

## **EURR 4202A/5202A**

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

Carleton University

Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies

Fall 2021

Canal Building 3101, Tuesdays 8:35-11:25 am

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#### **Objectives**

Nationalism, national identities, and ethnic politics are pervasive aspects of politics in Russia and Eurasia. This course surveys various manifestations of nationalism and nationalist politics in Russia and the former Soviet states since 1991. It begins with an overview of the place of nations and national identities in the Soviet Union and the collapse of the Soviet state in the wake of nationalist mobilization. The following weeks cover domestic processes of nation-building, institutional development, regime legitimization and contestation—both as state policy and “from below.” The final three weeks examine the international politics of ethnic conflict, de facto states, and diasporas. The course focuses on Russia’s experience throughout, while each week’s readings include comparative studies of states and peoples in Eurasia.

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

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

#### **Readings**

- Each week has a set of required readings (usually 4 articles/chapters, or roughly 100-140 pages), which will be accessible via the course page on Brightspace.

- There are also “methodology review” articles listed for each week. These articles are intended to be read by students completing the methodology outline and presentation (or short methodology paper for online students) for that week, though other students are certainly welcome to read them, as well.
- Finally, each week has an extensive (though not exhaustive) listing of recommended reading. While this might seem intimidating, it is neither expected nor required that students read the recommended readings for class on any given week! Rather, the list is included to sensitize students to the broader literature on each topic, and also to provide a starting point for independent research. The recommended readings may also be useful for starting bibliographies for students’ MRP or thesis projects.

Assignments summary:

Undergraduate students (in-person):

Attendance and participation	20%	Weekly
Discussion papers (2x ~750 words)	30%	Student choice (due on Mondays)
Methodology outline & presentation (1x)	10%	Student choice
Research essay proposal (250-350 words plus working bibliography)	10%	Friday, October 22
Research essay (~3000 words)	30%	Friday, December 10

Undergraduate students (online):

Readings review papers (10x 500 words)	50%	Weekly
Methodology short paper (750 words)	10%	Student choice
Research essay proposal (250-350 words plus working bibliography)	10%	Friday, October 22
Research essay (~3000 words)	30%	Friday, December 10

Graduate students (in-person):

Attendance and participation	20%	Weekly
Discussion papers (2x ~1000 words)	30%	Student choice (due on Mondays)
Methodology outline & presentation (1x)	10%	Student choice
Research essay proposal (250-500 words plus working bibliography)	10%	Friday, October 22
Research essay (~4000 words)	30%	Friday, December 10

Graduate students (online):

Readings review papers (10x 750 words)	50%	Weekly
Methodology short paper (1000 words)	10%	Student choice
Research essay proposal (250-350 words plus working bibliography)	10%	Friday, October 22
Research essay (~3000 words)	30%	Friday, December 10

## Assignments for in-person students

### *Attendance & participation: 20%*

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

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

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

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

### *Discussion papers: 30%/15% each*

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

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

Additional guidance for the following week's readings and discussion papers will be provided at the end of each seminar.

*Methodology outline & presentation: 10%*

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

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

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

*Research proposal: 10%* Students will submit a 1-2 paragraph proposal for their research essay along with a working bibliography or sources. **Proposals should be submitted by noon on Friday, October 22.**

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

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

It is expected that students will rely on scholarly and secondary sources for the research essay. Additional guidelines will be provided in class. **Research essays are due by noon on Friday, December 10.**

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

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

#### Assignments for online students

**PLEASE NOTE: I am hoping to arrange zoom access for the class discussions and guest speakers. Please plan to join the first class virtually and we will attempt to make it work. If online students are able to participate actively in class, then the same assignments and grading will apply for both in-person and online. If not, online students will have the following assignments:**

*Readings review papers:* 50%/10% each Students will write review papers on each week's readings (weeks 2-12).

**Reading review papers are due on Mondays by noon.** Reading review papers should briefly explain the core concepts running through each week's readings and explain how the comparative case readings highlight different aspects or challenges in applying or understanding those concepts.

*Methodology short paper:* 10% Each student will choose a week to write a short paper assessing the one of the "methodological review" articles from the reading list.

**The paper should briefly identify the article's research question, chosen method(s), and the kinds of data or observations used in the analysis.** The bulk of the paper should then discuss how the article's method and data links to the research question and core concept(s). For example, how are key ideas converted into data by way of survey or interview questions? What are the limitations of the method and/or data? Does the article make reasonable inferences, or does it push the data too far? **Methodology short papers are due on Mondays by noon.**

*Research proposal:* 10% Same as above

*Research essay:* 30% Same as above

*Late policy* Same as above

Course schedule outline:

Week 1 Sep 14      Introduction

Week 2 Sep 21      Nations and nationalism in the Soviet system

Week 3 Sep 28      Nation-building and nationalizing states

Week 4 Oct 5      Ethnofederalism and ethno-linguistic minorities

Week 5 Oct 12      Patriotism and regime legitimization

Week 6 Oct 19      Memory and monuments

FALL BREAK

Week 7 Nov 2      Migration

Week 8 Nov 9      The Far Right

Week 9 Nov 16      Banal and everyday nationalism

Week 10 Nov 23      Ethnic conflict and war

Week 11 Nov 30      De facto states

Week 12 Dec 7      Diasporas and kin-states

**COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS**

**Week 1 Sep 14**      **Introduction**

**Recommended**      Barrington, Lowell W. "Nationalism & Independence." In *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial & Postcommunist States*, 3–30. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Delanty, Gerard, and Patrick J. O'Mahony. *Nationalism and Social Theory: Modernity and the Recalcitrance of the Nation*. London: SAGE, 2002.

Özkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

**Week 2 Sep 21**      **Nations and nationalism in the Soviet system**

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

Hirsch, Francine. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. (Ch.4, "Border-Making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities," pp.145-186)

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

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

*Methodology review (choose one):*

Darden, Keith, and Anna Maria Grzymala-Busse. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse." *World Politics* 59, no. 1 (2006): 83–115.

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

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870801961508>.

Recommended	Beissinger, Mark R. <i>Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
	Bremmer, Ian. "Post-Soviet Nationalities Theory: Past, Present, and Future." In <i>New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations</i> , edited by Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, 3–28. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
	Bunce, Valerie. <i>Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State</i> . New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
	Carrere d'Encausse, Helene. <i>The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations</i> . New York: Basic Books, 1993.
	Connor, Walker. <i>The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
	Goff, Krista A. <i>Nested Nationalism: Making and Unmaking Nations in the Soviet Caucasus</i> . Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021.
	Hale, Henry E. <i>The Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World</i> . New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
	Martin, Terry. <i>The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939</i> . Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.
	Motyl, Alexander J., ed. <i>Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities: History and Comparison in the Study of the USSR</i> . New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
	Roeder, Philip G. "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization." <i>World Politics</i> 43, no. 2 (1991): 196–232.
	Smith, Jeremy. <i>Red Nations: The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR</i> . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
	Suny, Ronald Grigory. <i>The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union</i> . Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.
	Tishkov, Valery. <i>Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict In and After the Soviet Union: The Mind Aflame</i> . London: Sage, 1997.
	Vujačić, Veljko. <i>Nationalism, Myth, and the State in Russia and Serbia: Antecedents of the Dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia</i> . New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

**Week 3 Sep 28****Nation-building****Required***Theoretical overview:*

Mylonas, Harris. "Nation-Building." *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations*, 2020.

<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0217.xml>.

*Cases and comparisons:*

Shevel, Oxana. "Russian Nation-Building from Yel'tsin to Medvedev: Ethnic, Civic or Purposefully Ambiguous?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 2 (2011): 179–202.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2011.547693>.

Brubaker, Rogers. "Nationalizing States Revisited: Projects and Processes of Nationalization in Post-Soviet States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 11 (2011): 1785–1814. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.579137>.

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

<https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2016.1184983>.

*Methodology review:*

Berglund, Christofer. "'Forward to David the Builder!' Georgia's (Re)Turn to Language-Centered Nationalism." *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 4 (July 2016): 522–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2016.1142519>. (esp. pp.530-6)

**Recommended**

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

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

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

Berglund, Christofer. "Accepting Alien Rule? State-Building Nationalism in Georgia's Azeri Borderland." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 2 (2020): 263–85. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1679091>.

Blackburn, Matthew. "Discourses of Russian-Speaking Youth in Nazarbayev's Kazakhstan: Soviet Legacies and Responses to Nation-Building." *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 2 (2019): 217–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2019.1615409>.

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

Clement, Victoria. "Articulating National Identity in Turkmenistan: Inventing Tradition through Myth, Cult and Language." *Nations and Nationalism* 20, no. 3 (2014): 546–62. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12052>.

George, Julie A. "The Dangers of Reform: State Building and National Minorities in Georgia." *Central Asian Survey* 28, no. 2 (2009): 135–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634930903031944>.

Goode, J. Paul. "Russia's Ministry of Ambivalence: The Failure of Civic Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2019): 140–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2018.1547040>.

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

Isaacs, Rico. "Nomads, Warriors and Bureaucrats: Nation-Building and Film in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan." *Nationalities Papers* 43, no. 3 (2015): 399–416. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2013.870986>.

Koch, Natalie. "Sport and Soft Authoritarian Nation-Building." *Political Geography* 32 (2013): 42–51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2012.11.006>.

Kolstø, Pål, and Helge Blakkisrud. *Nation-Building and Common Values in Russia*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004. <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip044/2003011574.html>.

Kolstø, Pål. "National Symbols as Signs of Unity and Division." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29, no. 4 (2006): 676–701. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870600665409>.

Kudaibergenova, Diana T. *Toward Nationalizing Regimes: Conceptualizing Power and Identity in the Post-Soviet Realm*. 1st edition. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020.

Laruelle, Marlene. *Central Peripheries: Nationhood in Central Asia*. London: UCL Press, 2021. [Open Access: <https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781800080133>].

Kuzio, Taras, and Paul D'Anieri, eds. *Dilemmas of State-Led Nation Building in Ukraine*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2002.

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

Ó Beacháin, Donnacha, and Rob Kevlihan. "Imagined Democracy? Nation-Building and Elections in Central Asia." *Nationalities Papers* 43, no. 3 (2015): 495–513. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2014.916662>.

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

Polese, Abel, and Slavomir Horák. "A Tale of Two Presidents: Personality Cult and Symbolic Nation-Building in Turkmenistan." *Nationalities Papers* 43, no. 3 (2015): 457–78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2015.1028913>.

Rees, Kristoffer, and Aziz Burkhanov. "Constituting the Kazakhstani Nation: Rhetorical Transformation of National Belonging." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 24, no. 4 (2018): 433–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2018.1522758>.

Stewart, Katie L. "Democratic and Autocratic Nation Building." *Nationalities Papers* 49, no. 2 (2021): 205–12. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.24>.

Torbakov, Igor. *After Empire: Nationalist Imagination and Symbolic Politics in Russia and Eurasia in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Century*. ibidem Press, 2018.

Zakharov, Nikolay, and Ian Law. *Post-Soviet Racisms*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Zhuravlev, Oleg, and Volodymyr Ishchenko. "Exclusiveness of Civic Nationalism: Euromaidan Eventful Nationalism in Ukraine." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36, no. 3 (2020): 226–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2020.1753460>.

<b>Week 4 Oct 5</b>	<b><u>Ethnofederalism, autonomy, and ethno-linguistic minorities</u></b>
<b>Required</b>	<p><i>Ethnofederalism and autonomy:</i></p> <p>Hale, Henry E. "The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 3, no. 1 (2005): 55–70.</p> <p>Cornell, Svante E. "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective." <i>World Politics</i> 54, no. 2 (2002): 245–76.</p> <p><a href="https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.2002.0002">https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.2002.0002</a>.</p> <p><i>Cases and comparisons:</i></p> <p>Prina, Federica. "National in Form, Putinist in Content: Minority Institutions 'Outside Politics.'" <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 70, no. 8 (2018): 1236–63.</p> <p><a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1465892">https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1465892</a>.</p> <p>Marlin, Marguerite. "Concepts of 'Decentralization' and 'Federalization' in Ukraine: Political Signifiers or Distinct Constitutional Approaches for Devolutionary Federalism?" <i>Nationalism and Ethnic Politics</i> 22, no. 3 (2016): 278–99.</p> <p><a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2016.1203695">https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2016.1203695</a>.</p> <p><i>Methodology review:</i></p> <p>Silaev, Nikolai. "Ethnicity as a Tool and Nationalities Policy as Practice: The Case of Stavropol Krai." <i>Caucasus Survey</i> 8, no. 2 (2020): 196–213.</p> <p><a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2020.1776957">https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2020.1776957</a>.</p>
<b>Recommended</b>	<p>Broers, Laurence. "Filling the Void: Ethnic Politics and Nationalities Policy in Post-Conflict Georgia." <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 36, no. 2 (2008): 275–304.</p> <p><a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/00905990801934363">https://doi.org/10.1080/00905990801934363</a>.</p> <p>Bureiko, Nadiia, and Teodor Lucian Moga. "The Ukrainian–Russian Linguistic Dyad and Its Impact on National Identity in Ukraine." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 71, no. 1 (2019): 137–55. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1549653">https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1549653</a>.</p> <p>Busygina, Irina, Mikhail Filippov, and Elmira Taukebaeva. "To Decentralize or to Continue on the Centralization Track: The Cases of Authoritarian Regimes in Russia and Kazakhstan." <i>Journal of Eurasian Studies</i> 9, no. 1 (2018): 61–71.</p> <p><a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euras.2017.12.008">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euras.2017.12.008</a>.</p> <p>Chaisty, Paul, and Stephen Whitefield. "Citizens' Attitudes towards Institutional Change in Contexts of Political Turbulence: Support for Regional Decentralisation in Ukraine." <i>Political Studies</i> 65, no. 4 (2017): 824–43.</p> <p><a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321716684845">https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321716684845</a>.</p> <p>Cheskin, Ammon, and Angela Kachuyevski, eds. <i>The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Post-Soviet Space: Language, Politics and Identity</i>. Routledge, 2020.</p> <p>Foxall, Andrew. <i>Ethnic Relations in Post-Soviet Russia: Russians and Non-Russians in the North Caucasus</i>. Routledge, 2014.</p> <p>George, Julie A. <i>The Politics of Ethnic Separatism in Russia and Georgia</i>. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.</p> <p>Giuliano, Elise. <i>Constructing Grievance: Ethnic Nationalism in Russia's Republics</i>. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.</p>

Giuliano, Elise. "Secessionism from the Bottom Up: Democratization, Nationalism, and Local Accountability in the Russian Transition." *World Politics* 58, no. 2 (2006): 276–310.

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

Kulyk, Volodymyr. "Identity in Transformation: Russian-Speakers in Post-Soviet Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 1 (2019): 156–78.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2017.1379054>.

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

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

Marquardt, Kyle L. "Framing Language Policy in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan: Political Symbolism and Interethnic Harmony." *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 2 (2011): 181–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2011.567067>.

Nizamova, Liliya R. "Ethnic Tatars in Contention for Recognition and Autonomy: Bilingualism and Pluri-Cultural Education Policies in Tatarstan." *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 1 (2016): 71–91.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2015.1124076>.

Palermo, Francesco. "The Elephant in the Room: Ukraine between Decentralization and Conflict." *Ethnopolitics* 19, no. 4 (2020): 369–82.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2020.1795473>.

Prina, Federica. *National Minorities in Putin's Russia: Diversity and Assimilation*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Romanova, Valentyna, and Andreas Umland. "Decentralising Ukraine: Geopolitical Implications." *Survival* 61, no. 5 (2019): 99–112.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2019.1662108>.

Sasse, Gwendolyn. *The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict*. Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2007.

Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz. "Gestalt Switch in Russian Federalism: The Decline in Regional Power under Putin." *Comparative Politics* 45, no. 3 (2013): 357–76.

Shavtvaladze, Mikheil. "The State and Ethnic Minorities: The Case of Georgia." *Region: Regional Studies of Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia* 7, no. 1 (2018): 43–68. <https://doi.org/10.1353/reg.2018.0003>.

Shcherbak, Andrey, and Kristina Sych. "Trends in Russian Nationalities Policy." *Problems of Post-Communism* 64, no. 6 (2017): 311–28.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2016.1225264>.

Shelest, Hanna, and Maryna Rabinovych, eds. *Decentralization, Regional Diversity, and Conflict: The Case of Ukraine*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

Tsakhirmaa, Sansar. "Comparative Institutionalised Bilingualism in Kazan, Russia and Ürümqi, China." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 9 (2019): 1532–61.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1665167>.

Wigglesworth-Baker, Teresa. "Language Policy and Post-Soviet Identities in Tatarstan." *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 1 (2016): 20–37.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2015.1046425>.

<b>Week 5 Oct 12</b>	<b><u>Patriotism and regime legitimization</u></b>
<b>Required</b>	<p><i>Theoretical overview:</i></p> <p>Bar-Tal, Daniel. "The Monopolization of Patriotism." In <i>Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations</i>, edited by Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub, 246–70. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1997.</p> <p><i>Cases and comparisons:</i></p> <p>Goode, J. Paul. "Love for the Motherland (or Why Cheese Is More Patriotic than Crimea)." <i>Russian Politics</i> 1, no. 4 (2016): 418–49.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1163/2451-8921-00104005">https://doi.org/10.1163/2451-8921-00104005</a>.</p> <p>Daucé, Françoise. "Patriotic Unity and Ethnic Diversity at Odds: The Example of Tatar Organisations in Moscow." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 67, no. 1 (2015): 68–83.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2014.988997">https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2014.988997</a>.</p> <p>Kratochvíl, Petr, and Gaziza Shakhanova. "The Patriotic Turn and Re-Building Russia's Historical Memory: Resisting the West, Leading the Post-Soviet East?" <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i>, published online ahead of print.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1757467">https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1757467</a>.</p> <p><i>Methodology review (choose one):</i></p> <p>Sanina, Anna Georgievna. "Patriotism and Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia." <i>Sociological Research</i> 56, no. 1 (2017): 38–52.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/10610154.2017.1338398">https://doi.org/10.1080/10610154.2017.1338398</a>.</p> <p>Avedissian, Karena. "Clerics, Weightlifters, and Politicians: Ramzan Kadyrov's Instagram as an Official Project of Chechen Memory and Identity Production." <i>Caucasus Survey</i> 4, no. 1 (2016): 20–43.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2015.1119998">https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2015.1119998</a>.</p>
<b>Recommended</b>	<p>Bækken, H. (2021). Patriotic disunity: Limits to popular support for militaristic policy in Russia. <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i>, published online ahead of print.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2021.1905417">https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2021.1905417</a></p> <p>Blackburn, Matthew. "Political Legitimacy in Contemporary Russia 'from Below': 'Pro-Putin' Stances, the Normative Split and Imagining Two Russias." <i>Russian Politics</i> 5, no. 1 (2020): 52–80. <a href="https://doi.org/10.30965/24518921-00501003">https://doi.org/10.30965/24518921-00501003</a>.</p> <p>Cannady, Sean, and Paul Kubicek. "Nationalism and Legitimation for Authoritarianism: A Comparison of Nicholas I and Vladimir Putin." <i>Journal of Eurasian Studies</i> 5, no. 1 (2014): 1–9.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euras.2013.11.001">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euras.2013.11.001</a>.</p> <p>Dahlin, Johanna. "'No One Is Forgotten, Nothing Is Forgotten': Duty, Patriotism, and the Russian Search Movement." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 69, no. 7 (2017): 1070–89. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2017.1374353">https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2017.1374353</a>.</p> <p>Fabrykant, Marharyta, and Vladimir Magun. "Dynamics of National Pride Attitudes in Post-Soviet Russia, 1996–2015." <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 47, no. 1 (2019): 20–37. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2018.18">https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2018.18</a>.</p> <p>Goode, J. Paul. "Everyday Patriotism and Ethnicity in Today's Russia." In <i>Russia Before and After Crimea: Nationalism and Identity, 2010–2017</i>, edited by Pål</p>

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Sanina, Anna. *Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia: Sociological Studies in the Making of the Post-Soviet Citizen*. ibidem Press, 2017.

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Week 6 Oct 19	<u>Memory and monuments</u>
Required	<p><i>Theoretical overview:</i></p> <p>Malinova, Olga. "Politics of Memory and Nationalism." <i>Nationalities Papers</i>, published online ahead of print, 1–11. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.87">https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.87</a>.</p>
	<p><i>Cases and comparisons:</i></p> <p>Oushakine, Serguei Alex. "Remembering in Public: On the Affective Management of History." <i>Ab Imperio</i>, no. 1 (2013): 269–302.</p> <p>Shevel, Oxana. "No Way Out? Post-Soviet Ukraine's Memory Wars in Comparative Perspective." In <i>Beyond the Euromaidan: Comparative Perspectives on Advancing Reform in Ukraine</i>, edited by Henry E. Hale and Robert W. Orttung, 21–40. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016.</p> <p>Forest, Benjamin, and Juliet Johnson. "Monumental Politics: Regime Type and Public Memory in Post-Communist States." <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> 27, no. 3 (2011): 269–88. <a href="https://doi.org/10.2747/1060-586X.27.3.269">https://doi.org/10.2747/1060-586X.27.3.269</a>.</p>
	<p><i>Methodology review:</i></p> <p>Khlevnyuk, Daria. "Narrowcasting Collective Memory Online: 'Liking' Stalin in Russian Social Media." <i>Media, Culture &amp; Society</i> 41, no. 3 (2019): 317–31. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718799401">https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718799401</a>.</p>
Recommended	<p>Bernhard, Michael, and Jan Kubik, eds. <i>Twenty Years After Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.</p> <p>Blakkisrud, Helge, and Faruh Kuziev. "Museums, Memory and Meaning-Creation: (Re)Constructing the Tajik Nation." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 25, no. 3 (2019): 997–1017. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12519">https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12519</a>.</p> <p>Foxall, Andrew. "A Contested Landscape: Monuments, Public Memory, and Post-Soviet Identity in Stavropol', Russia." <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i> 46, no. 1 (2013): 167–78. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2012.12.012">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2012.12.012</a>.</p> <p>Gaufman, Elizaveta. <i>Security Threats and Public Perception: Digital Russia and the Ukraine Crisis</i>. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.</p> <p>Gugushvili, Alexi, Peter Kabachnik, and Ana Kirvalidze. "Collective Memory and Reputational Politics of National Heroes and Villains." <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 45, no. 3 (2017): 464–84. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2016.1261821">https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2016.1261821</a>.</p> <p>Hosaka, Sanshiro. "Hybrid Historical Memories in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 71, no. 4 (2019): 551–78. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1578863">https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1578863</a>.</p> <p>Katchanovski, Ivan. "Terrorists or National Heroes? Politics and Perceptions of the OUN and the UPA in Ukraine." <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i> 48, no. 2–3 (2015): 217–28. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2015.06.006">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2015.06.006</a>.</p> <p>Klimenko, Ekaterina V. "Building the Nation, Legitimizing the State: Russia—My History and Memory of the Russian Revolutions in Contemporary Russia." <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 49, no. 1 (2021): 72–88. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2019.105">https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2019.105</a>.</p>

Klymenko, Lina. "Choosing Mazepa Over Lenin: The Transformation of Monuments and Political Order in Post-Maidan Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 5 (May 27, 2020): 815–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2020.1751081>.

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Vázquez-Liñán, Miguel. "Historical Memory and Political Propaganda in the Russian Federation." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 50, no. 2 (2017): 77–86. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2017.05.004>.

Wanner, Catherine. "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War in Ukraine." *Slavic Review* 78, no. 2 (2019): 328–35. <https://doi.org/10.1017/slr.2019.88>.

Wijermars, Mariëlle. *Memory Politics in Contemporary Russia: Television, Cinema and the State*. New York: Routledge, 2019.

Wylegała, Anna, and Małgorzata Głowińska-Grajper, eds. *The Burden of the Past: History, Memory, and Identity in Contemporary Ukraine*. Illustrated edition. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2020.

## FALL BREAK

<u>Week 7 Nov 2</u>	<u>Migration</u>
<b>Required</b>	<p><i>Theoretical overview:</i></p> <p>Schenk, Caress. "The Migrant Other: Exclusion without Nationalism?" <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 49, no. 3 (May 2021): 397–408. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.82">https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.82</a>.</p> <p><i>Cases and comparisons:</i></p> <p>Urinboyev, Rustamjon. <i>Migration and Hybrid Political Regimes: Navigating the Legal Landscape in Russia</i>. Oakland: Univ of California Press, 2020. (Ch. 2 "Migration, the Shadow Economy, and Parallel Legal Orders in Russia" and Ch. 3 "Uzbek Migrant Workers in Russia," pp.27-61)</p> <p>Werner, Cynthia Ann, Celia Emmelhainz, and Holly Barcus. "Privileged Exclusion in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Ethnic Return Migration, Citizenship, and the Politics of (Not) Belonging." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 69, no. 10 (2017): 1557–83. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2017.1401042">https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2017.1401042</a>.</p> <p><i>Methodology review:</i></p> <p>Bloch, Alexia. <i>Sex, Love, and Migration: Postsocialism, Modernity, and Intimacy from Istanbul to the Arctic</i>. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017. (Ch. 1 "Introduction: From the Arctic to Istanbul," esp. pp.23-33)</p>
<b>Recommended</b>	<p>Akturk, Sener. "Post-Imperial Democracies and New Projects of Nationhood in Eurasia: Transforming the Nation through Migration in Russia and Turkey." <i>Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies</i> 43, no. 7 (2017): 1101–20. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1246177">https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1246177</a>.</p> <p>Alexseev, Mikhail. "The Asymmetry of Nationalist Exclusion and Inclusion: Migration Policy Preferences in Russia, 2005–2013." <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> 96, no. 3 (2015): 759–77. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12190">https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12190</a>.</p> <p>Bahry, Donna. "Opposition to Immigration, Economic Insecurity and Individual Values: Evidence from Russia." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 68, no. 5 (2016): 893–916. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2016.1178710">https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2016.1178710</a>.</p> <p>Berlinschi, Ruxanda. "Migration and Geopolitical Preferences." <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> 35, no. 2 (2019): 93–121. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2018.1548226">https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2018.1548226</a>.</p> <p>Bloch, Alexia. <i>Sex, Love, and Migration: Postsocialism, Modernity, and Intimacy from Istanbul to the Arctic</i>. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017.</p> <p>Blum, Douglas W. <i>The Social Process of Globalization: Return Migration and Cultural Change in Kazakhstan</i>. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015.</p> <p>Brunarska, Zuzanna. "Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in Russia: The Group Position Model Reconsidered." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 71, no. 9 (2019): 1508–31. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1618791">https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1618791</a>.</p> <p>Charron, Austin. "'Somehow, We Cannot Accept It': Drivers of Internal Displacement from Crimea and the Forced/Voluntary Migration Binary."</p>

*Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 432–54.  
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Davé, Bhavna. “Keeping Labour Mobility Informal: The Lack of Legality of Central Asian Migrants in Kazakhstan.” *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 3 (2014): 346–59.  
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Gerber, Theodore P., and Jane Zavisca. “Experiences in Russia of Kyrgyz and Ukrainian Labor Migrants: Ethnic Hierarchies, Geopolitical Remittances, and the Relevance of Migration Theory.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36, no. 1 (2020): 61–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2019.1680040>.

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Herrera, Yoshiko M., and Nicole M. Butkovich Kraus. “Pride Versus Prejudice: Ethnicity, National Identity, and Xenophobia in Russia.” *Comparative Politics* 48, no. 3 (2016): 293–315.

Kuznetsova, Irina. “To Help ‘Brotherly People’? Russian Policy Towards Ukrainian Refugees.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 505–27.  
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Malakhov, Vladimir S. “Russia as a New Immigration Country: Policy Response and Public Debate.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 66, no. 7 (2014): 1062–79.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2014.934140>.

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Myhre, Marthe Handå. “Forced Migrant ‘Compatriots’ from Ukraine: Accessing Legal Residency and Citizenship in the Russian Federation.” *Nationalities Papers* 46, no. 6 (2018): 1028–45.  
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Shevel, Oxana. *Migration, Refugee Policy, and State Building in Postcommunist Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Spector, Regine A. “Manufacturing and Migration in Eurasia.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 10 (2018): 1668–88.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1543761>.

**Week 8 Nov 9****The Far Right****Required***Theoretical overview:*

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

*Cases and comparisons:*

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

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

*Methodology review (choose one):*

Kashpur, Vitaliy V., Mikhail Myagkov, Alexei A. Baryshev, Viacheslav L. Goiko, and Evgeniy V. Shchekotin. "Where Russian Online Nationalists Go When Their Communities Are Banned: A Case Study of Russian Nationalism." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 26, no. 2 (2020): 145–66.  
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Mareš, Miroslav, and Martin Laryš. "The Transnational Relations of the Contemporary Russian Extreme Right." *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 7 (2015): 1056–78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2015.1067673>.

Shekhovtsov, Anton. *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir*. 1st edition. London ; New York: Routledge, 2017.

Tipaldou, Sofia, and Katrin Uba. "Movement Adaptability in Dissimilar Settings: The Far Right in Greece and Russia." *European Societies* 21, no. 4 (2019): 563–82.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2018.1494294>.

Umland, Andreas. "Challenges and Promises of Comparative Research into Post-Soviet Fascism: Methodological and Conceptual Issues in the Study of the Contemporary East European Extreme Right." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, no. 2–3 (2015): 169–81.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2015.07.002>.

Varga, Mihai. "Russia's Far-Right Violence Wave." *Problems of Post-Communism* 66, no. 3 (2019): 200–210. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2017.1389613>.

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Yudina, Natalia, and Alexander Verkhovsky. "Russian Nationalist Veterans of the Donbas War." *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 5 (September 2019): 734–49.  
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<b>Week 9 Nov 16</b>	<b>Banal &amp; everyday nationalism</b>
<b>Required</b>	<p><i>Theoretical overview:</i></p> <p>Fox, Jon E., and Cynthia Miller-Idriss. "Everyday Nationhood." <i>Ethnicities</i> 8, no. 4 (2008): 536–63. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796808088925">https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796808088925</a>.</p> <p><i>Cases and comparisons:</i></p> <p>Yusupova, Guzel. "Cultural Nationalism and Everyday Resistance in an Illiberal Nationalising State: Ethnic Minority Nationalism in Russia." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 24, no. 3 (2018): 624–47. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12366">https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12366</a>.</p> <p>Rohava, Maryia. "The Politics of State Celebrations in Belarus." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i>, published online ahead of print. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12653">https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12653</a>.</p> <p>Bulakh, Tetiana. "Made in Ukraine: Consumer Citizenship During EuroMaidan Transformations." In <i>Identity and Nation Building in Everyday Post-Socialist Life</i>, edited by Abel Polese, Jeremy Morris, Emilia Pawlusz, and Oleksandra Seliverstova, 73–90. London: Routledge, 2018.</p> <p><i>Methodology review:</i></p> <p>Knott, Eleanor. "Generating Data: Studying Identity Politics from a Bottom-Up Approach in Crimea and Moldova." <i>East European Politics and Societies</i> 29, no. 2 (2015): 467–86. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325415584047">https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325415584047</a>.</p>
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## **Week 10 Nov 23    Ethnic conflict and war**

<b>Required</b>	<p><i>Cases and comparisons:</i></p> <p>Kazantsev, Andrei A., Peter Rutland, Svetlana M. Medvedeva, and Ivan A. Safranchuk. "Russia's Policy in the 'Frozen Conflicts' of the Post-Soviet Space: From Ethno-Politics to Geopolitics." <i>Caucasus Survey</i> 8, no. 2 (2020): 142–62. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2020.1728499">https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2020.1728499</a>.</p> <p>Toal, Gerard. <i>Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus</i>. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017. (Ch.s 6-7, pp.198-273)</p> <p>Gamaghelyan, Philip, and Sergey Rumyantsev. "The Road to the Second Karabakh War: The Role of Ethno-Centric Narratives in the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict." <i>Caucasus Survey</i>, published online ahead of print. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2021.1932068">https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2021.1932068</a>.</p>
<b>Recommended</b>	<p><i>Methodology review:</i></p> <p>Megoran, Nick. "On Researching 'Ethnic Conflict': Epistemology, Politics, and a Central Asian Boundary Dispute." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 59, no. 2 (2007): 253–77. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09668130601125585">http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09668130601125585</a>.</p> <p><b>Broers, Laurence, and Galina M. Yemelianova. "Ethno-Territorial and Secessionist Conflicts: Causes and Trajectories." In <i>Routledge Handbook of the Caucasus</i>, 239–56. New York, NY: Routledge, 2020.</b></p> <p><b>Kaufman, Stuart J. <i>Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War</i>. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.</b></p> <p><b>Ohanyan, Anna, ed. <i>Russia Abroad: Driving Regional Fracture in Post-Communist Eurasia and Beyond</i>. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2018.</b></p> <p><b>Posen, Barry R. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." <i>Survival</i> 35, no. 1 (1993): 27–47. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/00396339308442672">https://doi.org/10.1080/00396339308442672</a>.</b></p> <p><b>Snyder, Jack. "Nationalism and the Crisis of the Post-Soviet State." <i>Survival</i> 35, no. 1 (1993): 1–26. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/00396339308442671">https://doi.org/10.1080/00396339308442671</a>.</b></p> <p><b>Souleimanov, Emil. <i>Understanding Ethnopolitical Conflict: Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia Wars Reconsidered</i>. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.</b></p> <p><b>Toft, Monica Duffy. <i>The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory</i>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.</b></p> <p><b>Zurcher, Christoph. <i>The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus</i>. New York: NYU Press, 2009.</b></p>

### ***Russia-Ukraine (2014-present)***

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### **Armenia-Azerbaijan (2020)**

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Minasyan, Sergey. "The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict in the Context of South Caucasus Regional Security Issues: An Armenian Perspective." *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 1 (2017): 131–39.  
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## **Week 11 Nov 30 De facto states**

<b>Required</b>	<p><i>Theoretical overview:</i></p> <p>Pegg, Scott. "Twenty Years of de Facto State Studies: Progress, Problems, and Prospects." <i>Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics</i>, 2017. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.516">https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.516</a>.</p> <p><i>Cases and comparisons:</i></p> <p>Caspersen, Nina. "Democracy, Nationalism and (Lack of) Sovereignty: The Complex Dynamics of Democratisation in Unrecognised States." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 17, no. 2 (2011): 337–56. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00471.x">https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00471.x</a>.</p> <p>Bakke, Kristin M., John O'Loughlin, Gerard Toal, and Michael D. Ward. "Convincing State-Builders? Disaggregating Internal Legitimacy in Abkhazia." <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 58, no. 3 (2014): 591–607. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12110">https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12110</a>.</p> <p>Kolstø, Pål. "Biting the Hand That Feeds Them? Abkhazia–Russia Client–Patron Relations." <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> 36, no. 2 (2020): 140–58. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2020.1712987">https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2020.1712987</a>.</p> <p><i>Methodology review:</i></p> <p>Yemelianova, Galina M. "Western Academic Discourse on the Post-Soviet de Facto State Phenomenon." <i>Caucasus Survey</i> 3, no. 3 (2015): 219–38. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2015.1086572">https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2015.1086572</a>.</p>
<b>Recommended</b>	<p>Aliyev, Huseyn, and Emil Aslan Souleimanov. "Why Do De Facto States Fail?" <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 66, no. 3 (2019): 161–71. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2017.1383166">https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2017.1383166</a>.</p> <p>Ambrosio, Thomas, and William A. Lange. "The Architecture of Annexation? Russia's Bilateral Agreements with South Ossetia and Abkhazia." <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 44, no. 5 (2016): 673–93. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2016.1203300">https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2016.1203300</a>.</p> <p>Berg, Eiki, and Martin Mölder. "Who Is Entitled to 'earn Sovereignty'? Legitimacy and Regime Support in Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 18, no. 3 (2012): 527–45. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00527.x">https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00527.x</a>.</p> <p>Beyer, John, and Stefan Wolff. "Linkage and Leverage Effects on Moldova's Transnistria Problem." <i>East European Politics</i> 32, no. 3 (2016): 335–54. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2015.1124092">https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2015.1124092</a>.</p> <p>Caspersen, Nina. "Degrees of Legitimacy: Ensuring Internal and External Support in the Absence of Recognition." <i>Geoforum</i> 66 (2015): 184–92. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.10.003">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.10.003</a>.</p> <p>Caspersen, Nina. <i>Unrecognized States: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Modern International System</i>. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2011.</p> <p>Comai, Giorgio, and Bernardo Venturi. "Language and Education Laws in Multi-Ethnic de Facto States: The Cases of Abkhazia and Transnistria." <i>Nationalities</i></p>

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Ó Beacháin, Donnacha, Giorgio Comai, and Ann Tsurtssumia-Zurabashvili. “The Secret Lives of Unrecognised States: Internal Dynamics, External Relations, and Counter-Recognition Strategies.” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 27, no. 3 (2016): 440–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2016.1151654>.

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Week 12 Dec 7	<u>Diasporas and kin-states</u>
Required	<p><i>Theoretical overview:</i></p> <p>Brubaker, Rogers. "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora." <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> 28, no. 1 (2005): 1–19. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000289997">https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000289997</a>.</p>
	<p><i>Cases and comparisons:</i></p> <p>Cheskin, Ammon, and Angela Kachuyevski. "The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Post-Soviet Space: Language, Politics and Identity." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 71, no. 1 (2019): 1–23. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1529467">https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1529467</a>.</p> <p>Koinova, Maria. "Diasporas and Secessionist Conflicts: The Mobilization of the Armenian, Albanian and Chechen Diasporas." <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> 34, no. 2 (2011): 333–56. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2010.489646">https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2010.489646</a>.</p> <p>Kozachenko, Ivan. "Transformed by Contested Digital Spaces? Social Media and Ukrainian Diasporic 'Selves' in the Wake of the Conflict with Russia." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 27, no. 2 (2021): 377–92. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12707">https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12707</a>.</p>
	<p><i>Methodology review:</i></p> <p>Nikolko, Milana. "Diaspora Mobilization and the Ukraine Crisis: Old Traumas and New Strategies." <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> 42, no. 11 (2019): 1870–89. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1569703">https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1569703</a>.</p>
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## SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

### Plagiarism:

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

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

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

### **Academic Accommodation**

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

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

**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>

### **Special Information Regarding Fall 2021 Pandemic Measures:**

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow COVID-19 prevention measures and all mandatory public health requirements (e.g. wearing a mask, physical distancing, hand hygiene, respiratory and cough etiquette) and [mandatory self-screening](#) prior to coming to campus daily.

If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately, self-isolate, and complete the mandatory [symptom reporting tool](#). For purposes of contact tracing, attendance will be recorded in all classes and labs. Participants can check in using posted QR codes through the cuScreen platform where provided. Students who do not have a smartphone will be required to complete a paper process as indicated on the [COVID-19 website](#).

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow guidelines regarding safe movement and seating on campus (e.g. directional arrows, designated entrances and exits, designated seats that maintain physical distancing). In order to avoid congestion, allow all previous occupants to fully vacate a classroom before entering. No food or drinks are permitted in any classrooms or labs.

For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and required measures, please see the [University's COVID-19 webpage](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact [covidinfo@carleton.ca](mailto:covidinfo@carleton.ca)

Please note that failure to comply with University policies and mandatory public health requirements, and endangering the safety of others are considered misconduct under the [Student Rights and Responsibilities Policy](#). Failure to comply with Carleton's COVID-19 procedures may lead to supplementary action involving Campus Safety and/or Student Affairs.

### **Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:**

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

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

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

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

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

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