will have the following percentage equivalents:

A+ = 90-100 (12)	B = 73-76 (8)	C - = 60-62 (4)	F= 0-49 (0) – Failure: no academic credit
A = 85-89 (11)	B - = 70-72 (7)	D+ = 57-59 (3)	
A - = 80-84 (10)	C+ = 67-69 (6)	D = 53-56 (2)	
B+ = 77-79 (9)	C = 63-66 (5)	D - = 50-52 (1)	

The following additional final course grades may be assigned by instructors:

DEF	Official deferral of final exam (see "Petitions to Defer")
GNA	Grade not available. This is used when there is an allegation of an academic offence. The notation is replaced with the appropriate grade for the course as soon as it is available.
IP	In Progress – a notation (IP) assigned to a course by a faculty member when: At the undergraduate level, an undergraduate thesis or course has not been completed by the end of the period of registration.
WDN	Withdrawn. No academic credit, no impact on the CGPA. WDN is a permanent notation that appears on the official transcript for students who withdraw after the full fee adjustment date in each term (noted in the Academic Year section of the Calendar each term). Students may withdraw on or before the last day of classes.

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

## WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

September 30, 2022: Last day for a full fee adjustment when withdrawing from full **fall** and **fall/winter (full year)** courses (financial withdrawal). Withdrawals after this date will create no financial change to fall term fees and will result in a permanent notation of WDN appearing on your official transcript.

November 15, 2022: Last day for academic withdrawal from full **fall** courses.

March 15, 2023: Last day for academic withdrawal from **fall/winter (full year)** courses.

## COVID PANDEMIC INFORMATION

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

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

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

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

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

## ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

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

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

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

**Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring

academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

### **Survivors of Sexual Violence**

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

### **Accommodation for Student Activities**

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

### **PETITIONS TO DEFER**

Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control or whose performance on an examination has been impaired by such circumstances may apply within five working days to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully and specifically supported by a medical certificate or other relevant documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered.

### **CONTACTS (613-520-2600, phone ext.)**

- Department of History [history@carleton.ca](mailto:history@carleton.ca)
- Registrar's Office (3500) [registrar@carleton.ca](mailto:registrar@carleton.ca)
- Academic Advising Centre [academicadvising@carleton.ca](mailto:academicadvising@carleton.ca)
- Paul Menton Centre (6608) [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca)
- Centre for Student Academic Support – Study Skills, Writing Tutorials, Bounce Back [csas@carleton.ca](mailto:csas@carleton.ca)

### **Application for Graduation Deadlines**

- Spring Graduation (June): April 1
- Fall Graduation (November): September 1
- Winter Graduation (February): December 1