# Schedule of panel sessions

**Fifth Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies**  
6–8 June 2021

**Date: Monday, 31/May/2021**

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<tr>
<th>Start Time</th>
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| 5:00pm - 7:00pm | RT1: Pre-conference roundtable | Session Chair: Holger Mölder, Tallinn University of Technology  
**The rise of populism and information warfare - the influence of Russian strategic narratives on the Global Knowledge Warfare**  
*Chair(s):* Holger Mölder (Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia)  
*Presenter(s):* Eric Shiraev (George Mason University), Vladimir Sazonov (University of Tartu/EMA), Noel Foster (Princeton University), Zanobia Chan (Princeton University), Louis Wierenga (University of Tartu) |

**Date: Saturday, 05/June/2021**

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| 4:00pm - 6:00pm | RT2: Pre-conference roundtable | Session Chair: Epp Annus, Tallinn University/ Ohio State University  
**Was there such thing as a Soviet subject? Subjectivities in flux, 1947-2000**  
*Chair(s):* Epp Annus (Tallinn University/ Ohio State University)  
*Presenter(s):* Alexey Golubev (University of Houston), Anatoly Pinsky (University of Helsinki), Epp Annus (Tallinn University / Ohio State University), Zita Karkla (University of Latvia), Uku Lember (Tallinn University) |

**Date: Monday, 07/June/2021**

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<tr>
<th>Start Time</th>
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| 9:00am - 10:45am | MA1: Disasters in transition – representation, memory, imagination | Session Chair: Siobhan Kattago, University of Tartu  
**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 |
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<th>Discussant</th>
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<tr>
<td>9:00am - 10:45am</td>
<td>MA2: International dimension of conflict management</td>
<td>Perspectives of Donbas Reintegration: Political Strategies of Ukrainian and Russian Governments versus IDPs' and Migrants' Intentions</td>
<td>Yulia Nikitina¹, Yuliya Bidenko²</td>
<td>MGIMO University, Russian Federation; Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine</td>
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<td>The Strategic Entrapment in Delegated Rebellions: The Case of Local Elites in Donbas</td>
<td>Martin Laryš</td>
<td>Charles University, Czech Republic</td>
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<td>A more Independent Abkhazia and South Ossetia? Two Partially Recognized States' Foreign Relations since the Beginning of the Ukrainian crisis</td>
<td>David Xaver Noack</td>
<td>University of Mannheim, Germany</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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<tr>
<td>9:00am - 10:45am</td>
<td>MA3: International order and normative contestations</td>
<td>The EU, Russia and crisis: scripts of accountability</td>
<td>Tom Casier</td>
<td>University of Kent, Belgium</td>
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<td>Discursive Interaction: The deployment of the ‘Other’ in the discursive battle over Syria in Russia and the West</td>
<td>Mario Baumann</td>
<td>Brussels School of International Studies - University of Kent, Belgium</td>
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<td>‘The law is still the law’: How Russian conceptions of legality conditioned the international responses to the Islamic State</td>
<td>Joakim Brattvoll</td>
<td>European University Institute, Italy</td>
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<td>Space, borders and hybridity: a critical appraisal of EU and Russia narratives on Crimea's annexation</td>
<td>Maria Raquel Freire¹, Ana Paula Brandão²</td>
<td>CES</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00am - 10:45am</td>
<td>MA4: Everyday life and civic activism in Russia</td>
<td>Civic Culture vs. Apolitical Social Capital: The Case of Moscow Apartment Buildings</td>
<td>Leonid Polishchuk, Alexander Rubin, Igor Shagalov</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow</td>
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### 9:00am - 10:45am

**MA5: Information technologies and the new media**

#### Defining a Post-Soviet Political Regime via Digital News (Cases of Ukraine and Belarus)

**Nataliia Steblyna**
Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University, Ukraine

#### 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

#### Civil society and data in Russia: OVD-Info experience

**Denis Shedov**
HRC Memorial, OVD-Info, Russian Federation

### 9:00am - 10:45am

**MA6: GCRF COMPASS Panel 1 The Eurasian Post Socialist Order**

Session Chair: Siddharth Shanker Saxena, University of Cambridge
Discussant: Prajakti Kalra, University of Cambridge

#### Social Capital as Community Insurance: The Role of Networks, Reciprocity, and Trust in Resilience of Kazakhstani Communities

**Yulia Darmenova¹, Eunjoo Koo²**
¹Karaganda Industrial University, Temirtau, Kazakhstan; ²McGill University

#### Localizing the Cold War Era Globality: Central Asian discourse of the “Soviet Asia” during the 1958 Afro-Asian Writers Congress

**Boram Shin**
Jeonbuk University, South Korea
Fragility and resilience community strategies in Belarus
Elena Korosteleva, Irina Petrova
University of Kent

Labour conflicts, trust, and state fragility in resource-abundant states: The case of Kazakhstan’s extractive sector
Serik Orazagaliev, Slyamzhar Akhmetzharov
Nazarbayev University

Locating Central Asians in the Making of Eurasia
Prajakti Kalra, Siddharth (Montu) Saxena
University of Cambridge and Cambridge Central Asia Forum

9:00am - 10:45am
MA7: Challenges in Internationalization of Higher Education in Postsocialist Russia and Cooperation with the EU
Session Chair: Sirke Melina Mäkinen, University of Helsinki
Discussant: Katarzyna Kaczmarska, University of Edinburgh

Tracing the Assemblage of Internationalisation of Postsocialist Russian Higher Education
Iuliia Gataulina
Tampere University

Collaborative degree programmes in internationalisation policies: The games of university stakeholders
Svetlana Shenderova
Tampere University

Internal Stakeholders in Double Degrees and Political Context of Finnish-Russian Cooperation
Sirke Mäkinen
University of Helsinki

Leadership at the Expense of Education: Universities of Northwest Russia in Cross-Border Cooperation Projects with EU Member States
Gleb Yarovoy, Dmitry Lanko
1University of Eastern Finland; 2St. Petersburg State University

9:00am - 10:45am
MA8: Religion and National Indifference: Historical Perspectives from Imperial Borderlands
Session Chair: Catherine Gibson, University of Tartu
Discussant: Irina Paert, University of Tartu

Religion, National Indifference, and Forms of Solidarity
Catherine Gibson, Irina Paert
University of Tartu

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
### MB1: Roundtable

**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)

### MB2: Roundtable

**Studying the South Caucasus from the social science perspective – challenges, prospects, agenda**

*Chair(s):* David Sichinava (CRRC Georgia, Georgia)

*Presenter(s):* Tinatin Zurabishvili (Università di Bologna), Timothy Blauvelt (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)

### MB3: Freedom of assembly in Russia: institutions, practices and protest publics

#### Session Chair: Denis Shedov, OVD-Info

*Chair: Denis Shedov, OVD-Info*

**Protest Publics: Comparative Analysis of Anti-garbage Protests in Moscow Region (2017-2020)**

*Alexandra Pozhivotko*

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation

**Courts and the pandemic: an overview of the Russian experience**

*Alexandra Baeva*

Human rights media project OVD-Info, Russian Federation

**Criminal Prosecution in Relation to Mass Gatherings**

*Grigory Durnovo*

Human rights media project OVD-Info, Russian Federation

**Citizenship, gender, university: what increases the risks for participants of peaceful assemblies in Russia**

*Nataliya Smirnova*

Human rights media project OVD-Info, Russian Federation

**You’ll Never Stand Alone: How Activists Use Solo Demonstrations for Collective Action**

*Aleksandr Lokhmutov*

Human rights media project OVD-Info, Russian Federation
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<tr>
<td>11:15am</td>
<td>MB4: Education and social mobility</td>
<td>Educational Migration of Young Kazakhstanis: Life Strategies</td>
<td>Irina Chernyk</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</td>
<td>Anastasia Pogorelskaya</td>
<td>Tomsk State University, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Tomsk state university (Russia)</td>
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<td>Russian academic migration to Finland: institutional culture, gender</td>
<td>Larisa Shpakovskaya</td>
<td>University of Helsinki, Finland</td>
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<td>“Soul work”: feelings and morality in Russian patriotic education</td>
<td>Yulia Sekushina</td>
<td>The Russian Literature institute (the Pushkin House),</td>
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<td>Russian Academy of Science, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>11:15am</td>
<td>MB5: Russian regional developments</td>
<td>Projects for seniors in the Republic of Karelia: a typology and</td>
<td>Lilija Zenina</td>
<td>University of Jyväskylä, Finland</td>
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<td>Russia Colonizes Itself...again</td>
<td>Kara Kathleen Hodgson</td>
<td>UiT - The Arctic University of Norway, Norway</td>
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<td>Cadre Policy of the Federal Center in the North Caucasus</td>
<td>Evgeny Ivanov</td>
<td>HSE University (Moscow), Russian Federation</td>
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<td>“Shadow” practices of Chinese migrants in post-socialist Russia in</td>
<td>Olga Vladimirovna Zalesskaia</td>
<td>Blagoveshchensk State Pedagogical University, Russian</td>
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<td>the 1990s: economic and social components</td>
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<td>Federation</td>
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<td>New “old” experience: Russian-Dutch collaboration in the regional</td>
<td>Olga Smolenchuk</td>
<td>Tomsk State University, Russian Federation</td>
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**11:15am - 1:00pm MB6: New orders of neighbourly relations in the big cities in Russia: commonalities, materialities, sensualities**

Session Chair: Olga Tkach, Centre for Independent Social Research (CISR)
Discussant: Anisya Khokhlova, St. Petersburg State University

“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 neighbourly 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, Moscow

Homeowner as a neighbour: property choice, residential practices and prospects for settling down in 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

**11:15am - 1:00pm MB7: COMPASS panel II: The Relevance of ‘Local’ in Order Formation: Resilience as Self-Governance in Central Eurasia**

Session Chair: Irina Petrova, University of Kent
Discussant: Elena Korosteleva, University of Kent
Discussant: Irina Petrova, University of Kent

The Nationhood through Neighbourhood? Critical Reassessment of Representation of Central Asia in International Relations

Timur Dadabaev
University of Tsukuba

“Imitated” and Intuitional Resilience of Sufi-hamsoya

Nargis Nurulla-Khodzhaeva¹, Munira Shahidi²
¹Lomonosov Moscow State University; ²Tajik National University

Belarus between West and East: Experience of Social Integration - Inclusive Resilience

Victor Pravdivets, Anna Markovich, Artsiom Nazaranka
Belarusian State University

Azerbaijanis’ Resilient Society: Explaining the Multifaceted Aspects of People’s Social Solidarity

Azer Babayev, Kavus Abushov
ADA University
The Afghan Factor in Constructing Resilient Order in Central and South Asia
Akram Umarov
University of World Economy and Diplomacy

New EU Strategy in Central Asia: contemporary challenges and risks
Nargiza Sodikova
University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Uzbekistan

11:15am - 1:00pm MB8: Transition Culture in Estonia: Discoursive Shifts and Transformations in Artistic Practises
Session Chair: Virve Sarapik, Eesti Kunstiakadeemia
Discussant: Francisco Martinez, Tallinn University

Postmodernism before modernism: the ambivalent perception of modernism in Estonia
Jaak Tomberg
University of Tartu

The coming of postmodernism. The arrival of postmodernist theory in Estonian culture in the early 1990s
Piret Viires
Tallinn University

Theatre system in a whirl of changes: the case of Estonia
Luule Epner
Tallinn University

Nostalgic reconstruction in Estonian fiction film in the 1990s
Mari Laaniste
Estonian Academy of Arts

3:00pm - 4:45pm MC1: Civil society in the post-socialist region: decentring experiences and practices
Session Chair: Linda Cook, Brown University
Chair: Diana Potjomkina, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Ghent University, United Nations University – CRIS
Discussant: Karolina Kluczecka, Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen

Re-scaling civil society mobilisation in Hungary: forging new alliances
Luca Sara Bródy
Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, Institute for Regional Studies, Békéscsaba

Laura Luciani
Centre for EU Studies, Ghent University

Inside the promotion of anti-corruption and democratic principles in Russia: understanding the agency and role of civil society organizations
Francesca Chiarvesio
International Laboratory for Social Integration Research, National Research University Higher School of Economics
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<td>3:00pm - 4:45pm</td>
<td>MC2: Roundtable</td>
<td>Decision-making in Putin’s Russia</td>
<td>Nikolay Petrov (Chatham House, United Kingdom), Maria Lipman (PONARS)</td>
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<td>Henry Hale (PONARS), Kirill Rogov (Liberal Mission), Pavel Baev (PRIO, Oslo), Evgeny Ivanov (HSE, Moscow)</td>
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<td>3:00pm - 4:45pm</td>
<td>MC3: Perspectives on security</td>
<td>Where do They Stop? Understanding Citizens’ Perceptions of State Surveillance</td>
<td>Paul Tap (Babes Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca, Romania)</td>
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<td>Eni Lamce (University of Vienna, Austria)</td>
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<td>3:00pm - 4:45pm</td>
<td>MC4: Memory, conflict and illiberalism</td>
<td>Establishing a New Global Oil Order in The Post-Pandemic Era: Russia-Saudi Arabia-USA Coalition as an Alternative for OPEC?</td>
<td>Javad Keypour, Armand Fazullin (Tallinn University of Technology)</td>
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<td>Félix Krawatzek (ZOIS, Germany)</td>
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<td>Is Desecuritization of Memory Possible? The Curious Case of Russian-Polish Mnemonical Reconciliation</td>
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<td>Towards Illiberal Memory Law Regime: The Evolution of Polish ‘Memory Laws’ in 1989-2020</td>
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Main Temple of Mutual Legitimation: The New Cathedral of the Russian Armed Forces as a Site of Power Made Meaningful
Bojidar Angelov Kolov
University of Oslo

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

3:00pm - 4:45pm  MC5: From Coverage and Framing, to Conspiracies and Strategies in Russian Media

The world according to the truthseekers: Conspiracy and the everyday on RT
Ilya Yablokov
University of Leeds

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

Conspiracy hubs as a new actor in Czech politics
Jonáš Syrovátka
Masaryk University, Czech Republic

3:00pm - 4:45pm  MC6: Re-thinking security, strategy and (soft) power in the Baltic Sea region
Session Chair: Margit Bussmann, University of Greifswald
Discussant: Andris Banka, University of Greifswald

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

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
### MC7: Internal and External Dynamics of the De Facto Statehood in Eurasia

**Session Chair:** Marcin Kosienkowski, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin  
**Discussant:** Magdalena Dembinska, Université de Montréal  
**Discussant:** Donnacha Ó Beacháin, Dublin City University

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<td>Cheque-Mates? Abkhazia’s Quest for International Recognition</td>
<td>Donnacha Ó Beacháin</td>
<td>Dublin City University, Ireland</td>
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<td>What Did the 2004–2005 Election Crisis Mean for the Political Leadership in Abkhazia?</td>
<td>Angieszka Tomczyk</td>
<td>University of Warsaw, Poland</td>
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<td>The 2020 Parliamentary Elections as a Reflection of the Crisis of the Political System of Transnistria (Pridnestrovie)</td>
<td>Anatoliy Dirun</td>
<td>Tiraspol School of Political Studies (Moldova, Transnistria)</td>
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<td>Nation-building in Transnistria: Overview of Identities through the Lens of Tourism</td>
<td>Félix-Antoine Cloutier</td>
<td>University of Montréal, Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>The 2006 Sovereignty Referendum in the De Facto State of Transnistria – Why Did It Take Place?</td>
<td>Marcin Kosienkowski</td>
<td>The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland</td>
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### MC8: Gender and biopolitics

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<tr>
<td>Moments of explosions: St Petersburg LGBTIQ+ activists negotiating spaces and ideas</td>
<td>Pauliina Lukinmaa</td>
<td>University of Eastern Finland</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>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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<td>Family budget in Karachay family: gender of money.</td>
<td>Sofia Khosueva</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg</td>
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| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | **MD1: Ideological transformations in Eurasia** | **Anti-Westernism in Eurasia: Neo-Eurasianism, Neo-Turanism and Neo-Ottomanism**  
**Ümit Nazmi Hazır**  
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation |                                                                 |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | **Russia’s ‘Conservative turn’ after 2012: evidence from European Social Survey data**  
**Andrey Shcherbak**  
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation |                                                                 |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | **The New Russian Militarism: Memory, Militainment, and (Discursive) Violence**  
**Elizaveta Gaufman**  
University of Groningen |                                                                 |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | **Form as Negative Critique: Svetlana Baskova’s Za Marks… and Radical Aesthetics in a Post-Soviet Conjuncture**  
**Zachary Britton Hicks**  
University of California, Berkeley |                                                                 |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | **Yuri Dud’ as ‘A Hero of our Time’: Identity Cues for the Young Homo Post-Sovieticus**  
**Gulnaz Sharafutdinova**  
King’s College London |                                                                 |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | **MD2: Roundtable** | **Academic Orientalism: Western Academic Writing on the 2014 Ukraine Crisis and Russia’s Annexation of Crimea and War in the Donbas**  
**Chair(s): Andrei Znamenski (University of Memphis)**  
**Presenter(s): Taras Kuzio (National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy), Serhiy Zhuk (Ball State University), Olga Bertelsen (Embry-Riddle College of Security and Intelligence), Andrey Makarychev (University of Tartu), Sanshiro Hosaka (University of Tartu)** |                                                                 |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | **MD3: Critical perspectives on transition** | **Social Impact of Transition: An Interdisciplinary Perspective**  
**Kristen Ghodsee, Mitchell A Orenstein**  
University of Pennsylvania, United States of America |                                                                 |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | | **Central & Eastern Europe in a modernization slope? – Attempts of catching ups and challenges of external dependencies**  
**Zoltán Gáli**  
University of Pécs, Hungary |                                                                 |
Property and Civil Society: De-colonizing Property Relationships in Post-Socialist Cities
Marianna Shkurko, Alexander Mikhaylov
HSE University, Russian Federation

Stuck in the “Grey Zone”: An fsQCA of Constrained Transition States
Zachary Kramer
Charles University, Czech Republic

MD4: 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

Unholy wars: understanding intra-Orthodox conflict in Ukraine since the granting of Tomos
Oxana Shevel
Tufts University, United States of America

Geopolitical Dimensions of the Acquisition of Autocephaly for the Orthodox Church of Ukraine: Questions from the Global Experience with De-Secularization
Alar Kilp¹, Jerry G. Pankhurst²
¹University of Tartu; ²Wittenberg University

Re-ordering postsocialist disorder: The role of Orthodox Christianity in the economic sphere in Russia and Bulgaria
Detelina Tocheva¹, Tobias Koellner²
¹CNRS, Paris, France; ²Witten/Herdecke University, Germany

MD5: (De)constructing boundaries in the literary field

Noms de plumes of Latvian Prose Writers under the Soviet Occupation (1968–1991)
Jānis Oga
Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia (ILFA), Latvia

The Deconstruction of the European Tradition of Tbilisi’s Urban Poetry in the 1990s
Nino Pirtskhalava
Ilia State University, Georgia

Illness as Metaphor in Alexei Salnikov’s The Petrovs in and around the Flu
Nataliya Karageorgos
Wesleyan University, United States of America
Disputes Over Community Boundaries in the Russian Literary Field After 1991. Female Writers’ Point of View.

Katarzyna Roman-Rawska¹, Agata Gać²
¹Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland; ²Department of Russian Studies, University of Warsaw

DYSTOPIC DISORDER IN TRANSLATION: SOROKIN’S NOVEL *Day of the oprichnik.*

Caterina Squillace

The Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland
### TA1: Historical narratives and memory wars

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<td>Rethinking the monuments to revolution</td>
<td>Tigran Harutyunyan</td>
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<td>Soviet Monuments in Post-Soviet Cities: Reframing, Renaming, Replacing</td>
<td>Daria Radchenko</td>
<td>Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration</td>
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<td>Memory, Don’t Speak! Monumental negligence and memorial sacrifice in contemporary Estonia</td>
<td>Francisco Martínez</td>
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<td>Framing the memory of the recent past: Evolving narratives about the constitutional crisis of 1993</td>
<td>Olga Malinova</td>
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<td>Memorials, Museums, and Memorial Museums: Remembering Mass Repression in Contemporary Moscow</td>
<td>Margaret Anderson Comer</td>
<td>Tallinn University, Estonia</td>
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### TA2: Biopolitics in Eastern Europe and Eurasia: critical approaches

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<td>Visual Biopolitics in Times of Exception: Outlining a Research Field</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>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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### TA3: Russia-West relations: Changing discourses of the Other post-Crimea

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<tr>
<td>&quot;NATO is approaching our borders, should we not react?&quot;: Rhetorical commonplaces as drivers of Russian securitization of NATO</td>
<td>Julie Wilhelmsen, Anni Roth Hjermann</td>
<td>Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)</td>
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The West and Selected Western Actors (Germany, Norway, Estonia, NATO) in the Russian Media: Post-Crimea Dynamics
Ekaterina Chimiris
Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation

Mass Common Sense and Mutual Othering in Estonia and Russia: Approaching the Problem
Viacheslav Morozov
University of Tartu

‘Double standards’ vs. ‘whataboutism’: colliding commonplaces in Russian and US official rhetoric
Kristian Lundby Gjerde
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)

9:00am - 10:45am TA4: Performative politics and resistance
Session Chair: Philippa Mullins, London School of Economics (LSE)

Testing the Omnivore Hypothesis in Russia
Iuliia O. Papushina
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation

Managing Dissent in Post-Soviet Authoritarianism. The Hybrid Censorship of Protest Musicians in Belarus and Russia
Yauheni Kryzhanouski1,2
1SAGE, University of Strasbourg - CNRS; 2CECERC, CRAL - EHESS (Paris)

Probing, brokering and resisting the state: place-based activism in Moscow
Maria Davidenko, Victor Albert
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation

Who are populists in Russia – the regime or the opposition?
Denis Bilunov
Charles University, Czech Republic

9:00am - 10:45am TA5: The global Baltics

The Intermarium Project: Recycling Józef Piłsudski’s Geopolitical Utopia
Eleanor Soekõrv
University of Pittsburgh, United States of America

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

How has the role of Eastern European countries changed in the Baltic states’ foreign policies over the last three decades?
Andrei Valodzkin1,2
1Institute of History of the National Academy of Science of Belarus; 2Belarusian State University
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| 9:00am - 10:45am | **(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 |
|              | **Talking about Brexit with Lithuanians: A Cognitive Anthropological Approach to EU Support**  
Rosita Garškaitė  
Vilnius University |
|              | **TA6: Struggling with (Dis)Orders: The Politics of International Law in the Post-Soviet Region and Beyond**  
Session Chair: Cindy Wittke, Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies  
Discussant: Lauri Mälksoo, University of Tartu |
|              | **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 |
| 9:00am - 10:45am | **The International Legal Politics of Secession**  
Elia Bescotti  
Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS) |
|              | **Defining the Conflict and Uncontrolled Territories: The Interplay between Ukraine’s Domestic Legislation and its Strategic Use of the “Lawfare”**  
Maryna Rabinovych  
Kyiv School of Economics |
|              | **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) |
Session Chair: Michael Cole, University of Tartu |
|              | **”It feels good to clean” – Performing femininity in Hungarian politics**  
Zea Szebeni  
University of Helsinki |
|              | **Haf haf! The role of dogs in Czech populist political communication on social media**  
Ilana Hartikainen  
University of Helsinki |
|              | **AfD-politician Björn Höcke: Becoming an ‘Ossi’ on Instagram**  
Sophie Schmalenberger  
Aarhus University |
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<td><strong>“Do you recognise me?” A Visual Analysis of Ukrainian Political Leaders’ Self-representations on Instagram</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Michael Cole</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Authoritarian Russia’s Appeal as an ‘Alternative Civilization’ through Internet-based Media: the Case of Sputnik International</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Jessica Valisa</strong></td>
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<td>University of Otago, New Zealand</td>
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<td><strong>Strategic narratives and public diplomacy in the Russian news media portrayal of Sweden: the case of Russia Today</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Anna Ryzhova</strong></td>
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<td>University of Passau, Germany</td>
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<td><strong>Leveraging public-private partnerships in effectuating online media control: The case of Russian Netoscope</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Liudmila Sivetc, Mariëlle Wijermars</strong></td>
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<td>University of Turku, Finland</td>
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<td>10:15am - 12:00pm</td>
<td><strong>RUSSIA’S SHARP POWER MANIFESTATIONS IN LITHUANIAN MASS MEDIA</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Gerda Jakstaitė-Confortola</strong></td>
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<td>General Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, Lithuania</td>
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<td>11:15am - 1:00pm</td>
<td><strong>TB1: The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: past and present</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Michael Lambert</strong></td>
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<td>OSCE Academy in Bishkek</td>
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<td><strong>Separatism, Enemy Frames and Political Development in the Caucasus: a Comparative Analysis of Georgia and Azerbaijan</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Cesare Figari Barberis</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Peacebuilding in Nagorno-Karabakh: a gender perspective</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Claudia Ditel</strong></td>
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<td>Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz</td>
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<td><strong>The Role of Syrian Mercenaries in the Current Turkish Foreign Policy: a Comparative Analysis of the Use of Proxy Forces in the Libyan and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflicts</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Leonardo Zanatta, Marco Alvi</strong></td>
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<td>University of Bologna, Italy</td>
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<td>TB2: Character or Institutions? Explaining political passivity of Latvians</td>
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<td>TB4: Authoritarianism and corruption</td>
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Case study of populism and authoritarian rule. The example of the foreign policy of the Republic of Poland
Wojciech Lysek
Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences

Political Consequences of the Implementation of Municipal Heads’ Appointments in Russia
Eleonora Minaeva
European University at St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Corruption as a threat to societal security in the Russian Far East
Evgenii Gamerman
Institute for Comprehensive Analysis of Regional Problems of the Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Federation

11:15am - 1:00pm  TB5: 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
Gen. Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, Lithuania

NATO Enhanced Forward Presence in Lithuania as subject of Kremlin propaganda
Viktor Denisenko
General Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, Lithuania

Military maneuvers and geopolitical signaling in the Baltic Sea region
Andris Banka, Margit Bussmann
University of Greifswald, Germany

11:15am - 1:00pm  TB6: History, institutions and practices

The KGB’s Transformations during Perestroika
Sanshiro Hosaka
University of Tartu

A Failed Democratic Turn? Soviet attempt to participate in the postwar integration
Kristina V. Minkova
St. Petersburg State University, Russian Federation
Repressive Stalinism Regulations in Criminal Law of Post-Soviet Countries

Ansis Ataolis Bērziņš
Riga Technical University

Features of status transmission in professional dynasties of Russian society

Oxana Posukhova
Southern federal university, Russian Federation

Dividing the Caspian: conflict, cooperation and sovereignty in early post-Soviet period

Leyla Sayfutdinova
University of Eastern Finland, Finland

11:15am - 1:00pm

TB7: Centre-periphery relations in Russia

Establishing a dialogue between State and indigenous peoples (using the example of small indigenous peoples of North-Western Russia)

Elena Edouardovna Elt
Saint-Petersburg State University, Russian Federation

The Rise of Paradiplomacy of the Subjects of Federation and the Russian foreign policy in the first half of 1990s

Yury Akimov
Higher School of Economics National Research University, Russian Federation

Paradiplomacy in Russia’s counter-terrorism strategy: the case of Kabardino-Balkaria

Ivan Ulises Kentros Klyszcz
University of Tartu, Estonia

The Legitimacy of Individualism and Voluntary Cooperation in Modern Rural-Urban Russian Market Formation through the Lenses of Cultural-Institution Evolution and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Russia

Sylvia Sztern
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

Transportation Infrastructure, Expansion of Soviet Power, and Russia’s “Political Connectivity” in Crimea

Konstantinas Andrijauskas
Vilnius University, Lithuania

11:15am - 1:00pm

TB8: Civil society in action

“I don’t feel like a classic pravozashchitnik”: Rethinking rights through civil society in action

Philippa Mullins
London School of Economics
Post-Soviet Civil Society in Transition: Leftist Social Movements in Lithuania
Laura Dauksaite  
Central European University

The political role of NGOs in the East Europe: the Lithuanian case  
Marta Gadeikiene  
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

Contenious Estonians? Repertoires, claims and targets of protests mobilized in Estonia since the 1990s  
Katrin Uba  
Uppsala University, Sweden

From former aid beneficiaries to aid professionals: the rise of internationalized civil society elites in Poland  
Galia Chimiak  
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences

3:00pm - 4:45pm  
TC1: Soviet literary institutions vs. post-soviet literary communities: legacies, relationships and market transformations  
Session Chair: Evgeniya Isaakovna Vorobyeva, Russian State University for the Humanities

The Long and Winding Road: Reading in Russia in Soviet Time and Now  
Anna Gerasimova  
Independent researcher, Russia

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

The Figure of Late Soviet “Poet-Songwriter” in Institutional Design of Official Song Industry  
Anna Ganzha  
National Research University Higher School of Economics

3:00pm - 4:45pm  
TC2: Geopolitics, security and migration in East-Central Europe and in the post-Soviet region  
Session Chair: Tomasz Stepniewski, Institute of Central Europe  
Discussant: Louis John Wierenga, University of Tartu

NATO, the European Union, Ukraine and Putin’s Russia: geopolitics and security issues  
Tomasz Stepniewski¹, George Soroka²  
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, Poland

Migration from Eastern Europe after Ukrainian crisis: determinants, scale and significance  
Andrzej Szabaciuk  
Institute of Central Europe, Poland
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<td>TC3: Women’s struggles in the post-socialist world</td>
<td>Galia Chimiak, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences</td>
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<td>Silencing women - The populist turn against gender in Hungary</td>
<td>Robert Sata, Central European University, Hungary</td>
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<td>What Is Left to Women’s Protest in Authoritarian Russia? Exploration of Opportunities for Mobilization</td>
<td>Natalia Kovyliaeva, University of Tartu</td>
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<td>Post-Soviet re-Islamization and Islamic education as sources of building new identities: a case of women in Dagestan</td>
<td>Alisa Romanovna Shishkina, Leonid Markovich Isaev, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Securitising sex work in Tajikistan</td>
<td>Karolina Kluczewska, Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen</td>
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<td>Social construction of contraception risks among Russian women</td>
<td>Polina Krapchitova, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>3:00pm - 4:45pm</td>
<td>TC4: Work and everyday life in Russia today</td>
<td>Simo Mannila, University of Helsinki, Caress Schenk, Nazarbayev University</td>
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<td>TYPES OF PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY AMONG YOUNG DOCTORS WORKING IN RURAL AREAS</td>
<td>Konstantin Galkin, Sociological Institute, Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Working in political technologi in modern Russia: features of professional trajectories and identities</td>
<td>Natalya Kolesnik, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg</td>
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<td>Physicians’ work and the Health Care Reform in Russia</td>
<td>Saniya Isaakovna Boyarkina, The Sociological Institute of the RAS — Branch of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Federation</td>
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### TC5: Ethnopolitics and national identities

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<td>Managing ethnicity in the transition to democracy</td>
<td>Peter Rutland, Wesleyan University, United States of America</td>
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<td>Regional Disparities of Belarusian Identity: Logic and Conundrums</td>
<td>Petr Oskolkov(^1), Igor Okunev(^2)</td>
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<td>(^1)Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences; (^2)MGIMO University, Russian Federation</td>
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<td>Is Ukraine a Multiethnic Country?</td>
<td>Volodymyr Kulyk, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine</td>
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<td>A tale of two countries and a minority: Evidence from Széklerland about how two populist-nationalist stimuli influenced the Székler people</td>
<td>Ioanul Chiruta, University of Tartu</td>
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### TC6: Populism

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<td>Conceptualising Populism: towards a Relational Synthesis</td>
<td>Máté Mátyás, Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary</td>
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<td>From Democratization to Populism: Explaining the rise and resilience of populism in Central Europe</td>
<td>Tsveta Petrova, Maria Snegovaya, Columbia University, United States of America</td>
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<td>Illiberal civil society in post-communist countries</td>
<td>Alexander Sungurov, Dariya Kiseleva, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg</td>
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<td>Adapting, Zig-zagging or Staying Put? Populist Supply, Welfare, and Cultural Divisions in Lithuania and Hungary</td>
<td>Denis Ivanov, Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary</td>
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<td>Participation of Populist Radical Right Parties in Coalition Governments of Central and Eastern Europe after the ‘Great Recession’: Do National Party Systems Matter?</td>
<td>Ilia Viatkin, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation</td>
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**TC7: Central Asian politics**

**Michel Foucault’s concept of ‘dispositif of security’: Central Asian weak states**
*Rustam Burnashev*
Kazakh-German University, Kazakhstan

**"The one and only" - Russia in political discourse of Kyrgyz Republic**
*Oliwia Piskowska*
University of Warsaw, Poland

**Stepping down but remaining in power? Gradual authoritarian leadership succession in 2010s Kazakhstan**
*Kristiina Silvan*
University of Helsinki / Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Finland

**Consequences of Non-Consolidation: Evaluating Hierarchy and Resilience in Kyrgyz Republic**
*Yuval Weber*
1,3, Fabienne Bossuyt2
1Bush School, Texas A&M University, USA; 2Ghent University, Belgium; 3Krulak Center, Marine Corps University, USA

**The current difficulties in building resilient local government institutions: the case study of Uzbekistan**
*Gulnoza Saydyqanikhodjaevna Ismailova*
University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Uzbekistan

**TC8: Secession, democracy and nation-building**

**A Potential Fifth Column? Anti-Secession Sentiment Among Transnistria’s Moldovans, 1989-1990.**
*Keith Sean Harrington*
Maynooth University, Ireland

**Hybrid Democratizations in de facto States**
*Magdalena Dembinska*
Université de Montréal, Canada

**Citizenship in post-Soviet de facto States - Citizenship legislation as a nation-building tool**
*Ramesh Ganohariti*
Dublin City University

**The Conflict over Abkhazia: Mutually Exclusive National Projects and A Fragmented Statehood**
*David Matsaberidze*
Iv.Javakishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia
6:00pm - 7:45pm  
**TD1: Georgian politics**

**The Micro-level Determinants of Defection: Georgia, 1999-2004**
Scott Radnitz$^1$, Julie George$^2$
$^1$University of Washington, United States of America; $^2$Queens College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York

**The political decision-making process and business elites in Post Soviet transformations: the case of Georgia’s mining enterprises**
Giorgi Beridze$^{1,2}$
$^1$University of Tartu; $^2$Tbilisi State University

**Multistakeholder Bodies in the EU’s Partner Countries: Analysing Inclusiveness of the Georgian Domestic Advisory Group**
Diana Potjomkina
Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Ghent University, United Nations University – CRIS, Belgium

**Trauma or Triumph: Georgia in the early 1990s**
Ivene Tsereteli
Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia

6:00pm - 7:45pm  
**TD2: The crisis of liberal ordering and postcolonial alternatives**
Discussant: Ayşe Zarakol, University of Cambridge

**When Stigmatisation Fails: Post-socialist Europe and the Crisis of Liberal Ordering**
Adrian Rogstad
Leiden University

**The EU-Russia regional rivalry: post-soviet space through the lens of postcolonial approach**
Elena Pavlova
University of Tartu, Estonia

**Otherwise Postcolonialism. East and Central European postcolonial rhetoric in political and intellectual discourse.**
Anton Saifullayeu
University of Warsaw, Poland

**'Anti-communism’ as a distinctive element of post-socialist colonization. Understanding today’s populism and struggles of the New Left in Poland**
Wojciech Ufel
SWPS University, Poland

**Russian 19th century colonization of California in cultural memory of California’s citizens**
Kacper Krzysztof Dziekan
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Poland
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| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | TD3: World Geopolitical (Dis)order: Sovereignty and Legitimacy of Non-recognized States             | Session Chair: Eiki Berg, University of Tartu  
Chair: Vladimir Kolosov, Institute of Geography of Russian Academy of Sciences  
Discussant: Eiki Berg, University of Tartu | 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, USA; ²Virginia Tech, USA; ³University College London, UK |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | TD4: Regional integration and international factors of regime dynamics                               |                                                                                                  |                                                                                           |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | The Role of Regional Organisations in Authoritarian Learning                                        | Stephen Hall                                                                                     | University of Cambridge                                                                   |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | Authoritarian Policy Diffusion: Social Policy and Human Rights Strategies Across Countries          | Pavel Bacovsky, Srinivas Parinandi, Sarah Wilson Sokhey                                           | University of Colorado Boulder, United States of America                                   |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | Quo vadis, Union State? The Russia-Belarus Integration and the Question of Sovereignty               | Andras Racz                                                                                      | German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), Germany                                       |
| 6:00pm - 7:45pm | Autocratic Legalism in Hungary During COVID-19 Pandemic: Eroding Rule of Law at Home and at the EU | Alexandra Yao                                                                                    | University of Toronto, Canada                                                             |
**TD5: Media and political discourses in Russia**

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

- **Content strategies of local media in Northern European Russia**
  Bela Lebedeva, Konstantin Petrov, Maria Teplyh
  St. Petersburg State University, Russian Federation

- **“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

- **#New_media — A New Dimension of Political Conflicts? Securitization of Coercive Economic Sanctions in Russian and American Digital Media after the Ukraine Crisis.**
  Ksenia Maksimovtsova
  National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation

**TD6: 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 Mohyla Academy

- **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
TD7: Protest movements in Russia and Belarus

An improbable choice: Incentives to join opposition political parties in Russia
Ivan Sumaneev1,2
1European University at Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation; 2Oxford Russia Fellowship

Civic Duty, Voting, and Opposition Weakness in Russia
Ora John Reuter
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, United States of America

Mobilization in Belarus: A profile of the protesters and the protest dynamics
Gwendolyn Sasse, Olga Onuch
Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS), Germany

Subnational State Coercion and Political Opposition in Russia: Analysis of Aleksei Navalny's 2017-18 Presidential Campaign
Andrei Semenov, Elizaveta Popkova
Perm State National Research University, Russian Federation