

First Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies

## Schedule of panel sessions

*All sessions will take place in the Faculty of Social Sciences building, Lossi 36*

MA1 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 103

### Post-Cold War Intellectual History: Theorizing Coloniality and Authenticity

Chair: **Epp Annus**

Ohio State University and Estonian Literary Museum

### Theorizing the Russian identity in imperial science fiction

**Mikhail Suslov** Uppsala University

### Cyclical History and the Post-Soviet Condition

**Kåre Johan Mjör** Uppsala University

### How Postcolonial Subjects Walk on Eggshells: Finlandization Reconsidered

**Sanna Turoma** University of Helsinki and Academy of Finland

### From Petrinism to Reformism: Reflections on a Conceptual Shift in the Russian Government's Civilisational Discourse

**Fabian Linde** Uppsala University

Discussant: **Viacheslav Morozov**

University of Tartu

MA2 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 214

### Challenges to Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe

Chair: **Fabienne Bossuyt**

Ghent University

### Testing EU Democratization Effects: Varieties of Democracy in Eastern Europe, pre-1940 and post-1990

**Vello Pettai** University of Tartu

### Corruption in Eastern Europe: A Challenge to a Common European Home?

**Kelly McMann** Case Western Reserve University

### Explaining the emergence of Populist Radical Right Parties in Latvia and Estonia, 2010-2015

**Ann-Cathrine Jungar** Södertörn University

**Peteris Timofejevs Henriksson** Södertörn University

**Anders Backlund** Södertörn University

### Contentious Politics in the Baltics: The 'new' wave of right-wing populism in Estonia

**Vassilis Petsinis** European Commission's Representation in Greece

Discussant: **Leonid Polishchuk**

Uppsala University

MA3 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 304

### Nationalism in Russia and Eastern Europe

Chair: **Igor Torbakov**

Uppsala University

### Anti-capitalism and Nationalism in East and West Europe countries

**Julia Zelikova** National Research University Higher School of Economics

### The origins of Russian liberalism and modernist nationalism

**Susanna Rabow-Edling** Uppsala University

### Contemporary Russian state nationalism 2012–2016 – narratives and reception

**Veera Sofia Laine** Finnish Institute of International Affairs

### Anti-European Criticism in Political and Religious Discourses in Russia

**Ekaterina Grishaeva** Jagiellonian University

Discussant: **Jerry G. Pankhurst**

Wittenberg University

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MA4 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 215

### **The Ukraine Crisis: Re-Interpreting Norms, Values, Identities and Memories?**

Chair: **Natalia Chaban**

University of Canterbury, New Zealand

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### **The Ukraine crisis: a clash between a modern Russia and a postmodern European Union?**

**James Headley** University of Otago, New Zealand

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### **The securitisation of memory between Russia and Ukraine and implications for European security**

**Natasha Kuhrt** King's College London

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### **A Ukraine, a contemporary political empire, and the Eastern Partnership Programme: living the dream of pragmatic regional functionalism?**

**Vlad Vernygora** Tallinn University of Technology

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### **Imagining the EU as a normative power: Framing the EU in Ukrainian media after Maidan**

**Natalia Chaban** University of Canterbury, New Zealand

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Discussant: **Tom Casier**

University of Kent, Brussels

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MA5 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 104

### **Translation 1: Cultural Boundaries: Polyglotism, Bilingualism and Translation**

Chair: **Ljubov Kisseljova**

University of Tartu

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### **Polyglotism and Translation in Yuri Lotman's Semiotics of Culture**

**Daniele Monticelli** Tallinn University

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### **Bilingualism in the Russian Birch Bark Letters**

**Karine Åkerman-Sarkisian** Uppsala University

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### **Translating Literature in late Soviet Contexts: Official and Unofficial Experience**

**Miriam Rossi** Tallinn University

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Discussant: **Anastasia V. Urzha**

Moscow State University

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MA6 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 306

### **Russia in/and Europe**

Chair: **Aaron T. Walter**

University of Ss. Cyril & Methodius in Trnava

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### **Western wife, Eastern lover: the politics of preference in Slovak national politics**

**Aaron T. Walter**

University of Ss. Cyril & Methodius in Trnava

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### **Revisiting Polish-Russian Relations from the World-Systems Perspective**

**Andrzej Turkowski**

University of Warsaw

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### **How much of 'Europeaness' remains in Russia?**

**Larisa Deriglazova**

Tomsk State University

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### **Russia's identity in an EU-dominated space: Applying a postcolonial perspective to the Baltic Sea Region**

**Clarissa Hirst**

Karlstad University, Sweden

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### **Between Russian kin and Russian World: The contradicting goals of Russia's foreign policy**

**Olga Talal**

Queen's University

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Discussant: **Anthony (Tony) M. van der Togt**

Clingendael Institute

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MA7 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 307

### **Memory: Institutions and Politics**

Chair: **Sergei Akopov**

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg

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### **The First World War as a Site of Memory in Russian and Ukrainian Political Discourse**

**Hanna Bazhenova**

Institute of East-Central Europe, Lublin

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### **Museum's Place in Building up Non-Soviet Estonian Identity**

**Irakli Pipia**

Tallinn University

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### **Tartu University as an Observatory Upon Europe & Russia**

**David Ilmar Lepasaar Beecher** University of California Berkeley

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Discussant: **Olaf Mertelsmann**

University of Tartu

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MB1 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 214

### **The International-Domestic Nexus on Transitional Justice: Insights from Russia and CEE**

Chair: **Siobhan Kattago**

University of Tartu

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### **Bounded Sovereignty: The Emerging Nexus of Domestic and International Influences in Post-Communist Truth and Justice Politics**

**Eva-Clarita Pettai** University of Tartu

**Vello Pettai** University of Tartu

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### **Transitional Justice-Foreign Policy Nexus: The International Implications of Russia's Political Handling of its Communist Past**

**Maria Mälksoo** University of Tartu

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### **The Right to Truth and Access to Archives: Russia's Obligations in Light of the Evolving Interpretation of the ECHR**

**Ilya Nuzov** University of Geneva

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### **Post-Communist Holiday Legislation as Part of Governmental Politics of History: The Case of the Russian Federation**

**Stefan Troebst** University of Leipzig

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Discussant: **Siobhan Kattago**

University of Tartu

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MB2 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 215

### **Authoritarian Governance and the Politics of Protest**

Chair: **Sofie Bedford**

Uppsala University

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### **Business-state relations and strategic deinstitutionalization under autocracy: the case of Russia**

**Ivan Grigoriev** National Research University Higher School of Economics

**Kirill Zhirkov** University of Michigan

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### **Vote Brokers, Clientelist Appeals, and Voter Turnout in Russia**

**Ora John Reuter** Case Western Reserve University

**Timothy Frye** Columbia University

**David Szakonyi** Columbia University

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### **Contesting Fraud: The Effect of Vote Protests and Trusted Leadership in Post-Election Protest**

**Regina Smyth** Indiana University

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### **Deoffshorization Law: Political Perspectives in Putin's Russia**

**Maria Amoroso** University of Naples "L'Orientale"

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Discussant: **Kelly McMann**

Case Western Reserve University

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MB3 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 104

### **Translation 2: Translatability and Hermeneutic Challenges**

Chair: **Julie Hansen**

Uppsala University

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### **Translation as Inter / Intra Cultural Hermeneutics**

**Olga Demidova** Leningrad State University and European University at St. Petersburg

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### **Filling Different Gaps in the Literary System: Russian and Dutch Cases of Pseudotranslation in the 1920s**

**Piet Van Poucke** Ghent University

**Michel De Dobbeleer** Ghent University

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Discussant: **Daniele Monticelli**

Tallinn University

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MB4 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 304

### **Russia's Revolt Against the West? Studies of Contemporary Russian Political Discourse**

Chair: **Dorota Kołodziejczyk**

Wroclaw University

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### **Ideas of Carl Schmitt? An Analysis of Russian Conservative Discourse in the Twenty-first Century**

**Sergei Akopov** National Research University Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg

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### **The dark side of cooperation? The EU, Russia and a new sphere of influence**

**Iain Ferguson** Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Saint Petersburg

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### **Particularist, Universalist, Anti-European: Russian Discourse on Humanitarian Cooperation in the CIS**

**Natalia Morozova** National Research University Higher School of Economics, Nizhny Novgorod

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### **The End of "Gayropa"? Gendered Discourse in Russian Media's Representations of the EU**

**Tatiana Riabova** Ivanovo State University

**Oleg Riabov** Ivanovo State University

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Discussant: **Maria Raquel Freire**

University of Coimbra

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MB5 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 306

### **Russia, the Eurasian Economic Union and the European Union: Legal, Political and Economic Perspectives**

Chair: **Koen Schoors**

Ghent University

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### **The Eurasian Economic Union – an EU-like legal order in the post-Soviet space?**

**Maksim Karliuk** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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### **Reconciling the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eurasian Economic Union: Towards a Pan-European Legal Space?**

**Peter Van Elsuwege** Ghent University

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### **Central and Eastern European perceptions of the Eurasian Economic Union: fears of renewed Russian hegemony?**

**Fabienne Bossuyt** Ghent University

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### **Impact of the economic sanctions applied by Russia on EU imports**

**Bruno Merlevede** Ghent University

**Koen Schoors** Ghent University

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Discussant: **Chris Miller**

Yale University

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MB6 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 103

### **Impact of Municipal Reforms on Local Community Development in Russia**

Chair: **Susanna Rabow-Edling**

Uppsala University

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### **Policy Implementation in Russia: the Local Perspective**

**Ann-Mari Sätre** Uppsala University

**Leo Granberg** University of Helsinki

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### **Organization of Political Life on Subnational Level: Local Political Practices and Institutions**

**Andrey Semenov** Center for Comparative History and Politics Studies

**Irina Shevtsova** Center for Comparative History and Politics Studies

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### **Contracting out social services and decentralizing public sphere: explaining regional and municipal variations**

**Anna Tarasenko** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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Discussant: **Jouko Nikula**

University of Helsinki

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MB7 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 307

### **Russia and its post-Soviet allies: current state of relations and possible future cooperation**

Chair: **Aliya Tskhay**  
University of St Andrews

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### **Standing on the middle ground: Evolving partnership between Kazakhstan, Russia and the EU after Ukrainian crisis**

**Aliya Tskhay** University of St Andrews

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### **Case study on the 'two Moldovas': "All roads lead to...Rome?"**

**Nina Lutterjohann** University of St. Andrews

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### **An Increasingly Uneasy Alliance: Russia-Armenia Relations in the Age of Falling Oil Prices**

**Mikayel Zolyan** Regional Studies Center, Yerevan

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### **Understanding Russian Position on Syria: Geopolitical Ambition or Domestic Necessity?**

**Daria Vorobyeva** University of St Andrews

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Discussant: **Mark Kramer**  
Harvard University

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MC1 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 307

### **Translation 3: Projecting the West through Translation**

Chair: **Piet Van Poucke**  
Ghent University

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### **Mikhail Lozinskii, Dante and the Soviet Myth of the Translator**

**Susanna Witt** Uppsala University

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### **Translating Children's Poetry in the Soviet Era: Strategies of Rewriting and Adaptation**

**Maria Khotimsky** Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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### **Sartre Sovieticus: Jean-Paul Sartre in Soviet Russia**

**Charlotte Bollaert** Ghent University

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Discussant: **Olga Demidova**  
Leningrad State University and European University at St. Petersburg

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MC2 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 306

### **Economic Aspects of International Relations in Eurasia**

Chair: **Judith Pallot**  
University of Oxford

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### **Why Russia's Economic Leverage is Declining**

**Chris Miller** Yale University

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### **The Eurasian Economic Union, Its Actual and Potential Members: Is There a Capability-Expectations Gap?**

**Artem Patalakh** University of Milan

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### **BRICS: does political cooperation have positive impact on bilateral trade?**

**Raul Toomla** University of Tartu

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### **B/Order Dynamics in Georgia-Russia and Georgia-EU Economic Relations**

**Lela Jamagidze** Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

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Discussant: **Peter Van Elsuwege**  
Ghent University

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MC3 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 103

### **Imperial Legacies and Populist Politics**

Chair: **Sanna Turoma**  
University of Helsinki and Academy of Finland

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### **Varieties of Imperial Legitimacy: The Case of Russia**

**Joseph MacKay** Columbia University

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### **Europe as counter-discourse? The postcolonial backlash in the Polish government rhetoric**

**Dorota Kołodziejczyk** Wrocław University

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### **Neo-Eurasianism vs. Neo-Ottomanism? Nationalism and Geopolitics in Postimperial Russia and Turkey**

**Igor Torbakov** Uppsala University

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### **Russian Transformism and Subaltern Social Groups in the Ukrainian Crisis**

**Maksim Kulaev** European University at St. Petersburg

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Discussant: **Natalia Morozova**  
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Nizhny Novgorod

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MC4 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 215

### **Russian Foreign and Security policies: domestic shift and external implications**

Chair: **Natasha Kuhrt**  
King's College London

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#### **Habits versus crises – interpreting Russia's Security policy**

**Aglaya Snetkov** ETH Zurich

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#### **Contesting boundaries, political entities and scales of regulations: Making and governing Eurasia**

**Stephen Aris** ETH Zurich

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#### **The return of the Russian state: Russian foreign policy and growing state capacity in the energy sector**

**Ingerid Opdahl** Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies and Norwegian Defence University College

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#### **Strategic narratives in the Middle East and their impact on the development international system**

**Holger Mölder** Tallinn University of Technology and University of Tartu

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Discussant: **Natasha Kuhrt**  
King's College London

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MC5 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 104

### **Resistance and empowerment: The EU and the challenges of the Eastern Partnership**

Chair: **Camille Merlen**  
University of Kent

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#### **Exploring the EU's security governmentality: The case of visa diplomacy in the Eastern Partnership**

**Igor Merheim-Eyre** University of Kent

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#### **In reform we trust? What the ENP review can mean for EaP democratic reforms in Ukraine and Moldova**

**Ryhor Nizhnikau** University of Tartu

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#### **Economic diplomacy within the Eastern Partnership: room for meaningful improvements through 'othering'?**

**Miruna Beldiman** University of Kent

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#### **Differentiation through bargaining power in EU-Azerbaijan relations: Baku as a tough negotiator**

**Eske Van Gils** University of Kent

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#### **Costs and benefits of lustration in Ukraine**

**Yuliya Zabyelina** John Jay College of Criminal Justice

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Discussant: **Piret Ehin**  
University of Tartu

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MC6 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 305

### **Political Opposition and Political Mobilisation in Eastern Europe**

Chair: **Leonid Polishchuk**  
Uppsala University

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#### **Opposition Without Revolution: A New Look at 'Failed Opposition' in Azerbaijan and Belarus**

**Sofie Bedford** Uppsala University

**Laurent Vinatier** Uppsala University

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#### **Political Opposition Beyond the Capital: Oppositional Alliances In Russian Regions**

**Andrey Semenov** Center for Comparative History and Politics Studies

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#### **Forgetting "Ploshcha": Quest for Alternative Concepts for Analysis of Belarusian Activism**

**Vasil Navumau** Uppsala University

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Discussant: **Olena Podolian**  
Södertörn University

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MC7 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 214

### **Que reste-t-il de nos amours? The expectations of 1989-1991 revisited**

Chair: **Maria Raquel Freire**  
University of Coimbra

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#### **The end of the European honeymoon: the refugee crisis, statelessness and the right to have rights**

**Siobhan Kattago** University of Tartu

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#### **The Expectations of 1989-1991 Revisited: an Autoethnography**

**Marcos Farias Ferreira** University of Lisbon

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#### **To Whom Belongs History? Retrofitting the Past in Post-Soviet Russia, Estonia and Georgia**

**Francisco Martínez** Estonian Academy of Arts

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Discussant: **Tiina Kirss**  
University of Tartu

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TA1 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 103

### Translation 4: Ideology, Tradition and the Market

Chair: **Susanna Witt**

Uppsala University

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#### Literature of World Revolution as/vs World Literature: an Editorial and Translation Project

**Elena Ostrovskaya** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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#### Russian Classics in Estonian Translation during the 1950–1960s: Ideology and Poetics in the Translations of Nikolai Leskov

**Ljubov Kisseljova** University of Tartu

**Lea Pild** University of Tartu

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#### Translation as a Means of Soft Power: Translating Soviet Non-Fiction from Russian into Finnish

**Hannu Kemppanen** University of Eastern Finland

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Discussant: **Roman Ivashkiv**

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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TA2 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 304

### Russian Reforms: Problems of Implementation

Chair: **Viacheslav Morozov**

University of Tartu

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#### An accident at the crossroad: how Russian (de)centralization influenced the social benefit reform in 2005

**Andrey Starodubtsev** University of Helsinki

**Viktoria Poltoratskaya** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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#### Administrative reform in Russia: comparative role of officials, civil society and expert community

**Alexander Sungurov** National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

**Daniil Tinyakov** National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

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#### Open Government Policy in Russia: National and Regional Dynamics

**Yurii Kabanov** National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

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#### Russia's High-Technology Industries: A Post-Neoliberal Development Strategy for an "Industrial Breakthrough"

**Anna Lowry** University of Helsinki

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Discussant: **Marina Khmel'nitskaya**

University of Helsinki

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TA3 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 305

### Legacies of the Yugoslav Conflicts

Chair: **Julie George**

Queens College and City University of New York

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#### The End of the Post-Yugoslav Settlement

**Timothy Less** University of Cambridge

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#### The role of symbolic capital in shaping the separatists' strategies – the case of Bosnia and Ukraine

**Bogdan Zawadewicz** Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg

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Discussant: **Vassilis Petsinis**

European Commission's Representation in Greece

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TA4 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 306

### Youth, Education and Social Inclusion in Russia and Eastern Europe

Chair: **Kristina Kallas**

University of Tartu

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#### Attitudes about Success: Can Economic Transformation and Instability Influence Youth Values?

**Marianna Klochko** Ohio State University, Marion

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#### Minority education in East-Central Europe: demands and justifications

**Anna Kyriazi** European University Institute

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#### Institutions and allocation of talent: evidence from Russian regions

**Leonid Polishchuk** Uppsala University

**Timur Natkhov** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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#### Does higher education contribute to the change in attitudes towards government price control in Russia?

**Maksym Bryukhanov** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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Discussant: **Andrey Semenov**

Center for Comparative History and Politics Studies

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TA5 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 214

## Ukraine: Revolution and Intervention

Chair: **Zsuzsa Cergó**  
Queen's University

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### Do Institutions Really Matter? Reflections on Transition, Color Revolutions and Western Interventionism

**Stefan Hedlund** Uppsala University

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### Revolution, External Intervention, and Civil Conflict: The Maidan Upheavals and Their Impact on Russian Policy toward Ukraine

**Mark Kramer** Harvard University

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### The Intersection of National Identity Politics and Orthodox Church Dynamics in the Ukraine Crisis: Political and Ecclesiastical Vectors of Change

**Jerry G. Pankhurst** Wittenberg University

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### Russia's View of Ukraine After the Crisis

**Giovanna De Maio** Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale

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Discussant: **Natalia Chaban**  
University of Canterbury, New Zealand

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TA6 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 104

## EU member states' perspectives on Russia

Chair: **Veera Sofia Laine**  
Finnish Institute of International Affairs

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### Italy's Russia policy: squaring the 'special relationship' with Euro-Atlantic commitments

**Marco Siddi** Finnish Institute of International Affairs

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### The Russia factor and its influence on the foreign policies of four Central-Eastern European member states

**Cristian Nitoiu** London School of Economics

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### Finnish–Russian relations: Strategic tensions, new dependencies

**Toivo Martikainen** Finnish Institute of International Affairs

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Discussant: **Stefano Braghioli**  
University of Tartu

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TA7 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 215

## Bringing human rights and justice home: Experiences from Estonia, Lithuania and Russia

Chair: **Lauri Mälksoo**  
University of Tartu

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### Russia's Changing Attitudes towards International Criminal Justice: is there a Way Forward?

**Gleb Bogush** Lomonosov Moscow State University

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### Broken Human Rights Perception in Russia: After Crimea

**Maria Issaeva** Threefold Legal Advisors LLC, Moscow

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### From commitment to compliance: Implementation of LGBT rights in Lithuania and Estonia

**Ausra Padsokocimaite** Uppsala University

**Kerttu Mäger** University of Tartu

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### Russia, Europe, and the Prisoners' Voting Rights Issue: a Minor Pretext for a Major Standoff

**Grigory Vaypan** Institute for Law and Public Policy and Moscow State University

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Discussant: **Bill Bowring**  
University of London

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TB1 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 214

## Russian Foreign Policy (Making)

Chair: **Anthony (Tony) M. van der Togt**  
Clingendael Institute

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### Status, power or both? Russia's foreign policy after Ukraine

**Maria Raquel Freire** University of Coimbra

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### Speaking Truth to Power? Knowledge, Expert Networks and Russian Foreign Policy Making

**Alexander Graef** University of St. Gallen

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### Alaska in Modern Russian Geopolitical Rhetoric

**Andrei Znamenski** University of Memphis

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Discussant: **Larisa Deriglazova**  
Tomsk State University

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TB2 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 104

### **Translation 5: Conceptualizing Translation in Late-Soviet and Post-Soviet Russian Culture**

Chair: **Karine Åkerman-Sarkisian**

Uppsala University

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#### **Time, Sleep and Death in Pelevin's "Sleep" and its English translation: Ways of Interpreting Realia, Allusions and Time Movement**

**Anastasia V. Urzha** Moscow State University

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#### **Images of Translation in Contemporary Russian Fiction**

**Julie Hansen** Uppsala University

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#### **Thinking Translation through Georgii Danelia's Osennii Marafon: Run, Buzykin, Run**

**Roman Ivashkiv** University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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Discussant: **Maria Khotimsky**

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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TB3 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 307

### **Contemporary Challenges of Ethnicity and Identity in Eastern Europe**

Chair: **Maria Mälksoo**

University of Tartu

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#### **Identity and Violence: Bringing Ethnicity Back in the Debate**

**Nino Kemoklidze** University of Birmingham

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#### **Working for interethnic dialogue: NGO driven participatory model for social agriculture in rural Hungary**

**Ildikó Asztalos Morell** Uppsala University

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#### **Nation-building and regional identities in Ukraine**

**Valentyna Romanova** Institute for Strategic Studies "New Ukraine", Kiev

**Olena Podolian** Södertörn University

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#### **Ethnicity and political (de)legitimization in Belarus: The case of Alexander Lukashenko**

**Anastasiya Astapova** University of Tartu

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Discussant: **Ryhor Nizhnikau**

University of Tartu

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TB4 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 304

### **Energy Politics and Energy Security**

Chair: **Bruno Merlevede**

Ghent University

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#### **Energy sector reform in Ukraine (2014-2016)**

**Eugenia Gusilov** Romania Energy Center (ROEC)

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#### **Similar goals, divergent motives. The enabling and constraining factors of Russia's Renewable Energy Policy**

**Niels Smeets** KU Leuven

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Discussant: **Raul Toomla**

University of Tartu

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TB5 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 306

### **Challenges to Democracy Promotion in the Neighbourhood**

Chair: **Helena Goscilo**

Ohio State University

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#### **Status Seeking or Interest in Democracy Promotion in the Eastern Partnership States? Lithuania's Foreign Policy Toward Ukraine**

**Gerda Jakstaite** Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas

**Ausra Park** Siena College, NY

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#### **Promoting democracy through new media? Polish media assistance in Ukraine.**

**Aleksandra Galus** Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

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#### **Invested in Ukraine: The Struggle of Lithuania against Russia Over the Future of Europe**

**Dovile Jakniunaite** Vilnius University

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#### **Fatal Attraction: Ukraine, EU Soft Power and the Capability-Expectations Gap**

**Kristian L. Nielsen** Copenhagen Business School

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Discussant: **Stefan Hedlund**

Uppsala University

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TB6 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 215

### **Sovereignty, Self-determination and Identity: Theorising and Explaining Change in International Order**

Chair: **Timothy Less**  
University of Cambridge

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### **Systemic Transformations and the Management of Secessionist Bids: Kosovo, South Caucasus, Crimea**

**Eiki Berg** University of Tartu

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### **More harm than good? The pernicious influence of self-determination on international legal order**

**Ciarán Burke** Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

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### **Military intervention and self-determination of minorities: a few recent cases**

**Aleksandar Pavković** Macquarie University, Sydney

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### **Sovereignty and Self-determination: Probing the Conceptual Foundations and Practical Ramifications of R2P**

**Eva Piirimäe** University of Tartu

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Discussant: **Iain Ferguson**

Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Saint Petersburg

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TB7 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 103

### **The EU's perspectives on Russia and the Neighbourhood**

Chair: **Asta Maskaliunaite**  
Baltic Defence College

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### **Micromanaging the Neighborhood: The Coordination Paradox and EU Technical Assistance in the European Neighborhood**

**Barbara Lehbruch** Uppsala University

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### **Is EP a Normal Parliament: Gauging MEPs Polarity When Russia Is Concerned**

**Anna A. Dekalchuk** National Research University Higher School of Economics

**Aleksandra Khokhlova** University of Tartu

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### **Crisis Talks in Russia and Germany: The Framing of the Ukraine Crisis on Political Talk Show Debates**

**Dennis Lichtenstein** Zeppelin University Friedrichshafen

**Katharina Esau** Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf

**Lena Pavlova** North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk

**Dmitry Osipov** North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk

**Nikita Argylov** North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk

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Discussant: **Vlad Vernygora**

Tallinn University of Technology

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TC1 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 307

### **Culture and Politics in Contemporary Russia**

Chair: **Tina K. Ramnarine**  
Royal Holloway University of London

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### **Mass Literature as Indicator of Social Vectors in Modern Russia**

**Maria Galina** Novy Mir Magazine, Moscow

**Arkady Shtypel** Independent researcher, Moscow

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### **Contemporary Russian cultural policy: explicit discourse and implicit practice**

**Tatiana Romashko** Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia, St. Petersburg

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### **Metamorphoses of the legend of the Antichrist in post-Soviet Russia**

**Magda Małgorzata Dolińska-Rydzek** Justus-Liebig University in Giessen

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### **From Attraction to Retraction and Its Artistic Consequences: The Russian Case**

**Helena Gosciolo** Ohio State University

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Discussant: **Julie Hansen**

Uppsala University

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TC2 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 214

## **Russian (Un)Civil Society in the Age of Politicization**

Chair: **Vello Pettai**  
University of Tartu

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### **“Les Miserables”: comparative biographies of Ukrainian and Novorossiyan militia commanders**

**Andrey Shcherbak** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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### **Politicization through Elections 2011-12 : Prospects for Civil Society in Russia**

**Margarita Zavadsкая** European University Institute, Fiesole

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### **Consultative bodies in Russian politics: in search of theoretical framework**

**Dmitry Goncharov** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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### **The failed cooptation of local government: The case of Petrozavodsk**

**Mikhail Turchenko** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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Discussant: **Marianna Klochko**  
Ohio State University, Marion

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TC3 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 104

## **Secessionist Conflicts and Their Consequences**

Chair: **Andrey Starodubtsev**  
University of Helsinki

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### **Transnistrian conflict in the context of the policy of the European Union: points of contacts and contradictions**

**Anatoliy Dirun** Moscow Institute of Business and Law, Tiraspol

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### **Unintended Consequences: State Governance, Secessionist Movements, and Instability in Georgia and Moldova**

**Julie George** Queens College and City University of New York

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### **De Facto States – A European Challenge: Russian and European Policies in the Case of Abkhazia**

**Sebastian Relitz** Institut for East and Southeast European Studies

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Discussant: **Timothy Less**  
University of Cambridge

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TC4 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 215

## **Sovereignty: How Russia Sees Itself, Its Neighbours, and the World**

Chair: **James Headley**  
University of Otago, New Zealand

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### **Russia and the WTO: Beyond Sovereignty**

**Camille Merlen** University of Kent

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### **Crisis Modernisation: How Crises Strengthen Economic Institutions in Russia**

**Rabekah Everett** University of Kent

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### **Sovereignty and World Order: The Russian Perspective**

**Zachary Paikin** University of Kent

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### **The Baltic States and the “New” Geopolitics of European Security Order**

**Eoin Micheál McNamara** University of Tartu

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Discussant: **Cristian Nitoiu**  
London School of Economics

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TC5 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 103

## **Regional and Local Identities and Politics in the Russian Federation**

Chair: **Regina Smyth**  
Indiana University

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### **Political Transformation Under Control: The President’s Electoral Support in the Republics of the Russian Federation**

**Tatiana Tkacheva** European University at St. Petersburg

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### **How the multilevel elite loyalty strengthens electoral authoritarianism: Evidence from the gubernatorial elections in Russia**

**Elena Sirotkina** National Research University Higher School of Economics

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### **Local Self-Government Reform in Russian Regions 2003-2015: Factors of Mayors’ Survival**

**Pavel Kononenko** St. Petersburg State University

**Kristina Gushchina** Independent researcher

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Discussant: **Ora John Reuter**  
Case Western Reserve University

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TC6 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 306

## **Conflicting Perspectives on Security and Geopolitics**

Chair: **Andres Kasekamp**

University of Tartu

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### **Response to Changing Geopolitical Situation: Subjective Perception of External Threats**

**Eglė Vileikienė** Institute for Social Innovations,  
Ministry of the Interior of the  
Republic of Lithuania and General  
Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy

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### **Dutch perspectives on prospects for Europeanisation of Russia**

**Anthony (Tony) M. van der Togt** Clingendael Institute

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### **Contestation, confrontation, counter-action: Collective identity constructions and perceptions of security in the South Caucasus**

**Susanne Szkola** University of Kent

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Discussant: **Dovile Jakniunaite**

Vilnius University

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TC7 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 304

## **Identities and Rights in Contemporary Russia**

Chair: **Bernard Maegi**

Normandale Community College

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### **Identity, Home and an Imagined Future: Russian Women Migrants and Nationalism. 'Chto Deylat?' (What is to be Done?)**

**Shubhra Nagalia** Ambedkar University, Delhi

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### **The European initiatives in fight against racism in Russia and Baltic States**

**Elena Eltc** Saint-Petersburg State University

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### **'Burden for Society' or 'Unique Experience'? Constructing New Identity of Disabled People in Today's Russia**

**Elena Nosenko-Stein** Institute of Ethnology and  
Anthropology, Russian Academy of  
Sciences

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Discussant: **Andrei Znamenski**

University of Memphis