### Conference Agenda

**Fifth Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies**

**Date:** Monday, 08/Jun/2020

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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| 9:00am - 10:45am | **MA1: Disasters in transition – representation, memory, imagination** | Atomic and nuclear testimonies in their political context  
*Florence Fröhlig*  
Södertörn University  

Representations of the Chernobyl catastrophe in post-Soviet cinema: the narratives of apocalypse and rebirth  
*Johanna Lindbladh*  
Lund University  

Political forms of exploitation and disaster in Senchin's Zona zatoplenii  
*Tora Lane*  
Södertörn University  

A Tragic Way to Independence: Natural Disasters as a Cultural Trauma in Georgia  
*Ketevan Kakitelashvili*  
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia |

| 9:00am - 10:45am | **MA2: Dimensions of the conflict in Donbas** | Secessionism in Contemporary Europe: A Typology of Post-Soviet Lessons from the 1990s  
*Glen Duerr*  
Cedarville University, United States of America  

Transitional Justice in the Making: Judicial Responses to the Donbas conflict in Ukraine  
*Andrii Nekoliak*  
University of Tartu, Estonia  

Perspectives of Donbas Reintegration: Political Strategies of Ukrainian and Russian governments versus IDPs' and Migrants' Intentions  
*Yulia Nikitina*, *Yuliya Bidenko*  
1MGIMO University, Russian Federation; 2Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine  

The Strategic Entrapment in Delegated Rebellions: The Case of Local Elites in Donbas  
*Martin Laryš*  
Charles University, Czech Republic  

“Nash Maidan”: The Comparison Between the 2014 Ukraine Revolution and the 1993 Russian Constitutional Crisis in Russian Media  
*Roberto Rabbia*  
King's College London, United Kingdom |
9:00am - 10:45am  MA3: International order and normative contestations

Ordering or disordering through diversity? Russia's global norm contestation and normative regionalization.

Xymena Kurowska¹, Stephanie Hofmann²
¹CEU; ²The Graduate Institute

The EU, Russia and crisis: scripts of accountability

Tom Casier
University of Kent, Belgium

A tale of Two Peters; Examining how law and war admitted Russia to respublica christiana

Punsara Amarasinghe
Scuola Superiore Sant Anna, Italy

History Politics as Foreign Policy: Russia's World War II Narrative Goes Regional

Natalia Morozova
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia, Russian Federation

Conveying a sense of common identity: Russian foreign policy discourses in the post-Soviet space

Mario Baumann
Brussels School of International Studies - University of Kent, Belgium

9:00am - 10:45am  MA4: Information warfare and security in the Baltic region

Polarization for Paralysis: How Authoritarian Regimes Weaponize Information to Shift Foreign Political Behaviors in the Post-Soviet Sphere

Noel Foster¹, Zenobia Chan²
¹Princeton University Department of Politics; ²Princeton University Department of Politics

Russian information warfare in Lithuania. Lithuanian experience.

Vitalijus Leibenka
Lithuanian Army, Lithuania

NATO Enhanced Forward Presence in Lithuania as subject of Kremlin propaganda

Viktor Denisenko
General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, Lithuania

An audience perspective on countering Russian influence activities in the Baltics

Emma Rönngren
Uppsala University, Sweden

Military maneuvers and geopolitical signaling in the Baltic Sea region

Andris Banka, Margit Bussmann
University of Greifswald, Germany
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<tr>
<td>9:00am</td>
<td>MA5: Education and social mobility</td>
<td>Destruction, construction, reconstitution? A comparative typology of new higher education institutions in the former Soviet space</td>
<td>Emma Sabzalieva</td>
<td>University of Toronto, Canada</td>
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<td>Science Diplomacy in the Eastern Neighbourhood: Tracing the Broader Impact of Scientific Cooperation with the EU</td>
<td>Tatsiana Chulitskaya</td>
<td>Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania</td>
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<td>Educational Migration of Young Kazakhstans: Life Strategies</td>
<td>Irina Chernykh</td>
<td>Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies, Kazakhstan</td>
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<td>Higher education transformation in the post-Soviet area: the case of Tomsk state university (Russia)</td>
<td>Anastasia Pogorelskaya</td>
<td>Tomsk State University, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Young Russians dream about future career: a case study from an average Russian province.</td>
<td>Evgeniya Polyakova(^1), Mikhail Manokin(^2), Vladimir Volegov(^3)</td>
<td>Higher School of Economics - SPB; (^2)Higher School of Economics - Perm; (^3)Education Development Institute of Perm krai</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00am</td>
<td>MA6: Rurality and Peasantism in Modern Russia</td>
<td>Rurality and Peasantism in Modern Russia</td>
<td>Chair(s): Ekaterina Melnikova (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Federation)</td>
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<td>Presentations of the Symposium</td>
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<td>From Village with Love: New Forms of Peasantism in Russia and the Rhetoric of Love</td>
<td>Ekaterina Melnikova</td>
<td>Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Young people who will stay: security, settlement size and infrastructure sufficiency</td>
<td>Ksenia Gavrilova, Elena Liarskaya</td>
<td>European University at St. Petersburg, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Locals and strangers in the Russian village: between encounters and cooperation</td>
<td>Julia Andreeva</td>
<td>Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Federation</td>
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Paul Chaisty¹, Svitlana Chernykh²
¹University of Oxford, United Kingdom; ²Australian National University, Australia

Opening the Black Box of Domestic Policy-making in Belarus: Analysis of the 2019 Early Parliamentary Elections.
Alla Leukavets¹,²
¹University of Tartu, Estonia; ²Belarusian State University, Belarus

Factors of Political Machines' Success: Russian Case
Viktoria Poltoratskaia
Central European University, Russia

Special Privileges for Political Parties in Elections in Russia: Institutional Experience and Results
Nikolai Grishin¹, Anna Maria Leenders²
¹Saint Petersburg State University, Russian Federation; ²Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Russian Federation

9:00am - 10:45am
MA8: Religion and National Indifference: Historical Perspectives from Imperial Borderlands

Religion and National Indifference: Historical Perspectives from Imperial Borderlands
Chair(s): Catherine Gibson (University of Tartu)
Discussant(s): Irina Paert (University of Tartu)

Presentations of the Symposium

Could conversion bring worldly benefits? Reflections on the short- and long-term economic effects of the conversion to the Russian Orthodox Church in the Baltic province of Livland
Kersti Lust
University of Tallinn

Oscillating Religiosity: Apostates in Livland Province in the 1860-80s
Catherine Gibson, Irina Paert
University of Tartu

Ruthenians into Romanians? National and religious indifference in Bukovina
Philippe Blasen
Institutul de istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași (Proiect MIRO)

11:15am - 1:00pm
MB1: Othering and enmity in Eurasian politics

Anti-Westernism in Eurasia: Neo-Eurasianism, Neo-Turanism and Neo-Ottomanism
Ümit Nazmi Hazır
National Research University - Higher School of Economics (HSE), Russian Federation

Russia’s ‘Conservative turn’ after 2012: evidence from European Social Survey data
Andrey Shcherbak
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation

Do Authoritarians Need an Enemy? New Evidence from “Fortress Russia”
Henry Hale, Adam Lenton
George Washington University, United States of America
The New Russian Militarism: Memory, Militainment, and (Discursive) Violence
Elizaveta Gaufman
University of Groningen, Netherlands, The

Ksenia Maksimovtsova
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation

11:15am - 1:00pm MB2: Energy politics, infrastructure and connectivity

A BATTLE FOR TRANSPORTATION ROUTES IN THE RUSSIAN NEIGHBORHOOD: IS THERE A PLACE FOR SMALL STATES?
Anar Valiyev
ADA University, Azerbaijan

The Southern Gas Corridor and the Implications for the EU-Russia Energy Relations
Agha Bayramov
University of Groningen, Netherlands, The

Caspian oil autocracies in the ‘new oil order’
Farid Guliyev
Giessen University, Germany

The effectiveness of the Western sanctions against Russian energy sector after six year
Javad Keypour
Taltech, Estonia

Transportation Infrastructure, Expansion of Soviet Power, and Russia’s “Political Connectivity” in Crimea
Konstantinas Andrijauskas
Vilnius University, Lithuania

11:15am - 1:00pm MB3: Many unhappy returns: Rearticulating the Soviet in the popular culture from 1980 onwards
Session Chair: Olga Malinova, National Research University Higher School of Economics
Discussant: Ronald Grigor Suny, University of Michigan

Normality through women’s eyes: Class, gender and the emerging neoliberal hegemony of the long 1980s
Viacheslav Morozov
University of Tartu

Writing inbetween the Soviet, the post-Soviet, and the postcolonial: blood, vampirism and national self-determination in Estonian decolonial imaginaries around 1990
Epp Annus
Ohio State University

“Our Past”: Museum Policies and the Construction of New Identity
Aleksei Semenenko
Umeå University
Svetlana Baskova’s *For Marx…: Form, Aesthetics and (Post)socialist Commitment*  
Zachary Britton Hicks  
University of California, Berkeley, United States of America

**MB4: Information technologies and democratisation**

*How have ICTs fostered the democratization process in Eastern Europe: Case studies of Ukraine and Georgia*  
**Eeva Kilk**  
University of Otago, New Zealand

*Defining a Post-Soviet Political Regime via Digital News (Cases of Ukraine and Belarus)*  
**Nataliia Steblyna**  
Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University, Ukraine

*Party cues and trust in remote internet voting: data from Estonia 2005-2019*  
**Piret Ehin, Mihkel Solvak**  
University of Tartu, Estonia

*Implementation of IT system in lack of digital labor conditions: Evidence from large Russian companies*  
**Sofia Paklina, Iuliia Naidenova**  
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation

*Network propaganda in Russian digital discourse: Case study of an Arctic espionage conspiracy*  
**Johanne Kalsaas**  
University of Bergen, Norway

**MB5: World geopolitical (Dis)order: Sovereignty and Legitimacy of Non-recognized States**

*World geopolitical (Dis)order: Sovereignty and Legitimacy of Non-recognized States*  
*Chair(s): Eiki Berg (University of Tartu, Estonia), Vladimir Kolossov (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)  
Discussant(s): Eiki Berg (University of Tartu, Estonia), Vladimir Kolossov (Russian Academy of Sciences)*

**Presentations of the Symposium**

*Multiscale Geopolitics of Foreign Economic Relations of Post-Soviet De Facto States*  
**Vladimir Kolossov**  
Russian Academy of Sciences

*Post-Soviet Non-Recognized States in Russian Media Discourse and Public Opinion*  
**Maria Zotova, Anton Gritsenko**  
Russian Academy of Sciences

*Geopolitical Orientations of the De Facto States in the Post-Soviet Space: Results from Nationwide Surveys in Early 2020.*  
**John O’Loughlin¹, Gerard Toal², Kristin Bakke³**  
¹University of Colorado-Boulder, ²Virginia Tech, ³University College London

*Health Care in Post-Soviet De-Facto States: Effects of Non-Recognition*  
**Sergei Golunov¹, Vera Smirnova²**  
¹Russian Academy of Sciences, ²Pirogov Russian National Research Medical University, Moscow
**Monopoly of Force: Gun Policy and Demobilization - Disarmament - Reintegration (DDR) in de facto Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Republic**

**Nona Shahnazarian**
Armenian National Academy of Sciences

**Navigating between international recognition paradigms: prospects and challenges for Nagorno-Karabakh**

**Vahram Ter-Matevosyan**
American University of Armenia

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**11:15am - 1:00pm MB6: New orders of neighbourly relations in the big cities in Russia: commonalities, materialities, sensualities**

- **New orders of neighbourly relations in the big cities in Russia: commonalities, materialities, sensualities**
  - *Chair(s): Olga Tkach (Centre for Independent Social Research (CISR), Russian Federation)*

  **Presentations of the Symposium**

  - **“The neighbor is dead, long live the neighbor!” Neighboring Communication as Art of Border Management**
    - **Olga Brednikova**
    - Centre for Independent Social Research (CISR)

  - **Ordering the private within the life-in-common: noise and smell in the neighborly relations**
    - **Liubov Chernysheva**
    - University of Amsterdam

  - **The symbolic meanings of housing in Russian industrial neighbourhoods: ‘Khrushchev-era’ versus ‘Stalin-era’ flats**
    - **Elizaveta Polukhina**
    - National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia, Moscow

  - **Homeowner as a neighbour: The influence of tenure on neighbourly relationships and belonging to the peripheral high-rise neighbourhoods**
    - **Olga Tkach**
    - Centre for Independent Social Research (CISR)

  - **Urban pioneers: establishing neighbourly relations in new urban areas**
    - **Oksana Zaporozhets**
    - National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow

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**11:15am - 1:00pm MB7: Civil society, minorities and democracy in Eastern Europe**

- **The revolutionary waves of post-Soviet democratization: conditions and patterns**
  - **Ashot Aleksanyan**
  - Yerevan State University, Armenia

- **Narratives of civic activity among hybrid populations of Ukraine: between regional, national and post-national narratives**
  - **Olena Nedozhogina**
  - University of Tartu, Estonia

- **Persistence and change: social capital revival in rural areas in Ukraine in the perspective of the anthropology of post-socialism. The case of Khmelnytskyi Oblast.**
  - **Aleksandra Synowiec**
  - Silesian University of Technology, Poland
The political role of NGOs in the East Europe: the Lithuanian case
Marta Gadeikiene
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

Ordering traditions: legitimate and illegitimate uses of past from the perspective of local Polish politicians
Dominik Porczyński
University of Rzeszów, Poland

11:15am - 1:00pm MB8: Baltic experience in the global context

(Re)imagining the Post-Soviet Baltic Republics Across the Continent: Mystic Representation, Illusive Reconstitution of Estonia in the South Korea Media.
Gyu Chan Jeon
Korea National University of Arts, Korea, Republic of (South Korea)

Pauli Heikkilä
University of Helsinki, Finland

Post-socialism Mutated: Learning from Narva about Global Connections and Urban Transitions
Francisco MARTINEZ
University of Leicester, United Kingdom

"Home" again: experiences and narratives of Baltic return migrants
Kata Fredheim, Zane Varpina
Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, Latvia

2:30pm - 4:15pm MC1: Soviet Intelligence Practices and Cold War Culture Legacy in Post-Soviet Russia, Ukraine, and the United States

Old Wine in New Bottles: Soviet and Russian Disinformation Campaigns and Active Measures
Taras Kuzio
National University of Kyiv / Johns Hopkins University

The Seductive Adversary: The Cultural Legacy of the KGB Anti-American Operations in Soviet and Post-Soviet Ukraine
Sergei Zhuk
Ball State University

"Gosdep Factor” Meets “Russian Collusion”: Legacy of Cold War Culture in US and Russia Domestic Politics
Andrei Znamenski
University of Memphis, USA
The Hollywood “Red Scare” of the American politics of identity in the early Cold War
Dmitriy Riabov
National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

On the Chancellor’s Secret Services: The German intelligence on the shores of the Black Sea
Michael Lambert
Sorbonne Université - INSEAD

2:30pm - 4:15pm MC2: The crisis of democracy and the illiberal turn

Social Impact of Transition: An Interdisciplinary Perspective
Kristen Ghodsee¹, Mitchell A Orenstein²
¹University of Pennsylvania, United States of America; ²University of Pennsylvania, United States of America

Post-truth politics, post-socialist (dis)orders and the crisis of democracy
Siobhan Kattago
University of Tartu, Estonia

Public Memory and Political Illiberalism in Poland, Hungary, and Russia
Mark Kramer
Harvard University, United States of America

Environment in the program assumptions of Polish nationalist parties
Karolina Cynk
University of Rzeszow, Poland

Anti-establishment and Euroscepticism: Bulgarian far-right 2005-2019
Dragomir Stoyanov
University of Sussex, Finland

2:30pm - 4:15pm MC3: Orthodox Church and politics

Church, State, and Memory in post-Soviet Russia: Orthodoxizing History or Nationalizing Religion?
Ekaterina V. Klimenko
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences

Russian Orthodox Church and survivors of domestic violence: hopes, expectations and media representation
Yuliya Grishina
University of Wuppertal, Germany

Liberal values and Russian society. The position of Patriarch Kirill (Gundyayev)
Marcin Skladanowski
The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland

Unholy wars: understanding intra-Orthodox conflict in Ukraine since the granting of Tomos
Oxana Shevel
Tufts University, United States of America
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<td>2:30pm - 4:15pm</td>
<td>Geopolitical Dimensions of the Acquisition of Autocephaly for the Orthodox Church of Ukraine: Questions from the Global Experience with De-Secularization</td>
<td>Jerry G. Pankhurst (Wittenberg University, United States of America)</td>
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|             | MC4: The crisis of liberal ordering and postcolonial alternatives | When Stigmatisation Fails: Post-socialist Europe and the Crisis of Liberal Ordering  
Adrian Rogstad (University of Groningen)  
Norm making and norm resisting in the EU: Are the post-communist states second-class members?  
James Headley (University of Otago, New Zealand)  
The EU-Russia regional rivalry: post-soviet space through the lens of postcolonial approach  
Elena Pavlova (University of Tartu, Estonia)  
The in-between identity of the Russian Federation  
Isabela de Andrade Gama (Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)  
Otherwise Postcolonialism. East and Central European postcolonial rhetoric in political and intellectual discourse.  
Anton Saifullayeu (University of Warsaw, Poland) |
|             | MC5: From Coverage and Framing, to Conspiracies and Strategies in Russian Media | From Coverage and Framing, to Conspiracies and Strategies in Russian Media  
Chair(s): Olena Nedozhogina (Tartu University, Estonia)  
Discussant(s): Triin Vihalemm (Tartu University, Estonia)  
Presentations of the Symposium  
Locating Russia’s Masked Presence in RT’s Coverage of the 2019 EU Elections  
Stephen Hutchings, Vera Tolz (the University of Manchester, UK)  
The world according to the truthseekers: Conspiracy and the everyday on RT  
Ilya Yablokov (University of Leeds)  
Claiming membership to the national community: counter-framing practices in the social media communications of the Baltic Russian-speakers  
Janis Juzefovics, Triin Vihalemm (University of Tartu)  
The Art of Disruption: RT’s Social Media Strategies  
Elizaveta Kuznetsova (Boston University & City, University of London) |
International Media from Below: Assessing ‘Relevance’ in Online News for Russian Speakers in Estonia
Heidi Erbsen
University of Tartu

2:30pm - 4:15pm
MC6: Traumatic memory: a diving line or social glue? The effects of Aufarbeitung der Vergangen (the working through the past) on post-socialist societies
Session Chair: Elena Nikiforova, Centre for Independent Social Research
Discussant: Ekaterina Melnikova, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera)

Neighbouring through time: An inquiry into the role of memory in the production of neighbourship (the case of Kivennapa/Pervomayskoe, Leningrad oblast’, Russia)
Elena Nikiforova
Centre for Independent Social Research, St. Petersburg

Performing Neighbourliness with Stumbling Stones: the Symbolic Reversal of an Unneighbourly Genocidal Past
Tamar Rapoport
Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Living under Stalin’s Great Terror: The Survivors Narratives in Georgia
Iveta Gogava
Tbilisi State University/Institute of Cultural Studies, Georgia

Interment as Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Slovenia
Julia Gabrielle Barnes
University of Virginia, United States of America

2:30pm - 4:15pm
MC7: Internal and External Dynamics of the De Facto Statehood in Eurasia

Internal and External Dynamics of the De Facto Statehood in Eurasia
Chair(s): Marcin Kosienkowski (The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland)

Presentations of the Symposium

Identity and Separatism in Donbass and Pridnestrovie: A Comparative Perspective
Marta Studenna-Skrukwa, Piotr Oleksy
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Poland

The 2006 Sovereignty Referendum in the De Facto State of Transnistria – Why Did It Take Place?
Marcin Kosienkowski
The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland

What Did the 2004–2005 Election Crisis Mean for the Political Leadership in Abkhazia?
Angieszka Tomczyk
University of Warsaw, Poland

Cheque-Mates? Abkhazia’s Quest for International Recognition
Donnacha Ó Beacháin
Dublin City University, Ireland

Models for Resolving Frozen Conflicts and Conditions for Their Implementation: The Experience of Transnistria
Anatoliy Dirun
Transdniestrian Taras Shevchenko University, Moldova (Transnistria)
New regionalism on trial? Assessing the legacy of 1989 in Nordic-Baltic policy transfers and region-work

Chair(s): Carl Emanuel Marklund (Södertörn University, Sweden), Mart Kuldkepp (University College London)
Presenter(s): Carl Emanuel Marklund (Södertörn University), Mart Kuldkepp (University College London), Ylva Waldemarson (Södertörn University), Kaarel Piirimäe (University of Tartu)
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<tr>
<td>9:00am - 10:45am</td>
<td>TA1: Historical narratives and memory wars</td>
<td>The Role of Historical Narratives in Ukrainian Foreign Policy Discourse on the EU and Russia</td>
<td>Lina Klymenko</td>
<td>Tampere University, Finland</td>
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<td>Trauma or Triumph: Georgia in the early 1990s</td>
<td>Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia</td>
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<td>Competition of Victims: Memory Wars and Emerging State Ideologies in Post-Soviet Armenia and Azerbaijan</td>
<td>Nona Shahnazaryan</td>
<td>Institute of Archealogy and Ethnography National Academy of Sciences Yerevan Armenia; Center for Social Research in St. Petersburg, Russia</td>
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<td>Rethinking the monuments to revolution</td>
<td>Tigran Harutyunyan</td>
<td>Independent researcher, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Soviet Monuments in Post-Soviet Cities: Reframing, Renaming, Replacing</td>
<td>Daria Radchenko</td>
<td>RANEPA, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>9:00am - 10:45am</td>
<td>TA2: The biopolitics of Eastern European and post-Soviet countries: some critical approaches</td>
<td>The Popular biopolitics of Estonian Russophones: “Bare lives”, sovereignties and beyond</td>
<td>Andrey Makarychev</td>
<td>University of Tartu</td>
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<td>Biopolitical populism and pastoral power in Poland: the case of LGBT and gender issues after 2015</td>
<td>Alexandra Yatsyk</td>
<td>University of Tartu</td>
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<td>Post-Soviet governments’ regulation of funerals</td>
<td>Turkhan Sadigov</td>
<td>University of Wisconsin Madison, United States of America</td>
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<td>Expressions of Surrogacy Stigma in A Russian Online forum</td>
<td>Natalia Khvorostyanov, Daphna Yeshua-Katz</td>
<td>Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel</td>
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<td><strong>TA3: Patterns of governance in post-Soviet space</strong></td>
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<td>The Normative Foundations of Patronal Politics: Examples from Eurasia</td>
<td>Barbara Junisbai</td>
<td>Pitzer College, United States of America</td>
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<td>Stepping down but remaining in power? Gradual authoritarian leadership succession in 2010s Kazakhstan</td>
<td>Kristiina Silvan</td>
<td>University of Helsinki / Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Finland</td>
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<td>The political decision-making process and business elites in Post Soviet transformations: the case of Georgia’s mining enterprises</td>
<td>Giorgi Beridze 1,2,3</td>
<td>1Johan Skytte Institute of Political Science; 2University of Tartu; 3Tbilisi State University</td>
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<td>The Micro-level Determinants of Defection: Georgia, 1999-2004</td>
<td>Scott Radnitz 1, Julie George 2</td>
<td>1University of Washington, United States of America; 2Queens College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York</td>
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<td>Cultural and Organizational Causes for Active Corruption – Results of Cross-Country Experimental Corruption Research in Russia, Poland and Germany</td>
<td>Alexander Fürstenberg, Sebastian, Dr. Starystach</td>
<td>Heidelberg University, Germany</td>
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<td>9:00am - 10:45am</td>
<td><strong>TA4: Performative politics</strong></td>
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<td>Sovereign Body? Performance as a Hidden Resistance in Russia</td>
<td>Elena Vladimirovna Yushkova</td>
<td>Independent Scholar, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Eclectic Musical Preferences and Tolerance in Perm Region</td>
<td>Iuliia O. Papushina</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Managing Dissent in Post-Soviet Authoritarianism. The Hybrid Censorship of Protest Musicians in Belarus and Russia</td>
<td>Yauheni Kryzhanouski 1,2</td>
<td>1SAGE, University of Strasbourg - CNRS; 2CERCEC, CRAL - EHESS (Paris)</td>
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<td>The Quest for Russianness in Russian Popular Music (2018-2020)</td>
<td>Marco Biasioli</td>
<td>University of Manchester, United Kingdom</td>
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<td>‘A Man Who Hit the Judge with a Fly Swatter’: Justice, Politics, and Performance in (Post)Socialist Kazakhstan</td>
<td>Nari Shelekpayev</td>
<td>European University at Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>9:00am - 10:45am</td>
<td>Re-thinking security, strategy and (soft) power in the Baltic Sea region</td>
<td>Margit Bussmann (University of Greifswald, Germany)</td>
<td>Andris Banka (University of Greifswald, Germany)</td>
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**Presentations of the Symposium**

**The influence of international crises on Russian soft power**
- Natalia Iost
  University of Greifswald, Germany

**Russia’s Soft Power In Lithuania – A Victim Of Othering?**
- Giedrius Česnakas
  The General Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania

**The Societal Security Concept: The Russian Perspectives**
- Alexander Sergunin
  St. Petersburg State University/Moscow State Institute of International Relations

**Human security concept in Russian IR theories**
- Valery Konychev
  Saint-Petersburg State University, Russia

**Security in the Baltic Sea Region: Re-thinking strategic partners and territorial defense in Denmark**
- Amelie Theussen
  Center for War Studies, University of Southern Denmark

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<th>Time</th>
<th>Symposium Title</th>
<th>Chair(s)</th>
<th>Presentations of the Symposium</th>
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</table>
| 9:00am - 10:45am | Struggling with (Dis)Orders: The Politics of International Law in the Post-Soviet Region and Beyond | Cindy Wittke (Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS)) | Russian Foreign Policy and International Law in the 1990s versus 2000s: Using, Abusing, or Creating a New Politico-Legal Environment?  
Natalia Piskunova  
Moscow State University  

**Soviet Doctrine of Law and Its Influence on Modern Legal Practices**
- Anna Isaeva
  University of Florence

**The Politics of (Non)Compliance: When Do Eastern European Countries Execute the ECtHR Judgments and Why?**
- Lusine Badalyan, Andrea Gawrich
  Justus-Liebig-University Giessen

**The International Legal Politics of Secession**
- Elia Bescotti
  Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS)

**Places and Spaces of Struggle in the post-Soviet Region: Rule of Law Promotion in Central Asia**
- Nargiza Kilichova
  Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS)
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<td>TA7: Integration, conflict and nation-building in Eurasia</td>
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<td>Whither the Eurasian Economic Union? The Rise and Fall of Russia’s Eurasian Integration Project</td>
<td>Seckin Köstem, Bilkent University, Turkey</td>
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<td>&quot;How do EEU members justify cooperation with the EU? The case of Belarus and Armenia&quot;</td>
<td>Ivanna Machitidze, New Vision University, Georgia</td>
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<td>Russia’s room for manoeuvre on the inner and external semi-periphery of the EU – Hungary and Serbia</td>
<td>Tibor Pap, Peter Tamas Bozo, Csaba Mate Sarnyi, University of Pecs, Hungary; Karoli Gaspar University of the Reformed Church in Hungary</td>
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<td>Dividing the Caspian: conflict, cooperation and sovereignty in early post-Soviet period</td>
<td>Leyla Sayfutdinova, University of Eastern Finland, Finland</td>
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<td>9:00am - 10:45am</td>
<td>TA8: Women’s Representation and Gender Dynamics in Latvian Politics</td>
<td>Laura Dean, Millikin University</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:15am - 1:00pm</td>
<td>TB1: Roundtable: Studying the South Caucasus from the social science perspective – challenges, prospects, agenda</td>
<td>David Sichinava, CRRC Georgia, Georgia; Tinatin Zurabishvili, Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia; American Councils for International Education; Anar Valiyev, ADA University, Baku, Azerbaijan; Sona Balasanyan, CRRC-Armenia, Yerevan, Republic of Armenia; Yerevan State University, Republic of Armenia</td>
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<td>11:15am - 1:00pm</td>
<td>TB2: Character or Institutions? Explaining political passivity of Latvians</td>
<td>Sergei Kruk, Riga Stradins University, Latvia</td>
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Presentations of the Symposium

Individual and Structural Enablements and Constraints to Entrepreneurship in Latvia

Structure of Social Capital of Latvians

Trust indicators for different Latvian population generations: framework of the social capital concept.
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<td>11:15am - 1:00pm</td>
<td>TB3: Disinformation and propaganda</td>
<td>Differences in (Fake) News Perception in Politically Polarized Societies</td>
<td>Zea Szebeni</td>
<td>University of Helsinki, Finland</td>
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<td>Authoritarian Russia’s Appeal as an ‘Alternative Civilization’ through Internet-based Media: the case of Sputnik International</td>
<td>Jessica Valisa</td>
<td>University of Otago, New Zealand</td>
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<td>The weaponization of Information: the case of securitization of RT</td>
<td>Sherzod Bahtiyorovich Shamiev</td>
<td>Centre for Sociological Researches &quot;Zerkalo&quot;, Tajikistan</td>
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<td>Strategic narratives and public diplomacy in the Russian news media portrayal of Sweden: the case of Russia Today</td>
<td>Anna Ryzhova</td>
<td>University of Gothenburg, Sweden</td>
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<td>11:15am - 1:00pm</td>
<td>TB4: Ethnopolitics and national identities</td>
<td>The framing of the disinformation phenomenon in Czech media</td>
<td>Jonáš Syrovátka</td>
<td>Masaryk University, Czech Republic</td>
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<td>Managing ethnicity in the transition to democracy</td>
<td>Peter Rutland</td>
<td>Wesleyan University, United States of America</td>
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<td>Language, Language Policy, and Identity: Moldovan or Romanian?</td>
<td>Martin Jakubek</td>
<td>Charles University, Czech Republic</td>
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<td>Identity Politics in Belarus: A look from Instrumentalist Approach on Nationalism</td>
<td>Tatsiana Kulakevich</td>
<td>University of South Florida, United States of America</td>
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<td>Regional Disparities of Belarusian identity: Logic and Conundrums</td>
<td>Petr Oskolkov¹, Igor Okunev²</td>
<td>Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Federation; MGIMO University, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Geopolitics, ethnopolitics and the EU: The cases of Serbia and Latvia</td>
<td>Vassilis Petsinis</td>
<td>University of Tartu, Estonia</td>
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<td>TB5: Authoritarian policy diffusion and governance</td>
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<td><strong>The Role of Regional Organisations in Authoritarian Learning</strong></td>
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<td><em>Stephen Hall</em></td>
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<td><strong>Authoritarian Policy Diffusion: Social Policy and Human Rights Strategies Across Countries</strong></td>
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<td><em>Pavel Bacovsky, Srinivas Parinandi, Sarah Wilson Sokhey</em></td>
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<td><strong>Michel Foucault's concept of ‘dispositif of security’: Central Asian weak states</strong></td>
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<td><em>Rustam Burnashev</em></td>
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<td><strong>Repressive Stalinism Regulations in Criminal Law of Post-Soviet Countries</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Russia’s New Soft Power: Financial Diplomacy and the Mir card system</strong></td>
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<td><em>Gabriella Sarah Gricius</em></td>
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<td><strong>Impressions of travel abroad in the works of Latvian writers in 1970s-1980s: Evidence of permitted and denied</strong></td>
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<td><em>Jānis Oga</em></td>
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<td>Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia (ILFA), Latvia</td>
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<td><strong>The Deconstruction of the European Tradition of Tbilisi’s Urban Poetry in the 1990s</strong></td>
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<td><em>Nino Pirtskhalava</em></td>
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<td><strong>Illness as Metaphor in Alexei Salnikov’s The Petrovs in and around the Flu</strong></td>
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<td><em>Nataliya Karageorgos</em></td>
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<td><strong>Disputes Over Community Boundaries in the Russian Literary Field After 1991. Female Writers’ Point of View.</strong></td>
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<td><em>Katarzyna Roman-Rawska</em>, Agata Gać*</td>
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<td>¹Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland; ²Department of Russian Studies, University of Warsaw</td>
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<td><strong>DYSTOPIC DISORDER IN TRANSLATION: SOROKIN’S NOVEL Day of the oprichnik.</strong></td>
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<td>The Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland</td>
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<td>TB7</td>
<td>Centre-periphery relations in Russia</td>
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<td>Russia's Language Policy and the Centre-Periphery Relations: Policy Environment, Policy Actors and Policy Change</td>
<td>Konstantin Zamyatin</td>
<td>University of Helsinki, Finland</td>
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<td>Four types of one tradition</td>
<td>Marat Iliyasov¹, Diana Ishaqat²</td>
<td>Vytawas Magnus University, Lithuania 1; University of Westminster, United Kingdom 2</td>
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<td>Ethno-linguistic policy and situation in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): transformations in the post-Soviet period</td>
<td>Ekaterina Arutyunova</td>
<td>Institute of Sociology of FCTAS RAS, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Establishing a dialogue between State and indigenous peoples (using the example of small indigenous peoples of North-Western Russia)</td>
<td>Elena Edouardovna Eltc</td>
<td>Saint-Petersburg State University, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>The Rise of Paradiplomacy of the Subjects of Federation and the Russian foreign policy in the first half of 1990s</td>
<td>Yury Akimov</td>
<td>Higher School of Economics National Research University, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>TB8</td>
<td>Biopolitics, migration and civic activism</td>
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<td>Seeing like a biopolitical migration state. Deconstructing migration data production in Russia.</td>
<td>Caress Schenk</td>
<td>Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan</td>
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<td>Neoliberal Self after Cancer. Looking for the Ways of Sustainable Lifestyle Despite Market Economy in Russia</td>
<td>Elena Berdycheva</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Senior care projects developed by nonprofit organizations in Northwestern Russia</td>
<td>Liliya Zenina</td>
<td>University of Jyväskylä, Finland</td>
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<td>Moments of explosions: St Petersburg LGBTIQ+ activists negotiating spaces and ideas</td>
<td>Paulina Lukinmaa</td>
<td>University of Eastern Finland, Finland</td>
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<td>Shifting masculinity practices in Tajik migrants' transnational life</td>
<td>Rustam Samadov</td>
<td>Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies, Germany</td>
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¹Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania 1; ²University of Westminster, United Kingdom 2
### TC1: Soviet literary institutions vs. post-soviet literary communities: legacies, relationships and market transformations

**Soviet literary institutions vs. post-soviet literary communities: legacies, relationships and market transformations**  
Chair(s): Evgeniya Vorobyeva (Russian State University for the Humanities, Russian Federation)

Presentations of the Symposium

- **The Long and Winding Road: Reading in Russia in Soviet Time and Now**  
  **Anna Gerasimova**  
  University of Tartu, Estonia

- **Between Individual and Impersonal: Social Systems of Contemporary Russian Literature**  
  **Anna Nizhnik**  
  Russian State University for the Humanities, Russian Federation

- **Modern Literary Scenes: Poetic Scene of Nizhny Novgorod (Russia)**  
  **Ilya Lekhov**  
  Russian State University for the Humanities, Russian Federation

### TC2: Geopolitics, security and migration in East-Central Europe and in the post-Soviet region

**Geopolitics, security and migration in East-Central Europe and in the post-Soviet region**  
Chair(s): Tomasz Stepniewski (Institute of Central Europe, Poland and Catholic University of Lublin, Poland)  
Discussant(s): Louis Wierenga (University of Tartu)

Presentations of the Symposium

- **NATO, the European Union, Ukraine and Putin's Russia: geopolitics and security issues**  
  **Tomasz Stepniewski**, **George Soroka**  
  1Institute of Central Europe, Poland and Catholic University of Lublin, Poland, 2Harvard University, USA

- **Migration in the Baltic States: New trends, New dimensions**  
  **Aleksandra Kuczyńska-Zonik**  
  Institute of Central Europe

- **Migration from Eastern Europe after Ukrainian crisis: determinants, scale and significance**  
  **Andrzej Szabaciuk**  
  Institute of Central Europe, Poland and Catholic University of Lublin, Poland

- **The Visegrad Group in the face of contemporary geopolitical challenges**  
  **Agata Tatarenko**  
  Institute of Central Europe

### TC3: Women's struggles in the post-socialist world

**Silencing women - The populist turn against gender in Hungary**  
**Robert Sata**  
CEU, Hungary

- **What Is Left to Women's Protest in Authoritarian Russia? Exploration of Opportunities for Mobilization**  
  **Natalia Kovyliaeva**  
  University of Tartu

- **Post-Soviet re-Islamization and Islamic education as sources of building new identities: a case of women in Dagestan**  
  **Alisa Romanovna Shishkina**, **Leonid Markovich Isaev**  
  National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation
Securitising sex work in Tajikistan
Karolina Kluczewska
Justus Liebig University Giessen, Germany

2:30pm - 4:15pm TC4: Work and everyday life in Russia today

Work and everyday life in Russia today
Chair(s): Simo Mannila (University of Helsinki)
Discussant(s): Jouko Nikula (University of Helsinki)

Presentations of the Symposium

Informal employment and the disorganization of the Russian urban labor market
Galina Eremicheva
Institute of Sociology (RAN, SPB)

Everyday life of urban population in post-Soviet Russia: blurred boundaries
Elena Evdokimova
Institute of Sociology (RAN, SPB)

Working in political technologiy in modern Russia: features of professional trajectories and identities
Natalya Kolesnik
Institute of Sociology (RAN, SPB)

Glocal chains of care:. Employment of female domestic labor migrants from Central Asia as mechanism of double emancipation
Elena Zdravomyslova
European University at SPB

Working life inn Russia - a historical perspective of 20 years
Harri Melin
University of Tampere, Finland

2:30pm - 4:15pm TC5: Civic activism in Russia

A first-hand insight on civils society organizations engaged in anti-corruption in Russia
Francesca Chiarvesio
NRU Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation

Civic Culture vs. Apolitical Social Capital: The Case of Moscow Apartment Buildings
Leonid Polischuk, Alexander Rubin, Igor Shagalov
HSE University, Moscow, Russian Federation

Can citizens affect policy in hybrid regimes? Case of Russian waste management reform
Danil Tiniakov
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Saint-Petersburg, Russian Federation

Non-Contentious Strategies of Environmental Social Movements in Contemporary Russia. Case study of Razdel’niy Sbor in Saint Petersburg
Maria Chiara Franceschelli, Galina Selivanova
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia
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<td>Hybrid Democratizations in de facto States</td>
<td>Magdalena Dembinska</td>
<td>Université de Montréal, Canada</td>
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<td>International Conflict Management in Abkhazia and the Caucasus: The Role of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia</td>
<td>Nicholas Barker</td>
<td>University of Oxford, United Kingdom</td>
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<td>The Conflict over Abkhazia: Mutually Exclusive National Projects and A Fragmented Statehood</td>
<td>David Matsaberidze</td>
<td>Iv.Javakishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia</td>
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<td>Microanalysis of Parliamentary Elections Results in the Javakheti region, Georgia</td>
<td>Stanislav Štěpáník</td>
<td>University of Ostrava/Faculty of Science, Czech Republic</td>
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<td>Instruments and means of penetrating the Russian Federation in the internal security dynamics of unresolved conflicts in Georgia and Ukraine</td>
<td>ELENA TUDOR - ONU</td>
<td>National School of Political Studies and Public Administration of Bucharest, Romania, Romania</td>
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<td>2:30pm - 4:15pm</td>
<td>TC7: Democratic failures, populism and foreign policy</td>
<td>A Failed Democratic Turn? Soviet attempt to participate in the postwar integration</td>
<td>Kristina V. Minkova</td>
<td>St. Petersburg State University, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>How has the role of Eastern European countries changed in the Baltic states' foreign policies over the last three decades?</td>
<td>Andrei Valodzkin¹ ²</td>
<td>Institute of History of the National Academy of Science of Belarus; Belarusian State University, Faculty of International Relations</td>
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<td>&quot;Rethinking the Varsovian Express&quot; - the similarities and the differences in Polish and Hungarian transformation, lessons what we learned</td>
<td>Andrea Schmidt</td>
<td>University of Pecs, Hungary</td>
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<td>Case study of populism and authoritarian rule. The example of the foreign policy of the Republic of Poland</td>
<td>Wojciech Łysek</td>
<td>Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland</td>
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¹ Institute of History of the National Academy of Science of Belarus; ² Belarusian State University, Faculty of International Relations.
The Stabilisation Process of Hybrid Regimes: A Comparative Study of Russia and Turkey
Bakki Bequmhan Bayhan
Coventry University, United Kingdom

2:30pm - 4:15pm
TC8: The media and political discourses in Russia

The formation of modern Russian political language: trends and risks
Roman Evstifeev
Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Russian Federation

Reconceptualizing Post-Soviet Press
Igor Klyukanov, Galina Sinekopova
Eastern Washington University, United States of America

Traces of the Soviet Past in Nowadays RuNet
Katja Grupp
IUBH, Germany

CONTENT STRATEGIES OF LOCAL MEDIA AT NORTHERN EUROPEAN RUSSIA
Bela Lebedeva, Konstantin Petrov, Maria Teplyh
St. Petersburg State University, Russian Federation

Bringing others into line: discourse on the roles within Russian opposition – a regional glance
Filip Rudnik
University of Tartu / University of Glasgow