EURR 5001 B
Interdisciplinary Seminar in European and Russian Studies
Wednesdays, 14:35–17:25 **(in-person)**
Richcraft Hall 3302

Instructors:

Paul Goode
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Martin Geiger
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Office Hours: Send me an email a few days prior our meeting. Meetings can be held online or in-person (3314 Richcraft Hall): e.g., Wednesday 12:00–14:00; other days and time slots possible.

Please note: All email communication is to be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts, not personal emails.

Remarks:
First class: September 7
No classes: October 26 (reading week/fall break)
Last class: December 7

I. Evaluation (at a glance)
In-class participation   25%
Discussion paper, presentation and class Q&A: 20%
Commentary on discussion paper of another student: 10%
Critical literature review proposal and first brainstorming document
          (due October 21, 4 pm, Ottawa/New York time):   10%
Critical literature review (due December 7, 4 pm):   25%
Second brainstorming document based on critical literature review
          (due December 22, 4 pm):   10%

Please note: Students can earn up to three bonus percentage points applied to their final grade average by attending EURUS or CES guest lectures and events (one percent per event). More information provided by the instructors at the beginning of the term.

II. Course description. Goals of the course
This course taught as an **in-person course**, and EURR 5010 are the core interdisciplinary seminars for graduate students in the Russia and Eurasia concentration in EURUS. Among the most important goals of EURR 5001B are the following:
    a) to familiarize students with major directions of research and debates in the field of study;
    b) to examine major themes and approaches within the major disciplines (political science, international relations, law, economics, history, geography, sociology and other fields of social science, cultural studies) in dealing with the region;

c) to consider how disciplinary approaches affect how a particular issue is viewed;
d) to assess the importance and utility of theories and concepts in studying the region;
e) to assist students in developing a research topic for the MA research essay or MA thesis

II. Class work and scheduling:

The course is intended to build students' knowledge and skills within the field through participation in a cumulative critical dialogue with their peers and professors. Capabilities to analyze the work of peers and to participate in a scholarly community are considered key parts of the research process. As a result, well-prepared participation in class discussions is crucial for students' success in the course. The seminar will meet jointly with EURR 5001A for some class sessions to broaden the exposure of all students to the broader field of European and Eurasian studies.

III. Detailed course requirements

- ***In-class participation (25% of final grade)***:

Students will be graded on attendance, the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion and, most importantly, demonstrated familiarity with required course readings.

Absences: Unexcused absences will result in a significant reduction in the participation mark, which can have a marked impact on the course grade. If a valid excuse is provided for a missed session (acknowledged in writing by the seminar instructor), the student may submit to the session instructor a short paper of 400-500 words length discussing the required readings for that seminar session within one week of the missed session in order to avoid losing participation marks. If special circumstances or an ongoing medical problem make it difficult for the student to complete this alternate assignment or to complete it in the specified time, the student should contact the session instructor to discuss the situation. This option is only available for excused absences.

- ***Discussion paper, presentation and class Q&A (20% of final grade):***

Discussion paper: The discussion paper should address a specific question provided by the course instructors in advance (usually two weeks before the respective class). It should be between 1,500 and 1,800 words long and contrast, critique and analyze selected readings, offering a concrete argument with respect to a question developed with the relevant course instructor. Additional reading, beyond what is required for the week, may be specified by the instructor to enrich your discussion. Clarity and conciseness are important; the paper should NOT simply describe or reiterate the readings. The paper should be free of spelling and grammatical mistakes.

    Discussion papers need to be submitted through the Brightspace electronic assignment dropbox <u>and</u> emailed to the student commentator by 4 pm on the Friday before the class presentation. It is very important that the paper be submitted on time, since both the instructor and the commentator need time to read it before the session.

Presentation of the discussion paper and class Q&A: Each student will present their discussion paper to the class (dates will be assigned during the first class meeting). During their presentation, each student should focus on key arguments made within the written discussion paper, drawing on examples from the readings where appropriate. Students should **NOT** simply read the written paper. Students are expected to facilitate class discussion and respond to questions posed by the instructor(s) and their peers.

    Both the discussion paper, the presentation to the class and how presenters respond to questions and engage in the discussion of their topic will be evaluated on the basis of the cogency of the arguments made, the presentation and effectiveness of communication, and demonstrated familiarity with and reflection on course readings, with a combined grade for the oral and written components. Neither the paper nor the oral presentation should provide lengthy summaries of course readings.

- *Commentary on the discussion paper of another student (10%)*

Each student will also be expected to prepare an oral presentation commenting on other student's written discussion paper. Commentators will analyze the substantive arguments of the paper, offer constructive critiques, and set the stage for discussion. The commentator should refer to specific course readings. If a discussion paper is not received or is received late, the commentator should comment on the question and reading(s) that were to be addressed in the paper.

- *Critical literature review proposal and first brainstorming document (10%)*

The proposal for the critical literature review is due **October 21 at 4 pm** and needs to to be submitted to the Brightspace drop-box. Each <u>critical literature review proposal</u> (required length: 3,000-3,5000 words) should include:

1) an introductory statement indicating the theme and principles that guided the selection of readings;
2) the list of readings to be used (full bibliographic citation).

Students are also required to submit a 300-400 words-long <u>brainstorming document</u> for their prospective MA research essay or thesis, and how the readings selected and discussed in their critical literature review will advance your ideas and research.

Comments on the proposal and the brainstorming document will be returned to you within 14 days. Each student is to meet with one of the instructors during two weeks preceding October 21 to discuss their proposal for the critical literature review. Failure to receive approval of the list may also adversely affect your mark on the final critical review.

- *Critical literature review (25%)*

Your final, updated, revised, and more advanced version of the critical literature review should explore in depth the research topic previously assigned to you by mining, analyzing, and critiquing major relevant bodies of literature. The selection of readings should involve a topic related to your prospective MA research essay or thesis. The goal of the assignment is to work towards identifying a topic that engages and builds up on existing literature, The paper should be 4,000-5,500 words long Additional information about the critical review will be handed out in class early in the term. Papers must be submitted to the Brightspace drop-box by **December 7 at 4 pm**.

- *Second brainstorming document (10%)*

Submit a second, final 300-400 words-long brainstorming document for your prospective MA research essay or thesis, and how the readings you selected and discussed in your final critical literature review will advance your ideas and research. Considering the literature that you have read related to your topic, this short paper should provide an update on your idea for you research essay or thesis. Your paper should state the prospective research question and rationale for the study, and how you see your project contributing to the scholarly debates in the literature that you have surveyed. This assignment must be submitted to the Brightspace drop-box by **December 22 at 4 pm.**

IV. Submission of coursework and late penalties

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

- the discussion paper should be emailed to the designated student discussant through the Brightspace email facility by the due date

Any student who fails to hand in the proposal of the critical literature review, the final version of the critical literature review, the first or second brainstorming document, or the discussion paper will receive a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late assignments will be as follows:

- Critical literature review, proposal for the critical literature review, and brainstorming documents: Two points (on a 100 % scale) for each day late. Papers will not be accepted more than one week, except in cases of a medical or other conditions discussed with the instructor.
- Discussion papers: Late assignments will suffer an immediate deduction of 5% (on a 100% scale), and 1% for each day late.

Students absent on a date of an oral presentations or commentary will receive a grade of 0%, except in cases of a medical or other conditions discussed with the instructor. Advance notice should be provided to the instructor. Consistent attendance is required in this core seminar; it is expected that students who must miss a class for any reason will contact the instructor responsible for that session in advance, if at all possible.

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

VI. Course schedule
*Indicates a required reading for all students in the course. Specific readings required for the course may be altered during the term. Students will be notified through Brightspace.

September 7 (Week 1)
Introduction (Goode)
Meeting jointly with 5001A
- Explanation of requirements and content of the course
- Introduction of instructors Geiger, Goode and Sahadeo. Introduction of students
- Selection of presenters
- Open discussion

September 14 (Week 2)
HISTORY (Sahadeo)
Meeting jointly with 5001A

Modernization, Transnationalism, Ideology
* Kate Brown, "Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana are Nearly the Same Place" *American Historical Review* 106, no. 1 (2001): 17-48
* Malgorzata Fidelis, "Tensions of Transnationalism: Youth Rebellion, State Backlash, and 1968 in Poland" *American Historical Review* 125, no. 4 (2020): 1232-59

Re-Inventing Traditions?
* Judith Beyer, "Practices of Traditionalization in Central Asia" *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 3 (2019): 310-328
* Joe Perry, "Nazifying Christmas: Political Culture and Popular Celebration in the Third Reich" *Central European History* 38, no. 4 (2005): 572-605

Further Reading:
Nicholas Dirks, Geoff Eley, Sherry Ortner (1994), "Introduction" *Culture/Power/History*, pp. 1-8.
Eric Hobsbawm (1983), "Introduction: Inventing Traditions" In *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, pp. 1-14.
Edward Said (1978), *Orientalism*, pp. 1-7.
Ania Loomba (1998), *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism*, pp. 1-12.
Pierre-Yves Saunier (2013). *Transnational History*. Palgrave MacMillan.
Peter Burke (2008). *What Is Cultural History?* Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.
Alf Lüdtke, ed. (1995). *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, eds. (2011). *The Collective Memory Reader.*
Sonya Rose (2010). *What is Gender History?* Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.
Geoff Eley (2011), "The Past under Erasure? History, Memory and the Contemporary" *Journal of Contemporary History* 46, no. 3: 556.
Sebastian Conrad (2016), *What is Global History?* Princeton: Princeton UP.
Dipesh Chakrabarty (2008). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

September 21 (Week 3)
SOCIAL SCIENCE: Conceptualizing Post-Communist Regimes (Goode)

Required
* Henry E. Hale (2016) "25 Years After The USSR: What's Gone Wrong?" *Journal of Democracy*, 27(3), 24–35.
* Vladimir Gel'man (2017) "Political foundations of bad governance in post-Soviet Eurasia: Towards a research agenda," *East European Politics*, 33(4), 496–516.
* Sergei Guriev and Daniel Treisman (2019) "Informational Autocrats," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 33(4), 100–127.
* Marlene Laruelle (2022) "So, Is Russia Fascist Now? Labels and Policy Implications," *The Washington Quarterly* 45(2), 149–68.

Further reading:
Alexander Baturo and Jos Elkink. (2021). *The New Kremlinology: Understanding Regime Personalization in Russia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Craig Leonard Brians, Lars Willnat, Jarol B. Manheim and Richard C. Rich (2011), *Empirical Political Analysis: Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods*, 8th edition (Boston: Longman, 2011), Chpt. 2, pp. 16-25.
Jonathan S. Davies, Jorn Holm-Hansen, Vadom Kononenko, and Asbjorn Rosieland (2016), "Network governance in Russia: an analytical framework," *East European Politics* 32(2): pp. 131-147.
Vladimir Gel'man (2018). "Bringing actors back in: Political choices and sources of post-Soviet regime dynamics." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 34(5), 282–296.
Johannes Gerschewski (2018). "Legitimacy in Autocracies: Oxymoron or Essential Feature?" *Perspectives on Politics*, 16(3), 652–665.
Henry E. Hale (2014). *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
Henry E. Hale, Maria Lipman and Nikolay Petrov (2019), "Russia's Regime-on-the-Move," *Russian Politics (*4)2: pp. 168–195.
Alena V. Ledeneva (2013), *Can Russia Modernise?: Sistema, Power Networks and Informal Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Stephen Levitsky and Lucan Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War.* Cambridge University Press.

Andrei Melville and Mikhail Mironyuk (2016). ""Bad enough governance": State capacity and quality of institutions in post-Soviet autocracies." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 32(2), 132–151.

Bo Petersson (2017). "Putin and the Russian Mythscape: Dilemmas of Charismatic Legitimacy." *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, 25(3), 235–254.

Victor Voronkov and Elena Zdravomyslova (1996), "Emerging Political Sociology in Russia and Russian Transformation," *Current Sociology* 44(3): pp. 40-52.

Theory relating to the Soviet period (optional)

Gabriel Almond and Laura Roselle (1993), "Model Fitting in Communism Studies," in Fleron and Hoffman, eds. *Post-Communist Studies and Political Science*, pp. 27-75.

George Breslauer (1992). In Defense of Sovietology. Post-Soviet Affairs, 8(3), 197–238.

Archie Brown (1996). *The Gorbachev Factor.* Oxford University Press.

Archie Brown (1999). "The Study of Totalitarianism and Authoritarianism." In *The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century* (pp. 345–394). Oxford University Press.

Valerie Bunce (1983). "The Political Economy of the Brezhnev Era: The Rise and Fall of Corporatism." *British Journal of Political Science*, 13(2), 129–158.

Merle Fainsod (1963). How Russia is ruled. Harvard University Press.

Jerry F. Hough (1977). The Soviet Union and Social Science Theory. Harvard University Press.

Jerry F. Hough (1979). How the Soviet Union is Governed. Harvard Univ. Press.

Alfred G. Meyer (1970), "Theories of Convergence," in Chalmers Johnson, ed., *Change in Communist Systems*, pp. 313-342.

T. H. Rigby (1980). "A Conceptual Approach to Authority, Power and Policy in the Soviet Union." In *Authority, Power and Policy in the USSR: Essays dedicated to Leonard Schapiro* (pp. 9–31). Macmillan Press Ltd.

H. Gordon Skilling and Franklyn Griffiths (1971). *Interest Groups in Soviet Politics*. Princeton University Press.

Susan Gross Solomon, ed. (1983). *Pluralism in the Soviet Union: Essays in Honor of H. Gordon Skilling*. St. Martin's Press.

Stephen White (1979), "Political Culture and Political Science" (Ch.1) in *Political Culture and Soviet Politics*, pp. 1-21.

September 28 (Week 4)
Hands-on Research: Approaching research and the critical literature review (Geiger)
Meeting jointly with 5001A

Required readings:
* Jeffrey W Knopf (2006). "Doing a Literature Review." *Political Science & Politics* 39(1), 127–32.
* Valerie Sheppard (2020). *Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. BC Campus, Open-Access: https://pressbooks.bccampus.ca/jibcresearchmethods/ Chapters 1, 3 and 5.
* Additional material might be distributed during the first weeks of the term

Additional readings:
Martin Denscombe (2021). *The Good Research Guide*. 7th edition. London: McGraw Hill/Open University Press.
Rafiq Muhammad (2022). *Literature Review Simplified: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. Independently published.
Rosemary Wette (2020). *Writing Using Sources for Academic Purposes: Theory, Research and Practice*. New York & London: Routledge.

October 5 (Week 5)
HISTORY (RUSSIAN, EURASIAN) (Sahadeo)
The Soviet Union and Communism: Was it Destined to Fail?
From Above
* Martin Malia (1994), *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917-1991* pp. 491-504.
* Alexander Dallin (2003), "Causes of Collapse of the USSR, Suny, ed. *The Structure of Soviet History: Essays and Documents*, pp. 549-64
* Isaac Scarborough, "(Over)determining Social Disorder: Tajikistan and the Economic Collapse of Perestroika" *Central Asian Survey* 35, no. 3 (2016): 439-463

From Below
* David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb* (1994), 198-215, 234-47
* Jeff Sahadeo (2019), "Perestroika" *Voices from the Soviet Edge: Southern Migrants in Leningrad and Moscow*, pp. 169-197.

Suggested Additional Readings
Melanie Arndt, "Environmentalism or Sausages? Politicizing the Environment in the Late Soviet Union" *European History Quarterly*, 52 no. 3 (2022): 418-439
Simon Miles, "The Problems of Perestroika: The KGB and Mikhail Gorbachev's Reforms" *Slavic Review*, 80, no. 4 (2021): 816-838
Mark Kramer, "The Dissolution of the Soviet Union: A Case Study of Discontinuous Change" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 24, no. 1 (2022): 188-218
Vladislav Zubok (2014), "With His Back against the Wall: Gorbachev, Soviet Demise and German Reunification" *Cold War History* 14, no. 4 : pp. 619-645
Mark Beissinger (2009), "Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism" *Contemporary European History* 18, no. 3: pp. 331-347.
David R. Marples (2011), "Revisiting the Collapse of the USSR," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 53, nos. 2–4: pp. 461-73.
Stephen Kotkin (2001), *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970–2000.*
Chris Miller (2016), *The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy: Gorbachev and the Collapse of the USSR*
Madeleine Reeves (2016), "'And Our Words Must Be Constructive!' On the Discordances of *Glasnost'* in the Central Asian Press at a Time of Conflict," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 26: pp. 77–110.
David Lane (1992), *Soviet Society under Perestroika* .
Taras Kuzio (2000), *Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence* 2nd ed. .
Archie Brown (1991), *Seven Years That Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective*.
Donna Bahry (1993), "Society Transformed? Rethinking the Social Roots of Perestroika," *Slavic Review* 52, no. 3.
Luc Duhamel (2010), *The KGB Campaign against Corruption in Moscow, 1982–1987*.
Deborah Adelman (1992), *The "Children of Perestroika": Moscow Teenagers Talk about Their Lives and the Future*.
Robert Horvath (2005), *The Legacy of Soviet Dissent: Dissidence, Democratisation and Radical Nationalism in Russia*.
William Moskoff (1993), *Hard Times: Impoverishment and Protest in the Perestroika Years; The Soviet Union, 1985–1991.*

October 12 (Week 6)
POLITICAL SCIENCE – Democratization: Internal and External Factors (Goode)
Meeting jointly with 5001A

Required:
* Michael McFaul (2002) "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 53(2), 221-244.
* Valerie Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik (2006) "International Diffusion and Postcommunist Electoral Revolutions," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 39(3), 283–304.
* Karrie Koesel and Valerie Bunce (2013) "Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers," *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(3), 753–768.
* Stephen E. Hanson and Jeffrey Kopstein (2021) "Understanding the Global Patrimonial Wave," *Perspectives on Politics*, 20(1), 237-249.

Further reading
Esther Ademmer, Laure Delcour & Kataryna Wolczuk (2016) Beyond geopolitics: exploring the impact of the EU and Russia in the "contested neighborhood", *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 57:1, pp. 1-18.
Attila Ágh (2016). "The Decline of Democracy in East-Central Europe." *Problems of Post-Communism*, 63(5–6), 277–287.
Elisabeth Bakke and Nick Sitter. 2022. "The EU's Enfants Terribles: Democratic Backsliding in Central Europe since 2010." Perspectives on Politics 20(1):22–37.
Mark Beissinger (2007). "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(2), 259–276.
András Bozóki & Dániel Hegedűs (2018), "An externally constrained hybrid regime: Hungary in the European Union," *Democratization* 25 (7): pp. 1173-1189.
Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss (eds.). (2010). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*. Cambridge University Press.
Heather Grabbe (2005), *The EU's transformative power: Europeanization through conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe* (Palgrave, 2005).
Thomas Karv. 2022. "Does the Democratic Performance Really Matter for Regime Support? Evidence from the Post-Communist Member States of the European Union." East European Politics 38(1):61–82.
Ruchan Kaya and Michael Bernhard (2013). "Are Elections Mechanisms of Authoritarian Stability or Democratization? Evidence from Postcommunist Eurasia." *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(03), 734–752.
R. Danield Kelemen (2017), "Europe's Other Democratic Deficit: National Authoritarianism in Europe's Democratic Union," *Government and Opposition,* 52(2): pp. 211-238.
Eleanor Knott (2018). "Perpetually "partly free": Lessons from post-soviet hybrid regimes on backsliding in Central and Eastern Europe." *East European Politics*, 34(3), 355–376.
Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2020), "The New Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 31 (1): pp. 51-65.
Geoffrey Pridham (2005) *Designing Democracy: EU Enlargement and Regime Change in Post-Communist Europe* (Palgrave, 2005).
Frank Schimmelfennig (2005), "The EU: Promoting Liberal-Democracy Through Membership Conditionality," in. *Socializing Democratic Norms: The role of International Organizations for the Construction of Europe*, ed. Trine Flockhart (Palgrave), pp. 106- 126.
Milada Vachudova (2004), *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Lucan A. Way and Stephen Levitsky (2007). "Linkage, Leverage, and the Post-Communist Divide." *East European Politics and Societies*, 21(1), 48–66.

Lucan A. Way and Adam Casey (2018). "The structural sources of postcommunist regime trajectories." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 34(5), 317–332.

Charles E. Ziegler (2016), "Great powers, civil society and authoritarian diffusion in Central Asia, " *Central Asia Survey*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 549-69.

October 19 (Week 7)
NATIONALISM, POPULISM, ILLIBERALISM (Goode)
Meeting jointly with 5001A

Required
* Florian Bieber (2018) "Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing Global Trends." *Ethnopolitics*, 17(5), 519–540.
* Cas Mudde (2021) "Populism in Europe: An Illiberal Democratic Response to Undemocratic Liberalism," *Government and Opposition* 56(4), 577–97.
* Jaques Rupnik (2016) "Surging Illiberalism in the East," *Journal of Democracy*, 27(4), 77–87.

Choose one:
* Erin K. Jenne, Kirk A. Hawkins, and Bruno Castanho Silva (2021) "Mapping Populism and Nationalism in Leader Rhetoric Across North America and Europe," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 56, 170–96.
*Sebastian Hoppe (2022) "Sovereigntism vs. Anti-Corruption Messianism: A Salient Post-Soviet Cleavage of Populist Mobilization," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 38(4), 251–73.

Further reading
Bart Bonikowski (2017). "Ethno-nationalist populism and the mobilization of collective resentment." *The British Journal of Sociology*, 68(S1), S181–S213.
Rogers Brubaker. 2020. "Populism and Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 26(1):44–66.
Rogers Brubaker (2017). "Between nationalism and civilizationism: The European populist moment in comparative perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(8), 1191–1226.
Martin Brusis (2016). Democracies Adrift: How the European Crises Affect East-Central Europe. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 63(5–6), 263–276.
James Dawson and Sean Hanley (2016)." The Fading Mirage of the "Liberal Consensus."" *Journal of Democracy*, 27(1), 20–34.
Joanna Fomina and Jacek Kucharczyk (2016). "Populism and Protest in Poland." *Journal of Democracy*, 27(4), 58–68.
Anna Grzymala-Busse (2017). "Global Populisms and Their Impact." *Slavic Review*, 76(S1), S3–S8.
Erin K. Jenne (2021). "Populism, nationalism and revisionist foreign policy." *International Affairs*, 97(2), 323–343.
Nikolay Koposov (2021). "Populism and Memory: Legislation of the Past in Poland, Ukraine, and Russia." *East European Politics and Societies*.
Ivan Krastev (2007). "Is East-Central Europe Backsliding? The Strange Death of the Liberal Consensus." *Journal of Democracy*, 18(4), 56–64.
Taras Kuzio (2010). "Populism in Ukraine in a Comparative European Context." *Problems of Post-Communism*, 57, 3–18. aph.
Marlene Laruelle. 2022. "Illiberalism: A Conceptual Introduction." *East European Politics* 38(2):303–27.
Marlene Laruelle (2020). "Making Sense of Russia's Illiberalis`m." *Journal of Democracy*, 31(3), 115–129.

Jussi Lassila (2016). "Aleksei Naval'nyi and Populist Re-ordering of Putin's Stability." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68(1), 118–137.

Benjamin Moffitt (2017). *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*. Stanford University Press.

Cas Mudde (2004). "The Populist Zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition*, 39(4), 541–563.

Pippa Norris and Ron Inglehart (2018). *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*. Cambridge University Press.

Sherrill Stroschein (2019). "Populism, Nationalism, and Party Politics." *Nationalities Papers*, 47(6), 923–935.

Sofia Tipaldou and Philipp Casula (2019). "Russian Nationalism Shifting: The Role of Populism Since the Annexation of Crimea." *Demokratizatsiya*, 27(3), 349–370.

Milada Anna Vachudova (2021). "Populism, Democracy, and Party System Change in Europe." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 24(1), 471–498.

October 26 (Week 7)
Fall Break – No meeting

November 2 (Week 8)
POLICY STUDIES (Goode)

Required:
* Brian D. Taylor (2014) "Police reform in Russia: the policy process in a hybrid regime," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 30 (2-3), 226-255.
* Katarzyna Kaczmarska (2019) "Academic Community and Policymaking in Russia." *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66(4), 240–252.
* Marina Khmelnitskaya (2021) "Socio-Economic Development and the Politics of Expertise in Putin's Russia: The 'Hollow Paradigm' Perspective." *Europe-Asia Studies* 73(4), 625–46.
* Ellie Martus (2021) "Policymaking and Policy Framing: Russian Environmental Politics under Putin." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 73(5), 869–89.

Further reading:
Natalia Forrat (2016). "The political economy of Russian higher education: Why does Putin support research universities?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 32(4), 299–337. https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2015.1051749

Stephen Fortescue. (2016). "Russia's "turn to the east": A study in policy making." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 32(5), 423–454. https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2015.1051750

Vladimir Gel'man (2018). "Politics versus Policy: Technocratic Traps of Russia's Policy Reforms." *Russian Politics*, 3(2), 282–304. https://doi.org/10.1163/2451-8921-00302007

Erin Trouth Hofmann, Julia L. Carboni, Beth Mitchneck, and Igor Kuznetsov (2015), 'Policy Streams and Immigration to Russia: Competing and Complementary Interests at the Federal and Local Levels," *International Migration* 54: pp. 34-59.

Marina Khmelnitskaya (2015), *The Policy-Making Process and Social Learning in Russia: the Case of Housing Policy* (Palgrave).

Matthew Light (2016), *Fragile Migration Rights: Freedom of Movement in Post-Soviet Russia*, (Routledge).

Vladimir S. Malakhov and Mark E. Simon (2018), "Labour Migration Policy in Russia: Considerations on Governmentality." *International Migration* 56 (3): pp. 61–72. doi:10.1111/imig.12402.

Ellen Martus (2017), "Lake Baikal and Russia's environmental policy process," *Demokratizatsiya* 25 (2): pp. 137-154.

Catherine Owen and Eleanor Bindman (2019). "Civic Participation in a Hybrid Regime: Limited Pluralism in Policymaking and Delivery in Contemporary Russia." *Government and Opposition*, 54(1), 98–120. https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2017.13

Caress Schenk. 2021. "Producing State Capacity through Corruption: The Case of Immigration Control in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37(4):303–17.

Mikhail Zygar (2016). *All the Kremlin's Men: Inside the Court of Vladimir Putin*. PublicAffairs.

November 9 (Week 9)
The European Union as a global actor and its international relations (Geiger)
Meeting jointly with 5001A

Required readings:
*Pepijn Bergsen (2021), The EU's Unsustainable China Policy, London: Chatham House: https://www.chathamhouse.org/2021/07/eus-unsustainable-china-strategy/about-author

*Marco Siddi (2022), "The partnership that failed: EU-Russia relations and the war in Ukraine", Journal of European Integration (forthcoming): https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2022.2109651

*Mitchell Young and Pauline Ravinet (2022), "Knowledge Power Europe", Journal of European Integration (forthcoming): https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/07036337.2022.2049260

*Sophie Meunier and Milada A. Vachudova (2018), "Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7), pp. 1631-1647.

*Kristian L. Nielsen, (2013), "EU Soft Power and the Capability-Expectations Gap," *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 9(5), 723–739.

Additional readings:
Jolyon Howorth (2010), "The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48 (3), 455–474.

Sandra Lavenex and Frank Schimmelfennig (2011), "EU democracy promotion in the neighbourhood: from leverage to governance? *Democratization*, 18 (4), 885–909.

Yuan Li and Zhigao He (2022), "The Remaking of China–EUrope Relations in the New Era of US-China Antagonism," *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 27, 439–455.

Ian Manners (2006), "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(2), 182–199.

Tereza Novotná (2017), "The EU as a Global Actor: United We Stand, Divided We Fall", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55, 177–191.

Vassilis Ntousas and Stephen Minas (2021), "Introduction: Facing the Belt and Road from the European Union," in: Vassilis Ntousas and Stephen Minas (eds.), *The European Union and China's Belt and Road*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 3–10.

Tatiana Romanova (2016), "Russia's Challenge to the EU's Normative Power: Change and Continuity," *Europe-Asia Studies* 68 (3), 371–390.

Wolfgang Wagner (2017), "Liberal Power Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55(6), 1398–1414.

November 16 (Week 10)
SOCIOLOGY: Role of the Public (Goode)

Required:
* Graham Robertson and Samuel Greene (2017). "How Putin Wins Support." *Journal of Democracy*, 28(4), 86–100.
* Natalia Forrat (2018). "Shock-Resistant Authoritarianism: Schoolteachers and Infrastructural State Capacity in Putin's Russia." *Comparative Politics*, 50(3), 417–449.
* Gulnaz Sharafutdinova. 2022. "Public Opinion Formation and Group Identity: The Politics of National Identity Salience in Post-Crimea Russia." *Problems of Post-Communism* 69(3):219–31.
* Greg Yudin (2022), "The War in Ukraine: Do Russians Support Putin?" Journal of Democracy 33(3), 31-37.

Further reading:
Aadne Aasland, Mikkel Berg-Nordlie &Elena Bogdanova, "Encouraged but controlled: governance networks in Russian regions," *East European Politics* 32(2): pp. 148-169
Matthew Blackburn (2020). "Political Legitimacy in Contemporary Russia 'from Below': 'Pro-Putin' Stances, the Normative Split and Imagining Two Russias." *Russian Politics*, 5(1), 52–80.
Zuzanna Brunarska (2018). "Understanding Sociopolitical Engagement of Society in Russia." *Problems of Post-Communism*, 65(5), 315–326.
Paul Chaisty and Stephen Whitefield (2013), "Forward to democracy or back to authoritarianism? The attitudinal bases of mass support for the Russian election protests of 2011–2012," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 29 (5): pp. 387-403.
Elena Chebankova (2015), "Competing ideologies of Russia's civil society," *Europe-Asia Studies* 67(2): pp. 244-268.
Karine Clément and Anna Zhelnina (2019). "Beyond Loyalty and Dissent: Pragmatic Everyday Politics in Contemporary Russia." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-019-9319-0
Roberto Stefan Foa & Grzegorz Ekiert (2017), "The weakness of postcommunist civil society reassessed," *European Journal of Political Research*, vol 56, no. 2 (May 2017), pp. 419-39.
Timothy Frye, Scott Gehlbach, Kyle Marquardt, & Ora John Reuter (2017). "Is Putin's popularity real?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 33(1), 1–15.
Leah Gilbert (2016). "Crowding Out Civil Society: State Management of Social Organisations in Putin's Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68(9), 1553–1578.
Evgeny Gontmakher & Cameron Ross (2015) "The Middle Class and Democratization in Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 67:2, pp. 269-284.
J. Paul Goode (2017). "Humming Along: Public and Private Patriotism in Putin's Russia." In M. Skey & M. Antonsich (Eds.), *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism* (pp. 121–146). Palgrave Macmillan.
Henry Hale (2011), 'The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime,' *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (8): pp. 1357-1375.
Marc M. Howard (2003). *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
"Quo Vadis? Prospects for Establishing Civil Society in Russia," A Round-table Discussion hosted by *Polis*, (2013) *Russian Politics & Law* 51:2, pp. 6-76.
Bryn Rosenfeld (2017), "Reevaluating the Middle-Class Protest Paradigm: A Case-Control Study of Democratic Protest Coalitions in Russia," *American Political Science Review* 111(4): pp. 637-652. Natalia Shapovalova, and Olga Burlyuk, eds.(2018)*, Civil Society in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine : From Revolution to Consolidation* (Ibidem Verlag).
Cameron Ross, ed (2016) *Systemic and Non-Systemic Opposition in the Russian Federation: Civil Society Awakens?*, (Routledge).

November 23 (Week 11)
International Relations: Russia as a Foreign Policy Actor (Goode)
Meeting jointly with 5001A

Required
* Andrei P. Tsygankov (2019). *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity* (Fifth edition). Rowman & Littlefield. (Ch. 1, "Understanding Change and Continuity in Russia's Foreign Policy," pp.1-30)
* Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko (2014). "Russia Says No: Power, Status, and Emotions in Foreign Policy." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47(3–4):269–79.
* Kevork K. Oskanian (2018). "A Very Ambiguous Empire: Russia's Hybrid Exceptionalism." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70(1):26–52.

Choose TWO:
* Emily Ferris (2022) "Discontent, Discussion, Dissemination: Mounting Grievances in Russia's Security Services Leading Up to February 24," *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, No. 755, Washington, D.C. https://www.ponarseurasia.org/discontent-discussion-dissemination-mounting-grievances-in-russias-security-services-leading-up-to-february-24/
* Vadim Grishin (2022) "A New Stage in Russian Foreign Policy: War and Isolation," *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, No. 743, Washington, D.C. https://www.ponarseurasia.org/a-new-stage-in-russian-foreign-policy-war-and-isolation/
* Botakoz Kassymbekova and Erica Marat (2022) "Time to Question Russia's Imperial Innocence," *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, No. 771, Washington, D.C. https://www.ponarseurasia.org/time-to-question-russias-imperial-innocence/
* Kimberly Marten (2022) "President Putin's Rationality and Escalation in Russia's Invasion of Ukraine," *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, No.756, Washington, D.C. https://www.ponarseurasia.org/president-putins-rationality-and-escalation-in-russias-invasion-of-ukraine/

Further reading:
Andrew M. Akin (2019). "Role Conceptions and Belligerent Foreign Policy: Why Russia is Remaking the International Order." *Russian Politics*, 4(1), 112–135.
Valerie Bunce and Aida Hozić (2016). "Diffusion-Proofing and the Russian Invasion of Ukraine." *Demokratizatsiya*, 24(4), 435–455.
Alicja Curanović (2019). "Russia's Mission in the World." *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66(4), 253–267.
Karen Dawisha (2011). "Is Russia's Foreign Policy That of a Corporatist-Kleptocratic Regime?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 27, 331–365.
Keir Giles (2018). *Moscow Rules: What Drives Russia to Confront the West*. Brookings Institution.
Seva Gunitsky and Andrei P. Tsygankov (2018), "The Wilsonian Bias in the Study of Russian Foreign Policy," *Problems of Post-Communism* 65(6): pp. 385-393.
Ted Hopf (2002). *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999*. Cornell University Press.
Kirill Kalinin (2019). "Neo-Eurasianism and the Russian elite: The irrelevance of Aleksandr Dugin's geopolitics." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 35(5–6), 461–470.
Kimberly Marten (2015), "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria," *Problems of Post-Communism* 62(2): pp. 71-87.
Anna Matveeva (2018). "Russia's Power Projection after the Ukraine Crisis." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 70(5), 711–737.
Michael McFaul (2020). "Putin, Putinism, and the Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy." *International Security*, 45(2), 95–139.

Jardar Østbø (2021). "Strategic Transgressions: Russia's Deviant Sovereignty and the Myth of Evgenii Prigozhin." *Demokratizatsiya*, 29(2), 183–207.

Kirill Petrov and Vladimir Gel'man (2019). "Do elites matter in Russian foreign policy? The gap between self-perception and influence." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 35(5–6), 450–460.

Bettina Renz (2016). "Russia and 'hybrid warfare.'" *Contemporary Politics*, 22(3), 283–300.

Tatiana Romanova (2016). "Russian Challenge to the EU's Normative Power: Change and Continuity." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68(3), 371–390.

Vasile Rotaru (2018). "Forced Attraction? How Russia is Instrumentalizing Its Soft Power Sources in the "Near Abroad."" *Problems of Post-Communism*, 65(1), 37–48.

Alexander Sergunin (2016). *Explaining Russian Foreign Policy Behavior: Theory and Practice.* ibidem Press.

Thomas Sherlock (2020). "Russian Society and Foreign Policy: Mass and Elite Orientations After Crimea." *Problems of Post-Communism*, 67(1), 1–23.

Maria Snegovaya (2020). "What Factors Contribute to the Aggressive Foreign Policy of Russian Leaders?" *Problems of Post-Communism*, 67(1), 93–110.

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

Andrei P. Tsygankov (2015). "Vladimir Putin's last stand: The sources of Russia's Ukraine policy." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 31(4), 279–303.

Jeane L. Wilson (2015). "Soft Power: A Comparison of Discourse and Practice in Russia and China." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 67(8), 1171–1202.

Kirill Zhirkov (2019). "Militant internationalism and dogmatism among foreign policy elites: Evidence from Russia, 1995–2016." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 35(5–6), 422–432.

November 30 (Week 12)
Ukraine. Regional implications and human mobility (Geiger and Sahadeo)
Meeting jointly with 5001B

*Serhy Yekelchyk, "The Ukrainian Crisis: In Russia's Long Shadow" (April 2014)
https://origins.osu.edu/article/ukrainian-crisis-russias-long-shadow

*Selected material from the conference *Displacement in Wartime: Routes and Destinations, Space and Place Russia's War, Ukraine's Actions and Consequences for Europe and Eurasia*

* Irina Kuznetsova (2020)."To Help 'Brotherly People'? Russian Policy Towards Ukrainian Refugees." *Europe-Asia Studies,* 72(3), 505–527.

* Vlad Mykhnenko (2020). "Causes and Consequences of the War in Eastern Ukraine: An Economic Geography Perspective." *Europe-Asia Studies,* 72(3), 528–560.

Guest talk
"Mobilities following the Russian Invasion of Ukraine: Displaced and self-exiled IT specialists in the Central Asian and Caucasus Republics", Vera Syrakvash, Global Mobility of Talent Research team, Bishkek.

December 7 (Week 13)
Individual meetings (brainstorming and discussion of potential MRP and MA thesis projects) (Geiger, Goode and Sahadeo)

APPENDIX

Covid-19 Pandemic Measures
It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are a number of actions you can take to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

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

Masks: Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

Vaccines: While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, 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.

Student Mental Health
As a university student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:
Emergency Resources (on and off campus): https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/

- ***Carleton Resources:***
  - Mental Health and Wellbeing: https://carleton.ca/wellness/
  - Health & Counselling Services: https://carleton.ca/health/
  - Paul Menton Centre: https://carleton.ca/pmc/
  - Academic Advising Centre (AAC): https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/
  - Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): https://carleton.ca/csas/
  - Equity & Inclusivity Communities: https://carleton.ca/equity/
- ***Off Campus Resources:***
  - Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/
  - Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, http://www.crisisline.ca/
  - Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/
  - Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, https://good2talk.ca/
  - The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: https://walkincounselling.com

Requests for Academic Accommodation
You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:
Pregnancy accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form (click here).
Religious accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details click here.
Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, click here.
Accommodation for student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf.
For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline.

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

Submission and Return of Term Work
Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The EURUS office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

Grading
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.