



SIXTH ANNUAL TARTU CONFERENCE ON RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

Which Way is the Future? Progress and Tradition
in Eastern Europe and Eurasia

12–14 June 2022

University of Tartu, Estonia

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UNIVERSITY OF TARTU



A Word from the Programme Committee

The Sixth Annual Tartu Conference convenes at an extraordinary and dangerous time. Russia's brutal large-scale aggression against Ukraine has dramatically changed our region. Day by day, it inflicts enormous damage on Ukraine: lives are lost, people are taken hostage, tortured and unlawfully expatriated, and entire cities are wiped out. Millions have been forced to leave their homes to find refuge in the EU and elsewhere.

Russia itself will be irreversibly changed by this war: as the entire world admires the bravery and resilience of Ukrainians, citizens of Russia have nothing to look forward to but more repression and disempowerment, along with what looks like unprecedented economic hardship. There is still hope that things will get better in Ukraine, and perhaps even in Russia and Belarus. Unfortunately, it is probable that they will first have to get worse.

The organizers of the 2022 Tartu Conference had to take unprecedented and difficult decisions in response to Russia's brutal war and the servile messages of support that the Kremlin received from a large number of academic institutions. We are aware of the fact that these voices do not represent the entire Russian academic community, and we are inspired by the messages of solidarity and support that we received from colleagues, including some of those in Russia who are not able to attend the conference this year.

We are confident that the Tartu Conference will continue to fulfil its mission of serving as a key hub for the scholarly debate on the fundamental cultural, social, economic and political trends affecting all aspects of life in Eastern Europe and Northern Eurasia. There are important tasks ahead: we need to correct the epistemic injustice which has plagued 'post-communist studies' ever since the Soviet collapse but has been graphically highlighted by the ongoing war. Previously marginalized voices must be given much greater prominence in our field. The development of Ukrainian studies is the most pressing issue, but the challenge is in fact much greater: it concerns not just a revision of our geographic expertise but also the need to give more attention to disadvantaged social groups defined by race, gender, sexual orientation or in any other way.

We hope that this year's conference will give us a chance to make a few crucial steps in that direction. We would like to welcome to Tartu scholars from 33 countries, both from our region and from far away. Our special welcome goes to the Ukrainian participants, who are joining us online in defiance of the aggressor. As human beings, we stand firmly in solidarity with the people of Ukraine. As scholars, we are determined to do everything in our power to make sure that we fully learn the painful lessons of this vicious and unjustified war.

Plenary Speakers

Dr. Vitaly Chernetsky is a Professor in the Department of Slavic and Eurasian Languages and Literatures at the University of Kansas. His research focuses on modern and contemporary cultures (literature, film, popular culture) of Russia, Ukraine, Central and Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, considered in a broader comparative/cross-regional and interdisciplinary contexts. He is the author of the book *Mapping Postcommunist Cultures: Russia and Ukraine in the Context of Globalization* (MQUP, 2007; Ukrainian-language version 2013; co-winner, book prize of the American Association for Ukrainian Studies), of five edited or co-edited volumes, and numerous articles and reviews. His published translations from Ukrainian and Russian into English include two novels and numerous shorter literary works, as well as scholarly articles and historical documents. Chernetsky recently completed a five-year term as director of the Center for Russian, East European & Eurasian Studies at the University of Kansas (2015-2020). He is a past president of the American Association for Ukrainian Studies (2009-2018) and the current Vice President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the US.

Dr. Andrea Pető is a historian and a Professor at the Department of Gender Studies at Central European University, Vienna, Austria, a Research Affiliate of the CEU Democracy Institute, Budapest, and a Doctor of Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her works on gender, politics, Holocaust, and war have been translated into 23 languages. In 2018 she was awarded the 2018 All European Academies (ALLEA) Madame de Staël Prize for Cultural Values. She is Doctor Honoris Causa of Södertörn University, Stockholm, Sweden. Recent publications include: *The Women of the Arrow Cross Party. Invisible Hungarian Perpetrators in the Second World War.* /Palgrave, Macmillan, 2020), and *Forgotten Massacre: Budapest 1944* (DeGruyter, 2021). She writes op-ed pieces for many international and national media.

Documentary screening: *Tales of a Toy Horse (2021)*

Monday, 13 June at 20:30 at Jakobi 1, Tartu (cinema Elektriteater)

Anatoliy, a former anti-Soviet activist who is now a monk and an artist, lives in an ancient stone tower in the heart of Tallinn. Day by day, he prays for nature and creates self-made books in his workshop. Many years ago, Anatoliy made a vow to find something good in every day. The outbreak of war in Eastern Ukraine makes him leave the peaceful Estonian capital and go to the front-line towns with a mission to work as a volunteer. Since 2014, he has combined the spiritual life with social activism, constantly traveling to the Donbas to deliver humanitarian aid. His vow is being tested by the reality of the 'grey zone'.

The film is directed by Ulyana Osovskaya and Denys Strashnyy and produced by Ulyana Osovskaya, Ülo Pikkov, Denys Strashnyy (Ukraine/ Estonia).

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

Entrance to the screening is free of charge, the film (72') is in Ukrainian and Russian with English subtitles.

Plenary Roundtable: *Ukraine: What has it taught the world and what can we do to secure a better future?*

Tuesday, 14 June at 17:00 at Lossi 36, room 214

The roundtable will discuss the reasons why it took an outbreak of a major war for Ukrainian voices to be taken seriously by large parts of the academic and policy community, and on the lessons that must be drawn from Russia's aggression and Ukraine's heroic resistance.

Chair: Dmytro Khutkyy (University of Tartu)

Panelists: Vitaly Chernetsky (University of Kansas), Olga Matveieva (University of Tartu/ Dnipro University of Technology), Elżbieta Olzacka (Jagiellonian University), Bettina Renz (University of Nottingham).

General Programme

Sunday, 12 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 Vitaly Chernetsky**, University of Kansas
Confronting Epistemic Injustice: Ukraine as a Challenge to Our Field
- 20:15–21:30 **Drinks Reception**
White Hall of the University Museum, Lossi 25

Monday, 13 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
- 14:30–16:15 **Third panel session**
Lossi 36

- 16:30–18:00 **Keynote Address**
Assembly Hall of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- Prof Andrea Pető**, Central European University
Lessons Learned from Gendering Illiberalism
- 18:15–20:00 **Reception**
University Café, Ülikooli 20
- 20:30–21:45 **Film screening: *Tales of a Toy Horse***
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
- 17:00–18:30 **Plenary roundtable**
Lossi 36-214
- Ukraine: What has it taught the world and what can we do to secure a better future?*

Schedule of panel sessions

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

Monday, 13 June

Panel session 1

MA1 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 214

Ukrainian civil society and the consequences of the war

Session Chair: **Bojidar Angelov Kolov**, University of Oslo

Discussant: **Vasil Navumau**, Ruhr-University Bochum

Urban Activism, Police Brutality and Everyday-Resistance - How Kyiv's Cultural Sector is Reclaiming the City

Alexandra Wishart, University of Ottawa

Civilizational discourse in the post-Maidan Ukrainian cinema in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict

Elzbieta Olzacka, Jagiellonian University

Contradicting Discursive Borders: Remaking Vocabularies of Belonging among Ukrainian Refugees in Russia

Qianrui Hu, University College London

Why Ukrainian displaced people chose Latvia during the 2022 war in Ukraine

Kata Fredheim, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, Baltic International Centre for Economic Policy Studies

Zane Varpina, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, Baltic International Centre for Economic Policy Studies

MA2 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 306

Memory and politics

Session Chair: **Siobhan Kattago**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Siobhan Kattago**, University of Tartu

Memory Institutionalized: Shifting the Politics of History and Remembrance in Poland

Nathan Wolf Alan-Lee, University College London

'Monuments of Gratitude' to the Red Army in Russia's Foreign Policy toward Poland

Igor Gretskiy, International Centre for Defence and Security, Tallinn

Whom does Crimea really belong to? The role of myths in justification of Russia's annexation of the peninsula

Olena Podolian, Södertörn University

The Aesthetics of Conflict: How Russian Ministry of Defense Promotes Patriotism to Millennials and Zoomers

Maria Engqvist, Swedish Defence Research Agency

MA3 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 307

Geopolitical upheavals in Central and Eastern Europe: Russia's influence, security dilemma and national identity

Session Chair: **Tomasz Stepniewski**, Institute of Central Europe

Chair: **Aleksandra Kuczyńska-Zonik**, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin / Institute of Central Europe

NATO's Eastern Flank, Russo-Ukraine Conflict and East-Central Europe's Security Dilemma

Tomasz Stepniewski, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin / Institute of Central Europe

Political immigration and national identity in the Baltic states

Aleksandra Kuczyńska-Zonik, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin / Institute of Central Europe

Targeting Poland: History as a tool of Russian disinformation

Agnieszka Legucka, Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) / Faculty of Business and International Relations, Vistula University

Cognitive warfare in Ukraine as a challenge for global journalism standards modernization

Yuriy Zaliznyak, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv

MA4 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 305

Marketisation, public sector reform and the (im)morality of informality

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

Discussant: **Arnis Sauka**, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga

What is informality? (mapping) "the art of bypassing the state" in Eurasian spaces - and beyond

Abel Polese, Dublin City University

The Role of Informal Competition in Driving Innovation in the Kazakh Economy

Tommaso Aguzzi, Tallinn University of Technology
Rodica Ianole-Calin, University of Bucharest

Migrant Entrepreneurship and Future of Diaspora: The Case of Central Asian Migrants in Russia

Ekaterina Vorobeva, The Research Centre for East European Studies, University of Bremen

Consumer Tax ethics: A case study of Kazakhstani consumers

Talshyn Tokyzhanova, Tallinn University of Technology

The Effect of Informal Institutions on Prosperity in the Context of Post-Communist Countries

Ivan Pidorenko, Corvinus University of Budapest

MA5 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 205

The Future as Past. New Forms of Utopianism in the post-Soviet Culture: From Palingenesis to Cyberpunk

Session Chair: **Sanna Turoma**, Tampere University
Chair: **Mark Lipovetsky**, Columbia University
Discussant: **Sanna Turoma**, Tampere University

From subversion to cynical consensus: Transformations of the Soviet trickster in Putin's Russia

Mark Lipovetsky, Columbia University

The Palingenetic Utopia in Russia Today

Leonid Heller, University of Lausanne

A Disconcerting Past

Alexander Dmitriev, Central European University

Future as Past. The Metro Dystopia in Russian Contemporary Literature

Anastasia de La Fortelle, University of Lausanne

MA6 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 215

Challenges to authoritarian stability in Russia

Session Chair: **Natalia Kovyliieva**, University of Tartu
Discussant: **Theodore Paul Gerber**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Putin's Legitimation Strategies under Pressure

Bo Petersson, Malmö University

The Concept of Democracy in the Soviet Union: a Historical Legal Analysis

Sevanna Poghosyan, University of Tartu

'We will Conquer the Motherland': How the Russian Nationalists in Exile Legitimize their Fight against Putin's Regime

Martin Laryš, Institute of International Relations Prague

Poverty, confidence and class in Russia

Simo Mannila, Simo Mannila Consulting

Presidential popularity rates and international crises: A quantitative assessment of the Rally-Round-the-Flag-Effect in Russia

Margit Bussmann, University of Greifswald

Natalia Iost, University of Greifswald

Igor Okunev, University of Greifswald

Panel session 2

MB1 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 307

Security and society in contemporary Ukraine

Session Chair: **Dmytro Khutkyy**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Dmytro Khutkyy**, University of Tartu

Defence reforms in Ukraine since 2014: the potential and limits of international cooperation

Bettina Renz, University of Nottingham

NATO models, Ukrainian realities: The Politics of Reforming Civil-Military Relations

Sarah Whitmore, Oxford Brookes University

Interpretation of Europe in its borderlands: what "Europe" and "European" means in the "Donbas"

Kataryna Zarembo, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy / New Europe Center

MB2 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 205

Social transformations through the prism of gender, education and art

Session Chair: **Saara Ratilainen**, Tampere University

Discussant: **Saara Ratilainen**, Tampere University

Women in academia before 1945: academic career opportunities for women at the University of Tartu

Janet Laidla, University of Tartu

Being a Female Scholar in mid-1980s–mid-2000s: Transition to Post-Soviet and Academic Mobility

Alexandra Koroleva, Central European University

Between Tradition and Progress: Female Politicians and Businesswomen as Represented in Contemporary Polish Cinema

Patrycja Monika Chudzicka-Dudzik, University of Lodz

Gender Aspects of the Rehabilitation and Reintegration Programs for Returnees from Syria and Iraq (the Case of Central Asian Countries)

Irina Chernykh, Kazakh-German University

MB3 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 306

Roundtable: Methodological innovation in former Soviet spaces: new approaches to data collection in the post-socialist region from the invisible to the everyday

Chair(s): **Abel Polese** (Tallinn University), **Donnacha OBeachain** (Dublin City University)

Presenter(s): **Margherita Gobbat** (Center for Social Sciences), **Giulio Benedetti** (SSE Riga), **Talshyn Tokyzhanova** (Tallinn University of Technology), **Olga Temina** (Maastricht University), **Arnis Sauka** (SSE Riga)

MB4 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 206

Restoration of Lithuanian independence revisited

Session Chair: **Catherine Gibson**, University of Tartu

A Journey with No Clear Destination? Postsocialist Transformation as a Time Period in Collective Memory of Citizens of Lithuania

Valda Budreckaite, Vilnius University

“It was the matter of right choice”: individual and social memories of national reform movement *Sąjūdis* in Lithuania in the 1980s-1990s (the perspectives of national minorities)

Kristina Šliavaitė, Institute of Sociology at the Lithuanian Center for Social Sciences

The role and involvement of national minorities’ civic organizations in the events and processes of the restoration of Lithuanian statehood in the 1990s

Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė, Institute of Sociology at the Lithuanian Centre for Social Sciences

Rethinking the Narrative: Constructing Identity of Russian Minority in Russian-language Press of Lithuanian Reform Movement (1988–1991)

Andrius Marcinkevičius, Lithuanian Centre for Social Science

Many happy returns: what makes the return migration experience a success, the case of Lithuanian return migrants

Kata Fredheim, BICEPS, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga; BICEPS, University of Vilnius

Ruta Dapkunaite, BICEPS, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga

Zane Vaprina, BICEPS, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga; BICEPS, University of Vilnius

MB5 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 305

Perspectives on economic progress

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

Discussant: **Susanne Oxenstierna**, Swedish Defence Research Agency, FOI

Economic Dependencies of Central and Eastern Europe: Core-Periphery Relationships from a Geoeconomic Perspective

Zoltán Gál, University of Pécs; Centre for Economic & Regional Studies

Szilárd Rácz, Centre for Economic & Regional Studies

Industrial and agricultural policies in Belarusian and Estonian Soviet Republic. Reason for differences in transition?

Kacper Wańczyk, Kozminski University

How bright was the ‘bright tomorrow’? Soviet progress and its aftermath in the countryside

Antanas Terleckas, Vilnius University

Birth of a “Miracle”: The Hungarian Roots of Perestroika-era Estonian Market Thought

Kevin Axe, Free University of Berlin

MB6 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 214

The EU's soft power in the neighbourhood

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

Discussant: **Tom Casier**, University of Kent

EU soft and Russian hard powers in Azerbaijan: The struggle has begun

Anar Valiyev, ADA University

Implementation is the hardest word: demystifying the (non-)compliance to European Union acquis in Georgia 2012-2020

Michel Vincent Anderlini, Malmö University

Why Georgians support democracy: Value-oriented choice or search for alternative ways of government?

Rati Shubladze, Georgian Institute of Public Affairs (GIPA)

Assessing EU perceptions in Central Asian countries: from donor to economic partner

Nosirkhon Qodirov, University of Szeged

EU and Russian regulatory power: Prescribing rules and practices in Moldovan and Armenian food safety regimes

Isabell Burmester, University of Geneva; University of Tartu

MB7 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 215

New environmental and energy security challenges

Session Chair: **Andrei Belyi**, Balesene OÜ

Discussant: **Andrei Belyi**, Balesene OÜ

Securitization of Climate Change as *threat multiplier* in CEE: Case of Estonia

Ramon Loik, International Centre for Defense and Security ICDS

Evelin Jürgenson, Estonian University of Life Sciences

Rethinking History in the Face of Ecological Destruction: Protecting the Romanian Old Growth Forests

Ileana Nachescu, Rutgers University

How has Polarity Affected the Arctic? The Shift From Unipolarity to Multipolarity

Joseph D'Aquisto, Tallinn University

The EU plan to break free from Russian energy

Anastasiya Shapochkina, Eastern Circles

Gabrielle Valli, Eastern Circles

Panel session 3

MC1 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 205

Leaving care in Russia

Session Chair: **Elena Bogdanova**, Centre for Independent Social Research

Discussant: **Elena Bogdanova**, Centre for Independent Social Research

Gendering resilience: masculinities, care leavers and social inclusion in Russia

Charlie Walker, University of Southampton

Up the down staircase: ideology of opportunities and limitations of educational choice of care leavers in Russia

Larisa Shpakovskaya, University of Helsinki

Planning for the future: future orientation, agency and self-efficacy of young adults leaving care in the Russian Arctic

Meri Kulmala, University of Helsinki

MC2 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 206

Religion, politics and society

Session Chair: **Kseniia Skogstad Larsen**, Prague University of Economics and Business

Discussant: **Pål Kolstø**, University of Oslo

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

Political Discourse of Values and Identity by Religious Leader: Thematic Analysis of Religious Leaders' Speeches at World Russian People's Council 1993-2019

Alar Kilp, University of Tartu

Jerry Pankhurst, Wittenberg University

The idea of transhumanism in contemporary Russian Orthodox discourses
Magda Dolinska-Rydzek, University of Rzeszów

The Moscow Patriarchate and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: Towards a Critical Explanation
Bojidar Angelov Kolov, University of Oslo

MC3 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 305

Discourse and communication between Russia and the West

Session Chair: **Gabriela Radulescu**, Technical University of Berlin
Discussant: **Sirke Mäkinen**, University of Helsinki

Linguistic factor in deterrence conversation between Russia and the West
Liia Vihmand-Veebel, University of Tartu

Protean power in relations between Russia and the West: understanding the communication over Ukraine
Tom Casier, University of Kent / Brussels School of International Studies

Shedding light on or concealing competing relations? An ontological security approach towards EU-Russia relations in times of crisis
Maria Raquel Freire, CES, FEUC, University of Coimbra

Discursive interaction in EU-Russia relations across time and space
Mario Baumann, University of Kent, Brussels School of International Studies

MC4 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 214

De-facto states and international security

Session Chair: **Donnacha Ó Beacháin**, Dublin City University
Discussant: **Shpend Kursani**, University of Tartu

The autonomy of de facto states in asymmetric relations: patron-client in a relational geopolitical field
Magdalena Dembinska, Université de Montréal

Women, Peace and Security Agenda and/in De Facto States: Challenges and Possibilities
Bénédicte Santoire, University of Ottawa

Peacekeeping and Security in Abkhazia and the Caucasus: The Role of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
Nicholas Barker, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom

MC5 **Monday** **14:30-16:15** Room: **307**

Covid-19: cross-regional, cross-disciplinary perspectives

Session Chair: **Michael Cole**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Andrey Makarychev**, University of Tartu

Pandemic and Biopolitics in Central Asia: Security vs. Disciplinarity

Rustam Burnashev, Kazakh-German University

Uncertainty across the “Contact Line”: armed conflict, COVID19, and perceptions of fertility decline in the conflict areas of Eastern Ukraine

Brienna Perelli-Harris, University of Southampton

Theodore Paul Gerber, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Yuliya Hilyevich, University of Groningen

POSTEPIDEMIA-2020 project: Russian new utopia models

Maria Semionovna Galina, Independent researcher

Failing Expectations, Crumbling Legitimacy: Reactions to the Covid-19 Policy in Belarus and Kazakhstan

Shugyla Kilybayeva, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University

Kristiina Silvan, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Can Religious Authorities Help with Covid-19 Vaccination? Lessons from the Muslims in Tatarstan (Russia)

Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, King's College London

MC6 **Monday** **14:30-16:15** Room: **306**

Art and politics: comparative perspectives

Session Chair: **Sami Siva**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Shannon Kuta Kelly**, Queen's University Belfast

Art, Anxiety, and Collective Politics: Strashno in Contemporary Russia and Interwar Germany

Jacqueline Dufalla, Central European University

Dissensus in Post-2012 Russian Art: Mapping the Identity Patterns

Azniv Tadevosyan, Independent researcher

Not Primitive or Provincial, but Universal: The Anticolonial Poetry of Jean Amrouche and Shamshad Abdullaev

Hana Connelly Stankova, Yale University

Islands of russianness preserved

Elin Parkman Smirnova, Uppsala University

Speculative fiction themes in contemporary Russian poetry – tendencies and strategies

Arkady Moiseevich Shtypel, Independent researcher

MC7 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 215

Civil society, minorities and the role of the EU

Session Chair: **Isabell Burmester**, University of Geneva / University of Tartu

Discussant: **Anar Valiyev**, ADA University

Populism, nationalism, and kin-state activism in a survey: Measuring the perception of the ethnic Széklers from Romania?

Ionut Chiruta, University of Tartu

The Last Generation of Soviet Veterans in Post-Soviet Eastern Europe

Bálint Mezei, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE)

Between Separation and Integration: The case of Moldova's Bulgarian Minority

Keith Sean Harrington, Maynooth University

Populists in Power: Civic Culture, Vested Interests and Varieties of Capitalism

Denis Ivanov, Corvinus University of Budapest

Tuesday, 14 June

Panel session 4

TA1 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 306

Ten Years of 'Foreign Agent' Legislation in Russia: Becoming A Political Instrument

Session Chair: **Alexandra Wishart**, University of Ottawa

Discussant: **Sevanna Poghosyan**, University of Tartu

Law on Foreign Agents: transformation of legislation and its impact on NGOs and media in Russia

Violetta Fitsner, OVD-Info

Being a Foreign Agent: Individual vs organizational dimensions

Daria Skibo, Centre for Independent Social Research

The impact of Foreign Agents Law on academic and research collaboration – a few remarks

Agnieszka Kubal, SSEES, University College London

Russian ‘foreign agents’ legislation and related Eastern European laws – similarities, risks and possible outcomes

Daria Korolenko, University of Bologna

TA2 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 205

Book discussion: Reforming child welfare in post-Soviet space: authoritarianism and institutional change

Chair(s): **Anna Tarasenko** (Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki), **Elena Bogdanova** (European University at St. Petersburg)

Presenter(s): **Meri Kulmala** (University of Helsinki), **Larisa Shpakovskaya** (University of Helsinki), **Anna Klimova (Pivovarova)** (University of Helsinki), **Anna Tarasenko** (Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki)

TA3 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 214

Viewing 'progress' through material legacies and social practices

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

Discussant: **Ileana Nachescu**, Rutgers University

Soviet architecture as a medium of communist idea – an analysis of its reception in the former Eastern bloc countries after gaining their independence

Marta Cyuńczyk, University of Gdansk

Back to the (Cosmic) Future? The Frunze Planetarium and the Unclaimability of the Socialist Past

David Leupold, Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient

Lessons from (Extra)Terrestrial Intelligentsia: Progress, National Identity and Directionality in Today's Armenia

Gabriela Radulescu, Technical University of Berlin

The Historical Latvian Lands Law: the implications for local and national identities

Ieva Berzina, National Defence Academy of Latvia

Gatis Krūmiņš, Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences

Jānis Šiliņš, Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences

Progress and tradition in Fascist ideology: the case of the Romanian Iron Guard

Horia-Gabriel Teodorescu, University of Cambridge

TA4 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 215

Russia as a Eurasian security actor

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

Discussant: **Maria Raquel Freire**, University of Coimbra

When the “subaltern empire” speaks. On recognition, Eurasian integration, and the Russo-Georgian War

Danijela Čanji, Institute of European Studies and International Relations, Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University

Aliaksei Kazharski, Institute of European Studies and International Relations, Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University; Department of Security Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague

Discursive Delegitimation of the Eurasian Economic Union by the European Union

Zhanibek Arynov, Nazarbayev University

Reaching a New Frontier with an Old Grip? An Analysis of Russia's Greater Eurasian Partnership

Junseok Lee, Seoul National University

Private military companies' role in contemporary conflicts

Zdzislaw Sliwa, Baltic Defence College

TA5 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 305

East Central Europe in international relations

Session Chair: **Katsiaryna Lozka**, Ghent University

Discussant: **Igor Gretskiy**, International Centre for Defence and Security

Long Live Visegrad? Regionalisms in the Post-Pandemic World

Andrea Schmidt, University of Pecs

Exploring Romania's and Poland's Regional Posture through the Leadership Positioning Approach

Ivanna Machitidze, New Vision University

The portrayal of Russia in political debates in the Czech Republic

Jonáš Syrovátka, Masaryk University

Affect and Diplomacy: New and old friendships under pressure from conflict in Europe

Jacqueline Dufalla, Central European University

Asya Metodjeva, Institute of International Relations Prague

TA6 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 206

Identity politics in Estonia

Session Chair: **Aleksandra Kuczyńska-Zonik**, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin / Institute of Central Europe

Discussant: **Epp Annus**, Tallinn University / Ohio State University

Ethno-Multiculturalism in Estonia: A Visual and Discursive Analysis of Finno-Ugric Identity

Andrey Makarychev, University of Tartu, Estonia

George Spencer Terry, University of Tartu, Estonia; Baltic Defence College

Sami Siva, University of Tartu, Estonia;

“We” versus “Others” in Estonia: the question of national identity in contemporary novels of women-writers

Elena Pavlova, University of Tartu

Maili Vilson, University of Tartu

Fighting for the (step)motherland? Predictors of defense willingness in Estonia’s post-Soviet generation

Christofer Berglund, Södertörn University

Kairi Kasearu, University of Tartu, Institute of Social Studies

Juhan Kivirähk, University of Tartu, Institute of Social Studies

A New Element of ‘Quadratic-Nexus’?: Influence of the Ukrainian War on Identities of Russian Speakers in Estonia

Yusaku Fukuhara, The University of Tokyo

TA7 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 307

(Dis)information and the media

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

Discussant: **Viktor Denisenko**, General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania

“Crimea will forever be Russian”: Dissenting Norwegian media discourses on Russia’s annexation of Crimea

Marthe Handå Myhre, Oslo Metropolitan University

Aadne Aasland, Oslo Metropolitan University

Jørn Holm-Hansen, Oslo Metropolitan University

The Dissemination of Russian Strategic Narratives Among Scholars: Who Are Susceptive?

Sanshiro Hosaka, University of Tartu

Soviet nostalgia in new media as the mean of pro-Russian propaganda in Ukraine

Mykola Polovyi, Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University

Panel session 5

TB1 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 215

The politics of protest movements in Eurasia

Session Chair: **Sirke Mäkinen**, University of Helsinki

Discussant: **Rustam Burnashev**, Kazakh-German University

Electoral protests in Eurasia: beyond structure and agency

Serik Beimenbetov, Kazakh-German University

Crisis in Kazakhstan 2022: Mass Protests and Riots, Power Transition and Intervention of CSTO Troops

Shugyla Kilybayeva, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University

Choosing the lesser evil: the anti-gender movement in Kazakhstan in the context of coloniality

Altnay Kambekova, Zentrum für Entwicklung Forschung, University of Bonn

Housing and in-fill construction activism within neoliberal urbanisation in Almaty, Kazakhstan

Bakhytkul Ubaidakyzy Tokbergenova, Deutsch-Kasachische Universität, Kazakhstan

TB2 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 305

Cultural innovation in the 1980-90s

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

Discussant: **David Leupold**, Leibniz-Center Moderner Orient

The Concept of Progress in Arts in Late Socialist Latvia: Synergies Between the Official and Non-Official Realms

Laine Kristberga, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art, University of Latvia

Artists' Perspective: Critique of Capitalism in Post-Socialist Latvia in the early 1990s

Lina Birzaka-Priekule, Latvian Academy of Art, Latvian National Museum of Art

'The rock of Sisyphus in my pen': Censorship in the poetry of Marin Sorescu & Ciaran Carson during and after the 1980s

Shannon Kuta Kelly, Queen's University Belfast

Between Darmstadt, Moscow and St. Petersburg: Initiatives to develop new music between 1988 and 1998

Joevan de Mattos Caitano, Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft Dresden

TB3 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 306

Managing diversity in Russia

Chair: **Anselm Schmidt**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Sergei Troitskii**, Estonian Literary Museum

Return of the expellees. Unofficial activity of the Buryat lamas in 1953-1991 and contemporary problems of cultural tradition on the Russian – Mongolian borderland

Albert Maria Jawłowski, University of Warsaw

Russian language legislation and support for the maintenance of linguistic diversity

Konstantin Zamyatin, University of Helsinki

Russian approaches to urban diversity studies

Aadne Aasland, OsloMet - Oslo Metropolitan University

Igor Mikheev, Independent researcher

Russian Regional Law-Making Process in a Comparative Perspective

Pavel Kononenko, Saint-Petersburg, Russian Federation

Tatiana Tkacheva, Saint-Petersburg, Russian Federation

TB4 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 205

Russia: the economy, trade and the environment

Session Chair: **Anna Tarasenko**, University of Helsinki

Discussant: **Simo Mannila**, Simo Mannila Consulting

The Russian economy: Trends for the future

Susanne Oxenstierna, Swedish Defence Research Agency, FOI

Geographical Changes in Russian Agricultural Import Following the Food Ban in 2014

Kseniia Skogstad Larsen, Prague University of Economics and Business

Anti-Colonial Environmentalism in Russian Regions: the Litmus Test for a Failed Federalism

Maria Chiara Franceschelli, Scuola Normale Superiore

TB5 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 307

Democratic politics and digitalisation

Chair: **Sanshiro Hosaka**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Margarita Zavadskaya**, University of Helsinki

When Winners Become Losers: Impact of Between-Election Government Switch on the Winner-Loser Gap in Satisfaction with Democracy

Miroslav Nemčok, University of Oslo

Jean-François Daoust, University of Edinburgh

Piret Ehin, University of Tartu

The missing link: Scrutiny of appointing online voting in Russia, September 2021

Bogdan Romanov, University of Tartu

Logan Emily Carmichael, University of Tartu

Voting for participatory budgeting projects in Poland and Ukraine: digitalisation and empowerment

Dmytro Khutkyy, University of Tartu

Party Communication Traditions in Ukraine and Russia (Comparative Analysis of Online Representations)

Nataliia Steblyna, Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University

TB6 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 214

Roundtable: War at the doorstep: Current and future security challenges in the Baltic Sea Region

Chair(s): **Louis John Wierenga** (University of Tartu/ Baltic Defence College)

Presenter(s): **Margit Bussmann** (University of Greifswald), **Andres Kasekamp** (University of Toronto), **Asta Maskaliūnaitė** (Baltic Defence College), **Zdzislaw Sliwa** (Baltic Defence College)

Panel session 6

TC1 **Tuesday** **14:30-16:15** Room: **305**

Estonian Law of the Interwar Era between Tradition and Progress

Session Chair: **Hannes Vallikivi**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Hannes Vallikivi**, University of Tartu

How to train lawyers for a small country?

Lea Leppik, University of Tartu

Estonian State of Defence: Legislation in the Interwar Period between Tradition and Innovation

Hesi Siimets-Gross, University of Tartu

Jaana Lindmets, University of Tartu

Marju Luts-Sootak, University of Tartu

Tradition and Progress in Family Law: Legal Responsibility to Maintain the Family in Estonia 1918-1940

Katrin Kiirend-Pruuli, University of Tartu

TC2 **Tuesday** **14:30-16:15** Room: **306**

Democratic imitators? De-facto states in Eastern Europe and Eurasia between conflict and legitimization

Session Chair: **Armand Goşu**, Bucharest University

Discussant: **Gheorghe Marius Diaconescu**, University of Bucharest

Yeltsin, Russian leadership and the management of the former Soviet territory

Iulia Mustăţea, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies

Democracy, sovereignty and security: Challenging the principles of international liberal order in the post-Soviet space

Ana Maria Albuлесcu, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies

Transnistria: The policy and practice of nation-building

Ştefan Morar, University of Montreal, Canada

TC3 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 215

Activism, protest and gender

Session Chair: **Maria Chiara Franceschelli**, Scuola Normale Superiore
Discussant: **Daria Korolenko**, University of Bologna

Authoritarian hegemonic masculinities and gendered rhetorics of the protest: 2020 Belarus Awakening and the Arab Spring in Egypt

Michaela Grančayová, Comenius University
Aliaksei Kazharski, Comenius University

The role of allies in LGBT activism in authoritarian settings: The case of Russia

Radzhana Buyantueva, Université Libre de Bruxelles

How Authorities in Russia Use Cameras and Facial Recognition against Protesters

Tatiana Uskova, OVD-Info

Russian Feminist influencers and anti-war activism

Saara Ratilainen, Tampere University

TC4 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 307

Politicising reproduction, disability and migration

Session Chair: **Anna-Liza Starkova**, University of Tartu

Traditional values and new technologies: the hybrid reality of surrogate motherhood and its representation in Russian mediascape

Natalia A. Chernyaeva, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Human rights, disability and paternalism: a discursive analysis of social policies in Russia

Michael Rasell, University of Innsbruck

Narratives of information warfare against Lithuania and Poland in the context of the migration crisis on the border with Belarus 2021

Viktor Denisenko, General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania

Migration crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border in the light of Poland's eastern policy

Wojciech Łysek, Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences

TC5 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 214

Roundtable: The future of Russian Studies

Chair(s): **Viacheslav Morozov** (University of Tartu)

Presenter(s): **Ronald Grigor Suny** (University of Michigan), **Sanna Turoma** (Tampere University), **Anna Temkina** (European University at St. Petersburg), **Radityo Dharmaputra** (University of Tartu)

Plenary Roundtable

TPR Tuesday 17:00-18:30 Room: 214

Ukraine: What has it taught the world and what can we do to secure a better future?

Chair(s): **Dmytro Khutkyy** (University of Tartu)

Presenter(s): **Vitaly Chernetsky** (University of Kansas), **Olga Matveieva** (University of Tartu / Dnipro University of Technology), **Elżbieta Olzacka** (Jagiellonian University), **Bettina Renz** (University of Nottingham)

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Practical Information

Lunch options nearby

Nearly all Tartu restaurants offer daily lunch specials (*päevapakkumine*) on weekdays at favourable prices (generally 5-6 EUR for a meal) from 12.00 to 15.00. 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 pastry in town, head to Werner (Ülikooli 11, at the bottom of Lossi Street). Google Maps or TripAdvisor can be used for further recommendations.

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

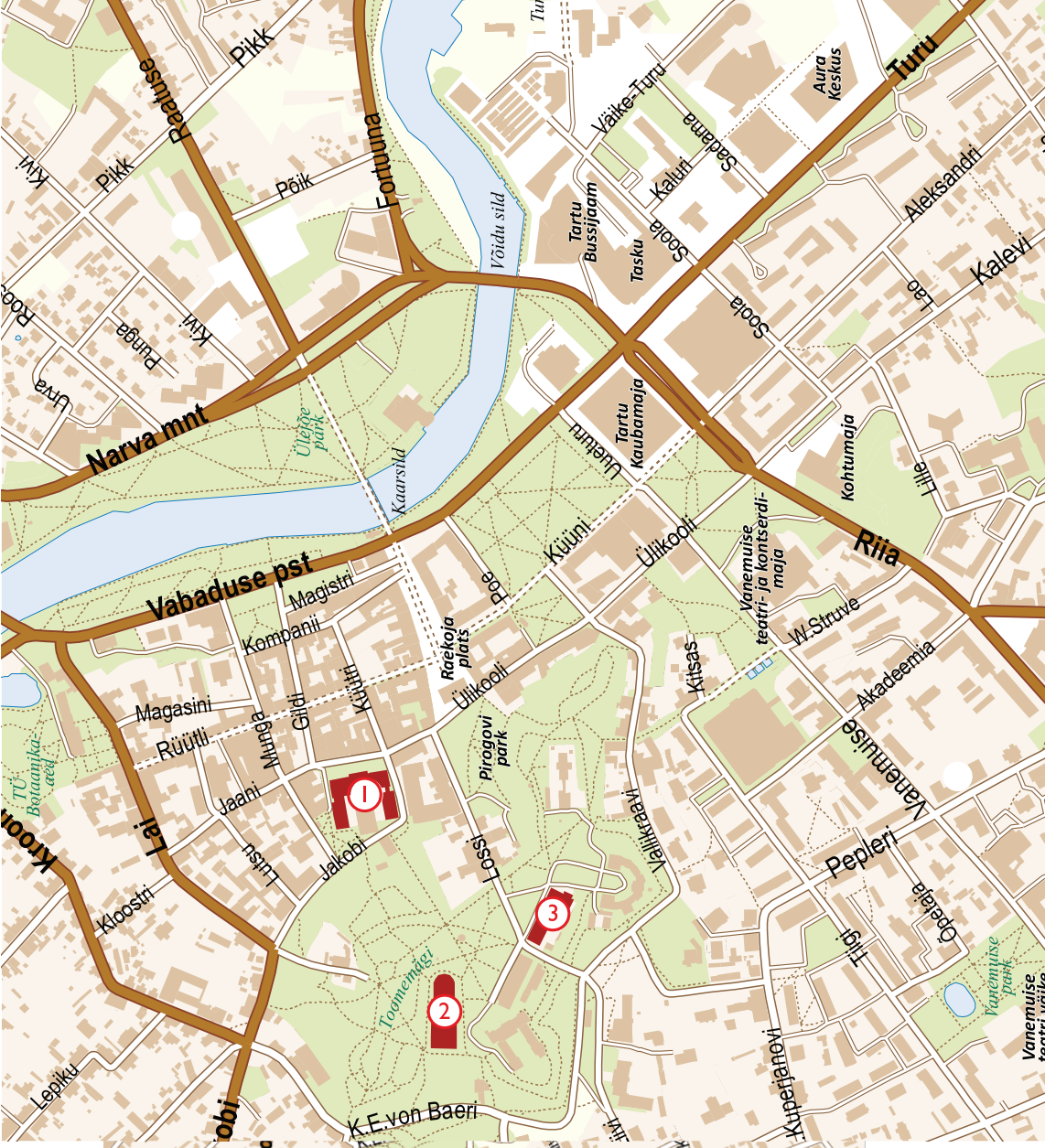
Elektritakso +372 588 588 00 or 1918
Tartu Taksopark +372 7 300 200 or 1200

If you have a smartphone, we recommend using apps like Bolt or Uber.

Covid-19 policy

As of 7 June 2022, the only general Covid-19 related restrictions in Estonia are the following. People who have been diagnosed with Covid are required to remain in quarantine for 10 days. Those who have come into contact with a person who has Covid have to stay in self-isolation for seven days.

Further information: +372 600 1247 (crisis information line in Estonian, English and Russian)



1. Main building of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
Venue for registration, opening and the keynote address on 12 June and for the keynote address on 13 June
2. Museum of the University of Tartu, Lossi 25
Venue for the reception on 12 June
3. Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36
Venue for registration and all panel sessions on 13-14 June

Tartu 2024

European Capital of Culture

Tartu, together with Southern Estonia, will be the European Capital of Culture in 2024. The European Capital of Culture is Europe's most prized cultural project, bringing together all the ideas, people and areas of an organizing city or region.

The leading theme of Tartu 2024, the European Capital of Culture is “Arts of Survival” which is meant to express the power of the arts in affecting Europe’s future in three larger areas of life: environmentally friendly culture with a focus on real human communication, strong communities and essential skills for living and, indeed, survival in the coming years.

The four most important Arts of Survival featured in the Tartu 2024 programme are uniqueness, sustainability, awareness, and co-creation.

Since 1985, many prominent cities all over Europe have carried the title of a European Capital of Culture (ECoC). Every year at least two cities in Europe are designated with the ECoC title by the choice of an international jury (panel). The aim of an ECoC process is to encourage urban regeneration in order to change the city's image and foster culture driven development. The focus is on culture in a broad sense.

Learn more about Tartu 2024 and the programme:

<https://tartu2024.ee>

<https://www.facebook.com/Tartu2024>

<https://twitter.com/Tartu2024>

<https://www.instagram.com/tartu2024>

We look forward to welcoming you to the European Capital of Culture 2024!