



FOURTH ANNUAL TARTU CONFERENCE ON RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

**Communities in Flux: Rethinking Sovereignty
and Identity in an Era of Change**

9–11 June 2019

University of Tartu, Estonia

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UNIVERSITY OF TARTU



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A Word from the Programme Committee

The Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies convenes for the fourth time this year. The conference started as one of the key elements of the UPTAKE project, a consortium of three partners – the University of Tartu in Estonia, Uppsala University in Sweden and the University of Kent in the UK. Launched in 2016 and funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, the consortium aimed at invigorating scholarly interest in the region and raising research productivity and excellence.

The UPTAKE consortium concluded its activities in January 2019. Having carried out a substantive evaluation of our work, the European Commission concluded that we delivered 'exceptional results'. The Tartu Conference is certainly one of the most visible outcomes of UPTAKE, and we are grateful to all of our participants for making Tartu one of their academic destinations. Without your commitment to research excellence and intellectual exchange we would not have been able to realise our ambition of making the Tartu Conference a high-profile international academic event.

One of the major achievements of UPTAKE is the very fact that the Tartu Conference continues beyond the lifetime of the project. This has been made possible by the generous support of the Estonian Research Council, the Institute of Russian and Eurasian Studies of Uppsala University, the United States Embassy in Tallinn, the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Tartu and Tartu City Government.

This year's Tartu Conference is, once again, larger than the previous events in the series, with more than 260 paper proposals submitted to the Programme Committee for its consideration. Participants are arriving in Tartu from 38 countries – from Europe, Asia, the Americas and South Africa. As always, we are very pleased to see that this area-studies conference is popular with researchers from the region – from Estonia to Turkey, from Prague to Bishkek and Magadan.

We are particularly grateful to chairs and discussants who have taken additional duties upon themselves in the middle of a busy academic season. Your contribution is absolutely essential for the success of the conference. It is our special pleasure and honour to welcome our plenary speakers, who will share their thoughts on the evolution of political imagination in the twenty-first century.

We wish you a pleasant stay in Estonia and, above all, productive professional conversations in panel sessions as well as during receptions and coffee-breaks. We will be most happy if some of these conversations continue beyond the conference and result in new projects, co-authored books and articles, and new academic networks.

Viacheslav Morozov, University of Tartu

Eiki Berg, University of Tartu

Stefan Hedlund, Uppsala University

Elena Korosteleva, University of Kent

Plenary Speakers

Dr. Gerard Toal (Gearóid Ó Tuathail) is Professor in the School of Public and International Affairs at Virginia Tech. He has a PhD in Political Geography from Syracuse University and is an author on over 75 journal articles and 23 book chapters on territorial conflicts, US foreign policy, de facto states, popular culture, media and critical geopolitics. A recipient of multiple research grants from the US National Science Foundation (NSF), his latest book is *Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest for Ukraine and the Caucasus* (Oxford University Press, 2017). The book is a study of two Russian invasions of neighboring states, Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014, and the circumstances surrounding these events, including US involvement in both states. His current NSF research grant will examine geopolitical attitudes in eight different countries on Russia's borders.

Dr. Nancy Condee is Director of the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies (University of Pittsburgh), one of eleven federally-funded research centers in the US. She is also Professor of Slavic and Film Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. Her publications include *Imperial Trace: Recent Russian Cinema* (Oxford), which won the 2011 MLA Scaglione Prize and the 2010 Kovács Book Award (Society for Cinema and Media Studies); *The Cinema of Alexander Sokurov*, co-edited with Birgit Beumers (Tauris); *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity* (Duke) and *Soviet Hieroglyphics* (British Film Institute). Her articles have appeared in *The Nation*, *The Washington Post*, *October*, *New Left Review*, *PMLA*, *Sight and Sound*, as well as such Russian journals as *NLO*, *Seans*, *Voprosy literatury*, and *Iskusstvo kino*. She has worked as a consultant for the Library of Congress, the Edinburgh Film Festival, and Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) on several Frontline television documentaries.

Documentary screening: *Women of the Gulag*

Monday, 10 June at 20:15 at Jakobi 1, Tartu (cinema Elektriteater)

The documentary film *Women of the Gulag* tells the compelling and tragic stories of six women as last survivors of the Gulag. Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago largely tells of the men caught in Stalin's camps and special settlements for 'crimes against the state'. *Women of the Gulag* features six women in their eighties and nineties as they tell their stories while going about their daily lives in remote Urals villages, in break-away Sukhumi, or in Moscow suburbs. Their only hesitancy to speak out relates to sexual violence, about which they would only hint. Sadly, three died shortly after their interviews.

The documentary is based on Stanford University scholar Paul Gregory's book *Women of the Gulag: Portraits of Five Remarkable Lives*, which draws on the Soviet archives opened in the 1990s and on personal, handwritten and typed accounts.

The film is directed by Russian-American film-maker Marianna Yarovskaya of Mayfilms and produced by her and Paul Gregory. In 2019, it was shortlisted for the Oscars' best documentary short subject award.

The film is introduced by Ms Leena Kurvet-Käosaar, Associate Professor at the University of Tartu.

The film screening is generously supported by the U.S. Embassy in Estonia and the Tartu City Government.

The entrance to the screening is free, the film is in Russian with English subtitles.

General Programme

Sunday, 9 June

- 17:00–19:30 **Registration**
Main building of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- 18:00–20:00 **Welcome and Opening Keynote**
Assembly Hall of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- Prof Gerard Toal**, Virginia Tech
- The Rise of Conspiracist Geopolitics
- 20:15–21:30 **Reception**
White Hall of the University Museum, Lossi 25

Monday, 10 June

- 8:30–16:15 **Registration**
Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36
- 9:00–10:45 **First panel session**
Lossi 36
- 10:45–11:15 Coffee break
- 11:15–13:00 **Second panel session**
Lossi 36
- 13:00–14:30 Lunch break
See p 37 for suggestions
- 14:30–16:15 **Third panel session**
Lossi 36
- Special session by ERC: *Funding opportunities by the European Research Council*

- 16:30–18:00 **Keynote Address**
Main building of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- Prof Nancy Condee**, University of Pittsburgh
- Wishful Thinking: The End of Sovereignty in Post-communism's Third Decade (2009–2019)*
- 18:00–20:00 **Reception** (sponsored by the Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Uppsala University)
University Café, Ülikooli 20
- 20:15–21:45 **Film screening: Women of the Gulag**
Jakobi 1, cinema Elektriteater

Tuesday, 11 June

- 9:00–10:45 **Fourth panel session**
Lossi 36
- 10:45–11:15 Coffee break
- 11:15–13:00 **Fifth panel session**
Lossi 36
- 13:00–14:30 Lunch break
- 14:30–16:15 **Sixth panel session**
Lossi 36

Schedule of panel sessions

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

Monday, 10 June 2019

Monday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 214

MA1: The different dimensions of norms in EU-Russia relations

Session Chair: **Tom Casier**, Brussels School of International Studies - University of Kent

Chair: **Viacheslav Morozov**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Bartłomiej Krzysztan**, Polish Academy of Sciences

The Normative Deadlock in EU–Russia Relations: Hegemony without Influence

[Viacheslav Morozov](#)

University of Tartu

The Human Rights Agenda in EU-Russia Relations: from Political Dialogue towards ‘The Most Politicised Dialogue Ever’

[Larisa Deriglazova](#)

Tomsk State University

Public intellectuals on EU-Russia relations

[Liubov Fadeeva](#)

Perm State University

Is There Economic Rationale behind the Low Level of EU-Russia Integration?

[Vasily Astrov](#)

The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies

The crumbling of the norms and institutions of the post-Cold War order in Europe

[Tom Casier](#)

University of Kent

Monday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 215

MA2: Russian-Speaking Communities in the Baltic States

Session Chair: **Stefan Peter Hedlund**, Uppsala University

Discussant: **Sigita Strubergera**, University of Latvia

An Occupant or One of Us? Discursive representations of Russian-speakers in the Estonian media 1988 to 2018

Piret Ehin, Martin Mölder

University of Tartu

From Ethnic Identity Maintenance to Civic Integration: Perceptions of the Role of the Schools with Russian Language of Instruction in Lithuania (Views from within School Communities)

Kristina Sliavaite

Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

Revisiting Ethnic Segregation in Estonia: Recent Changes and Tendencies

Anastasiya Astapova

University of Tartu

The discourse of regional and national security in local Russian-language press in Lithuania

Viktor Denisenko

General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania

Perception of Comprehensive State Defence Concept in the Latvian and Russian-speaking Communities in Latvia

Ieva Berzina¹, Uldis Zupa²

¹National Defence Academy of Latvia; ²Turība University, Liepāja University

Monday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 305

MA3: Soviet historiography in 1950s–1960s

Session Chair: **David Leupold**, University of Michigan

Discussant: **David Leupold**, University of Michigan

The Defence of Sevastopol (1941–1942) in Soviet historiography in 1950s–1960s

Hok Chiu Tam

Peking University, History Department

Russian translations of classical Persian prose in the post-war period

Minjia Yan

Lomonosov Moscow State University, Institute of Asian and African Studies

Reformist agrarian thought of Soviet scholars in 1950s–1960s

Shiqi Zhuang

Lomonosov Moscow State University, History Department

Monday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 306

MA4: Religion, Society and Politics

Session Chair: **Radityo Dharmaputra**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Alar Kilp**, University of Tartu

Kyiv Dormition Caves Lavra in Educational Sacred Journeys (Late 18th – Early 20th Cent.)

Antonina Kizlova

Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute

The Role of Religion in Society and Public Life in Light of the Personal Perspectives of Young Adults in Post-Communist Russia and Poland

Polina Vrublevskaya

St. Tikhon's Orthodox University, Russian Federation

Church-State interplay in Post Soviet Russia, and the image of the West.

Marianna Napolitano

John XXIII Foundation for Religious Studies, Italy

Identity Politics and the Establishment of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine

Sergei Mudrov

Polotsk State University, Belarus

The role of religion in consolidation of Chechen separatist identity in post-Soviet era

Javad Keypour

Tallinn University of Technology

Monday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 307

MA5: Political Parties and Regime Dynamics in Wider Europe

Session Chair: **Ivaylo Dinev**, Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Pisa

Discussant: **Stefano Braghiroli**, University of Tartu

Political Party Identities in post-Soviet Hybrid Regimes: Programmatic Competition and Decidability of Policy Offers in Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine

Levan Kakhishvili

Otto Friedrich University of Bamberg

State autonomy and state capacity of the EU member and candidate states as factors of their (non-)compliance with the European Union law

Aleksei Sorbale

National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Amended role theory as a tool to understand personalist regimes: the case of Russia

Agne Raginyte

Vilnius University

An Inquiry into the Domestic Legitimation Strategies of Semi-Authoritarian Regimes: Russia Under the Putin-Medvedev Regime

Balki Begumhan Bayhan

Coventry University

Monday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 207

MA6: Connectivity, Investment and Governance in Eurasia

Session Chair: **Leonardo Pataccini**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Lisheng Dong**, University of Tartu

The New Silk Road heads North: Implications of the China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor for Eurasian power dynamics

Moritz Pieper

University of Salford

Red to Red, an economic analysis of China's strategic investments in post-Soviet industry in the Black Sea

Michael Eric Lambert

Sorbonne University - INSEAD, France

Amoral Investments: The Case of FDI in Kazakhstan

Gian Marco Moisé

Dublin City University

Russian Railways Assembling the State: Where are the Missing Masses

Aleksandr Andriichuk

MGIMO University

Monday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 204

MA7: Sovereignty: Conceptual Issues and Russian Interpretations

Session Chair: **Aziz Elmuradov**, Bielefeld University

Discussant: **Cindy Wittke**, Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies

“Managing Loneliness” for “State-civilization”: Analysing Contemporary Russian Discourse on Sovereignty

Sergei Akopov

National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Russia and the Humanitarian Intervention Debate: Sovereignty Revisited

Natalia Piskunova

Moscow State University

Monday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 205

MA8: Memory Politics and National Identity

Session Chair: **Raigo Ernits**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Heiko Pääbo**, University of Tartu

The Warsaw Rising in Polish popular culture after 1989

Chelsea Christine Michta

University of Cambridge

The national agents of transnational memory and their limits: the case of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk

Marco Siddi¹, Barbara Gaweda²

¹Finnish Institute of International Affairs; ²University of Tampere

The Reconstruction of Belarusian Identity Narratives

Juljan Jachovic

Vilnius University

Beyond Communities: German and Lithuanian Exile in Flux, 1941-2016

Vida Savoniakaitė

Lithuanian Institute of History

Struggling over boundaries through history: the case of Decommunisation Laws in Ukraine

Vanessa Rao

University of Bologna

Monday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 214

MB1: Ethnicity in the making: (re)construction of minority ethnic identities in the post-Soviet area

Session Chair: **Leonid Issaev**, National Research University Higher School of Economics

Discussant: **Ljubica Djordjevic**, European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI)

At the Edge of the Nation: Identity Construction of Hungarian Greek Catholics in Transcarpathia, Ukraine

Ágnes Eröss, **Katalin Kovály**, **Patrik Tátrai**

Hungarian Academy of Sciences

The Kists of Pankisi Valley: Global Challenges – Local Responses

Vincenc Kopeček

University of Ostrava

The Gagauzians in Moldova: Resisting Linguistic De-Russification

Marcin Kosienkowski

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

The Russian Diaspora in the Western Post-Soviet Countries – A Political or Ethnic Identity?

Libor Jelen

Charles University in Prague

Monday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 305

MB2: Russian Translators' Communities Reconstructed: Forms, Functions, and Philosophies

Session Chair: **Olga R. Demidova**, Pushkin State University

On the Way to Institutionalization: Russian Translators' Communities in Émigré Memoirs

Olga Demidova

Pushkin State University

Translators in Flux: Nabokov and Brodsky - Russian Radicals of Translation in America

Zakhar Ishov

Uppsala University

Translators' community in flux: changes in training Russian language translators in Finland

Hannu Kemppanen

University of Eastern Finland

Practice of mutual Ukrainian-Russian and Russian-Ukrainian translations in contemporary Ukraine poetry as phenomenon of appropriation/differentiation during self-identity building process

Maria Semionovna Galina¹, Arkady Moiseevich Shtypel²

¹Novy Mir magazine, Russian Federation; ²Independent researcher

Monday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 205

MB3: International Educational Mobility and Its Influence on Identity of Young Scholars

Session Chair: **Sirke Mäkinen**, Tampere University

Discussant: **Olga Bogdanova**, University of Tartu

European Identity of Young Italians: The Result or Side-Effect of European Academic Mobility

Elizaveta Matveeva

Irkutsk State University

Academic Mobility Among EEU Countries and Creation of Eurasian Identity

Anastasia Pogorelskaya

Tomsk State University

Social Networks in the Context of the Formation of Socio-Cultural Identity of Chinese Students

Elena Samofalova

Tomsk State University

International Academic Mobility and Identity of Young Scholars from Russia and European Countries

Larisa Deriglazova

Tomsk State University

Monday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 306

MB4: Security and Diversity: Subjective Security Perceptions of the Baltic Societies and Policy Making

Session Chair: **Sigita Struberga**, University of Latvia

Chair: **Iveta Reinholde**, University of Latvia

Human security: the way to develop policies at national and local level of governance

Iveta Reinholde

University of Latvia

Ethnic minorities status perception in Lithuania

Aiste Zemaityte

Vytautas Magnus University

Security and Local Municipalities: Why the Opinion of the Population Matters?

Malvīne Štučka

University of Latvia

Subjective Security Perception of the Inhabitants of Latvia

Sigita Struberga

University of Latvia

Perceptions and Expectations of Russian- Speaking Youth in Latvia

Aleksandra Kjakste

University of Latvia

Monday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 307

MB5: Geopolitical Realignments in Eurasia

Session Chair: **Eric Pardo**, Universidad de Deusto

Discussant: **Olga Jastrzębska**, University of Wrocław

Constructing the “post-Soviet”: dungeons in the air?

Petr Oskolkov^{1,2}

¹Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences; ²MGIMO University

Gauging Russia’s Soft Power in the Post-Soviet Periphery: A Longitudinal Discourse Analysis from Tajikistan, 1991-2019

Payam Foroughi

American University of Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan

Explaining alignment behaviour in the post-Soviet space: why has balancing Russia failed?

Kavus Abushov

ADA, Azerbaijan

Small States and the Waning Liberal International Order

Matthias Maass

Yonsei University, Republic of Korea

Monday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 215

MB6: Radical Politics and Civic Activism in Russia

Session Chair: **Andrea Schmidt**, University of Pecs

Discussant: **Vasil Navumau**, University of Tartu

Popular politics versus democratic politics: evidence from Russia

Maksim Kulaev

University of Tartu

Where Have All the Radicals Gone? Locating the Space for Far-Left Russian Opposition

Jacqueline Dufalla

Central European University

Generational Gap in Russian Political Discourse

Anna Nizhnik

Russian State University for the Humanities

Monday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 204

MB7: Postcolonialism, Post-Territoriality, Regionalism

Session Chair: **Jeremy Smith**, University of Eastern Finland

Discussant: **Epp Annus**, Ohio State University / Estonian Literature Museum

Polish and Russian Post(-)Colonial Nationalism

Dirk Uffemann

University of Passau

Framing the Polish Tatar: A Precedent of Muslim Integration in Poland

Nathan Wolf Alan-Lee

Jagiellonian University

Regional and national identity in image politics of Voivodeship self-governments in South-Eastern Polish borderland.

Agata Nijander-Dudzińska¹, Demetriusz Tomasz Wojakowski²

¹Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow; ²University of Warsaw

“An Entourage of Brothers in Misfortune”: Migration, Group-Making and the Negotiation of Post-Soviet Space in the North Caucasus

Lyudmila Austin

Michigan State University

Monday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 207

MB8: National Identity and Cultural Representations

Session Chair: **Abel Polese**, Tallinn University

Discussant: **Viacheslav Morozov**, University of Tartu

Political power and cultural history in the Northeast of the Soviet Union in 1950th-1960th

Pavel Sergeevich Grebenyuk

North-East Interdisciplinary Scientific Research Institute of Far East Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Revitalization of indigenous traditions in contemporary art of Southern Siberia

Magdalena Boniec, **Andrzej Rozwadowski**

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

It takes a village to be Chingiz Aitmatov

Azatkul Kudaibergenova

Independent scholar

Center and periphery, two models of functioning of female visual artists in Poland

Agata Sulikowska-Dejena

University of Rzeszów

Monday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 214

MC1: Between the Nation and the World: The National University in Tartu Celebrates Its 100th Anniversary

Between the Nation and the World: The National University in Tartu Celebrates Its 100th Anniversary

Chair: David Beecher (UC Berkeley)

Presenter: Liina Lukas (University of Tartu), Kerstu Rozentalde (Latvian Language Agency), Aune Valk (University of Tartu), Martin Ehala (University of Tartu)

Monday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 207

MC2: Constructing identity in the Post-Soviet space

Session Chair: **Natalia Moen-Larsen**, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Chair: **Tom Casier**, Brussels School of International Studies - University of Kent

Discussant: **Anastasiya Astapova**, University of Tartu

From 'freaks' to 'rightful members'. Making sense of spatial belonging in the Estonian borderland

Alina Jašina-Schäfer

Justus Liebig University Giessen

Victims of democracy or enemies at the gates? Russian discourses about the European "refugee crisis"

Natalia Moen-Larsen

Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

De Jure Citizens and Non-Citizens in the Abkhazian De Facto State

Marthe Handå Myhre

University of Oslo

Monday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 306

MC3: Energy Politics in Wider Europe

Session Chair: **Olena Lahanyak**, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv
Discussant: **Andrei Belyi**, University of Eastern Finland

Energy trade: a cooperative exception in EU-Russia relations?

Marco Siddi

Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Analysing Russian opposition to the synchronisation of Baltic states' power systems with continental Europe

Justinas Juozaitis

General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania

A Blockchain Game in Eurasian Energy Trading

Patrick Jeffery Osborne

University College London

Attending to the Changing Logics of Policy Making: A Multidisciplinary Approach to European Energy Markets

David Louis Dusseault

University of Tyumen, Russian Federation

Monday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 215

MC4: Funding Opportunities at the European Research Council (ERC)

Funding Opportunities at the European Research Council (ERC)

Chair: Vsevolod Samokhvalov (European Research Council)

Presenter: James Kapalo (University College Cork), Lauri Mälksoo (University of Tartu)

Monday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 307

MC5: Censorship, Propaganda and the New Paradigm of Control

Session Chair: **Okke Geurt Lucassen**, Brussels School of International Studies - University of Kent
Discussant: **Dmytro Khutkyy**, University of Helsinki

The politicization of culture and the illiberal reinterpretation of control

Jörn Knobloch

University of Potsdam

Changes in Russian Propaganda: A Qualitative Comparative Look at Soviet and Modern Russian Propaganda Regimes

Collin Jonathan Anderson

University at Buffalo

Monday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 204

MC6: Russia's Place in Europe: Ideologies and Discourses

Session Chair: **Andrei Znamenski**, University of Memphis

Discussant: **Caio Henrique Dias Duarte**, University of São Paulo

Stigmatized Russia

Isabela de Andrade Gama

Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro

Polish Space of Opinion on Russia and Eastern Policy

Andrzej Turkowski

University of Warsaw

Fostering new Russian identity: How “Eurasianism” influenced rhetoric and policy of Vladimir Putin during the third presidential term (2012-2018)

Anna Ryzhova

University of Gothenburg

Beyond the Iron Curtain: Reconstructing Russia's Militarised Past through the Mythologisation of the Great Patriotic War in Post-Soviet Russia

Allyson Sinead Edwards^{1,2}

¹Swansea University; ²Eurasian, East and Central European Studies Women Academics Forum

EU-Russia interdependence in the era of geostrategic tensions

Kristi Raik

Estonian Foreign Policy Institute, ICDS

Monday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 205

MC7: Ethnicity, Conflict and Nation-Building

Session Chair: **Louis Wierenga**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Urban Jakša**, University of York

Conceptual Disputes over the Nation and National Minorities in the Western Balkan Countries

Ljubica Djordjević

European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany

The Consequences of Separatist Wars in the Caucasus and the Balkans: Comparing Gali and North Kosovo

Nicholas Barker

University of Oxford

Afrikaners in South Africa and Serbs in Croatia: Pariah communities in flux

Deon Geldenhuys

University of Johannesburg

Migration echo of the Syrian conflict in the southern regions of Russia

Leonid Issaev, Alisa Shishkina

National Research University Higher School of Economics

Russia as perceived by the Chechens: implications for the Russo-Chechen conflict resolution

Marat Iliysov

Vytautas Magnus University

Monday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 305

MC8: Small Worlds and Minority Communities

Session Chair: **Lelde Arnicāne**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Vassilis Petsinis**, University of Tartu

Exploring Variation in Eastern European 'Small Worlds'

Jonathan Parker

University of Sussex

Anchoring Brexit among Baltic migrants in the UK

Mārtiņš Kaprāns

University of Latvia

Image of N. Pashinyan and the Armenia's Velvet Revolution Among Armenians in Russia

Nona Shahnazaryan, Natalya Kosmarskaya

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography

Strategies of development of Finno-Ugric sustainable tourism in North-Western Federal District of Russia

Elena Eltc

Saint-Petersburg State University

Tuesday, 11 June 2019

Tuesday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 214

TA1: Affective communities and bottom-up nationalism(s)

Session Chair: **Ronald Grigor Suny**, University of Michigan

Discussant: **Ronald Grigor Suny**, University of Michigan

Identity-transformation of Yezidi Kurds in post-Soviet Armenia

[Tamar Khutsishvili](#)

Schiller-Universität Jena

Russia and Ethnic Russians in Central Asia since 1991

[Jeremy Smith](#)

University of Eastern Finland

Relicts of the Future – Planned Cities and the Post-Utopian Aftermath

[David Leupold](#)

University of Michigan

**National identity as a political position in dissident movement
(On the example of Odessa during 1960-1980s)**

[Andrii Bondarenko](#)

I. I. Mechnikov Odesa National University

Tuesday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 306

TA2: Regional or Global? Russian Power and its Repercussions for International Order

Session Chair: **Moritz Pieper**, University of Salford

Discussant: **Mārtiņš Kaprāns**, University of Latvia

Fragmentation or Accommodation? An English School Approach to Russian Power and Pan-European Order

[Thomas Linsenmaier](#)

University of Tartu

Marginalizing the EU? Russian Power in the Shared Neighbourhood

[Maili Vilson](#)

University of Tartu

Military and Non-Military Power in Russia's Contemporary Geopolitics

[Eoin Micheál McNamara](#)

University of Tartu

Russian Cyber Power and the “Near Abroad”

Alex Hardy

Royal Holloway, University of London

The Transnational Dispersal of Russian Political Influence

Louis Wierenga

University of Tartu

Tuesday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 215

TA3: Urban Spaces in the Baltics: Past and Present

Session Chair: **Juhan Saharov**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Nancy Condee**, University of Pittsburgh

Private and public space in Soviet cinema: the study of Riga’s residential space

Janis Matvejs

University of Latvia

Foreign-driven Impetus in Internal Problem-Solving: Estonia’s Narva in 1993 and 2015-18

Ivan Lavrentjev

University of Helsinki, Finland

Imagining ‘The State’ in the Baltic mono-town

Marija Norkunaite

University of Oxford

Modern Mass Housing in Lithuania: Anatomy of a Decline?

Nicola Belli

Kaunas Technology University

“See Diversity, See Freedom”: Baltic Pride Marches and Symbolic Urban Geographies of the Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius

Clinton Glenn

McGill University

Tuesday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 205

TA4: Gender and Biopolitics

Session Chair: **Andrey Makarychev**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Elena Pavlova**, University of Tartu / St. Petersburg State University

Human value and dignity in Soviet Lithuania. The case of disabled children

Ieva Astromskaite

Lithuanian Institute of History

Hidden actors of 'anti-gay-Europe' movements

Izabela Desperak
University of Lodz

Bourdieu in the Caucasus: social classifiers as the key to understanding the role of women in the public space

Alisa Shishkina
National Research University Higher School of Economics

Tuesday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 305

TA5: De-Facto States in Post-Soviet Space

Session Chair: **Natalia Piskunova**, Moscow State University
Discussant: **Eiki Berg**, University of Tartu

The Diplomacy of Post-Soviet De Facto States: Ontological Security under Stigma

Andreas Pacher
Independent Researcher, Vienna

Non-State Authoritarian Learning – Do Unrecognised State Regimes Collaborate?

Stephen Hall
University College London

Non-Recognition as a Choice: Building Ontological Security in Abkhazia

Urban Jakša¹, Roxana Andrei²
¹University of York; ²University of Coimbra

The curse of displacement: Exploring the affective aftermath of ethnic violence in Abkhazia

Andrea Peinhopf
University College London

Tuesday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 207

TA6: Language Politics and Nation-Building

Session Chair: **Olena Nedozhogina**, University of Tartu
Discussant: **Olaf Mertelsmann**, University of Tartu

Critiques of Russification and the Renegotiation of Community in Kharkiv in the Late 1980s

Markian Dobczansky
Columbia University

Understanding Passive Bilingualism in Eastern Ukraine

Anastasia Lakhtikova
University of Pittsburgh

State languages in school education after 2017: case of Tatarstan

Ekaterina Arutyunova

Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences

The formation of language revival policies of the Finno-Ugric republics of post-Soviet Russia: problems, ideologies, compromises

Konstantin Zamyatin

Durham University

Competing Nationalisms in Kazakhstan: Implications for its Future; Challenges from Beyond and Within

Marem Buzurtanova

al-Farabi Kazakh National University

Tuesday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 207

TA7: Russians Beyond Russia

Session Chair: **Heidi Erbsen**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Anastasia Pogorelskaya**, Tomsk State University

Continuity and changes in Russian – Baltic identity as the component of cultural space of Russian community in Estonia

Olga Jastrzębska

University of Wrocław

A sense of common belonging? The case of the Russian community in South Tyrol (IT)

Giulia Isetti¹, Harald Pechlaner^{1,2}, Anja Marcher¹, Daria Habicher¹, Mirjam Gruber¹

¹Eurac Research, Italy; ²Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

Russian speaking community in London: online and offline representation

Elizaveta Kukulenko

European University at St. Petersburg

Global Russians: disregarded tool of Russian soft power

Vera Ageeva

National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Tuesday, 9:00am - 10:45am, Room 204

TA8: Governance, Development and Identity in Russian Peripheries

Session Chair: **Elena Eltc**, Saint-Petersburg State University

Discussant: **Tatsiana Chulitskaya**, European Humanities University

The federal dualism. Formal and informal institutions and centre-periphery relations in Russia.

[Oleksiy Bondarenko](#)

University of Kent

Longing for Belonging: Spatiotemporal, Bodily and Linguistic Dimensions of Conversion in the Siberian Community of the Last Testament Church

[Minna Monika Suvituulia Kulmala](#)

University of Helsinki

Contextualizing the Russian Arctic: Language, Identities and Public Opinion

[Victoria Antonova](#)

Aarhus University

The changing nature of Russia's Arctic presence: a case study of Pyramiden

[Alina Bykova](#)

University of Toronto

Tuesday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 214

TB1: The Transatlantic Dimension of Security

Session Chair: **Anastasiia Tsyubchenko**, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv

Discussant: **Payam Foroughi**, American University of Central Asia

Russian military developments

[Okke Geurt Lucassen](#)

University of Kent's Brussels School of International Studies, Brussels

U.S. Grand Strategies towards Russia 2001–2017

[Martins Hirss](#)

Center for Security and Strategic Research, Latvia

The European defence between Moscow and Washington: An assessment of perceptions on the European Union developments in the defence field.

[Luigi Nicolò Segarizzi](#)

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Trump Administration Policy of Bolstering NATO's Eastern Flank

Przemysław Furgacz

College of Business and Entrepreneurship in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Poland

Tuesday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 215

TB2: Media in Conflict Settings: Case Studies in Eastern Europe

Session Chair: **Andrey Makarychev**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Maksim Kulaev**, University of Tartu

Dissecting the Discourses of Yandex News: Are All Pendulums Swinging in the Same Direction?

Heidi Erbsen

University of Tartu

Strategic communication for mobilizing political support: The case of the mayor of Riga

Mārtiņš Pričins

University of Latvia

Digital Media Practices in the Conflict Setting: Ukraine after Maidan

Olena Nedozhogina

University of Tartu

Conflict in the Kerch Strait: A Comparative Analysis of Russian Language Media Reports

Michael Cole

University of Tartu

Tuesday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 207

TB3: Urban Youth Cultural Scenes In Contemporary Russia

Session Chair: **Jacqueline Dufalla**, Central European University

Discussant: **Dirk Uffelmann**, University of Passau

The youth of Dagestan in search of group identities

Alina Vladimirovna Maiboroda

CYS, National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

The specificity of Kazan rap: "inner" and "outer" circles inside the scene

Albina Raisovna Garifzianova

Elabuga Institute of Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University

Sociological Documentary. A New Way to Provide and Present a Qualitative Sociological Study

Dmitry Anatol'evich Omelchenko

CYS, National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Tuesday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 205

TB4: Alternative Spaces of Socialist Modernity

Session Chair: **Hok Chiu Tam**, Peking University
Discussant: **Ronald Grigor Suny**, University of Michigan

Language and Sovereignty in Soviet Peripheries, 1958–1991

Anna Whittington

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Native Americana in Eastern Germany: A Case of Countercultural Cold War Identity

Andrei Znamenski

University of Memphis

Entangled Neighborhoods of Youth: Approaches to Housing for Young Urban Workers in the 1970s Romania

Mara Marginean

Romanian Academy, George Baritiu Institute of History

Mission in Kazan: “Research and Development – USA” Exhibition in Soviet Tatarstan (1972)

Alexey Fominykh

Volga State University of Technology

Tuesday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 204

TB5: Ethnic Minorities, Ethnic Conflict

Session Chair: **Alisa Romanovna Shishkina**, National Research University Higher School of Economics

Discussant: **Anastasia Lakhtikova**, University of Pittsburgh

Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Welfare Solidarity in the Post-Communist Countries?

Tõnis Saarts, Ellu Saar, Triin Lauri

Tallinn University

The Rusyn Question in the Frameworks of Ethnic Minorities, and of the International Diplomacy and Peace-Building

Sándor Földvári

Debrecen University / Academy of Sciences of Hungary

Patterns of Ethnic Conflict and Peace in Ethnic Regional Autonomies in Russia

Mikhail Zabolkin^{1,2}

¹Freie Universität Berlin; ²MGIMO University

Tuesday, 11:15am - 1:00pm, Room 305

TB6: Ideologies and Politics in Eastern Europe

Session Chair: **Deon Johannes Geldenhuys**, University of Johannesburg
Discussant: **Martin Mölder**, University of Tartu

Regime change and protest patterns in Eastern Europe

Ivaylo Dinev^{1,2}

¹Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Pisa; ²University of Pisa

Best Class or Black Sheep? Challenges of Illiberal Democracy in Hungary and Its Impact in International Context

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Contrasting or converging Euroscepticisms? The cases of Croatia and Serbia

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University of Tartu

Regime's Management of Collective Action: The Case of Belarus

Vasil Navumau¹, Greg Nizhnikau², Anastasiya Astapova¹, Leonid Polishchuk³

¹University of Tartu; ²Finnish Institute of International Affairs; ³National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow

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TB7: Values and Geopolitical Vectors in Eastern Europe

Session Chair: **Stephen Hall**, University College London
Discussant: **Kavus Abushov**, ADA

Social Dynamism and Axiology of Political Community Change of Post-Soviet Revolutions. The Armenian Velvet Revolution Case

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Polish Academy of Sciences

Moldova Caught in a Vise: International Brokers Between the EU and Eurasia

Magdalena Dembinska, Stefan Morar

Université de Montréal

Revisiting European geostrategies towards its Eastern flank in the context of the Eastern Partnership's inclusion of Ukraine

Eric Pardo

Universidad de Deusto, Spain

European shadows of Russia's 'conservative turn': some historical legacies

Aziz Elmuradov

Bielefeld University

Tuesday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 214

TC1: National Identity in South Caucasus

Session Chair: **Sándor Földvári**, Debrecen University / Academy of Sciences of Hungary

Discussant: **Shota Kakabadze**, University of Tartu

Battle of narratives: Georgia between dialogue and confrontation

Ketevan Epadze

Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University

Georgian National Identity at the Crossroad of Tradition and Modernity: The Case of Modernised National Dance and the Polarised Nation

Megi Kartsivadze

University College London

Secularism and National Identity in Azerbaijan

Ayça Ergun, Zana Çitak

Middle East Technical University, Turkey

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TC2: Nation-Building in the Baltics

Session Chair: **Alar Kilp**, University of Tartu

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Estonian government in exile

Eero Medijainen

University of Tartu

Soviet narrative of the young generation: constructing personal and collective identity

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Vilnius University

The neo-folklore community of Festival Baltica: between reality and memory

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Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Metonymic Processes of Nation-Building: Vestigial Sovietness in the Context of Estonia's High-Tech Dreams

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Ohio State University / Estonian Literature Museum

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**TC3: Central and Eastern European National Identities at a Crossroad:
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Session Chair: **Stefano Braghioli**, University of Tartu

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**The external dimension of the Self-Other contrast: The case of
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University of Bologna/MIREES

**The Boundaries of People: Russian identities in Riga between the
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Michela Romano

University of Bologna/MIREES

**Vilnius and the interaction between post-Soviet Identity and Ur-
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Giulia Paolucci

University of Bologna/MIREES

**Experiencing and constructing of state borders in Eastern Eu-
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Dominik Porczyński¹, Dariusz Wojakowski²

¹University of Rzeszów; ²AGH – University of Science and Technology, Kraków

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TC4: Conservative Politics in Europe

Session Chair: **Izabela Desperak**, University of Lodz

Discussant: **Jörn Knobloch**, University of Potsdam

**Russia's Conservative Turn from the Multiple Modernities Per-
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Mikhail Maslovskiy

Sociological Institute of FCTAS, Russian Academy of Sciences

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Ghent University

**Build the Wall – narratives of exclusionary identity in right-wing
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Central European University

Shame and Pride: Affective Polarization in Polish Right-Wing Media Coverage of the 2019 European Parliament Elections and the 2019 Polish Parliamentary Elections

Rūta Kazlauskaitė, Mikko Salmela
University of Helsinki

The influence of Facebook on the radicalisation of political discourse in Slovakia

Anton Gazarek
Comenius University in Bratislava

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TC5: Issues of Governance and the Prospects of Reform in Post-Soviet Space

Session Chair: **Balki Begumhan Bayhan**, Coventry University
Discussant: **Michael Eric Lambert**, Sorbonne University - INSEAD

Ukraine's Open Government Reforms: Rise or Disguise?

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University of Helsinki

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¹European Humanities University; ²Manchester Metropolitan University

Individuals vs companies vs the state: revisiting agency in the post-socialist world through a cross-regional exploration of the causes and effects of informality

Abel Polese¹, Arnis Sauka²
¹Tallinn University; ²Stockholm School of Economics Riga

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Session Chair: **Vera Ageeva**, National Research University Higher School of Economics
Discussant: **Kristel Vits**, University of Tartu

'Is International Law International?' – The Many Politics of International Law in the Post-Soviet Space

Cindy Wittke
Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies, Germany

Transitional Justice: Lustration and Vetting in Ukraine, Georgia and Chechnya

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University of São Paulo

Tuesday, 2:30pm - 4:15pm, Room 204

TC7: Geopolitics: Theory and Empirics

Session Chair: **Gerard Toal**, Virginia Tech

Discussant: **Patrick Jeffery Osborne**, University College London

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CYS, National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

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Practical Information

Lunch options nearby

Nearly all Tartu restaurants offer daily lunch specials (päevapakkumine) on weekdays at favourable prices (generally 4-5 EUR for a meal) from 12.00 to 15.00. If time allows, you can also order from the menu. All restaurants have menus in English and English-speaking staff. If you don't know where to go, the safest bet is to walk down Lossi Street and explore the area around the town hall square (Raekoja plats) and the main pedestrian streets (Rüütli and Küüni). For good coffee and the best selection of cakes and pastry in town, head to Werner (Ülikooli 11, at the bottom of Lossi Street). For more information, consult services like Google Maps, TripAdvisor or In Your Pocket.

Mobile phones and wi-fi

For roaming information, consult your local operator. Free wi-fi is available almost everywhere, so we recommend internet phone calls. In university buildings, *ut-public* is the main network. *Eduroam* network is also available.

Emergency numbers

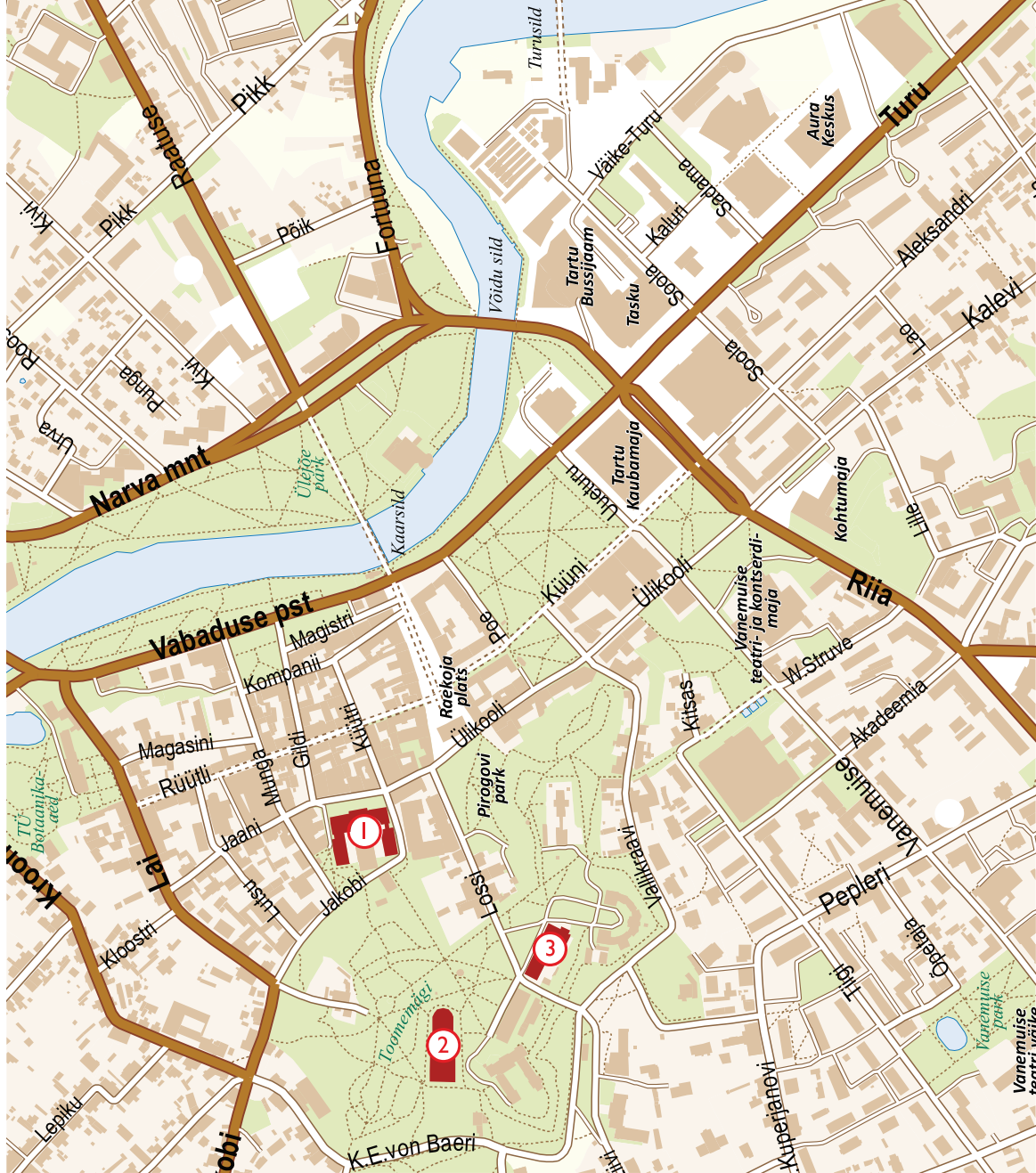
112 to call the police, ambulance or rescue services
+372 514 7899 to contact the conference organisers

Taxi services in Tartu

Elektritakso +372 588 588 00 or 1918
Tartu Taksopark +372 7 300 200 or 1200

If you have a smartphone, you can also use apps like Bolt or Uber.





1

Main building of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18 – Venue for registration, opening and the keynote address on 9 June and for the keynote address on 10 June

2

Museum of the University of Tartu, Lossi 25 – Venue for the reception on 9 June

3

Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36 – Venue for registration and all panel sessions on 10-11 June

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

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University of Tartu, Estonia

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