

‘Representations of Russia in Ukrainian and Georgian Far Right Discourses’

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ESR3



'The Influence of Russia on Ukrainian and Georgian Far Right Discourses'



- 1) Project Outline
- 2) Key Concepts
- 3) Preliminary Results – Georgia
- 4) Preliminary Results – Ukraine
- 5) Comparative Analysis
- 6) Questions and Comments





PhD Title: Representations of Russia in Ukrainian and Georgian Far Right Discourses

Objectives: Examine how Russian illiberal discourses influence pro-Russian far-right discourses in Georgia and anti-Russian far-right discourses in Ukraine.

Research Questions

- How and why do representations of Russia in far right Georgian discourses differ from those in far right Ukrainian discourses?
- Which elements of Ukrainian and Georgian far right discursive representations of Russia are reproduced in the discourse of ordinary Ukrainians and Georgians and why?

Conceptual Framework

Populism



Discourse

‘Loose’ (Inglehart and Norris, 2016:17) discursive ‘frame’ (Caiani and Della Porta, 2011) to which other ‘political twists’ (Žižek, 2006:557) are necessarily added

‘The sacred people’ (DeHanas and Shterin 2018:179) versus ‘the elite’ or ‘enemies’

Nodal points act as empty signifiers (Laclau, 2005)

‘Family resemblance’ between cases (Brubaker, 2017; Wittgenstein, 1958)

Critical Discourse theory and Post-foundationalism

Discourse is Language *and* practice (Müller, 2008:324)

Discourse is fluid and evolving set of interconnected phenomena encompassing all features of the social world, which through their various combinations with each other create meaning (Carpentier, 2019:157)

Language is a key indicator of discourses (Macaulay, 2018b:168)

Conceptual Framework

Right = Anti-egalitarian: Inequality is natural

Far Right = 1) Extreme Right and 2) Radical Right

Ideology which comprises:

- 1) Racism
- 2) Xenophobia
- 3) Nationalism

- 1) Extreme Right = Anti-democratic
- 2) Radical Right = Anti-liberal democratic, but not anti-democratic

Mudde (2015)



Radical Right = *Calls* for violence and actions in speeches (Gotsiridze, 2018)

Extreme Right = Actively involved in violence and street protests (Wales, 2017)

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Analysis



Guram Kashia

Cultural Incidents which far
right populists reacted
negatively

Street Protests

Online Rhetoric

And Then We Danced

Increased Illiberal Discourses
(Especially homophobia)

Appeal to nativist sentiments

Connection to religious values





Preliminary Findings



- 1) Pro-Russian label is an over simplification (Kinch, 2019)
- 2) Heavily influenced by illiberal populist political trends in the West

However

- 3) Attacking socio-cultural events reminiscent of Russia
- 4) 'Anti- Western talking points and language used similar to Russia'
- 5) Destabilising actions benefit Russian interests
- 6) Personal connections between members of Georgian far right and Russia



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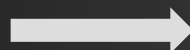
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Preliminary Results - Ukraine



Mapping the Ukrainian Far Right

Radical Right



Extreme Right

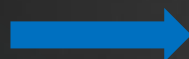
Youth Divisions

Football Ultras

C14

National Alliance

Svoboda



Azov Battalion



Young Corpus



Dynamo Kyiv Ultras

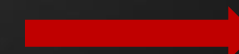


National Corpus

Right Sector



Right Youth



Banderstadt Ultras



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 765224



Preliminary Findings

- 1) Anti-Russian narratives and discourses are increasingly mainstream in Ukraine
 - 2) Nationalism and patriotism frequently conflated
 - 3) Conflation of narratives around WW2 and Donbas War
- 4) Far-right group community building (Polyakova, 2014) – now even more developed
 - 4) 'Ukrainian Nationalist' World War 2 narrative (Kulyk, 2011)

Comparative Analysis



Co-option and re-articulation of familiar national symbols

Mainly external enemy

Clear articulation and understanding of 'the enemy' as Russia

Military focus

Emphasis on Youth

Mainly internal enemy— LGBTQI community, Liberals

Ambiguous articulation and understanding of 'the enemy'

Religious focus (Orthodox Christianity)

Emphasis on Nostalgia

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Дякую!



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