

Winter 2021
Carleton University
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies

FYSM 1614A – POWER, POLITICS AND POPULISM IN EUROPE AND RUSSIA

Instructor: Milana Nikolko, PhD

Class schedule: Mondays, 2.35-5.25 PM

Class delivery: CuLearn, Zoom

Office hours: Tuesdays, 1.30.00-2.30. PM ZOOM link (or by appointment)

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Web: CuLearn

Course Description

Vladimir Putin's rise to power in Russia steered the country away from liberal democracy. Personal power and calls to resist western political and economic elites have resonated across Europe. This course seeks to understand the implications of populism's reappearance in relation to contemporary European democratic institutions. How the European constitutional democratic institutions were redesigned by populist politicians rally against perceived social turbulence, economic crises and migration to gain power or unprecedented popularity?

During this course we will study why powerful leaders—from Putin to Hungary's Viktor Orbán, from Berlusconi to Marine Le Pen—have become so popular in their own countries and how they want to transform the continent. Ethnicity, race and religion—the idea of a “white, Christian” Europe—interact with a desire for seeming stability in a world that gripped by such rapid transformation and where the gap between have and have-nots continues to grow. The entire European project—the foundation of peace since the Second World War—now seems at risk.

This course will examine how power and populism intertwine in the context of political rivalry and cooperation within countries and across Europe. We will look at a first wave of populism after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and how Putin managed to rise from a faceless bureaucrat amid competing ideologies, economic turbulence and geopolitical challenges. Then we will turn to EU and NATO enlargement and the impact of the rapid transformation of so many Eastern European countries towards western liberal democracy and capitalism. Regional and global inequalities have also led to the unprecedented movement of people across borders and prompted rising intolerance. All of this has led to rising “Euroscepticism,” economic nationalism and the upsurge of right-wing populism. The newest turn brought to the presidency showman Zelensky in Ukraine, this case will provide us with unique details of populist communication strategies in epoch of social media.

We will do country-specific case studies to examine challenges such as migration policies, treatment of minorities, anti-globalization movements and democratic backsliding. Students will think both about the causes of populism and ways to reduce the risks or extreme ideologies and actions for both domestic and international politics.

Course format

The course is composed of lectures, seminars and group activity and is divided into three sections. The first few classes will serve as an introduction to the course and to overarching theoretical issues. This will be followed by an assessment of case studies from across the region. The last section will be used to generate discussion about the populist challenges for Europe and its future, and to draw conclusions from theoretical perspectives and case studies.

This is a 0.5 credit course that will be delivered entirely online through cuLearn and weekly three hours online Zoom meeting. These meetings aim to provide core information on course development, to sustain communication with the students, and to introduce the focal points of the course. The Zoom attendance is mandatory for this course.

The course is intended to generate discussion among students with the instructor acting as facilitator. We will review recent publications, video documentaries and do group presentations. The discussion is intended to focus on specific subjects as outlined in the syllabus. It is essential students do the assigned readings. Further readings based on the students' own initiative are encouraged and welcome. Further readings are optional. Suggestions for additional literature on the topics are likewise welcome. Students are encouraged to follow developments on relevant subject matter by reviewing various scholarly journals. The language of instruction is English. Required and suggested literature is in English, but students are encouraged to read literature in other languages too.

Required Class Reading materials for the class is a combination of book chapters, journal articles and analytical studies. There is no textbook for the course. Course readings will be provided to students through ARES and CuLearn. Please consult the attached course schedule. Some minor changes in reading materials and in accentuation of the weekly topics might appear, in this case all the students will receive information about change well prior the scheduled class.

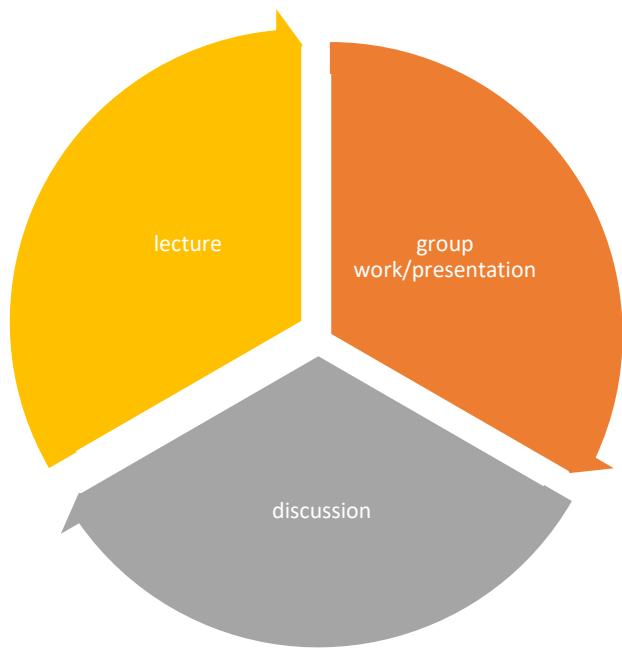
Class structure

The course format is blended and includes **twelve synchronous zoom meetings and eight asynchronous weekly discussions.**

Each class will be split into three sections, broken up by two 5-minute break. Each part of the class will consist of a brief lecture, student presentation, followed by a group discussion linking

the themes and concepts of the lecture to the specific cases presented in the readings. Asynchronous discussions will start on Class 4 (February 01, 2021) and will be running as a course blog. Asynchronous discussion will be organized around the reflection papers.

The class work will consist three major segments:



NB! The discussion will transition from synchronous to asynchronous model on week 4.

Course organised around the next major components:

- *Early assessment and evaluation.* Students receive early feedback on short assignments to convey clear expectations for university-level performance.
- This seminar designed to provide with *integrating* learning through a scaffolded series of assessments, reflecting a sustained approach to a particular issue or topic.
- One of the core characteristics of successful research is *effective teamwork*. During the course students will be participating in group activities regularly.
- Course aims to provide an opportunity to help students understand and ask questions *about the university* and the services that might assist them.

Course Objectives and Learning Outcomes

The objectives of this course are threefold.

Through a combination of lectures, seminars and case studies students will learn how to critically assess the meaning and significance of power, populism and politics in Europe and Russia.

Students will work independently and in groups as they read about and do original research on countries of the West and East Europe, including Russia, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine and some Western European countries (United Kingdom, Italy, France and Germany). In addition to scholarly publications course material will include media publications and documentaries from the region.

By the end of this course students will be able to:

- Closely analyse texts in order to extract key ideas and construct meaning;
- Distinguish between opinion and evidence-based argument;
- Effectively identify and evaluate resources in relation to a specific problem;
- Comprehensively explore an issue, including interpreting available data or evidence and formulating an argument or conclusion that is supported by the examined resources;
- Communicate ideas to a variety of audiences, including purposeful development and expression of academic ideas in written and/or oral formats;
- Identify available university support services for students and recognize how they can contribute to academic success.

Student Responsibilities

Students are expected to attend all class meetings on time, participate in class discussion, group work and present on readings on a regular basis. To succeed in this course students have to prepare four brief texts (reflection paper) in a form of blog on ongoing issues in the region and all students must participate in a group presentation: 2-3 students will develop a discussion agenda for a specified class session, focusing on a case study to be agreed upon with the instructor.

Grades

Grades will be assigned according to the following:

Class Participation: 15% Class participation format includes regular attendance as well as participation in discussion of assigned readings and documentaries. ***Regular weekly attendance of our Zoom meetings is compulsory for this class.*** Unexcused absences will result in a significant reduction in the participation mark, which can have a marked impact on the course grade. Students will be graded on the basis of attendance, the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion, and, most importantly, demonstrated familiarity with required course readings. Students are expected to come to each class having prepared the assigned readings in advance.

NB: Students who miss six or more classes will not be eligible to finish the course.

Reflection paper (blog format): 10%+10%+10%+10%. Each student will contribute four pieces on a related topic based on an analysis of variation of populism in Eastern and Central Europe (past or ongoing) news sources, by submitting to the instructor four texts of approximately 600-

800 words each. This assignment will require students to demonstrate their ability to apply the theory and themes of the course to a particular case study.

The assignment will take the form of an analytical case study research paper in which the student will analyse how a theme or issue of their choice is manifest/politicized/or handled in one or more European states. Papers must present and defend a clear argument. Descriptive papers will not be sufficient to meet all the grading requirements.

The students are expected to read and to comment on class reflection papers.

We will discuss effective blogging techniques during the second and third classes. *The deadlines for reflection papers are January 30, February 27, March 20 and April 17.*

Any student who fails to hand in two reflection papers will receive a failing mark in the course.

Midterm Quiz (Id's and essay question) 20%. March 01-03.2021

Details and grading rubrics for each assignment are posted on CuLearn in a separate pdf file. If you have any questions about any assignment, please contact the instructor. The quiz will consist of two ID questions and one essay question and will ask students to reflect on the linkages between materials discussed during the first part of the course. You will be asked to refer to specific topics of Populism in Europe and Russia. The quiz must be done independently.

Group Presentation: 25%

Presentation format: students will discuss the exact topic for the group presentation with instructor. Working in groups of 3-4 students will prepare a written and oral presentation to class on that topic. Topics will focus on one or more of the seminar themes. The presentation will consist of a written summary of 2 pages to be submitted the day of the presentation and an in-class oral summary using PowerPoint of approximately 20 minutes in length with discussion to follow. Students will select a working group topic and a date for their presentation by the class 2. Presentations will start at **class 5 (February 08)**.

- Assignments are due on the dates specified in the course outline or communicated when the assignment is handed out to you. Late assignments will be subject to a penalty of 5% of the 100% assignment grade per 24 hours, starting the day and time the assignments were due.

Assignments will not be accepted five business days after the due date.

- It is the student's responsibility to ensure that the instructor receives all assignments (please use CuLearn). Students should keep the original copy of their assignments and are advised to keep all notes and drafts of work until after the final grade has been assigned and awarded.

- Exceptions to all these rules and policies will only be made for academic accommodations, as outlined below, or for medical or personal emergencies substantiated by official documentation.

If you anticipate a problem with one of the above deadlines or rules please approach the instructor as soon as you can and well in advance of the assignment. This rule applies to all students, including students with PMC accommodations.

For clarity, the following table sets out the weighting of these requirements for undergraduate and graduate students:

Item	Weight
Participation in class discussions	15%
Group presentation	25%
Four (4) brief reflection paper	40%
Midterm quiz	20%

CLASS SCHEDULE AND TOPICS

FIRST SECTION: THEORIES

CLASS 1. JANUARY 11. WHAT IS POPULISM? OH WAIT, NO, IT'S NOT!

Lecture, discussion and group work

Required reading materials (will be analyse in class):

Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. "Why Populism?" *Theory and Society* 46 (5): 357-385. [Link](#)

Foster, John Bellamy. 2017. This is not populism. *Monthly Review* 69, (2), 10.14452/MR-069-02-2017-06_1.

CLASS 2. JANUARY 18. THE MAGIC RATIONALITY AND TOTALITY OF POWER: THE ROOTS OF POPULISM IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY EUROPE

Lecture, guest presentation and group work

Guest presentation "Ask Librarian" Aleksandra Blake, Research Support Services, Carleton University Library.

Required reading materials:

Marples, David R. 2010. "Stalin: Authoritarian Populist or Great Russian Chauvinist?" *Nationalities Papers* 38 (5): 749-756.

Griffin, Roger. 2000. "Interregnum or Endgame? the Radical Right in the 'Post-Fascist' Era." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 5 (2): 163-178.

Further reading materials:

Brandenberger, David. 2010. "Stalin's populism and the accidental creation of Russian national identity." *Nationalities Papers*, 09/2010, Volume 38, Issue 5.

CLASS 3. JANUARY 25. POPULISM AND ETHNICITY: GLOBAL VARIATIONS

Lecture, discussion and group work

Required reading materials:

Koev, Dan. 2015. "Interactive Party Effects on Electoral Performance: How Ethnic Minority Parties Aid the Populist Right in Central and Eastern Europe." *Party Politics* 21 (4): 649-659.

Pirro, Andrea L. P. 2014. "Populist Radical Right Parties in Central and Eastern Europe: The Different Context and Issues of the Prophets of the Patria." *Government and Opposition* 49 (4): 600-629

Further reading materials:

McMahon, Patrice C. 2007. *Taming Ethnic Hatred: Ethnic Cooperation and Transnational Networks in Eastern Europe*. 1st ed. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press.

Additional Note. Reflection paper 1

CLASS 4. FEBRUARY 01. EUROSCEPTICISM AND THE POPULIST WAVE IN EUROPE

Lecture, guest presentation and group work

Guest presentation Nikki Mayville "Your academic audit" (Academic advising centre, Carleton University).

Required reading materials:

Baldini, Gianfranco. 2017. Populism in Europe: Everywhere and nowhere? *European Political Science* 16 (2): 258-62.

Rydgren, Jens, Stockholms universitet, Samhällsvetenskapliga fakulteten, and Sociologiska institutionen. 2011. A legacy of 'uncivicness'? Social capital and radical right-wing populist voting in Eastern Europe. *Acta Politica* 46 (2): 132-57.

Algan, Yann, Sergei Guriev, Elias Papaioannou, and Evgenia Passari. 2017. The European trust crisis and the rise of populism. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 2017 (2): 309-82.

Further reading materials:

Liang, Christina Schori, and ProQuest (Firm). 2007; 2008;. *Europe for the Europeans: The foreign and security policy of the populist radical right*. Aldershot: Ashgate

SECOND SECTION: Cases

CLASS 5. FEBRUARY 08. PUTIN, POWER AND “PETRO-MACHISMO” IN RUSSIA

Lecture, discussion and group presentation

Required reading materials:

Oliker, Olga. 2017. Putinism, populism and the defence of liberal democracy. *Survival* 59 (1): 7-24.

Casula, Philipp. 2013. Sovereign democracy, populism, and depoliticization in Russia. *Problems of Post-Communism* 60 (3): 3-15.

Mis̄coiu, Sergiu, Sorina Soare, and Sergiu Gherghina. 2013. *Contemporary Populism: A Controversial Concept and its Diverse Forms*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 356-370.

Further reading materials:

Van Herpen, Marcel. 2013. *Putinism: The slow rise of a radical right regime in Russia*. Hounds Mills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 3.

February 15. No class. Winter break

CLASS 6. FEBRUARY 22. THE ILLIBERAL CHOICE OF HUNGARY

Lecture, discussion and group presentation

Required reading materials:

Buzogány, Aron, and Mihai Varga. 2018. The ideational foundations of the illiberal backlash in Central and Eastern Europe: The case of Hungary. *Review of International Political Economy* 25 (6): 811-28.

Benczes, István. 2016. From goulash communism to goulash populism: The unwanted legacy of Hungarian reform socialism. *Post-Communist Economies* 28 (2): 146-66.

Further reading materials:

Buzogány, Aron. 2017. Illiberal democracy in Hungary: Authoritarian diffusion or domestic causation? *Democratization* 24 (7): 1307-25.

Additional Note. Deadline for reflection paper 2.

CLASS 7. MARCH 01. POLAND'S ANTIMIGRANT POPULIST RHETORIC

Lecture, group presentation and midterm quiz

Required reading materials:

Żuk, Piotr, and Paweł Żuk. 2018. Offshoring, labour migration and neo-liberalisation: Nationalist responses and alternatives in Eastern Europe. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review* 29 (1): 97-117.

Muller, Hans-Peter and Jerzy Leszkowicz-Baczyński. 2017. "Growing Distrust to Immigrants in Europe and Rising Right-Wing Populism – Poland and Germany Compared." *Przeglqd Zachodni* 365 (4): 145-168.

Further reading materials:

Formina, Joanna and Jacek Kucharczyk. 2016. "Populism and Protest in Poland." *Journal of Democracy* 27 (4): 58-68.[Link](#)

Kotwas, Marta and Jan Kubik. 2019. "Symbolic Thickening of Public Culture and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Poland." *East European Politics & Societies and Cultures* 33 (2): 435-471.[Link](#)

CLASS 8. MARCH 08. UKRAINE'S NEW POPULISM

Lecture, discussion and group presentation

Required reading materials:

Kuzio, Taras. 2010. "Populism in Ukraine in a Comparative European Context." *Problems of Post-Communism* 57 (6): 3-18.[Link](#)

Dodonova, Vira. 2019. "Tandem of Populism and Post-Truth as the Background of Development of the Modern Democracy in Ukraine." *Cxið* (3(161)): 57-61.[Link](#)

Stern, David L. and Anton Troianovski. 2019. "He Played Ukraine's President on TV. Now He has Taken Office as the Real One: Volodymyr Zelensky, the Comedian Turned Populist, has Immediately Begun to Challenge the Establishment." *The Washington Post (Online)*.

Further reading and video materials:

"Ready for Prime Time? Ukraine." 2019. *The Economist* 431 (9140): 44. [Link](#)

Servant of the people. 2015. Episode 1,2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GZ-3YwVQV0M>

THIRD SECTION: Issues

CLASS 9. MARCH 15. THE REACTIONARY REHABILITATION OF WHITE MASCULINITY: THE GENDER ISSUE.

Lecture, discussion and group presentation

Required reading materials:

Kováts, Eszter. 2018. "Questioning Consensuses: Right-Wing Populism, Anti-Populism, and the Threat of 'Gender Ideology'." *Sociological Research Online* 23 (2): 528-538. [Link](#)

Spierings, Niels and Andrej Zaslove. 2017. "Gender, Populist Attitudes, and Voting: Explaining the Gender Gap in Voting for Populist Radical Right and Populist Radical Left Parties." *West European Politics* 40 (4): 821-847. [Link](#)

Further video materials:

I Am Femen. Directed by Infobase and First Run Features (Firm). Place of publication not identified: First Run Features, 2015. [Link](#)

Additional Note. Reflection paper 3

CLASS 10. MARCH 22. THE DESTINY OF POPULISM IN THE EPOCH OF ELECTRONIC DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Lecture, discussion and group presentation

Required reading materials:

Engesser, Sven, Nicole Ernst, Frank Esser, and Florin Büchel. 2017. "Populism and Social Media: How Politicians Spread a Fragmented Ideology." *Information, Communication & Society* 20 (8): 1109-1126. [Link](#)

Alvares, Claudia, Peter Dahlgren, Lund University, Media and Communication Studies, Lunds universitet, and Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap. 2016. "Populism, Extremism and Media: Mapping an Uncertain Terrain." *European Journal of Communication* 31 (1): 46-57.

Further reading materials:

Pajnik, Mojca and Birgit Sauer. 2018. *Populism and the Web: Communicative Practices of Parties and Movements in Europe*. London; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. Chapter 1-3.

Class 11. APRIL 05. ANTI-ELITISM, COMMON ACTION AND NEW SOLIDARITY

Lecture, discussion and group presentation

Required reading materials:

Grimm, Robert, and Hilary Pilkington. 2015. 'Loud and proud': Youth and the politics of silencing. *The Sociological Review* 63 (2_suppl): 206-30.

Class 12. APRIL 12. POPULISM AND COVID 19: CONCLUSION TO THE COURSE

Discussion and group presentation

Required reading materials:

Hadiz, Vedi R., and Angelos Chryssogelos. 2017. Populism in world politics: A comparative cross-regional perspective. *International Political Science Review* 38 (4): 399-411.

Winberg, Oscar. 2017. "Insult Politics: Donald Trump, Right-Wing Populism, and Incendiary Language." *European Journal of American Studies* 12 (2): 29.

Additional Note. Deadline for **Reflection paper 4**

Academic Accommodations:

ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

Requests for Academic Accommodation

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

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.

carleton.ca/pmc

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 is 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

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or

perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

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

PLAGIARISM

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

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

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

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They

are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

SUBMISSION, RETURN, AND GRADING OF TERM WORK

All papers will be submitted electronically as PDF files through cuLearn. Feedback, comments, and grades will be provided via cuLearn Gradebook.

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.